A HISTORY OF ISLAMIC COURT DRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Patricia Lesley Baker

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Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Faculty of Arts), 1986
~~School of Oriental & African Studies~~
University of London.

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ABSTRACT

A HISTORY OF ISLAMIC COURT DRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The aesthetic ideal of the well-dressed Muslim male and female was formulated in Ḥadīth literature, which counselled that the individual's devotion should be reflected in suitable humble and unostentatious attire. Although the evidence is fragmentary, the reality of the Umayyad and Abbasid courts, however, shows an increasing concern for ritual and ceremonial, along with a growing belief that the individual's status, profession and political (and religious) allegiance should be manifested in dress.

It has been generally assumed that costume in the Islamic Middle East remained virtually unchanged in its structure and form until the 19th century. A careful examination of the visual sources in respect of the military dress in the medieval and post-medieval periods challenges this assumption, which is further weakened by the pictorial evidence of court costumes in the Ottoman and Safavid empires. At both courts, distinctive features in dress and head-gear identified the wearer's rank, status and to some extent, office. To don clothes associated with another group was to indicate publicly one's social aspirations, and for this reason sumptuary laws were repeatedly issued, with questionable effect, to re-establish as traditional a social order and stratification. Similarly in the 19th and 20th centuries, government programmes of radical modernization were accompanied by rigorous clothing reforms for both men and women.

As the study of costume has to be undertaken with reference to political, social and economic history, each section is introduced by a short historical summary. This is followed by the examination of data

relating to the court dress of the period, and concluded with information on the economic situation of the textile industry.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank Professor Victor Menage for providing that initial spur, which has led me to present this thesis; for their support, my two supervisors at the School of Oriental & African Studies, Dr. Geza Fehervari and Mr. John Picton, who particularly gave me the confidence to continue and finish this work.

For their willingness to share information and assist, I am grateful to Milton Sonday of the Cooper Hewitt Museum, and the Costume department staff at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Dr Nicholas Millet and Louise Mackie of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; Dr. ʿAbd al-Rauf ʿAlī Yūsuf and Dr. ʿAbbās of the Islamic Art Museum, Cairo; Dr. Oliver Watson, Donald King and the Textile department staff of the Victoria & Albert Museum, London; Dr. Robert Irwin, formerly of Cambridge University; and Elisabeth Crowfoot of Suffolk. Special thanks go to Dr. Hülya Tezcan and Filiz Çağman at Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul and above all, to Dr. Tarcan Yilmaz of Istanbul University who took such care to smooth my path.

For their advice and guidance over historical and social aspects, I must acknowledge my debt to Dr. Margaret Bainbridge, Dr. A.H. Morton and Dr. David Bivar of SOAS, and to Dr. Alistair Northedge.

The patient help and support given by the library staff of the British Museum, the Victoria & Albert Museum, and especially SOAS should not be underestimated, while grateful thanks go to Susan Glen and Paul Fox for their assistance in preparing the photographs. My task in preparing the final draft and finished text would have been extremely difficult without the continuous and enthusiastic concern of all

the library staff at West Surrey College of Art & Design, in particular Martin Shuttleworth and Carole Hopson. Thanks also go to Sylvia Lawrence for her customary cheerful care in photostating services. I am grateful for the financial help given by WSCAD, towards the cost of photographic reproduction, photostating and binding of this thesis.

Above all, special thanks go to my mother, Mary Shelton for her hard work in typing and dealing with a temperamental daughter; to Tom Swarbreck, Gordon McCall and Delia Pemberton for their patience and encouragement; and to Barbara Brend for her readiness to listen.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

For the sake of simplicity, dynastic- and place-names have been rendered without diacritical marks. Likewise, for pluralization of terms which are underlined, the English "s" has been added.

The Encyclopaedia of Islam (second edition) transliteration system has been used for Arabic terms with the now generally accepted exceptions, e.g. j for dj; q for ḳ; dh for ḏh, etc., while Turkish technical words and titles are expressed in modern Turkish orthography. For the rendering of Persian terms, the Steingass system has been employed.

CHAPTER I

DRESS IN THE TIME OF THE PROPHET AND THE RASHIDUN CALIPHS

> "Their raiment will be fine green silk (sundus) and gold embroidery. Bracelets of silver will they wear." (sura 76 v.22)[1]

The Prophet Muḥammad died suddenly in 11/632 after a short illness. The elderly Abū-Bakr, one of the first converts, was elected as the deputy or khalīfa (caliph) of the Prophet and assumed military and political control over the Islamic community, preserving the ethos of the new state while expanding its territorial authority.

The rate of expansion in the first decade of the Rashidun caliphate is scarcely credible. The second caliph, ᶜUmar (634-44), is traditionally credited with the creation of an administration to cope with a successful but widely-stretched war-machine, and its ramifications. By his death, the new Islamic Empire was sufficiently organised to withstand the rule of the third caliph ᶜUthmān, and the turbulent years following the disputed election of ᶜĀli, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet.

The record of these dramatic years was orally transmitted, set down in written form decades after the event. It is scarcely surprising then, that we have no detailed contemporary reports concerning the minutiae of everyday life in the emergent Islamic community, and present archaeological work in Saudi Arabia has not yet added to our knowledge of 7th-century Muslim Arab dress customs. However, there are two important sources which shed light on Arabia at this time. The first is

the Qur'ān and the other, the Ḥadīth (Tradition), collections of the Prophet's sayings and pronouncements, compiled by theological scholars during the mid-9th century.[2] The details in the Ḥadīth concerning clothing, the wearing of silk, the dressing of hair etc. could then reflect pre-occupations of later Islamic society, rather than presenting an accurate picture of 7th century Arabian society.

HADĪTH AND TEXTILES

Textiles in pre-Islamic Arabia played a substantial role in everyday life. The poetry of 5th to 7th century shows that fabrics, their surface texture and colouring provided acceptable and comprehensible analogies for the description of the appearance of a favourite horse, or a beautiful woman, etc..[3]

Textile production was well established in the Arabian penisula before the advent of Islam, and the cultivation of cotton there perhaps pre-dated that of Somalia and India.[4] The striped cloth of the Yemen was used to cover the Ka^{c}ba in Mecca,[5] a custom discontinued by ^{c}Uthmān (644-56) who preferred Coptic textiles.[6] It was also thought fitting that the Prophet's body was buried in three cotton cloths woven in the Yemen. These textiles must have had a constant market value as the Prophet agreed to the jizya (poll tax) levied on the Jews and Christians being calculated in terms of Yemeni garments. Likewise the Christians of Najran, North Yemen were permitted to practice their religious rites in return for tribute which included clothes of Najrani production.[7] Perhaps the visual appearance of these fabrics was unusually colourful or in some way eye-catching for the sight of thirteen Najrani Christians in Medina drew adverse comment from the Prophet.[8]

Wool from sheep, goat (mar^{c}izz/ mar^{c}azzā sha^{c}rī)

and camel hair was spun and woven into dress fabrics but the actual methods of production will not be known with certainty until textile fragments have been securely dated to this period and provenanced to this region. However some suggestions can be offered. The Ḥadīth literature describes that the Prophet was repelled by the strong smell of woollen garments, which indicates it was not customary then to remove the natural lanolin by washing before weaving. Similarly as both the untailored 'izār and ridā' wraps (described below) were not full-length, thus suggesting a fabric width of less than a yard/metre, and in turn the use of either a back-strap loom, or going by modern practice, a ground loom of the fixed heddle variety.

As far as is known, silk and linen were not cultivated nor manufactured in the Arabian peninsula but were imported from Ethopia, Egypt, Byzantium and Iran. Silk textile production was already firmly established in both Byzantium[9] and Iran before the birth of the Prophet. In the Byzantine Empire, silk was "an indispensable symbol of political authority, and a prime requirement for ecclesiastical ceremonies."[10] The wearing of precious silks was a method of displaying rank and position and from the 4th century a losing battle was fought to restrict the sale and wearing of certain silk fabrics (kekolyména - forbidden things) to and by the general public.

Less than one hundred silk fragments attributed to Sasanian production centres[11] have survived, but clearly there was a large flourishing import and export trade. By the reign of ᶜUthmān Transoxanian production was sufficiently established and esteemed for its silk to form part of the tribute paid to the Rāshidūn caliphate.[12]

There are numerous references to silk in the Ḥadīth literature but this may not signify that the fabric was

readily available in 7th century Arabia[13]. It is said that the Prophet possessed at least one robe jubba with silk edgings and recognised its non-irritant soft texture, suggesting that it could be worn by sufferers from skin afflications.[14] However, after wearing a silk garment at prayer, he announced his personal dislike of the fabric and thereafter gave away such clothes to the women of his household or to his close companions. The Prophet was heard to remark that whosoever dressed in silk in this life, certainly would not be clothed in the next.[15] This antipathy was not directed to the inherent structure or quality of the yarn itself for the Qur'ān promises that the believers in Paradise will be clothed in silks, as given in the opening quotation here. The material then was suitable for those living in the presence of God and sufficiently precious to be envisaged as such despite the many adverse references in the Ḥadīth literature. The Prophet explained his ruling:

> "Do not drink in gold and silver vessels and do not wear brocade or silk for these are meant for them (the non-believers) in this world, but they are meant for you in the Hereafter on the Day of Resurrection."[16]

The fabric was associated with a luxurious and ostentatious lifestyle and ostentation in dress was linked with the sin of pride, whose wearer would be

> "... made to sink in the earth and he would go on sinking in the earth until the Last Hour had come."[17]

The four main Sunnī law schools were unanimous in their repugnance towards silk. To the Shāfiᶜī, Ḥanbalī and Mālikī jurists, even the action of sitting on or leaning against a silk covering, such as a cushion, was to be avoided although according to Ḥanafī interpretation, it was permissible to lie or sleep on

it. Muslim women were allowed to dress in silk, but the wearing of pure silk next to the skin for a man was explicitly forbidden by all four schools and the Mālikī school even included any sufferer of skin irritation, despite the Ḥadīth mentioned above. However, it was recognised that faced with a ritually unclean garment and one of silk at time of prayer, then silk was preferrable as in these circumstances silk would not invalidate the prayer. Abū Ḥanifa permitted clothes of pure silk provided that they were outer garments; otherwise the fabric had to be made of a mixture, a silk warp, and the weft of another yarn. In war, it was allowed to wear textiles of a silk weft and a wool warp; the Mālikī school condoned this mixture at all times. Pure silk edgings on clothing were permissible to some extent; up to four fingers' width according to some jurists, while others specified only two or three, the Mālikī school decreeing one finger's width.[18]

The Ḥadīth criticizes two practices concerning textiles causing disquiet. These were mulāmasa and muhābadha and both concerned the textile merchant and the customer at the point of sale, before adequate examination of the goods on offer. The Prophet, according to Ḥadīth, forbade both practices: the mulāmasa whereby the mere act of touching the cloth removed the customer's right to refuse to purchase, and the muhābadha or the seller's custom of tossing the fabric to the client, the act of catching being considered a binding commitment to buy.[19]

ḤADĪTH AND COLOUR OF FABRICS

The most famous source of the mordant alum(shabb) in medieval period and presumably available in the Arabian penisula in earlier times was Sa^{c}id in Upper Egypt. The natron used by bleachers also came from that region. Urine was sometimes employed in the

preparation of the Yemeni ʿaṣb, a warp tie-dyed fabric which will be discussed below, but if it was employed in the dyeing process, it was not permissible according to the theologians for a widowed woman to wear this fabric during her time of social seclusion.[20]

The most favoured colour for clothes in the first century of Islam according to Ḥadīth, was white: "God loves white clothes, and He has created Paradise white".[21] Arabic sources suggest that the Rashidun caliphs donned white robes for the public prayer gatherings, by mentioning the later Umayyad caliphs continued the practice. Sunnī theologians urged white shrouds for burials, following the example set by the internment of the Prophet:

> "On the authority of ʿĀ'isha: the Apostle of God was shrouded in three white Sahulic clothes; among them was neither shirt nor turban.... This means: shirt and turban are not included in the three garments, they are to be reckoned over and above this number."[22]

Very probably the burial wear was linked with the costume worn by the devout Muslim for the ḥājj (pilgrimage), the white ʿiḥrām dress described briefly below.

