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Re-visualizing White Nudes:
Race and Sexual Discourse in Ottoman Harems 1700-1900

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As a viable social actor, art constitutes one of many institutions participating in the creation and reification of ideologies constructed within our society. Investigating the work of Ingres, Gérôme, and others reveals striking connections between the ritual use of Europeanized women in Orientalist harem paintings and the perpetual nature of women’s social oppression. A close examination of prominent works provokes the question “why paint recognizably white women against such non-white Eastern backdrops?” Continually, visual hierarchies and prescriptive codes allow the virtual entrance of the male voyeur into the painting.

Orientalists ritually relied on popular literature to visualize the realm of Arabian Nights. Female travel writers, drawing upon folklore and captivity narratives, also became credible sources in their unique access to Muslim harems. These works fueled popular interest in the Near East, creating descriptive tropes that would later inspire art and Victorian erotic literature.

In reproducing these “oriental” tropes, artists offer the white harem for the voyeurism of the male European audience, helping create both affinity and opposition between the audience and the subject. The nature of the painting’s sexual and racial hierarchies reveals the values of the Western male, an indoctrinating structure containing subtly oppressive elements. One apparent remedy to this perpetuation lies in the work of Henriette Browne, whose deliberate break from voyeurism destabilizes Western fantasies and reinserts female agency into the harem. In examining the question of “why white women,” the issues of race and gendered desire emerge in creating specific social hierarchies and perpetuating the subordinate status of women.

The issue of white women in Ottoman harems might be answered by reviewing the history of the region. The Ottomans began trafficking in white and Christian slaves as early as the 8th century, and the trade reached its peak from 1500-1800, after the fall of Constantinople. Yet despite a prolific Ottoman traffic in white slaves as luxury goods, only 10% of all slaves held in Ottoman territories were Caucasian. Continually, Christian women made up only 5% of the total slave population, and were usually reserved as household attendants. Only the youngest and prettiest white women gained membership in the harem, making them a status symbol that only the richest pashas could afford.

These statistics blatantly contradict the implicit demographics presented by European artists—if one were to believe these depictions to be accurate, one would assume that all concubines kept in Ottoman harems were Caucasian. Clearly, artists like Ingres exaggerated the statistics to fit their own ideals regarding Ottoman harems—but why?

First, since most prominent Orientalist artists were French, they worked mainly from European models. Though some artists traveled to the Near East in search of inspiration, Muslim law prevented its
women from modeling and the entrance of unauthorized men into the harem. These laws prevented an accurate artistic rendering of the common Ottoman harem. In an effort to be so accurate, artists could have (hypothetically) changed the skin tone of such nudes, yet the women represented in many Orientalist works are stark white. By 1800, an aesthetic preference for white, Parisienne models arose in Paris, apparently out of growing interest in eugenics and race refinement. By the 1850s, the pale, “metropolitan Parisienne was often favored over the robust model of color.” This “metropolitan” female implicated her own wealth and class in her fairness—as dark or tanned skin became popularly associated with manual outdoor labor. Therefore, the fashion for pale, fair skin reflected the preference for upper class nudes in artistic representations, despite the actual ethnicities of common harem concubines.

Ironically, modeling in the nineteenth century became closely associated with prostitution. In popular French opinion, models who agreed to pose naked for pay were often considered lower than their “streetwalking” sisters. This social association placed the female nude within a complex web of visual codes—codes of status, beauty, and respectability.

A second answer to this question of white concubines lies in the values of colonialism. The visual opposition between fair white women and dark, exotic men, describes an imperial principle. Pictorially, the dichotomy created between the whitest white and the blackest black represents the fear of hybridization between European and indigenous cultures: “the separation of colonized from colonizer is required to maintain a system of power relations, ...Hybridization could, potentially, erase the codes of difference established by colonialism.” In representing Caucasian females as members of the harem, artists like Cormon materialize the European preference for pure races.

