ISSUES OF AUTHENTICITY IN POCKET WATCHES FOR THE OTTOMAN MARKET

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, English and Continental firms produced large numbers of affordable pocket watches for the markets of the Ottoman Empire, which at the time occupied a vast area including most of southeastern Europe, Asia Minor, the Middle East and North Africa. Many of these artefacts survive today in museums and collections all over the world; they can be easily distinguished because they bear on the dial Ottoman numerals, i.e. numerals used with the Arabic script (**fig. 1**). During the long 18th century, these watches were highly popular among the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional populations of the Empire both as technical objects, incorporating novel technology, and as fashionable accessories, to be worn on the body and shown off. They can thus be classified as examples of »popular« or »affordable« luxury, expressing the growing significance of pleasurable consumption and the emergence of new forms of socialisation through product use in the public sphere¹. Additionally, they offer a fascinating case study for examining the changing meanings of authenticity.

To begin with, the complexity of watchmaking from a manufacturing point of view renders the assessment of quality and authenticity quite tricky. It was common for 18th-century English watches to consist of parts made by different workshops, often situated in different towns, and then assembled or sold elsewhere. Although the vendors of the finished articles were mainly concentrated in London, various parts or incomplete watches would come from many other places, especially Liverpool, Coventry, Birmingham and Sheffield². The production of a watch required a range of different specialists, and it was quite typical for the watch and the case to be made by two different people³. Quantity-produced English watches were in high demand and esteemed for their design⁴. The success and good reputation of English makers led to the production and distribution of forgeries – practised mainly, but not exclusively, by Continental, especially Swiss, makers⁵. These manufacturers took advantage of the growth of the luxury trade and the high demand for English watches for the Eastern markets and specialised in making cheaper watches for those markets; Continental forgeries were »usually of poor quality and easily detected «6. Forgers were usually »careless about fine detail« and »more concerned with acquiring quick money«7. Fake English watches often had the names of their makers falsely signed or misspelt; the information etched on surviving watches can therefore be misleading. Additionally, the use and abuse of hallmarks intensifies the problems of identification and provenance8. Continental »copiers« or »fakers« would import empty English hallmarked silver cases and fit them to their own, usually cheaper mechanisms, making identification even more difficult. Furthermore, cynically enough, London manufacturers themselves illicitly imported »Swiss movements, cases, and even complete watches, to be sold very profitably under their own names as London-made products «9. The history and practice of watch forgery therefore has many aspects, which make the distinction between »genuine« and »fake« a highly contested matter. This complexity and related issues of authenticity are discussed in this essay with reference to four pocket watches of this type from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

The first one (**fig. 1, 1**; Object Number M/P.35 & A-D-1913)¹⁰ bears the signature of George Prior, the English watchmaker who was the market leader for pocket watches in the Ottoman market in the second half of the 18th century¹¹. He was succeeded by his son Edward, who was active until the middle of the 19th cen-



Fig. 1 Four pocket watches with Ottoman numerals on the dial from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: **1** Object Number M/P.35 & A-D-1913. – **2** Object Number PW.5-1923. – **3** Object Number PW.6-1923. – **4** Object Number M/P.5-1913. – (Photo A. Yagou).

tury; it has been estimated that Prior father and son together sold over 78000 watches in the Ottoman Empire ¹². According to Fitzwilliam Museum documentation, the watch was made for George Prior on the Continent, probably in Switzerland, as the mechanism of the watch, called the "movement", is considered typical Swiss work. The same source also states that "the enamel-headed pins on the protective case are most unusual and indicative of the quality of these cases" ¹³. In fact, this technique, known as piqué work, was quite widespread among the watches with Ottoman numerals ¹⁴. The outer case bears various marks: the "Lion Passant" or "Sterling Mark" on top, which indicates sterling silver ¹⁵; the crowned leopard's head on the left meaning that the item was manufactured during the reign of George III (1760-1820) ¹⁶; the initials IE, which suggest that the maker was Innocent Ekins from Shoreditch ¹⁷; the letter U, enclosed in what is known as the shield, indicates that the year of manufacture is 1815 ¹⁸; and the serial number 15736, which is also engraved on the mechanism. The marks are not sharp or very well made, which is perhaps why the Fitzwilliam documentation claims that they are false ¹⁹. The serial number appears as if it were added at a later stage than the other marks. The watch includes a George Prior paper label. We may assume that this