The Prophet was seen in public wearing other colours. On the day that Mecca surrendered to him, he was dressed in a black jubba and turban, held to be a colour of mourning in Syria.[23] In his early years, Muḥammad enjoyed brightly coloured and patterned fabrics, although he found them distracting during prayer. Red was a favourite colour of the Prophet when young, and it seems to have been the customary colour for young girls to wear. He wore a red turban at the victorious battle of Dhu Tuwa, as the angels appearing at Hunayn had done,[24] but later in life, he denounced it as the colour of Satan. His wife ʿĀ'isha continued

to wear red garments and infrequently the Prophet himself would don a striking red robe on ceremonial occasions.[25] The colour clearly had associations with regal power in the Sasanian world and it was said that in the times of Moses, Qirūh(Korah), the oppressive, arrogant minister to the Pharaoh was the first man to wear scarlet coloured robes which trailed on the floor.[26]

Garments of yellow fabrics were not to be worn by the devout male Muslims, because they were held to be the customary garb of non-believers:

> "ᶜAbdullah b. ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀs reported: the Prophet saw me wearing two clothes dyed in saffron, whereupon he said: These are the clothes (usually worn by) the non-believers, so do not wear them."[27]

But although in the early Islamic period, the Byzantines were referred to as the Banū'l-Asfar (asfar: saffron)[28] by the Arabs, there is little to suggest that yellow robes were generally worn in the Christian communities in 7th century Arabia and the surrounding provinces.[29] A strong yellow head-veil formed part of Roman bridal trousseau in preceding centuries,[30] but bridal veils cannot be said to constitute everyday clothing for either sex. Surviving 'Coptic' linen garments from early Islamic times sometimes possess a yellowish tinge but there is no evidence that these garments were dyed yellow. More likely it has resulted from natural chemical changes, brought about by the ageing process, soil acidity, etc. although Maqrīzī writing some 800 years later mentions Coptic goat-hair robes were honey-coloured.[31] However, in the Umayyad period, dyed yellow garments were associated with a hedonistic way of life.[32] It would seem, therefore, that rather describing the reality of late 6th/early 7th century life, these Ḥadīth conselling the devout Muslim male against the wearing

of yellow fabrics relate to later habits.

The association of green with the Prophet's family was a comparatively late development. Ibn Isḥāq reported that the Prophet owned a green Hadrami cloak which once he gave to ᶜAlī to sleep in.[33] In two important battles green garments were worn, by the Prophet at Khandaq and by Gabriel and the other angels at Badr.[34] And of course, the Qur'ān (sura 76 v.12-22) clearly states that in Paradise, the Muslim will be clothed in fine green silks. It was only in 773/1371-2 that the descendants of the Prophet were requested to identify themselves by wearing a fragment of green cloth in their headdress.[35] It has been suggested that the Umayyad dynasty adopted green as its dynastic colour but generally ᶜaliph Sulaimān's call to don green silk garments circa 717 is seen as a personal whim and not an attempt to associate himself with the Prophet's house.[36] Centuries later, dire consequences could befall any person wearing green if he or she was not a descendant of the Prophet.[37]

Why two colours, white and green, had concurrently such sacred connotations is not clear. If white was the colour one donned for the ḥājj and in death in preparation for Paradise, why was green also seen as the spiritual dress of the devout Muslim who had been rewarded with eternal life ? White is associated with purity and cleanliness, so could signify transport from this world of labour to the next of eternal rest, from sin to spirituality. The green silk robes of Paradise can be interpreted as a metaphorical expression of life itself, of fertility and prosperity, of the Paradisical gardens. Technically speaking, to achieve a fast green of good tone entailed the use of Rhamnus berries, difficult and expensive to obtain and process. The more usual two-dye method of first indigo and then yellow, meant doubled costs for time, labour and the

dye colourants.[38]

HADĪTH AND FIGURED PATTERNS

The correctness of wearing figured textiles was also debated. According to the Saḥīḥ Muslim, the Prophet had worn such clothes but found them distracting during prayer. For this reason, they were regarded as unsuitable for a devout Muslim. However, there was a more serious ramification concerning the important issue of image-making. Sunnī Ḥadīth held that all figural representations, human and animal, were proscribed as they represented attempts to imitate the Creator in His work, and as such made the artist or designer liable to a terrible penalty:

> "On the Day of Judgement the punishment of hell will be meted out to the painter, and he will be called upon to breathe life into the forms that he has fashioned; but he cannot breathe life into anything."[39]

Legal opinion was divided whether woven textiles were exempt or included with the proscription. The discussion continued through the centuries with a gradual softening of attitude; the mid-13th century Shāfiᶜī jurist Nawawī stated:

> "...my answer is that if it includes only the representation of trees and everything which has not life, this is lawful in our view."[40]

The differing views were summed up by Qasṭallānī (d.1517):

> " It is completely agreed that pictures are forbidden if they are in the round. And if they are on woven material, there are four sayings: [firstly,] the complete lawfulness according to the Tradition which declares 'except what is on woven material'; [secondly,] the absolute prohibition; [thirdly,] the lawfulness of them on cushions and

what is like them if the pictures on the cushions are deformed and their heads cut off; [lastly,] if they are not deformed it is unlawful and if they are in an inferior status [e.g. on the floor] they are allowed, but if they are hung they are prohibited."[41]

The Shī^{c}i attitude was and is based on the four Ḥadīth works compiled by the 11th and 12th century theologians, Kulainī, Ibn Bābūya and Ṭūsī. Recent research shows that although the modern art historians Arnold[42] and Pope[43] stated that the Shī^{c}i view was as hostile as Sunnī opinion, no such severe injunction exists in these major Shī^{c}i compilations, nor in those works cited by Arnold and Pope. The Shī^{c}i theological ruling considered the context and function, generally deciding that within the home or on the battlefield images including those on textiles were permissible.[44]

As to the method of producing these figural patterns on textiles, such designs were probably not produced by printing in the early Islamic period; this development appears to have been introduced in Egypt at least, during the Fatimid period. The patterned Sasanian and Byzantine silks, although there is no consistent technical distinction between the two types, point to the use of a scale harness in the late sixth century.[45]

THE AESTHETIC IDEAL

The Ḥadīth material undoubtedly offered answers to the many problems, legal, theological and moral which arose during the lifetime of a devout Muslim. It was and is the aim of every sincere Muslim to emulate as closely as possible the Prophet in every action and manner, including matters of dress. The Ḥadīth literature and the guidance of the theologians and jurists, clarified what was obligatory (<u>fard</u>:duty);

desirable bringing the individual reward and merit(mandūb/sunna); arbitral or mubāḥ; reprehensible (makrūh);or forbidden (ḥarām) which would bring punishment.[46]

Three kinds of dress were strongly disapproved of. Ibn ʿAbbās reported that Muḥammad ordered the ejection of any man or woman found wearing the clothing of the other sex.[47] The two other proscriptions concerned not the actual structure of the garments, but the manner of wearing them which revealed the genitalia.[48]

Throughout the Ḥadīth material, the idea that a devout Muslim should be restrained and austere in dress is emphasized repeatedly. Wool, cotton and linen were the acceptable textiles for the pious man, for the Prophet had spoken against garments made of ḥarīr (silk), of dībāj (patterned silk), of qassī (an Egyptian striped fabric containing silk) and of istabraq (satin). The Prophet himself disliked the smell of wool and only later overcame his extreme repugnance enough to wear woollen garments.[49] Despite this, woollen clothes increasingly became associated with the pious and the ascetic, so much so that the fibre itself (sūf) was thought to have given its name to Muslim mystics (Sūfīs):

"The Sūfī is he that wears wool with purity of heart."[50]

Extravagant expenditure on clothing was seen as unbecoming behaviour for a good man. The heroes of Islam were always described as owning few material possessions and wearing cheap, unsophisticated garments:

" When Abū Bakr succeeded to the leadership, and the world in its entirety came to him in abasement, he did not lift up his head on that account, or make any pretensions. He wore a single garment, which he used to pin together, so that he was known

> as the 'man of the two pins'. ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb... his clothes were patched in a dozen places, some of the patches being of leather; and yet there were opened unto him the treasures of Chosroes and Caesar. As for ᶜUthmān, he was like one of his slaves in dress and appearance... When ᶜAlī succeeded to the rule, he bought a waistband for four dirhams and a shirt for five dirhams; finding the sleeve of his garment somewhat long, he went to a cobbler and taking his knife cut off the sleeve level with the tips of his fingers; yet this same man divided the world right and left."[51]

Medieval Arab chroniclers were still careful to report that Muslim champions, like Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, preferred simplicity in clothes and had a liking for the approved yarns.[52]

The basic items of the man's wardrobe, as worn by the Prophet, consisted of a qamīṣ (shirt) or jubba (tunic), an 'izār for wrapping round the waist, a ridā' or burda (cloak), turban and sandals.[53] Perhaps sirwāl (drawers, pantaloons) were worn; there are Traditions both asserting and denying that the Prophet used them.

The term qamīṣ is the only specific item of clothing mentioned in the Qur'ān (sura 12: Yūsuf) but this reference adds nothing further. In early Islamic times it was clearly an outer shirt although later, in medieval Egypt and Syria it was worn as an undergarment. According to an early 10th-century anthology of pre-and early Islamic poetry, the qamīṣ had a round neck with sometimes a slit down the front to the navel.[54] Sleeve length is unclear; the Prophet is said to have worn his short, and to the wrist.[55] Whether these sleeves were an integral part of the woven structure, as in the Coptic tunic or dalmatic, is not known. In this garment the weaving process is

initiated with a sleeve and continued forming a cross-shaped textile. Pre-Islamic tunics found during the Schmidt excavations at Antinoë, Egypt, probably of Persian manufacture[56] however possessed sleeves sewn at right angles into the main body panels, with the addition of underarm gussets.[57]

However constructed, the 7th century Arabian qamīṣ was worn loose outside the lower garment by most people. If it was tucked up, the wearer was considered a fanatic, a Kharajite.[58] A shirt of mid-thigh length was the characteristic garb of an aescetic man such as Caliph ᶜUmar(634-44), while a longer one was a sign of a dissolute nature. According to Ḥadīth, the Prophet commented that any man trailing his garment ostentatiously "Allah will not look (for) him on the Day of Resurrection."[59]

The lower half was covered by the 'izār (mi'zar, 'āzr), an untailored piece of material reaching at least half-way down the thigh; the Prophet, we are told, wore his 3 or 4 inches(7-10cm) below the knee. The term itself had a range of meanings from a loin-cloth to an outer wrap or cloak. Nor was its use exclusive to one sex, but as a skirt wrap, it was the most fundamental item of clothing for the Muslim male, a sign that a boy had reached the age of puberty. All that a Muslim male possessed could be given to the poor except this, for at all times it was required to cover one's genitalia.[60] The ḥammam (public bath) towel (fig.1) was and is often called an 'izār and possibly such a link existed from the earliest days of the Islamic community.[61] The 'izār might be the "ziera" mentioned by Herodotus, "a sort of long flowing garment caught in with a belt" he described as the customary dress of 3rd century Arabia.[62]