Colonialism made painting sexualized “oriental” women difficult. The opposition created between Europeanized nudes and black servants, marks the white woman as the sexual object for the intended male European audience. As European men preferred fair-skinned nudes, the white woman automatically becomes the object of desire in her prioritized opposition to the dark-skinned woman. Noüy’s L’Esclave Blanche (figure 1) illustrates the hierarchy of white and black women in the harem, as the African laundress spitefully gazes toward the indulgent white nude. The racial divisions in this painting convey both the physical and visual superiority of the white nude, in her ornamented pillows, silks, and fine porcelain. These adornments strikingly oppose the plainclothes of the African laundresses—again signifying the importance of race as a status indicator.

Aside from political and visual codes, Orientalists relied on literary tropes to construct the exotic realm of Arabian Nights. The popular tales of Antoine Galland’s Mille et une Nuits (Arabian Nights) of
1712 prescribed themes for later Orientalist literature. The highly sexualized themes presented in this work also reinforced standing barbaric and exotic notions of the “Orient” in the European mind. These became references for authors who would later write about the Orient, qualifying such accounts in terms of their relationship to Arabian Nights. Indeed, female travel writers provided credible descriptions of the harem due to their unique access as women. The “existing discourse associated with the Arabian Nights Tales,” informed the women’s perceptions of the harems they visited, and “what they experienced in harems enlivened this fantasy.”

Female travel writers often blended reality with the fantasy of Arabian Nights in an effort to make their tales more believable to European audiences, often including the writer’s own fantasies of being forced to join the sexual commune. Using the tropes of Arabian Nights and the popular fear of Ottoman piracy, these women fueled the “otherness” of the Orient in Western minds. Moreover, their intricate details made the account more real for readers, providing a catalyst for dreamlike entry into the scene. It was the possibility for this fantasy-entrance, and the plausibility of captive European women sexually serving the pasha, that appealed to male artists looking for inspiration in representing the harem.

In fact, striking connections appear between Ingres’ Le Bain Turc (figure 3), and the narratives of Lady Mary Montagu. Montagu, wife to a British Ambassador during the 18th century, traveled widely throughout the Empire and visited several harems in Ottoman regions. When delving into the substance of Montagu’s letters, the connection becomes clear:

“...I believe in the whole there were two hundred women... The first sofas were covered with cushions and rich carpets, on which sat the ladies... all being in the state of nature, that is, stark naked... some [engaged] in conversation... others drinking coffee or [eating] sherbet, and many negligently lying on their cushions while their slaves... were employed in braiding their hair...”

This description invites artists like Ingres to virtually witness the scene. Montagu’s attention to detail augments the “reality effect,” making the narrative vividly real for the reader. By constructing this scene, Montagu becomes the surrogate masculine eye, both in her unique access as a woman and in her Westernized ideals of female sexuality, thus enabling the absent gaze of the Western male.

Victorian erotic literature also reinforced the popular notion of the Orient through captivity narratives. Drawing upon 300 years of discourse regarding Ottoman raids of Mediterranean Christian towns, works like The Lustful Turk outline the barbaric capture of European women, and their
subsequent enslavement in Eastern harems. The work constructs pleasure for the reader through the “endless repetition” of descriptive sexual details, providing an opportunity for the reader to identify with the male protagonist and substitute himself into the narrative. The reader releases his awareness of reality through the seemingly “endless” repetition of details. Therefore, the pornographic narrative serves two functions: to establish and maintain an endless sexual fantasy, and, to extinguish the possible end of this fantasy by offering a pleasurable opportunity for identification between the reader and male characters.

Orientalist artists created similar endless possibilities for interaction between the viewer and harem nudes. Building upon the opportunity for sexual exchange in *Le Bain Turc* (figure 3), Ingres created a provocative glimpse at the plentiful flesh waiting inside the baths. The circular composition creates the endlessness of the painting itself—suggesting a never-ending supply of available nudes for the male voyeur. This composition also implies a peephole through which the viewer looks, seemingly representing the camera lens that captures these nudes. Here, the male assumes the gaze of the outside spectator—he is not a participant among the women, as in *The Lustful Turk*. The fantasy thus lies in the moment presumed to follow the one we witness: the moment when the male spectator enters the scene to fornicate. In this way, the nude subject in art becomes very much like the nude in the pornographic novel; both invite the same desire for participation from the male viewer.