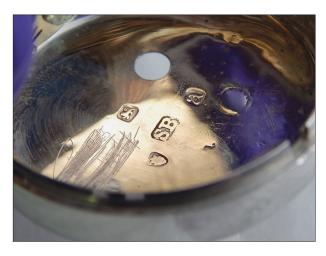


Fig. 2 Watch case from the Fitzwilliam collection (PW.5-1923) with hallmarks indicating that it is sterling silver, manufactured in London in 1776 when George III was king, and possibly made by a goldsmith named Samuel Bridge or Samuel Brough. – (Photo A. Yagou).



Fig. 3 Watch from the Fitzwilliam collection (M/P.5-1913) with pendant in the form of a turban. – (Photo A. Yagou).

was a Swiss mechanism imported to England and used by Prior himself to lower his costs. Would that make this object a genuine or a fake? The object presents some of the typical problems of identification one faces when considering watches for the Ottoman market.

The second watch from the Fitzwilliam collection (fig. 1, 2; Object Number PW.5-1923) appears to be a Swiss forgery of work by the Paris watchmaker Julian Le Roy. The marks on the case indicate that it is sterling silver, manufactured in London in 1776 when George III was king, and possibly made by a goldsmith named Samuel Bridge or Samuel Brough (fig. 2)²⁰. The suspicion of forgery is suggested by object documentation as »the mechanism is typical Swiss work«21. The third watch from the Fitzwilliam collection is a very similar and possibly fake Le Roy (fig. 1, 4; Object Number M/P.5-1913). What is most interesting in this example is what is known as the pendant in the form of a turban, the Ottoman male headwear that was an indicator of status (fig. 3). A similar shape would be carved on gravestones to signify the high rank of the deceased male. This detail and the engraved, Oriental-style floral decoration of the external case clearly denote an item customised to appeal specifically to an Ottoman Muslim clientele²². This target group is also relevant to the fourth watch (fig. 1, 3; Object Number PW.6-1923) from the Fitzwilliam collection. This is a rather plain watch from around 1780, with the particularity that it has not only Ottoman numerals but also a handwritten label in Arabic script with the word »Capital«, meaning Istanbul. The movement also bears inscriptions in Arabic script. I speculate that this watch was made in the Galata area of Istanbul, where clockmakers and other craftsmen repairing watches were concentrated²³. Perhaps some of the elements of the mechanism were imported, but the overall style of the watch, which is guite simple, suggests local manufacturing. The watches were examined and repaired by a professional conservator as part of the Fitzwilliam Museum Watches Documentation Project 2013. His assessment is as follows: M/P.35 & A-D-1913 is in working condition, PW.5-1923 is in poor condition and not worth repairing; M/P.5 1913 could work, if oiled; and PW.6-1923 is not working and not worth repairing 24. The group of four watches represent a standard typology, to be clearly distinguished from pocket watches of extreme luxury used as gifts among rulers and diplomats²⁵. Despite their technical or stylistic differences, the objects shown are variations on the same theme, namely

low- to middle-range watches for the Ottoman market. The existence of a variety of watches within the same typology and price range reveals the extensive demand for them and the dynamism of this market. Such watches were neither masterpieces nor considered to be particularly precious; they were targeted pri-

marily to »anonymous« historical figures. Nowadays they may be exhibited in museums or kept in private collections and museum depots. All four watches from the Fitzwilliam are original 18th- or 19th-century products, so they are authentic in a very fundamental sense of the word. At the same time, they exhibit certain features which may be described as »fake«. The main questions at this point are: What does authenticity mean in relation to these artefacts? Does it matter, and to whom? My research interest lies in particular in the reactions of the original users. This leads me to an examination of user profiles and attitudes.