Together with the ridā', another untailored and unsewn wrap, the 'izār formed the standard dress of at

least two of the Rashidun caliphs, Abū-Bakr and the conservative ᶜUmar, at the Friday prayer. Identifying these garments as the costume of the Ma'add, the primitive Arabs, ᶜUmar exhorted his fellow Muslims to adopt this dress for everyday wear as a mark of piety and devotion to Islam.[63] Today the 'izār and the ridā' form the ihrām dress (fig.2) worn by the Muslim pilgrims performing the hājj, when the ridā' is draped over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm uncovered in the ancient tradition.[64] These two simple unseamed pieces of clothing in this context not only demonstrated the equality of all within the Islamic community before God, but as Ibn Khaldūn explained:

> "The tailoring of clothes, the cutting, fitting, and sewing of the material, is one of the various methods and aspects of sedentary culture.
>
> " This should be understood, in order to appreciate the reason why the wearing of sewn garments is forbidden on the pilgrimage. According to the religious law, the pilgrimage requires, among other things, the discarding of all worldly attachments and the return to God as He created us in the beginning. Man should not set his heart upon any of his luxury customs, such as perfume, women, sewn garments, or boots... He should come (to the pilgrimage) as if he were going to the Last Judgement, humble in his heart, sincerely devoted to his Lord..."[65]

How the ridā' differed, if at all, from another wrap, the burda is unclear, nor do we know the difference between other cloak-like garments, such as the hulla,[66] the shamla, the kisā', the milhafa. It could be, as Stillman suggests, simply a matter of regional terminology, as one Hadīth indicates: a woman brought as a gift for the Prophet a burda which the assembled crowd identified as a shamla and which

Muḥammad then used as an 'izār.[67] Doubling as a blanket by night and an outer wrap by day, the burda was generally described as a striped heavy cloth made of Yemeni wool. Muḥammad wore one with thick or heavy borders - perhaps selvedges - of Najrani production.[68]

The Topkapı Saray depository, Istanbul holds a garment believed to be the Prophet's burda given to the poet Ka'b ibn Zuhayr, and later purchased by the first Umayyad caliph. After the fall of the Umayyad house, it formed part of the battle spoils taken by the Abbasid army. Another version states that the burda was given to the Ayla family before it passed into Umayyad, and then into Abbasid hands. The burda took on a distinct ceremonial role in court ritual. Various Abbasid caliphs such as al-Manṣūr(754-75) and al-Muqtadir(908-32) wore it at their investitures. Al-Qā'im donned it to receive Toghril Beg, the victorious Seljuk commander in 1056. In times of military action or natural disasters, the garment was displayed to the troops or public to ensure divine intervention, and to pledge action.[69]

Then the history of the Prophet's mantle becomes confused. According to some the burda was burnt during the Mongol storming of Baghdad in 1258,[70] while others report that over a century earlier it was taken to Cairo, where it remained until 1517. Then, along with the keys to the Holy city of Mecca, the burda was handed over to the Ottoman sultan, since when it has remained in the Topkapı Saray.[71]

The Prophet's burda (Turkish: hırka-i şerif or sa'adet) has been variously described through the centuries as being of white goat's hair, as cream, black, green or striped. According to Atasoy it is black, 1.24m (49") in length with a cream-woollen lining with wide sleeves;[72] no other details of its structure are available. On the 15th day of Ramaḍān

each year in Istanbul, the mantle was washed and then dried. The washing water was saved to fill phials for imperial distribution as gifts, presumably for prophylactic purposes. Sultan Ahmed I(1603-17) introduced the practice of sponging only part of the burda, later further limited to the dipping of the fastenings. In the reign of Mahmud II (1808-39) even this was discontinued in favour of placing specially produced scarves on the garment, which were then distributed as gifts. This tradition continued until the end of the Ottoman sultanate.[73]

A second mantle said to have belonged to the Prophet is also in Istanbul, now kept in the Mosque Hırka-i Şerif built in 1851. The family of Şükr Allah Efendi brought it to the city in 1027/1617-8, asserting that the Prophet had presented it to Uways al-Qaranī from whom it had passed in direct line. In the 19th century it was also customary to display this garment to the public during Ramaḍān, and this is continued today.[74]

The Prophet sometimes wore a jubba rather than the heavy ridā' or burda. Used by both sexes this was a long robe, worn outside the qamīṣ and 'izār, open in the front and with sleeves, but whether these were long, short, wide or narrow, is arguable.[75] One Tradition states that the sleeves of Muhammad's jubba were so tight-fitting that they prevented the correct performance of ablution before prayer,[76] suggesting they came below the elbow. It might however be that varying sleeve widths and lengths were worn, depending on personal choice.

In 7th century Arabia the customary head-covering was the turban, usually made of linen or cotton.[77] A common item of clothing not only in pre-Islamic Arabia but elsewhere, the turban or ᶜimāma, (the Arabic word most frequently used[78]), was to become in time the

distinctive sign of Arab birth and Muslim faith, the "crown of the Arabs" and the "divider between unbelief and belief".[79] In time the ᶜimāma came to signify a man's occupation,[80] but this distinction was not yet apparent. The uses of the ᶜimāma in these early years were many and varied. It was :

> "...a shield on the battlefield, a net in summer, a dithar or outer garment in the winter, and an honour in the assembly, a protector in vicissitudes, and an increase in the stature of a man."[81]

Within its folds, small personal objects could be concealed and carried. Unravelled it could act as a rope, to tie oneself onto the saddle or to restrain a prisoner. By unfolding and drawing a section of the fabric across the face, the ᶜimāma shielded the wearer from dust and sand, and the evil eye.

The ᶜimāma strictly speaking and particularly in this early period referred to the actual winding cloth, which held in the right hand was twisted clockwise around the head and, if worn, over a cap of varying dimensions. There were many ways of winding the material; in all, over sixty-six methods have been noted. The Prophet, for instance, favoured the talaḥḥī style, where one end of the length passed over one ear under the chin and was then tucked into the folds on the other side, a fashion taken up by high-ranking court officials in 11th-century Fatimid Cairo.[82] Whatever the style selected, the winding should be commenced with uttering the pious formula bismallah (in the name of God...).

Muḥammad preferred two colours for his turbans, black and white. According to Shīᶜite Tradition, one, presumably white from its name 'cloud', was bequeathed to ᶜAlī, who was to become caliph in 35/656. Before his death, Muḥammad placed his ᶜimāma on ᶜAlī's head at

the Battle of Khumm. These accounts indicate that in the early Islamic community, the exchange or gift of a turban symbolised the transference of authority from one individual to another, confirmed elsewhere by a report that in 10/631-2 ᶜAlī sent a turban to the governor of the Yemen, on his appointment. The gift of an ᶜimāma reminded the recipient of the dignity and behaviour expected from him. Dismissal from office was signified by the physical removal of the turban in public by a government official. It was never doffed on entering a building nor in royal presence. Only in times of extreme emotion did a Muslim voluntarily appear in public without adequate head-covering. On the battlefield its removal indicated to observers the individual's willingness to sacrifice his life. Only during the recitation of certain prayers, the istisqā' and duᶜā', performed when requesting special favours, was the head uncovered.[83]

Ostentation in one's personal appearance as well as dress was to be avoided. The Ḥadīth literature records the Prophet's disapproval of any artifice employed to embellish nature, such as artificial hair. It was permissible for the Muslim male to dye his beard black or red under some circumstances, for instance before military action (presumably to disguise age), but some legalists argued:

> "In the beard are ten styles disapproved in varying degrees: for it to be dyed black, bleached with sulphur, cleared of white hairs, cut too small, grown too long, trimmed in an affected manner, allowed to grow untidily, admired in a youth for its blackness and in an old man for its whiteness, dyed red or yellow without any motive but in imitation of the pious. Dyeing it black is forbidden by the Prophet...
>
> " The length proper for beards is disputed. Some

> say that a man should grasp his beard at the chin and remove what it below his grasp. But some prefer to leave it as it is in accordance with a tradition of the Prophet, who said "Spare the beard". This may be right...
>
> " The moustache, by Prophetic tradition, should be kept close cut, but the ends may be allowed to grow. ᶜUmar and others did it, for that does not allow the mouth to be covered nor does any food adhere which does not reach the mouth. There is a tradition as follows:'Jews let their moustaches grow and cut their beards short, therefore act in contrary fashion.'
>
> " There is no harm in shaving off the hair of the head... and none in leaving it... But it must not be cut into a circular crown as is the habit of dissolute people, nor must it be left to hang in loose locks after the style of members of noble families, since this is their mark. For a man who is not a member of a noble family to do it is a form of deception."[84]

The Prophet first followed the fashion of the Jews and Christians in the matter of hair-dressing, wearing the hair without a parting, but in later life he usually wore it parted with, some say, two curled locks of hair each side of the face.[85]

The Ḥadīth also offered guidance on the correct manner to put on shoes, the right foot first and remove in reverse order. Footwear was not to be left anywhere with the sole uppermost.[86] As the Prophet wore sandals of camel leather with two straps, one across the foot and the other encircling the big toe, this type of na<u>ᶜ</u>l (sandal) was extremely popular. One such, considered to have belonged to the Prophet was kept as a relic in 13th-century Damascus after it had passed into the possession of the city's Ayyubid ruler, al-Ashraf.[87]

FEMALE DRESS

The characteristic head-covering for the Muslim female was the veil, which had had a long history in the eastern Mediterranean. Ancient Israel continued the Asyrian custom of veiling for married, free women as did Greece and Strabo writing in the early first century A.D. mentioned that the practice of total veiling had originated in Medea (presumably Media), Iran.[88] The early Christian fathers, such as Tertullian, urged their women to veil like the Arab women. Veils to the waist became the dress of saintly women in Syria, until appearing in public without such a head-covering was a sure sign of lunatic behaviour.[89] The researchs of Snouk Hurgronje show conclusively that veiling of marriageable females was accepted as the norm among certain urban classes in pre-Islamic Arabia. But unwed daughters and female slaves were paraded unveiled in the Meccan streets by their fathers or owners to attract suitors, and until the fashion spread from Mecca after the Prophet's death, Medinese women went outdoors unveiled.[90]

The Qur'ān itself does not stipulate the wearing of full face-veils for devout Muslim females. It does ask them to "preserve their chastity" and "to draw their veils over their bosoms to conceal their finery" (sura 24 v. 31), and as a protection against public abuse tells them to draw their veils/wraps close to them (sura 33 v. 59). But the theological argument for complete veiling rests on the Ḥadīth of Ibn ʿAbbās, which records Muḥammad saying at Medina:

> "God has commanded the wives of the believers that when they leave their homes on any errand, they should cover their faces from above their heads and cloaks so that they allow only one eye to appear."[91]

Later jurists offered their interpretation. Tabari

(d.923) felt that the Qur'ānic verses were exhortations to Muslim women to display only

> "...the face and the hands (up to the middle of the forearm), including eye make-up (kuhl), rings, bracelets, and dyes."[92]

Some seven centuries later al-Khatajī (d.1659) of the Shāfi^{c}ī school went further:

> "the whole body of a woman is pudendal, even face and hands without exception (absolutely)."[93]

Tradition says that on her marriage to Muḥammad, ^{c}Ā'isha donned the veil, and apparently this was the expected practice in the Prophet's household after the raid on the Banū Qurayẓa.[94] Outside this household there was some latitude, as ^{c}Ā'isha's niece refused to veil in defiance of her husband's wish.[95] No reference was made to veiling in the initial bay^{c}a (pledge, contract) of the women in the Islamic community to the Prophet, although it included promises to refrain from stealing, adultery, paedocide, etc..[96].

The wearing of all-enveloping veil and face-covering was not common among all Muslim women. The townswomen of Umayyad Spain never adopted either, nor did nomadic tribeswomen throughout Islamic territories. Indeed complete veiling has always been the mark of the affluent, urban lady who possessed the economic and social status to release her completely from energetic and dirty physical tasks.[97]

A head-covering had to be worn for prayer, unless the Muslim female was a slave or a minor. However, if during prayer the slave received news of her manumission or the girl began menstruating a veil had to be donned before the prayer was continued, according to Shi^{c}i practice.[98] During the ḥājj the face is left uncovered but not the hair.[99]

Menstruation renders the Muslim woman temporarily unclean and the Ḥadīth literature reveals that the

Prophet's wives wore special garments during this time, but it is unclear whether these clothes were 'special' in terms of colour, fabric or construction.