The inclusion of the white nude in the harem creates a simultaneous identification and opposition between the intended male European audience and the Eastern subjects. European men identified with harem women in their white, “Europeanness.” The combination of this identification and the fantasy of ownership often resulted in the substitution of the European wife into the scene. Yet to heighten exotic difference artists painted “splayed legs and breast-revealing arched backs” (as in Ingres’ *Odalisque and slave*, figure 4)—to signify the sexual openness and indiscriminatory practices of “primitive” Eastern women. When compared to the rigid postures of corseted European women, the lazy, indulgent poses classify harem women as exotic, yet familiarly desirable in their whiteness, signifying their accessibility to the male viewer.

This dualism typifies the classic relation of the West to the East via Orientalism—in the West’s simultaneous desire to control the Orient (to “Westernize” it) and the desire to appropriate the Orient (to “Easternize” the self). Thus, the Western

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male oscillates between a sexual desire to participate in the harem and a moral abhorrence to Eastern practices. The former visual identification takes shape through the sexual availability and interchangeable nature of harem women. Even if no male appears in the scene, the viewer assumes his presence and awaited return as the “absent husband.” European aristocrats also identified with pashas along class lines, in terms of the shared experience of an elite lifestyle. This affinity made substitute-identification even more feasible and realistic.

However, the representations of uncivilized Islamic practices (such as polygamy and slavery,) locate the white, Europeanized women as opposing signifiers for civilized culture. Edward Said argued that the Western creation of the Orient arises from the need to identify the self through the process of differentiation. Thus, the barbaric, backwards “other,” serves as a reference point for the civilized, positive self. As a signifier for civilized culture, the white harem woman illustrates difference for the Western male in his moral abhorrence to the barbaric, uncivilized practices of the East. Thus, the need to obliterate his Eastern counterpart and save the woman from barbarity buttresses his desire to enter the scene as an active participant. In both cases, the female nude remains subject to male pleasures and desires—an object solely for his own gratification.

These shifting relationships of identification and ownership form the basis for the Western fascination with harem scenes. The male need to possess and control female sexuality was a guaranteed privilege. If the men were artists like Delacroix, it was assumed that they had unlimited access to the bodies of the women who worked for them as models (figure 5). Nineteenth century society permitted and established boundaries for these kinds of fantasies. Recall the social link between models and prostitutes discussed earlier. In addition to professional work, models often maintained sexual relationships with the artists or commissioning men. In fact, the artist’s sexual access to the nude model, for Delacroix, was commonplace—he paid her to pose and for sex. The nonchalance with which Delacroix describes various encounters indicates his disregard for feminine agency in this area—from his journal: “Last Tuesday …a little baggage named Marie… came to pose. I took a big chance of a disease [that is; syphilis] with her.” This passage exemplifies the source for the visual pleasures of artists and male voyeurs: the nude’s release of her body to the male aggressor and her willingness to participate in the sex act. The commissioning male patron owns the nude both literally and figuratively, through the painting itself and the real-life nude therein.

Figure 5. Eugène Delacroix, *Odalisque*, c. 1825-1830. Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK. Image available online at: http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/opac/search/cataloguedetail.html?&prref=2621&function=xslt&limit=10
This ownership limits the status of these mistresses to mere possessions—to be taken, sold, and destroyed at will (as in Delacroix’s *Death of Sardanapalus*). Moreover, “the painting’s sexuality is manifest not in what it shows but in the owner-spectator’s…right to see her naked.”[^40] (See Delacroix’ painting online at [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Eug%C3%A8ne_Delacroix#Death_of_Sardanapalus_281827.29](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Eug%C3%A8ne_Delacroix#Death_of_Sardanapalus_281827.29))

We may feel uneasy with such possession today, but during this period, society required the absence of female sexual agency. Nineteenth century French society considered any woman with sexual independence or agency a threat. Thus, in her assumptive gaze and blatant sexual independence, Manet’s *Olympia* (figure 6) shocked audiences and destabilized acceptable social codes. To maintain social acceptance, artists like Delacroix eliminated the possibility for female agency in their artworks. This objectification of the female form and denigration of her sexual agency served the male fantasy much in the same way it served the overall patriarchal goal. A female agent was a threat, therefore, eliminate agency and eliminate the threat.