Although the products under discussion were highly desirable and became gradually more accessible to wider segments of the population, this did not mean that they were really cheap. For users of watches in central and northern Europe, "the pocket watch remained a costly item — even cheap watches cost several weeks' pay — but became common because it was one of the chief objects of expenditure for extraordinary and windfall earnings. The sailor returning from years in the East Indies, or from a successful fishing or whaling trip, the farm laborer at the end of the harvest, the recipient of a small inheritance, the successful thief — these and others had a high propensity in the eighteenth century to spend on a narrow range of articles, including pocket watches, that had come to symbolize working men's status (26). However, ownership in itself was not sufficient; the style of a watch determined whether it was fashionable or not and influenced the competition between makers.

The existence of similar consumer practices in the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the 18th century, the gradual expansion of the pocket watch market there and the diversification of user groups is attested by various sources. A case study on the town of Sofia provides precious information on user profiles: »[...] We find again military, but much less prominent, many more religious functionaries, and a significant group of people involved in trade and crafts. In the mid-eighteenth century we have the first [known] case for Sofia of a Christian owner of a watch. [The group of clock/watch owners] has also diversified in terms of financial potential. Among them are real millionaires, but also people of average means. Respectively the most expensive clocks we find among the former and the modest ones among the latter. Thus, during the first half of the eighteenth century the watches gradually start losing their prestiged status reaching wider circles of Ottoman society. From being an exclusive prerogative of the prichd, mainly military, the watch and the clock start appearing, in cheaper versions, also in the inheritances of craftsmen and *ulema* [religious teachers], some of whom with moderate assets. Still it seems that their possession might have preserved its significance as status signifier, as well as a collectioner's [sic] item, but gradually also becoming a useful belonging 47.

Similar trends were identified by the Englishman James Dallaway, who travelled in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 18th century; in his published account he states that »English watches, prepared for the Levant market, are more in demand than those of other Frank nations, and are one of the first articles of luxury that a Turk purchases or changes if he has money to spare«²⁸. The above quotations show that certain imported watches in the Eastern market were not aimed at the elites who could afford lavishly ornamented, highly precious items, but rather at wider groups who would buy a watch as soon as they had money to spare. At the same time, Dallaway unambiguously identifies these watches as articles of luxury, thus expressing their hybrid character (fig. 4). Although desirable artefacts imported from the West included textiles, furniture, jewellery, porcelain, weapons and other products, it has been suggested that it was »mainly with the watches and the clocks that we may trace a growing interest and an expansion« of those owning European products. While affluent Muslims formed the majority of customers for these imported items serving both practical and symbolic needs, socially ascending Christian bourgeois also took part in this process of »democratisation« of consumption²⁹.

Another relevant example comes from a study of the diaries kept by a Christian Catholic schoolteacher who lived in Ottoman Syria during the mid-19th century ³⁰. The schoolteacher owned a pocket watch; several

entries in his diary directly or indirectly reveal his relationship to this object and to time in general. He followed a very sociable lifestyle and would have some social outing nearly every day, but he did not have any strict plan. He was quite spontaneous about his social engagements and, »if any business was pending, he certainly thought it could wait«³¹. Since he owned a watch, he could have easily tracked time throughout the day, but his diaries do not give any indication that he used the watch in the way we are used to today, or that he entertained the notion of time as a resource at all. He had »a flexible schedule that he could adjust according to the needs of the season or even his own whims«³². Nevertheless, despite the apparent uselessness of his watch, it was



Fig. 4 Watch from the Fitzwilliam collection (M/P.5-1913) with rich decoration. – (Photo A. Yagou).

not unimportant to him. On one occasion he complained of losing it, and on another he was irritated at having mislaid the watch's chain and winding key. When he lost it, he must have quickly replaced it; he also mentions calling a watch repairman³³.

It would appear that the criteria employed by owners and users of these watches did not relate to the concept of authenticity. More specifically, there is no evidence that authenticity was significant to them or that it was acknowledged at all. The vast range of low- and middle-range pocket watches that were available in the Ottoman market, including a large percentage of what we would now describe as "fakes", suggests that customers were very much drawn to all varieties of this product. The end users of these objects were most likely unaware of or indifferent to the distinction between "genuine" and "fake". The watches were very real to owners and users as they enabled them to self-fashion themselves, to show off and participate in new forms of socialisation in the public sphere. Additionally, since the acquisition of those watches would have normally entailed a substantial investment, the watches would have been very much real to these people in terms of the time and effort required to obtain them.