The Ḥadīth shows greater latitude in dress for women than men. Unlike the man, the woman was less restricted in the amount of silk used in her clothes and it was considered permissible for her to wear stronger, more vivid tones, like red.[100] But the Muslim female was warned against ostentation and immodesty. Despite this, in the 7th century there was a fashion for thin revealing fabrics as ᶜUmar forbade the use of one particularly thinly woven textile of Coptic manufacture for female garments.[101]

From her wardrobe, besides the all-enveloping veil, the jilbāb, the married woman in the early Islamic period could choose to wear the mandil (mindīl) and perhaps a face-veil (lithām) or a mask-like arrangement (burquᶜ). Underneath she wore at least two garments, a qamīṣ and sirwāl. One Ḥadīth recounts how the Prophet, seeing a woman fall from her mount, quickly averted his gaze until reassured that she was mutasarwilat (wearing trousers).[102] The structure of all these garments in this period is unknown. It is possible that the burquᶜ of medieval Egypt and Syria was unchanged from the burquᶜ worn in 7th century Arabia, but it should not be assumed. Probably the woman's qamīṣ and sirwāl differed in some way from the clothing worn by the man, but we do not know for certain.

The Muslim female was not expected to try to improve on nature. Artificial tresses were disapproved of, which might indicate that there had been or was such a vogue. As in contemporary Jewish and orthodox Christian societies, tattooing was strongly deprecated.[103] Public display of jewellery was not encouraged. Muslim women were told not to stamp their

feet:

> "And let them not stamp their feet so as to reveal what they hide of their adornment (zīna)."(sura 24 v.31)

It should be noted the Arabic term zīna is used in the preceding verse referring to veiling/covering the head in which context it is usually taken to mean 'adornments' in a sexual/anatomical sense. Here it clearly refers to some kind of ankle bracelet or toe bells, which jangled with sudden movement, and elsewhere (sura 33 v.59), the devout woman is warned not to provoke public hostility and envy by calling attention to herself.

Our present knowledge then of costume worn in Arabia in the early Islamic period is sparse, insofar as the actual make-up and design of the garments themselves. Other than the two burdas, attributed to the Prophet, no textile nor garment fragment has been securely dated to this period and provenanced to this region. The textile vocabulary is rich, demonstrating a great diversity of fabrics and clothing, but specific definitions of these terms are as yet wanting. There is no detailed information about the weavers and the tailors nor of the equipment used in manufacture although certain suggestions can be made. The information from the Ḥadīth indicates a conflict between the ideal and reality, as far as dress is concerned. Throughout the Sunnī Ḥadīth there is a deliberate attempt to clothe the Prophet "in the garb of asceticism"[104], in sober, voluminous bedouin wraps, although individual Traditions report him as often wearing colourful, patterned, tailored garments and record his early dislike of wool. The devout Muslim is advised to prepare for Paradise by avoiding ostentation in dress and yet is promised as a reward the very

textiles he is warned against wearing in this world. However, as suggested, the Ḥadīth guidelines on dress may relate more closely to the actualities of 8-9th century life, than to the first decades of the Islamic community.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Qur'ān. The Pickthall translation has been used throughout.
2. "Ḥadīth" EI^2 p.24-7; Wensinck Concordance; Wensinck Handbook. The most authorative of the six major Sunnī Ḥadīth works is the Saḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī, and of Muslim. None is acceptable to Shī^{c}i Muslims who are guided only by those Traditions traced through the members of ^{c}Alī's family.
3. See Lyall for numerous examples.
4. Baldry p.5. Cotton was being grown in the Levant in the 6th century, and by the 10th century throughout the Islamic Empire. Egyptian cultivation may be connected with the phasing out of the warp-weighted loom as it has been suggested that cotton yarn proved unsatisfactory for use as warps on this type of loom; the weaving method would have required heavy downward beating causing the cotton warp to break; Watson p.357,362; Marzouk History pp.62-3.
5. Serjeant p.123.
6. Ibn al-Faqih p.25.
7. Ibn Isḥāq p.643; al-Balādhurī p.106-8.
8. Gaudefroy Demomybynes p.198.
9. Legend has it that silk-worms were smuggled into Byzantium in 553-4.
10. Lopez p.1.
11. According to a late Arabic source, the silk industry was established by Shapur I (241-72); Bier p.120; Geijer p.23 credits Shapur II (309-79).
12. Day Tirāz p.49. Silk robes were also sent by the governor of Iraq; Serjeant p.97.
13. Serjeant n.19 p.124 suggests that there was silk-weaving in pre-Islamic Yemen but the literary evidence refers only to the availability of silk shrouds and silk-edged cloaks in the region.
14. Muslim ch.865 v.5168 ff.
15. Bukhārī vol.IV section 77 ch.25 v.3, 6, 7 and 8; Muslim ch.864 v.5143, 5144, 5146 ff.
16. Muslim ch.864 v.5134, see also v. 5135 ff.
17. Ibid. ch.872 v.5203, see also v. 5204 ff.
18. Dozy pp.5-6; "Harīr" EI^2 p.209-10.
19. Bukhārī vol.IV section 77 ch.XX v.1ff; Lane Lexicon lāmsa, nābdha.
20. Serjeant n.8 p.123.
21. Dozy p.6.
22. Wensinck Semetic p.62. Sahūlic refers either to the place of manufacture (a town in the Yemen) or to clean cotton material.

23. Dozy p.7.
24. Ibn Isḥāq p. 548, 303.
25. Lammens p.69-71; Dozy p.7 suggests red represents blood.
26. Sarré p.595-6; al-Thāᶜalibī p.41; see also Qur'ān sura 28 v.79.
27. Muslim ch.866 v.5173; see also Bukhārī vol.1V section 77 ch.XIII, XIV, XXXIII and XXXIV.
28. "Lawn" EI².
29. Garments of yellow silk were a royal prerogative in India; Hillenbrand n.106 p.27.
30. Wilson Clothing p.141-3.
31. Serjeant p.161.
32. See Chapter 2 p.46 and Chapter 3 p.74.
33. Ibn Isḥāq p.222.
34. White vol.II p.57.
35. Mayer Mamluk p.53; Mez n.3 p.149; see also White vol.II p.57.
36. Levy Notes p.329.
37. See White vol.II p.56; also Harvey p.280-1 for incidents; Baer Admin. p.34 for Ottoman policy regarding the sale of green fabrics.
38. Stillman Female p.70; Wulff p.192 points out that the two-bath technique is known in the Iranian carpet trade as 'Prophet's green' (sabz-i nabī). The Qashqā'i, a tribal confederation in south-west Iran, use viola odorata (sweet violet) but "the quantities of plants needed for dyeing would appear to be prohibitive"; Qashqā'i p.55.
39. Bukhārī as quoted in Creswell vol.I(ii) n.1 p.412.
40. Nawawī quoted by Hamid p.47.
41. Qastallānī quoted by Hamid p.43.
42. Arnold p.12.
43. Pope p.1909.
44. Paret Islamische.
45. "Abrīsam" EIr.
46. "Sharīᶜa" EI².
47. Bukhārī vol.IV section 77 ch.LXI and LXII.
48. Ibid. section 77 ch.XX.
49. Lammens p.69; Levy Notes p.319.
50. Abū ᶜAlī al-Rādhbārī in Nicholson p.342; see also p.305.
51. al-Kharrāz p.20-1.
52. Dozy p.5; see also Ahsan p.70.
53. Levy Notes p.320; Dozy p.10-11.
54. Levy op.cit.p.322.
55. Ibid.; Dozy p.11.
56. Tilke pl.79(2). There is a long tradition in Central Asia of setting in sleeves at right angles to the main panels; see Frozen Tombs p.30-1 item 20.
57. Arab lexicographer Ibn Manẓūr (d.1311)

classified both the qamīs and jubba as cut and sewn garments; Ahsan n.3 p.29. Idris was held to be the first man "to sew garments, whereas previously people had only worn skins and hides"; al-Thāʿalibī p.39.

58. A follower of a religious group established in 657 after the Siffin arbitration. The term came to signify a hot-head possessing more passion than intellect.

59. Muslim ch.871 v.5197-5202; see also Bukhārī vol.IV section 77 ch. II and V.

60. Bukhārī vol.IV section 77 ch.XX v.2; Levy Notes p.322.

61. Dozy p.37.

62. Stillman Female p.46.

63. For a discussion of the form of the ridā', see Arazi p.117-24. Levy Notes p.320-1.

64. Wensinck Semetic p.64; "Iḥrām" EI^2; For the ḥājj and its rituals, see "Ḥādjdj" EI^2; Long p.13-15.

65. Ibn Khaldūn p.322-3.

66. It is suggested that the wearing of the ridā' and the 'izār together formed the ḥulla; Arazi p.120.

67. "Libās" EI^2; Stillman Female p.59; Arazi p.124 who states the two terms burda and ridā' were synonymous.

68. Bukhārī vol.IV section 77 ch.XIX v.1 & 2; "Libās" EI^2; Dozy p.59-61.

69. This association of spiritual power with the Prophet's burda was translated into the initiation ceremonies of both the Ṣūfī and Futuwwa orders from the 8th century onwards, in which the initiate was clothed in a mantle or khirqa by the master; Brown p.87-8, 193 ff; "Khirḳa" EI^2.

70. Levy Notes p.330-2; Paret Legende p.9-14 lists the Arabic references; "Burda" and "Khirḳa-yi Sherīf" EI^2; Miller Beyond p.73-4,80-4.

71. "Khirḳa-yi Sherīf" EI^2; Penzer p.246 ff.

72. "Khirḳa-yi Sherīf" EI^2.

73. Ibid., listing the Turkish references; Tavernier Nouvelle p.213 ff; Guer vol.I p.254-5; White vol.I p.214-5; Haidar Arabesque p.93.

74. "Khirḳa-yi Sherīf" EI^2; White vol.I p.204.

75. Stillman Female p.77; Dozy p.108 ff; Ahsan p.40.

76. Muslim ch.107 v.527-9.

77. Other types of head-covering worn by Muslims in this early period were the taylasān, burnus, qalansuwa and tartūr.

78. Over 90 names exist for the turban, from which the Western languages use a derivation of the

Persian word dulband.

79. "Turban" EI[1].
80. Murphy.
81. Ahsan p.32.
82. Arazi p.124-7.
83. "Turban" EI[1]; Levy Notes p.336; Canard Coiffure p.226 ff; Goldziher.
84. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa p.77. It is interesting to note the social status connotation associated with long, loose hair.
85. Muir p.530.
86. "Libās" EI[2].
87. Bukhārī vol. IV section 77 ch.XX v.38(i) and 39(i); Dozy p.421-3. For the al-Ashraf anecdote, see Humphreys Saladin p.212-3. Whether the piece of sandal kept by a Cairene qadī in 1439-40 was taken from the Damascus relic, or came from another of the Prophet's sandals is unknown.
88. Marmorstein p.3 ff; Strabo vol.5 p.315.
89. Segal p.153.
90. Levy Introduction p.176-7; "Hidjāb" EI[2] p.359; see also Jāḥiẓ sections 10-13 for several anecdotes regarding unveiled females in pre-Islamic Arabia.
91. Marmorstein p.2-3.
92. Stowasser p.27.
93. Ibid. p.28.
94. Ibn Isḥāq p.462.
95. Levy Introduction p.177-8.
96. Stowasser p.34.
97. Several 20th century observers have noted that as the living standard of the lower social classes improves, so the practice of heavy veiling spreads among this class,and conversely is scorned by the upper class, where the women openly play a more influential role in society and the professions; Beck & Keddie p.8-9.
98. Querry vol.I p.61-2.
99. For details of the ḥājj ritual, see Long p.15.
100. Dozy p.5-6; "Ḥarīr" EI[2]; Lammens p.69-71.
101. Serjeant n.195 p.162. See Chapter 2 p. 51 .
102. "Libās" EI[2].
103. Bukhārī vol.IV section 77 ch.LXXXIII- LXXXVII, XCVI. For the Jewish and Christian communities, see Field p.8-9.
104. Levy Notes p.319.