Paintings such as *Le Bain Turc*, *La Grande Odalisque*, and *Odalisque and a Slave* all have one thing in common: the available nude and the male assumption of her sexual submission. Whether these bodies are bathed, sold, sung to, doted upon, or slain, the sexual nature of these works remains clear. For Ingres, the polygamous fantasy of endless sexual opportunity in *Bain Turc* (figure 3) illustrated the ultimate desire. His exaggerated paintings continually rendered the female subject to the male erotic gaze, objectifying the body and stealing any identity or agency she might hold.

For Gérôme, the assertion of masculine power emerges in *Slave Market* (figure 7). Here, Gérôme alienates the “barbaric Orient,” ultimately revealing two related power structures: men over women, and the white man over “inferior, darker races.”[^41] The estrangement of the “barbaric” Orient allows the European male to “morally distance himself from his Oriental counterparts,” while he is simultaneously invited.

[^40]: See Delacroix’ painting online at [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Eug%C3%A8ne_Delacroix#Death_of_Sardanapalus_281827.29](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Eug%C3%A8ne_Delacroix#Death_of_Sardanapalus_281827.29)

[^41]: The estrangement of the “barbaric” Orient allows the European male to “morally distance himself from his Oriental counterparts,” while he is simultaneously invited.
to identify with them (in the visual possession of the nude). The painting thus circumvents any possibility of female agency by relying on her object-like status to convey sexuality.

One apparent hope for desexualizing harem scenes lies with female artists. In painting clothed women in the baths, Henriette Browne effectively breaks the voyeuristic gaze by emphasizing her own presence as a spectator in Une Visite (figure 8). This emphasis breaks the artist-as-voyeur position and confronts the West’s “fantasized relationship to the Orient as other.” Browne presents the harem as a domestic space that is “shaped by the women who live there,” and “minimizes the importance of the absent husband” as a visual entry point. Including a child in the portrait emphasizes the network of female relations within the harem, “diluting the sexual charge of the harem location… [and] displacing the all-powerful [father] figure on which Western identifications depend.”

Likewise, Browne’s depictions fail to conform to Western prescriptions for the harem. The discrepancy between Browne’s works and those of male artists must therefore signal a purposeful departure from objectified female and toward a reinsertion of female agency in the harem.

Therefore, investigating the work of these artists reveals striking connections between the ritual use of Europeanized women in Orientalist harems and the perpetual subordination of women. The question of “why white women?” in these paintings provokes several answers; all seeped in politics, social codes, and visual standards for race and beauty. Popular literature, contemporary colonial politics, and Arabian Nights provided a discourse that inspired artists constructing the harem. In reinforcing “oriental” tropes, Ingres, Gérôme, and others offer the white harem for the male European voyeur, creating both affinity and opposition between such audiences and the subjects represented. A feminist reading of these issues divulges the underlying oppression for women in Orientalist harems, making such an analysis central to the perpetual nature of women’s social oppression. When a woman creator has the power to subvert the voyeurism of Orientalist paintings, the question of “why white women?” evidently
pertains only to the sexualized, identifiable, and passive harem girls created for the viewing pleasure of men, and only men.

In recognizing the importance of female agency, we must therefore continually seek to identify hidden oppressive actors and institutions in society. Such identification is the necessary first step to reform and reconstruct subordinating social factors, and reclaim women’s historical agency.46

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1 The word “harem” is used here to describe the group of women kept as sexual mistresses for sole use by a Muslim man. A man wealthy enough to afford such a group of mistresses in history usually occupied a position of social or political status. However, in common English translation, the word “harem” can refer to both the women themselves and the house or part of a house where such women were kept.