Thus, when using these artefacts as a starting point, the meaning of authenticity is a highly contested matter: How is authenticity defined? Who decides about it and to what end? Undoubtedly, "much of history museums' concern with the authentic object is rooted in habits of collecting and research in the fine and decorative arts". The discourse on authenticity has therefore been shaped mostly by art historians, collectors, and museum professionals with reference to objects deemed to be extremely valuable and collectable, usually owned and used by prominent individuals and connected to high-profile historical events. Nevertheless, attitudes towards authenticity change significantly over time and vary among different stakeholders. One should not, therefore, project fixed ideas of authenticity on artefacts of the past, but rather examine them in their own historical context and with reference to their actual users.

The watches examined in this essay tell a complicated story of a very mixed and dynamic market. For the original makers and sellers of the watches, they were presumably a substantial source of income, hence the transnational nexus of legal and illegal manufacturing and trade already mentioned. For their original users, they were very real and precious objects; I suspect a discussion on authenticity would not make much sense to them. Nowadays, these objects are of limited interest for the majority of museum curators, as they may not be considered extremely fine or precious. Similarly for auction houses; there is a market for these objects, but it is of minimal financial significance. Additionally, there do not seem to be any modern fakes; low- and middle-range pocket watches with Ottoman numerals are clearly not as important or valuable as

the Renaissance scientific instruments from the Mensing collection, which were proven to be fakes, forgeries, replicas, or copies ³⁵.

In the light of the above, judging the pocket watches on the basis of ideas of authenticity defined by art historians, collectors, or auction professionals does not do justice to these objects. Rethinking these watches with reference to their actual users in the late 18th and early 19th centuries is necessary to reveal their complex trajectories from objects of desire for an emerging middle class to second-rate items in museum collections. Indeed, "authenticity and its opposite are not conditions of objects out there waiting to be discovered", they are processes involving networks of stakeholders and are subject to historical change ³⁶. A discussion of authenticity should not be raised "as a means to get the historical record straight, but as a means of understanding the relationship between the kinds of structures that have governed ownership and interpretation of objects and the conclusions that are drawn from and about them ³⁷. For me personally, as a researcher of material culture who tries to understand "how it was", all objects are authentic, as they reveal and illuminate aspects of daily life and the concomitant mentalities. What interests me are the "narrative possibilities of artefacts rather than their specific provenance"; these possibilities enable us to tell interesting stories and "think more broadly about things and their meanings" ³⁸. From my point of view, these pocket watches with Ottoman numerals are very much authentic, as they were indeed for their original users.

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Notes

- 1) Bernasconi 2015. Blondé/Van Damme 2009, 1-13. From the same volume, see also: Coquery 2009, 121-131; Fennetaux 2009, 17-28. Specifically for the lands ruled by the Ottomans, see: Yagou 2019, 78-107.
- 2) Camerer Cuss 2009, 256-258. Riello 2008, 243-280.
- 3) Jagger 1988, 76. 128.
- 4) White 2012, 60-62. Özdemir 1993, 89.
- 5) White 2012, 67-68. Smith 2004, 123-139.
- 6) White 2012, 68.
- 7) Jagger 1988, 69.
- 8) Banister 2014, 14-16.
- 9) Smith 2004, 132.
- 10) Avery/Calaresu/Laven 2015, 143. 269.
- 11) White 2012, 62-70; Rees 1970, 257-258. Baillie/Ilbert/Clutton 1978, 467-468; 1986, 574. Camerer Cuss 2009, 304.