CHAPTER II

THE UMAYYAD PERIOD 661-750

> "She wore a shirt of material as delicate as dust, under which the white of her body, the roundness of her navel, and the design of her sash was to be seen."[1]

In the first Islamic century, the Arab military machine gathered momentum until natural geographical boundaries provided a brake to further conquests. Bukhara and Herat accepted Muslim control, while in the west, the Arab armies advanced along the North African shore to the Atlantic. Spain was conquered, but the onward march was halted at Poitiers in France. In the east of Europe, the city of Constantinople was besieged but unsuccessfully.

These newly-won territories necessitated the development of a politically viable centralised authority, in an area of strong local support. For Muʿāwiya, who refused to accept the selection of ʿAlī as the fourth Rashidun caliph, this meant a move from Mecca and Medina into Syria where he was the governor. By 41/661 Muʿāwiya was acknowledged the leader of the Sunnī community and the predominance of his Umayyad family in matters temporal was assured for the next century.

But by the year 747 Umayyad authority was threatened on all sides. Inter-tribal disputes formerly skilfully defused by the early Umayyad caliphs, now smouldered angrily. The death of Ḥusain, son of ʿAlī at Karbala in 681 had provided the emergent Shīʿi movement with another martyr, while harsh provincial rule in Iraq fed the flames of unrest. Throughout the empire and particularly in eastern Iran,

the problems of legal status in social and fiscal matters of the non-Arab peoples recently converted to Islam were continually shelved until the 720s. By then it was too late. The end came at the battle of the Great Zab in 750. The Abbasid leader who took control, Abū'l ᶜAbbās al-Saffāḥ had been brought to power on the back of the Shīᶜi movement organised from the eastern province of Khurasan, with the support of both Arab and non-Arab Muslims.

CALIPHAL DRESS

Power had to be centralised to achieve some measure of co-ordination and command and Umayyad policy was to focus that authority in the office of the caliphate. The caliph became not only the leader of the Islamic community, the Commander of the Faithful, but also the controller of all the conquered territories and their peoples. Although state policy was still steered through executive councils run on traditional Arab lines, increasingly through the 8th century the caliph withdrew from the public eye, and assumed kingly habits.

Developing a court ceremonial, the Umayyad house turned to the established imperial systems of Byzantium and Sasanian Iran. These sources of inspiration are visible in the surviving architecture of the period and it is the decoration of the secular constructions that offers clues to the dress possibly worn by the caliph and his retinue on ceremonial occasions. The Arabic sources are vague except for occasional details concerning the sartorial idiosyncrasies of certain caliphs. ᶜUmar II (717-20), admired by later theologians for his piety and charity, was noted for his abhorrence of extravagance. The total cost of his qamīṣ, ridā', qabā' (close fitting outer garment), kumma (round cap), turban and boots was a mere twelve

dirhams.[2] The early Umayyad rulers, such as Muʿāwiya, ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd I were also recorded as being moderate in their dress in contrast to their successors. The 9th century Kitāb al-Tāj describes these three as wearing the same garment more than once and using perfume sparingly, whereas the dissolute Yazīd I, al-Walīd II and Yazīd III used a garment again only if it was of exceptional quality, and wore scent daily. Caliph Hishām, known for his interest in Persian history, evidently possessed an extensive and fashionable wardrobe, as on one pilgrimage six or seven hundred camels were put into service to carry his robes.[3]

These descriptions should be treated cautiously as the Arabic sources written in the century following the fall of the Umayyad dynasty, are generally hostile. The authors take care to depict the pious and respected rulers in suitably austere clothing while describing the others as wearing sophisticated ostentatious garments, far removed from the 9th century ideal of early Islamic bedouin life.

On ceremonial occasions, we are told, the Umayyad caliphs wore military dress;[4] no further details are given. On the coinage the caliphal figure is shown in clothes resembling Byzantine imperial robes, probably a deliberate choice of image to sustain public confidence in the new coins. An answer to the character of Umayyad court dress may lie in the three so-called 'desert-palaces' of Qusayr 'Amra, Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, and Khirbat al-Mafjar. In the three there are images generally interpreted as representing an important member of the Umayyad family. Unfortunately all three are damaged but enough remains to show that the dress was more elaborate than the simple, untailored wraps reportedly worn by the Rashidun caliphs.

Qusayr 'Amra and its paintings are generally

considered to be circa 715 in date. In the mural situated at the central apse end-wall, the seated figure -- unfortunately badly damaged -- is thought to represent al-Walīd I(705-15)[5], flanked either side by an attendant (fig.3). The arrangement recalls the imagery of enthronement scenes in Sasanian metalwork, as well as Byzantine examples while the attendants' dress owes much to the world of Byzantium. All three figures are clothed in loose, full-length robes with long tight sleeves, but details of the shaping and tailoring are concealed by the checkered wraps draped across the shoulders and arms. Possibly these robes are extended versions of the qamīṣ, reaching to the ankle or heel.[6] The close round neck is decorated with either an embroidered or jewelled wide collar; similar ornaments encircle the wrists in the form of bracelets or sleeve-cuffs. Analagous decorations adorn the necks of females, fully or half-dressed, represented elsewhere in the frescoes, so it is unlikely these are anything more than ornaments. But it should be remembered that a special collar ṭawq possibly formed part of the Umayyad royal insignia.[7] The head of the caliphal figure no longer survives, but in another mural to the right of the central apse, there is a male bust rather insignificantly placed within the composition, which some hold to be another representation of the caliph.[8] He is shown sporting a small turban-like head-dress, a beard and moustache.

In contrast, the Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi statue (National Museum, Damascus), identified with Caliph Hishām,[9] is Sasanian in inspiration, from the pose to the decorative 'pearl' edging of the garments. The upper part of the statue (fig.4), presumed contemporary with the main building phase during 724-7, has suffered so that the exact length and form of the garment's sleeves are conjectural. Enough remains to show that

there is a tunic from which a 'pearl' band descends down the centre-front. Another 'pearl' edging runs from knee to knee, and down the outer side of both lower legs. Probably this is the tunic's decorative hem, with the outer leg bands delineating the back skirt-panel; similar hems can be seen in the 6th century bas-reliefs of Taq-i Bustan (fig.5). But it is possible that these bands embellish ample trousers, or that they, along with the 'tunic' edging, decorate the front and top edge of knee-length leggings or boots. Tapered, cylindrical chaps with triangular tops pierced to take a thong-to-waist attachment feature in late Sasanian sculpture, and in the wall-paintings of Central Asia (fig.6) and examples of such leggings were discovered in the Antinoë excavations.[10] Indeed there are carved straight lines upwards from the knees which could represent such fastening thongs. Unfortunately the middle section, which could have provided the answer no longer exists.

The Khirbat al-Mafjar plaster figure (fig.7) circa 740 thought to portray Hishām or more probably his nephew, later al-Walīd II,[11] is dressed in a more close-fitting garment reaching to the ankles and belted by an ornamental girdle. The long flared skirt still retaining some red paint is embellished with 'pearl' edging down the open front edge, along the hem and up the slits to hip level. The dipped skirt line, the side slits and the 'pearl' band all belong to the Sasanian world, as does the close-fitting character of the garment. Sleeve and neck details are missing but if these followed Persian fashion, the sleeves would have been long and tight with elaborate cuffs at the wrist. Likewise, the neck opening would have been small and round, with perhaps a high collar, fastening down the front or left open to form revers as seen on two other Khirbat al-Mafjar fragments. Underneath

the garment, as in Persian models, full dark red trousers with a small floral pattern balloon over the ankles and black boots. All together the costume has a distinct military appearance, its cut and styling allowing facility of movement while its close-fitting character removed the danger of material catching on weapons. According to the later Arab chroniclers, it was the Abbasid al-Manṣūr (754-75) who introduced Persian fashions into the court including the qabā' or military dress, the sirwāl (pantaloons) and the qalansuwa (conical cap)[12] but this statue proves otherwise. The pantaloons are present and elsewhere in the complex, as will be described below, the qalansuwa appears.

These three 'caliphal' figures are therefore clothed differently, but each represents a departure from the untailored wraps presumed to have been the mundane and ceremonial dress of the four Rashidun caliphs. It could be argued that these figures were never intended to be accurate contemporary portraits, only recognisable regal imagery lending a certain ambiance to complement the temporal authority of the Umayyad ruler or prince. But then the choice of dress would surely have been deliberate, designed to provoke the correct reaction in the observer.

There are more intimate details concerning the dress worn by caliph Sulaimān (715-7) which may have a factual basis. He was said to have favoured long wide sleeves as these enabled him to seize hot food without burning his fingers. Also if it is correct that the Umayyad house took the colour green as its dynastic colour, as the Abbasids were to use black, perhaps Sulaimān was the innovator as it is known he wore a green ḥulla (ensemble, mantle) and turban.[13] He and Walīd II were known for their passion for a variegated silk fabric called washī, described below. Bright

colours were loved by other Umayyad rulers. Hishām received guests while sitting on a red carpet and dressed in a red, scented robe; perhaps this is the reason why the Khirbat al-Mafjar statue was painted red. This colour may have been chosen deliberately by Hishām in the knowledge that red was the usual ceremonial colour of the Sasanian shāh.[14] The dissolute al-Walīd II who tastelessly trailed his garments on the floor even when visiting a recently bereaved relative, had a penchant for yellow qaṣab(silk) worn with gold jewellery when entertaining. On the day of his murder he was dressed in this fabric with sirwāl of heavy damask.[15] All these mannerisms, the trailing hem, the wearing of red, of yellow and of silk, and the display of gold jewellery in public were matters of censure according to precepts found in the Hadīth literature.

Regarding the head-wear, the ᶜimāma was only worn by the Umayyad caliphs when performing their religious duties, at the Friday prayer for instance when white robes would also be donned. It has been suggested that a black ᶜimāma was identified with the Umayyad house,[16] but the headwear which symbolised temporal power in this period was either the tāj or the qalansuwa. The tāj, a narrow circlet with two side prongs or wings upstanding and a central medallion, just visible on the head of the Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi statue (fig.4), was probably introduced during the reign of ᶜAbd al-Malik (685-705). The Khirbat al-Mafjar statue shows no such detail but during the excavations of the complex, a huge block of stone carved into a sugar-loaf shape (fig.8) which had originally hung from one of the apse-vaults in the 'audience-hall' of the bath-house, was uncovered. This object, it is argued, represented the qalansuwa ṭawīla, a head-dress with a textile covering over a wooden or reed framework. It was thought its

ceremonial association originated in Abbasid times, but its Persian ancestry has been demonstrated by Ettinghausen,[17] and the Arabic literary and historical sources show that the qalansuwa was a favourite ceremonial head-dress of the Umayyads. In the 9th century Kitāb al-Aghānī, we read that al-Walīd II (743-4) who perhaps was the patron of the Mafjar complex:

> "usually wore a precious headgear which resembled a sugar-loaf and had gold decoration."[18]

Al-Walīd I (705-15) wore a qalasuwa at the inauguration of the new mosque at Medina and was known to have preached in it. A smaller model of fur or cloth was also popular in early Umayyad times,[19] and a coin of ᶜAbd al-Malik (fig.9) shows a head-covering of this type.