3 Ibid.


7 Marie Lathers, *Bodies of Art*, 41. Lathers’ use of the term “medicalized” implies the anatomical perfection preferred in *Parisienne* models during the nineteenth century. This association, when looked at in context of today’s contemporary preferences for physically flawless women, reveals the emergence of the modern standard of beauty.

8 Joan DelPlato examines the class-linked hierarchies represented in Orientalist harems as well as many other aspects of harem paintings in *Multiple Wives, Multiple Pleasures: Representing the Harem, 1800-1875* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 2002), 27 et al.


15 Ibid., 183, 186. Roberts quotes one such passage from Annie Jane Harvey’s *Our Cruise in the Claymore with a Visit to Damascus and the Lebanon* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1861), 83.

16 Ibid., 186.

17 Roger Benjamin, in “Ingres Chez Les Fauves,” *Art History* 23, no. 5 (2000): 753, discusses the importance of inspirations such as Montagu on working artists like Ingres, citing that the borrowed subject was even evident to
Gautier in 1867. Continually, this phenomenon appears in the work of Meyda Yegenoglu, whereby the author discusses the inherent masculinity of the subject position that female travel writers occupy “vis-à-vis the Orient and its women,” in Colonial Fantasies, 91.

19 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu moved with her husband, Edward Wortley Montagu, British ambassador to Turkey, in 1716. She lived there for two years and recorded her experiences through correspondence, later published. See Robert Halsband, ed, The Selected Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (London: Longman, 1970).

20 Robert Halsband, Selected Letters, 91.

21 In fact, Ingres never traveled to the East at all. See Gerald M. Ackerman, “Gérôme’s Oriental Paintings and the Western Genre Tradition,” Arts Magazine 60 (March 1986): 75-80.

22 Meyda Yegenoglu, Colonial Fantasies: Toward a Feminist Reading of Orientalism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 90. See also Reina Lewis, Gendering Orientalism, 146.

23 Mary Roberts, “Contested Terrains,” 188. See also Frederick N. Bohrer, Orientalism and Visual Culture, 13.


25 Steven Marcus, The Other Victorians, 217, 215


27 Ruth B. Yeazell cites the relationship between Rowlandson’s satirical cartoon and Ingres’ Le Bain Turc in Harems of the Mind, 249; more specifically, the obvious influence of Rowlandson’s satire on Ingres’ revered work.

28 John L. Connolly, Jr. also addresses this concept in “Ingres and the Erotic Intellect,” in Woman as Sex Object, 17.


30 Patricia A. Morton, “National and Colonial,” 368.


32 Reina Lewis, Gendering Orientalism, 156. Mulvey qualifies the identification of the male spectator to male protagonists in narrative cinema through the tenets of psychoanalytic formations of the ego; see “Visual Pleasures and Narrative Cinema,” 18.

33 Ruth Bernard Yeazell, Harems of the Mind, 2.

34 Again, the reader is reminded of the stories abound in The Lustful Turk, Arabian Nights, and the descriptions of Lady Mary Montagu and other female travel writers regarding the harem. Continually, the statement by Montagu that her tales must, in a way, conform to popular standards of the Orient reinforces this notion of the ordinary harem. See note 15.

35 Meyda Yegenoglu, Colonial Fantasies, 87.


38 Ibid.

39 Eugene Delacroix, Journal, 1822-1863, edited by André Joubin (Paris: Plon, 1996), March 31 1824, and October 22 1822; cited in Marie Lathers, Bodies of Art, 54. Translation from Lathers. Lathers further discusses the relationship between models and prostitutes, stating that models had difficult times procuring stable work, and often relegated themselves to prostitution when work no longer steadily appeared. She continues by quoting Paul Dollfus, [Modèles d’artistes (Paris: Marpon and Flammarion, 1888), 13] stating that the modeling profession often acted as a buffer between the working-class woman and the prostitute—usually in that it worked to facilitate this final “fall from grace” (55).

40 Linda Nochlin, “Eroticism and Female Imagery in Nineteenth Century Art,” in Woman as Sex Object, 14.

41 Linda Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient,” 45.

42 Ibid.

43 Reina Lewis, Gendering Orientalism, 162.

44 Ibid., 156.

45 Ibid.