- 12) Kurz 1975, 97.
- Object documentation provided by the Fitzwilliam Museum. See also: https://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/treasured possessions/discover/oif_watches.html (22.06.2020), https://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/collections/furniture (22.06.2020).
- 14) On watch cases and their decoration see: Camerer Cuss 2009, 181. 259; Baillie/Ilbert/Clutton 1986, 102; »Piqué Work«, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Piqu%C3%A9_work (22.06.2020). »By an adroit arrangement of the gold and silver pins, by placing them in small or large clusters, effects of light and shade could be created in the design. In the finest French work, the pins are placed so close to each other and with such accuracy that they appear to form a continuous line. Decorative motifs include chinoiserie scenes, geometric designs, and arabesques. In England, where the craft had been brought by the Huguenots at the end of the 17th century, Matthew Boulton in 1770 developed mechanical methods of producing piqué panels. Many of his designs show the influence of the Neoclassical designer Robert Adam. During the

- nineteenth century, piqué was widely employed for small tortoiseshell jewellery, much of it after 1872 being made by machine in Birmingham, England.« https://www.britannica.com/art/pique-work (22.06.2020). Jagger 1988, 105-106.
- 15) Banister 2014, 9-10. Jagger 1988, 75.
- 16) Banister 2014, 8-9. Bly 1986, 13.
- 17) Banister 2014, 7-8. Priestley 2018, 211.
- 18) Bly 1986, 8-9. 52.
- 19) On the problems of hallmark identification see: Banister 2014, 14-15; Bly 1986, 19-21.
- 20) Priestley 2018, 255.
- 21) Object documentation provided by the Fitzwilliam Museum. The suspicion of forgery is underpinned by the comparison of the signature with much finer items also branded Le Roy, for example a piece currently exhibited in the Mathematisch-Physikalischer Salon in Dresden.
- Kurz 1975, 74-75. Baillie/Ilbert/Clutton 1986, 102-103. –
 Özdemir 1993, 91-99. Gradeva 2007, 786. White 2012, 277-279.
- 23) White 2012, 57.

- 24) Original documentation by conservator Brian Jackson, Fitzwilliam Museum.
- 25) On luxury clocks and watches as gifts for the Sultan, his entourage and various officials, see: Landes 1983, 99-101; Meyer 1971; Özdemir 1993; Reindl-Kiel 2005, 113-123; 2012, 107-120.
- 26) de Vries 2008, 3.
- 27) Gradeva 2007, 790.
- 28) Dallaway 1797, 76.
- 29) Gradeva 2007, 798-799.
- 30) Grehan 2019, 90-120.
- 31) Grehan 2019, 105.
- 32) Grehan 2019, 105.
- 33) Grehan 2019, 105.
- 34) Crew/Sims 1991, 159-160.
- Johnston et al. 2003, 28-32. Jardine/Nall/Hyslop 2017. Jardine 2019.
- 36) Jardine 2019, 221.
- 37) Jardine 2019, 221.
- 38) Crew/Sims 1991, 172.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary

Fragen zur Authentizität von Taschenuhren für den osmanischen Markt

Während des langen 18. Jahrhunderts stellten englische und kontinentale Firmen eine große Anzahl von Taschenuhren mit osmanischen Ziffern für die Märkte des Osmanischen Reiches her. Einige dieser Hersteller fälschten oder signierten die Uhren falsch, um von der gestiegenen Nachfrage zu profitieren. Die lokale multiethnische Bevölkerung schätzte diese importierten Produkte sowohl als technische Neuheiten als auch als modische Accessoires. Die Endbenutzer waren sehr daran interessiert, diese Objekte zu erwerben. Höchstwahrscheinlich waren sie sich des Unterschieds zwischen »echt« und »gefälscht« nicht bewusst, oder es war ihnen gleichgültig. Ich untersuche Fragen zur Authentizität anhand von vier Taschenuhren dieses Typs aus dem Fitzwilliam-Museum. Bei diesen Artefakten ist die Bedeutung von Authentizität sehr umstritten: Wie wird sie definiert, und wer entscheidet darüber?

Issues of Authenticity in Pocket Watches for the Ottoman Market

During the long 18th century, English and Continental firms produced large numbers of pocket watches with Ottoman numerals for the markets of the Ottoman Empire. Some of these manufacturers forged or falsely signed the watches in order to take advantage of the increased demand. Local multiethnic populations valued these imported products as both technical novelties and fashionable accessories. The end users were very keen to acquire these artefacts and were most likely unaware of or indifferent to the distinction between »genuine« and »fake«. I examine issues of authenticity with reference to four pocket watches of this type from the Fitzwilliam Museum. In these artefacts, the meaning of authenticity is highly contested: how is it defined and who decides about it?