TIRĀZ

ᶜAbd al-Malik (685-705) is credited with introducing the tirāz system of honorific textiles into Islamic society, but the first known workshop was established and run under Hishām (724-43), by a secretary, Junnada b. Abi Khālid. The word itself comes from the Persian tarz meaning embroidery/ a robe of honour/ dress or even appearance, but scholastic opinions are divided whether this institution originated from the Sasanian world, as the name suggests, or from the Byzantine gynaeceum.[20]

Surviving fragments of red silk patterned in a Sasano-Byzantine style[21] show production of this type of fabric for tirāz definitely existed in this period. These tirāz pieces (fig.10) originally from the same yardage or garment carry the name Marwān clearly in yellow silk split-stitch. No further dynastic nor dating information is given, so either Marwān I (684-5) or Marwān II (744-50) could be referred to. However, the use of a stencil or pounce under the stitching

indicates that this kind of textile was no isolated occurrence.

The function of tirāz is best described by the 14th century Arab historian, Ibn Khaldūn:

> "One of the splendours of power and sovereignty, and one of the customs of many dynasties was to inscribe (rasama) their names or certain signs (ᶜalāmāt), which they had adopted specially for themselves, in the borders of garments (thawb) designed for their wear, made of silk (harīr) or brocade(dībāj) or ibrīsm-silk. The writing of this inscription was to be seen in the weave of the warp and woof of the cloth itself, either in thread of gold, or coloured thread without gold... Thus, the royal robes (al-thiyāb al-mulūkīya) are bordered (muᶜlama) with a tirāz. It is an emblem of dignity reserved for the sovereign, for those whom he wishes to honour by authorizing them to make use of it, and for those whom he invests with one of the responsible posts of government... Under these two dynasties [the Umayyads and the Abbasids], it was a most important and honourable concern."[22]

Over one thousand tirāz bands with dated or dateable inscriptions, from the 10th century onwards, mostly of Egyptian manufacture, have been published, but as yet tirāz has not been considered as a distinctive textile group, nor as an article of fashion with all its social connotations. Most tirāz bands have been separated from the main fabric as it was the epigraphical content that interested the historian and collector, so although it is known that inner and outer garments, turban cloths, kerchiefs (mandīls) and perhaps shawls incorporated such bands, there is little detail of the original clothing items these bands formerly decorated. From their work on the Royal Ontario Museum holdings, Golombek and Gervers found

that none of their Egyptian ṭirāz fragments showed evidence of seam stitching or sewing, whereas two of the three Persian or Iraqi pieces did. This suggests that tailoring of garments was an eastern fashion while Egyptian industry and consumer market still favoured the vertical-loom made garments, such as the Coptic dalmatics. However, as they point out, this is a tentative thesis as such details are rarely recorded in the numerous publications concerning ṭirāz fragments.[23]

The quality of the ground fabric varies enormously, as does the actual work of the ṭirāz. Were there scales of ṭirāz honour in the early Islamic period, similar to the later khilᶜa (honorific garments) system?

Was there an uniform system throughout the Islamic empire ? Were similar garments decorated with ṭirāz throughout the Umayyad lands ? Was there close supervision of the ṭirāz workshops as some researchers suggest, and if so, how can the low standard of some bands be explained ? Should the purely decorative non-calligraphic bands be classified as ṭirāz because they include motifs closely resembling those found on calligraphic examples ? As Golombek and Gervers have pointed out, essential work remains to be done in defining the various groups and establishing an overall chronology.[24]

To return to the Marwān ṭirāz, Day has argued that the design elements of this piece woven in twill with a main red warp, two pattern warps and the pattern wefts fall into the decorative architectural repertoire of the 680s and that the calligraphic style of the inscription points to this early date. However, the reference to Ifriqiya in the inscription had led scholars to suggest the reign of Marwān II, for this region of North Africa around Qairawan and Tunis was not firmly under Umayyad control in the early period.[25]

Another textile which could precede or follow the Marwān tirāz is altogether a humbler piece of coarse linen cloth (fig.11), measuring 75cm x 32cm (29.5" x 12.5"). As with the Marwān tirāz, the decorative band, tapestry-woven in coloured wools, employs motifs known from pre-Islamic times. The composition of single birds within cartouches separated by a series of misshapen circles, recalls Coptic artistic tradition. The inscription records tht it belonged to one Samuel b. Mūsā and gives a date of 707 or 804 depending on the reading of the inscription,[26] and specifies its use as an ʿimāma or turban cloth.

THE DRESS OF WOMEN AT COURT

In the Qusayr 'Amra and the Khirbat al-Mafjar complexes there are representations of females, whose size and placement within the various compositions indicate an influential role within Umayyad court life, though not necessarily as wives and mothers.

In the painting scheme of Qusayr 'Amra main hall and bath rooms, naked or sparsely clad females display the ideal of womanly beauty as described in pre- and early Islamic poetry. On entering the main hall, the observer is immediately confronted with life-size females painted on soffit surfaces of the two longitudinal arches carrying the barrel vaults. Slimmer than their plaster counterparts at Khirbat al-Mafjar, these figures stand clad in sarong-like skirts, presumably 'izārs, blue in colour with a checkered design whereas the Mafjar skirts are striped with red, pink, black and white, draped so that a decorated edge falls down the centre front, secured by either rolling the top or by a drawstring arrangement (fig.12).[27]

At first glance the Qusayr 'Amra figures are naked from the waist up, like the Khirbat al-Mafjar statues,

except for a necklace or cord crossing over and under the breasts. But on closer examination, these paintings on the soffits and on the north-west spandrel (the 'Victory' painting) reveal details suggesting a transparent blouse or jacket form, fastened or joined between or under the breasts, with tight sleeves to the elbow (fig.13) and such fine fabrics were available in the early Islamic period.[28]

A more tailored robe is worn by one of the standing female attendants lining the two walls of the central vault. From sleeveless shoulders, the full-length robe with its boat-shaped neck closely follows the body line. A veil falls back from the head to below the shoulders. Elaborate necklaces, similar to those worn of the 'caliphal' attendants (fig.3), with droplets or coins decorate the neck of this and other female figures on the surface area.

A third kind of female attire is shown, on the entertainer painted on the first north-east spandrel, right of the entrance. With two musicians by her side (fig.14), she is dressed in a loose blue blouson or tunic with a small round neck and tapering three-quarter integral sleeves. Her two male companions wear robes similar to those seen in the enthronement composition. That of the flautist on the right, caught at the waist with a fabric belt, has a small design in red of a lozenge shape revealing a quatrefoil motif alternating in rows with a double-circled form enclosing a cruciform design. Between the two patterns, small trefoil motifs are scattered.

The music fresco from Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, the palace associated with Hishām, shows another flautist very similarly dressed, but with red trousers and pointed shoes. A thin mantle is caught by the upraised arms, falling down the back to mid-calf. His accompanist, the lutanist, is perhaps female, but the

dress closely resembles the male costume already seen at Qusayr 'Amra and here. Under a belted tunic a skirt reaches to the lower calf area, at which point green trousers overlap red pointed shoes with small heels. Another shoulder wrap, mauve in colour, is worn with its folds falling over the arms to the knees.[29]

Few veils are in evidence in these decorative schemes. Instead the hair is generally left uncovered with a central parting and pinned back, showing the ears. In Khirbat al-Mafjar, the female heads (fig.12) have long hair rolled and perhaps plaited twice or three times around with tiny kiss-curls over the forehead and tight ringlets at the ears. Painted fragments from Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi also depict ringlets and show that women occasionally wore a turban-like head-dress, with loosely folded material draped under the chin. Earrings of several coins or discs hang from the earlobes, and elsewhere, particularly at Qusayr 'Amra, elaborate necklaces and simple bracelets of various types figure extensively.[30]

Presumably these images depict slave-girls[31], who were introduced into court from the earliest Umayyad times. It is known that music with players and dancing girls formed an important part of court social life, in the reign of al-Walīd I, while the passion of Yazīd III (744) for the singing girls Sallama and Ḥabbāba caused a public scandal.[32] Their rather menial functions at public ceremonial gatherings, massaging feet, driving away flies, etc., as recorded in the literature[33] are not shown in the Qusayr 'Amra paintings. Instead these lightly-clad woman are depicted lounging, standing holding a medallion form above their head, dancing or singing, or stepping out of a pool before a crowd of on-lookers.

If this assumption is correct it is unlikely that these costumes represent the fashions of the ladies of

Umayyad aristocracy. The social stigma attached to slaves and entertainers, as witnessed in the public outcry following Yazīd's love affair with the two singers, would preclude the mothers, wives and daughters of the caliph and his retinue from wearing garments associated with court entertainers and the like. However, there is no indication how the garments of either group differed; whether it was a matter of cut, colour or fabric or a manner of wearing, or a combination of all four is unknown as yet.[34]

DRESS FABRICS

Whether Hishām's passion for clothes reflected contemporary public awareness in textiles, or as a leader of fashion, he provoked popular interest, the subject of textiles was on everyone's tongues in the Umayyad period:

> "people used to compete with each other in trafficking in these garments; they would seek to acquire or trade in the various types of fabrics and would describe to each other the different varieties."[35]

Concern was already being voiced over the extravagance and care some courtiers were spending on their appearance. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā advised his fellow secretaries at the Umayyad court:

> "None of you should have too sumptuous an office or go beyond the proper limits in his dress, his mount, his food, his drink, his house, his servants, or in the other things pertaining to his station, for, despite the nobility of the craft by which God has distinguished you, you are servants who are not permitted to fall short in their service. You are caretakers whom one does not permit to be wasteful or spendthrift."[36]

Certain styles or fabrics were thus already associated

with social and professional status, and to wear them was to demonstrate one's social aspirations.

The annual tribute from the newly conquered lands frequently included substantial consignments of locally produced textiles. Egypt, for instance, undertook to provide the central regime with woollen jubbas and burnus or turban cloths, pantaloons and shoes each year. If insufficient jubbas were available, Coptic garments could be substituted.[37] The ruler of Bidlis, Armenia, paid tribute to ʿUmar II in cash and in textiles which included dībā-i Ifranjī (silk with Byzantine patterns ?), while Tabaristan province supplied the Umayyad and early Abbasid administrations with heavier furnishing fabrics, as well as four hundred donkey loads of saffron.[38]

Caliphal interest in textiles extended beyond filling the royal coffers and the personal wardrobe to establishing workshops for the production of tirāz, and encouraging regional 'state' workshops for textile production. Founding the city of Ramla, Palestine, the caliph Sulaimān first ordered the building of the palace but then the construction of the dār al-ṣabbāghīn (dyers' workshop). Within decades of Rusafa, Northern Syria, being founded by Hishām, the population there had gained a solid reputation for the production of dress fabrics, the men weaving and their women spinning.[39]

Again the Islamic textile and costume historian is faced with great difficulty in relating the textual information with extant fragments which can be securely dated. Provenance is another problem, even more complicated. Textiles and clothing formed an important, if not predominant proportion of the goods carried on the trade routes, which criss-crossed the Umayyad lands. Sleeveless garments (qarqar) manufactured in Herat, Central Asia, were popular in Syria

as yellow qabā's from the same area were in Mecca. Herati ᶜasb fabrics were known to be similar to the famous Yemeni washī textile, showing that not only were the fabrics carried long distances but also pattern designs, and perhaps colour ranges.

Although we have specific references to certain textiles, the actual technical structure, visual appearance and distinguishing characteristics of each type noted in the texts are still matters of conjecture. Washī, for instance, was extremely fashionable in court circles particularly in the time of Sulaimān who

> "... used to wear fine robes, and robes of variegated silk (washī). In his day excellent washī was made in Yemen, Kufa and Alexandria. All the people used to wear washī for their mantles (jubba), cloaks (ridà'), trousers (sirwāl), turbans (ᶜimāma), and caps (qalansuwa). Nobody of his household used to enter his presence except in washī; thus it was with his friends, governors, and household... None of his servants, even the cook, entered his presence except in washi; for the latter used to come before him wearing washī on his breast, and a tall cap (qalansuwa ṭawīla) of washī on his head. He [Sulaimān] even ordered that his shroud should be made of washī."[40]

The popularity of this fabric continued into the next century, with the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (d.809) possessing some 4000 garments made of washī, and almost fifty years later al-Mutawakkil wore washī with gold decoration,and ordered that his attendants were to be similarly dressed.[41]

But with all these details it is still not possible to identify this fabric conclusively. The Arabic term has several meanings, ranging from the abstract ('decorative', 'patterned') to the specific ('worked

with embroidery') but it is generally accepted by modern textile historians that washī was the name given to a variegated silk, linen or cotton textile, produced by the ikat or ᶜasb tie-dyed yarn technique:

> "... the yarn of which is put together and bound, and then dyed, and woven, so that they become parti-coloured, because what has been bound thereof remains white, the dye not having taken it..."[42]

Several late 9th century fragments of this kind have survived, all with tie-dyed warps and some with the addition of gold painted/printed inscriptions (fig.15). No pieces have yet been classified as Umayyad. It is unclear if there were clear differences in structure, pattern and colouring and in quality between the washī produced in the Yemen with those manufactured elsewhere, in Iraq, Egypt and Central Asia.

Probably some of the caliphal garments were made from Sasano-Byzantine patterned silks with large roundels encircling an infill design, interspersed with stylised floral motifs of cruciform shape. Sasanian and Byzantine examples possess a weft-faced structure which means the fabric would have hung stiffly, and so be eminently suitable for the narrow-fitting qabā' with its bell-shaped skirt, as the various representations of court costumes of Bzyantium and Persia (fig.5) testify. Both the Sasanian shah and the Byzantine emperor depicted in the 'Six Kings' painting at Qusayr 'Amra are shown wearing under mantles, long robes with a stylised pattern of this type, and a number of textile fragments survive to indicate that production of these silks continued to form part of the tribute payable by certain newly conquered regions. One male garment of such patterned silk of compound twill and lined with fur has been found at the excavated burial site of Moshtshevaya Balka, North Caucasus (fig.16 & 17). But as the archaeological evidence points to a

mid-8th to mid-9th century date for this robe, it will be discussed in the following chapter.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Kitāb p.69.
2. Levy Notes p.324.
3. Akel p.367; Serjeant p.14. Elsewhere it is said Hishām only had one green robe which he always wore; Hillenbrand n.101 p.27.
4. Levy Notes p.329.
5. It has been suggested that the complex was constructed for al-Walīd II before he assumed the caliphate; Hillenbrand p.1 and 17, n.8 p.21.
6. Such a neck was associated with the qamīs; Levy Notes p.322.
7. Ibid. p.329.
8. Almagro p.119, pl.XIV, see also pl.XXX-XXXII.
9. Schlumberger Fouilles.
10. Tilke pl.79.
11. Hamilton Khirbat p.228-37; Hamilton Sculpture p.115-7; see also "Khirbat al-Mafjar" EI^2.
12. Ahsan p.30.
13. Levy Notes p.329. Vloten p.64 argues that after the Abbasid revolution the Umayyads of Spain took the colour white as their dynastic colour; a black turban was seen as a mark of early Umayyad loyalty in the early years.
14. Akel p.343; see also Sarré p.595-6 for a description of Sasanian kingly portraits.
15. Akel p.352, 357; Hillenbrand p.15, 27, 30 see also n.106 p.27 in which he points out that yellow silk garments were a royal prerogative in India.
16. Vloten p.64.
17. Ettinghausen Byzantium p.29ff; Grabar p.59-63.
18. Ettinghausen Byzantium p.30 quoting Musil p.157 and n. 349.
19. Levy Notes p.325.
20. Day Tirāz p.58-60; Stillman Female p.7-8, 11.
21. Musée Royale des Arts decoratifs, Brussels; Museum of Brooklyn, New York (inv. no. 41.1265); Whitworth Gallery, Manchester; Victoria & Albert Museum, London (inv. no. 1314-1888).
22. Serjeant p.7-8. Day Tirāz p.51 translates dībāj as patterned silk while Serjeant n.9. p.41 prefers 'brocade' in the loosest sense. The textile was clearly very attractive in appearance as one of ʿAlī's great-grandsons was named al-Dībāj because of his physical beauty; Goitein p.10.
23. Golombek & Gervers p.86.
24. Ibid. p.85, 89-90. Regrettably Bierman's study does not address itself to these

questions, although adopts a stricter definition of tirāz.

25. Day Tirāz p.43-7, 51-61.
26. Islamic Art Museum, Cairo, inv. no.10846 according to Mazrouk Turban p.143. Grube Studies n.51 p.82 gives the number as 10864. The woven date has been read as 88 AH or 188 AH (707 or 804 respectively). Grube Studies agrees with the Mazrouk reading of 88 AH.
27. Hamilton Sculpture p.113-4.
28. Serjeant n.195 p.162.
29. Hishām greatly appreciated the court singer Siyar who was always accompanied by a flautist and lutanist; Hillenbrand p.18. For an illustration, see Sourdel-Thomine & Spuler colour pl. xiii.
30. Gifts of jewellery were frequently presented to slave-girls of the Umayyad court; see Akel p.341 for anecdote concerning Hishām.
31. Almagro p.119 argues that several of the female images within the Qusayr 'Amra paintings schemes depict the caliph's wife, but offers no evidence.
32. Akel p.325-7, 328-33, 347-8.
33. Ibid. p.321; see Jāḥiẓ section 20 and 23.
34. It should be remembered veils were not worn by slaves, for instance.
35. al-Thāʿalibī p.97.
36. Ibn Khaldūn p.205.
37. Serjeant p.10, 136.
38. Ibid. p.67.
39. Ibid. p.119, 36-7, 117.
40. Serjeant p.14 with minor adjustments.
41. Ahsan p.52-4.
42. Lane Lexicon vol.I (5) p.2058; see also Lamm p.182, 236. Golombek & Gervers suggest washī was an ikat-type fabric but Serjeant p.32, n.8 p.123 prefers 'figured stuff', and Day Tirāz p.51 'patterned fabrics'.

CHAPTER III
THE ABBASID COURT 749-1258

"Rise, bear me the cup, for the strait is in
tumult, and the gale sets astreaming the locks
of the rushes;
How like, as they bend in the wind's caresses, to a
lover who dons a silk-tasselled turban,
And the sky is clothed in a musky mantle which the
lightnings have broidered in thread of gold."[1]

In June 747, villagers in black garments dyed by the Abū Najm al-Mu^{c}aitī family, gathered outside Merv in Khurasan, raised two black banners and declared war on the Umayyad house.[2] By 756 the remnants of the Umayyad family had fled to Spain, while the Abbasid dynasty established its administrative centre in Iraq. With this move into former Sasanian territory, the influence of Iranian culture in ceremonial matters increased, but the ruling house was Arab and proud of it.

Trade and industry, particularly in textiles, flourished and with them grew up a strong mercantile class. But within decades, the first cracks in the unified Islamic empire were visible. Spain and North Africa became to all intents and purposes independent with Egypt and Syria following suit. In Persia short-lived hereditary governorships were established owing nominal allegiance to the Abbasid caliphate but possessing freedom of administrative and military action.

In 945 the Buyid family, powerful in Central Iran, took over control allowing the caliph to remain as a figurehead. One century later it was ousted by the Seljuk family led by Toghril Beg, who already

controlled most of Persia and soon Syria followed Iraq. A decisive battle in 1071 opened the lands of Anatolia to Turkic tribal migration, but again the fragmentation process occurred, working to the advantage of the Crusaders.

However, the Abbasid caliphate faced a greater threat from the east, from the Mongols, who took Baghdad in 1258 and abolished the caliphate of the "black-robed ones" as the Abbasids were known in Byzantium and in China. A survivor of the family was installed as caliph in Cairo under the protection of the Baḥrī Mamluk sultan Baybars. There the house continued with honour but little power until the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517.

CALIPHAL DRESS

With the establishment of the Abbasid capital in the Tigris-Euphrates region, the influence of Persian ceremonial became more apparent at court. The Abbasid caliph saw himself divinely blessed and supported in his task and as befitted this image, he withdrew from the public eye and surrounded himself with pomp and ritual.[3] Those seeking an audience had to pass through intricate protocol administered by the court chamberlain; even if they achieved this, the caliph was probably concealed behind a curtain.[4] The report of the visit of two Byzantine envoys testifies the effect could be awe-inspiring. The caliph al-Muqtadir (908-32) sat in robes decorated with gold on a throne covered with similar material. On his head was the qalansuwa. Around him hung magnificent curtains, embroidered in gold, showing elephants, horses, camels and wild beasts. On the floors leading to the audience chamber, thousands of carpets paved the way to the throne.[5]

Usually for audiences and public processions the

caliph dressed in black, either with the Prophet's burda on his shoulders or more often another over-garment, plain in colour or embroidered with white wool or silk; on his head a black turban, perhaps in the rusāfiyya style. On such occasions, patterned or decorated silks like saqlāṭūn (siglāṭūn)[6] were not worn. The robe had long sleeves, which the caliph would proffer to high-ranking officials for the kiss of obedience, until this custom was discontinued in the early 11th century in favour of obeisance in front of the throne.[7]

Caliph al-Manṣūr(754-75) is traditionally credited with the introduction of black as the dynastic colour[8], a practice which was to last until the end of the dynasty. It was even worn by a caliph on his wedding day,[9] but there were exceptions to the rule. Uproar greeted caliph Muʿtaḍid (892-902) when he appeared on the battlefield in a yellow qabā', but when al-Qā'im (1031-75) wore white robes in a similar situation, it was understood that these would be his shroud if he fell in battle. There was one attempt to change the dynastic colour to green by al-Ma'mūn probably undertaken for political motives but the edict, lasting only one week in 205/820-1 before it was withdrawn.[10] Again when Baghdad was in the hands of of the Fatimid al-Basāsīrī in 1058-9 white became the 'state' colour but on crushing this revolt, Abbasid black was restored.[11]

Numerous suggestions have been offered to explain why the Abbasid house took black as its colour -- that it was the traditional symbol of dignity and power, of mourning for Shīʿi martyrs, the colour of pre-Islamic Persian heroes, and of the Prophet's banners at the taking of Mecca -- to mention a few. Obviously the many and varied explanations show that the revolutionary movement which brought the Abbasid family

to power appealed to all kinds of discontented elements in Islamic society.[12] The family was to suppress forcibly these elements which had helped to bring about the downfall of the Umayyads,[13] but the colour black was still retained.

The donning of black showed that the wearer had sworn allegiance and loyalty, however nominally, to the Abbasid house and so it became the ceremonial dress colour for court officials and men of law. Minor courtiers were not allowed to wear it, so clearly the colour was associated with Abbasid executive power and its delegation.[14] This is confirmed elsewhere; the announcement of the heir-apparent Mu'ayyad by al-Mu^{c}tazz (866-9) was celebrated by the fastening of two collars of honour around his neck, the black ṭawq symbolising the transference of Abbasid authority, the white his appointment as governor of the Holy Cities.[15] The investiture of the Seljuk Toghril Beg in 1056 was marked with the presentation of seven black khil^{c}a (honorific garments).[16] In recognition of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's military service against the Crusaders, a khil^{c}a comprising of a black satin jubba with gold embroidery and gold ṭawq was sent from the Abbasid caliph, along with a black banner with the name of the caliph shown in white.[17] In contrast, the Fatimid caliph in Egypt wore white ceremonial robes sometimes decorated with gold and silver embroidery, reflecting the official imagery of luminous splendour and divine light. The only exception was on 'Īd al-Naḥr parade during which red garments were donned, presumably symbolising the animal sacrifices to be made.[18]

The ṭawq, the Prophet's burda and sword, a bamboo rod and signet ring were recognised Abbasid caliphal insignia. The story concerning the installation of al-Mutawakkil in 232/847 indicates the most important of these was the qalansuwa:

"When, on the death of Wāthiq, the Turks and others who held power approached his son Muhammad with a view to appointing him Caliph, they invested him with a black durrāᶜa and a Rusāfī qalansuwa. But he was an undersized, beardless youth, who could not have led the salāt with dignity, and the electors looked about for someone more worthy. They found him in the person of Mutawakkil, who had been spied sitting in qamīṣ and sarāwīl amongst a group of Turkish youths. To him the tall qalansuwa was transferred, and that, with the turban, formed the only token of sovereignty which he received."[19]

By the end of the 11th century it was so identified with temporal power and authority, that the Seljuk waẓīr Niẓām al-Mulk referred to the ruler as the qalansuwa. However, Hārūn al-Rashīd is reported to have disliked one tall version, the qalansuwa ṭawīla, although he wore it at least on one occasion, with the word ḥājj decorating one side, and ghāzī on the other, presumably to remind observers of the dual responsibilities of the caliph, maintaining and campaigning for the faith. It was revived under al-Muᶜtaṣim (833-42), but it was never in this period exclusive to the ruling family and by the next century it had become the theologian's 'badge' of office along with a black turban cloth and ṭaylasān(hood) over it.[20]

The Fatimid caliph, on the other hand, wore a turban in a myrobalan-(plum-) like form decorated with a huge solitaire over the forehead. It was the responsibility of one of the nine highest-placed eunuchs to wind this 'noble crown' al-tāj al-sharīf:

"The binding... was in a special arrangement, which not everyone knew, in an elongated shape, with a kerchief of the same colour as the Caliph's garment. This binding was known as the binding of veneration."[21]

The caliphs governed the world of fashion to a large extent, either by allowing a fabric or style of dress to be worn outside immediate court circles, or by preventing its availability. In the reign of al-Ma'mūn it was forbidden to imitate the style of the royal turban. Similarly in the heyday of Buyid power, red footwear, formerly the usual shoe colour for unemployed bureaucrats, was restricted to the caliphal foot, or interestingly, permitted for his enemies.[22]

One type of garment, the badana, seems to have been exclusive to the caliphal wardrobe, but perhaps only in Egypt.[23] According to Dozy, the badana was a short linen tunic without sleeves, but the simple style belied the appearance of the finished garment,

> "the composition of which the only thread introduced for the warp and woof was two ounces (ūqīya); the rest of the stuff was woven with gold, made with perfect workmanship, and with no need to be cut or sewn. The value of the robe reached a thousand dinars."[24]

This piece of clothing was formed on the loom, requiring no further cutting nor sewing after removal from the loom. This does not necessarily mean that the badana was a wrap or a length of cloth, for there is reason to believe the tubular weave technique was known in this period.[25]

With the increased emphasis on pomp and circumstance, certain caliphs were extravagant in their wardrobes. Hārūn al-Rashīd at his death in 809 left not only the 400 jubba of washī mentioned earlier, but also 4000 furlined khazz (silk); 10,000 qamīṣ and ghilāla(fine undershirt); 10,000 qaftān; 2000 sirwāl of different materials; 4000 ʿimāma; 1000 ridā' and 1000 taylasān; 5000 mandīl or kerchiefs; 1000 girdles and 4000 khuff(boots) the majority fur-lined, and hose. Perhaps as a reaction to his impoverished beginnings,

Mutawakkil thought nothing of spending 300,000 dinars on clothes, especially on his favourite washī. Al-Muqtafī(902-8) left thawbs (robes) and ᶜimāmas numbering tens of thousands. There were 18,000 canes of Arundo donax (Giant reed), left in his store which had been used to transport fine muslins from Kirman. All this was in clear contrast to the austere life-style of the first Abbasid caliph, Abū'l ᶜAbbās al-Saffāḥ who reportedly left in 754 four qamīṣ, five sirwāl, four taylasān and three silk miṭraf (cloaks).[26]

DRESS AT COURT

With the development of a sophisticated court ritual and ceremonial offices, it seems there was no immediate corresponding systemization of dress to distinguish the ranks and grades of court officials; this came later. At the Abbasid and Fatimid courts, grades and duties were indicated by the 'wands' or insignia carried by the officials. However, the eunuchs attending the Fatimid caliph were recognisable by a special turban winding, in which the cloth passed under the chin, the taḥnīk al-ᶜimāma or al-ḥanak. Those so permitted, numbering more than a thousand, were therefore known as al-ustādhūn al-muḥannakūn. This style was said to have been introduced from North Africa, homeland of Fatimid support, into Egypt in 969.[27]

It was one of the duties of the Abbasid court chamberlain (ḥājib) to see correct dress was worn at the twice-weekly audiences, described in the following incident:

> "All of them were dressed in black except for Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar, who was dressed in white. The chamberlain ... met them and said...: O noble one, this is not the dress of the Residence, nor does your presence in this manner entitle you to an

audience. Do you disapprove of white, Muḥammad inquired. Yes, answered the chamberlain. This, said Muḥammad, is my dress and the dress of my ancestors. The chamberlain said: This is not so, nor have I seen any of your predecessors enter this Residence except in black. In the days of al-Muṭīᶜ bi-Allah [946-74]... your father... visited this Residence... and he was dressed entirely in blackened black. What do you mean by blackened black, Muḥammad inquired. The chamberlain answered: Dyed black, and I remember him perspiring and wiping away the black dye that was streaming down his forehead with a handkerchief. Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar said: What is it you want, O chamberlain?

The chamberlain said: To have you change your attire in compliance with tradition. Or depart, asked Muḥammad. The choice is yours, said the chamberlain. Thereupon Muḥammad ibn ᶜUmar hastened to his boat and returned to his home. The people fell silent and wondered at his behaviour.[28]

The ḥājib also ensured that certain standards of dress were maintained. Careless or incorrect dressing resulted in corporal punishment or arrest. Personal cleanliness was important for all. It was advised to wear cotton underclothing throughout the seasons to combat perspiration and anyone about to attend an audience was recommended to appear cleanly dressed and perfumed:

"He must avoid, however, the scent which he knows the Sultan dislikes and hates to smell, and must not fall into that error."[29]

a) The Wazīr

The wazīr as the head of the civil administration preferred in the early period to wear a lined durrāᶜa, than the qabā' associated with the Turkish military

contingent at court. Indeed there was a clear distinction between the aṣḥāb al-aqbiyya and the aṣḥāb al-darārīᶜ, the men of the qabā' and durrāᶜa respectively, and this preference was perhaps a method of demonstrating the independent powerbase of the wazīr. The construction of the durrāᶜa is uncertain, but it had a neck-to-chest opening, fastened with buttons and loops. To Levy, it was a tailored tight-fitting tunic but to Stillman and Ahsan who follow Dozy's definition, it was a long, ample, lined robe with long, wide sleeeves.[30] Wool is mentioned frequently as the fabric used for the durrāᶜa, but for court ceremonies more luxurious textiles were employed; one early 9th century durrāᶜa presented to an army commander was made in silk with red-gold embroidery and the front opening decorated with rubies and pearls.[31] Around the waist of the Abbasid wazīr was the double belt worn a symbol of his double office, from which hung a sword.[32] During the reign of al-Muᶜtaṣim (833-42) the wazīr adopted military dress, the qabā' and with it, the customary qalansuwa shāshiyya, a qalansuwa with presumably a turban cloth wrapped around it.[33] This fashion though was short-lived and in the reign of al-Mutawakkil (847-61), the durrāᶜa was made obligatory for all except qaḍīs.[34] The colour for the wazīr's outer garments and shoes was to be black, thus demonstrating his loyalty to the Abbasid family.

b) The ᶜulāma

It was required dress in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd for the qaḍīs to wear a black ṭaylasān, otherwise entry into the caliphal presence was forbidden. As with the qalansuwa, non-theologians including wazīrs also wore this hood-like head-covering, but the qaḍīs had some particular style as they became known as arbāb al-ṭayālisa or the hood-

wearers. Early 13th century Iraqi miniatures depict males wearing a short hood or shawl falling about the shoulders (fig.18). This may be a taylasān, but more probably a tarḥa, for recent research points to the taylasān being a voluminous wrap with buttons. It was long enough to be rolled when the wearer stood up.[35] As to its origin, Levy suggests it developed from Judaic scholastic dress, which is supported elsewhere by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's statement that the taylasān was recognised as Jewish dress. Whether of Jewish ancestry or Persian origin as the name suggests, the taylasān with the qalansuwa became so identified with the Muslim religious group, especially with the chief qaḍī in Fatimid Egypt, that other people wearing both items of dress in public took the risk of being physically assaulted.[36] The tall, pointed shape of the qalansuwa resembled a Jewish wine-jar, from which it took its popular name, the danniyya. At one point the style became so tall and limp that it was referred to as a khuff (boot),[37] but even so the qalansuwa danniyya became synonymous with the office of qaḍī --

> "a pimp (mukhannath) without a whore is like a qaḍī without a danniyya"[38] --

until the first half of the 11th century when it was replaced by the ᶜimāma, both in Abbasid Iraq and Fatimid Egypt.[39]

c) The military

During the early Abbasid period the qabā' was recognised as the garment of the military, and specifically of the Turkish contingent. Al-Manṣūr (754-75) is usually credited with its introduction into the Abbasid court from Persia. However, as mentioned previously, these items were in use in Umayyad times. In the mid-9th century Abbasid regular soldiers were clothed in light brown clothes, under which were

tunics, sometimes made of atlas(satin), and sirwāl, fur-lined in winter.[40] Leggings (sāq al-mūsā) or hose (ra'n) with or without cotton stuffing were sometimes worn; cross-garters seem to have been a later development. They and the police were allowed to grow moustaches and to wear the qalansuwa.[41] Chain-mail appears to have been the prerogative of the high-ranking officers and standard bearers, and accordingly, they were permitted Abbasid black in their garments, head-dress and shoes;

> "Those below them in rank were forbidden to wear black, but were free to choose other colours. They could not, however, go to extremes, or appear vulgar or forget the basic rules."[42]

Some distinction was made between the various regiments. Caliph al-Mu^{c}taṣim (833-42) commanded his personal Turkish slave bodyguard dress in patterned silk (dībāj) with gold girdles (manāṭ'iq) while the first generation of the Khurasani forces, the abnā', that had brought the Abbasid family to power could be identified by garments and turban cloths decorated with ṭirāz bands. Magnificently dressed troops were not only found in the Abbasid capital. In 421/1031 sultan Ma^{c}sūd of Ghazna paraded his elite soldiers in satin dress before envoys from Baghdad.[43] Schlumberger suggests these are the men depicted in the Lashkar-i Bazar mural (fig.19),[44] shown in richly decorated garments similar in cut and style to the mid 8th/9th century Moshtshevaya Balka robe (fig.16 & 17) from the North Caucasus region, and to earlier Central Asian wall-paintings.

This robe excavated in 1969 is made of silk, a dark green twill with some weft shoots of blue, and a weft-faced pattern dominated by simurgh/ griffon motifs within elliptical pearl roundels in two shades of yellow. Some 3.17 x 4m (3.5 x 4.3 yards) of silk with

a panel width of of probably 117cm (46") were used to make this long narrow robe which would have fitted a man 2m (6.5 ft.) tall. Lined with squirrel and trimmed with other patterned silks, the garment has a square neck forming two revers, and three buttons and loop fastenings on the right to left sides. The narrow sleeves are set virtually square to the main body with an underarm gusset arrangement. Although the sleeves are badly damaged, those of other garments with identical tailoring structures, found on the site, were long, reaching beyond the wrist bone. Attached to the waist, the flared skirt is made from three main pieces, the back and the two front panels, with side slits 46cm(18") in length.[45] There are worn threads in the waist area, suggesting the frequent use of a heavy belt.

Dress also functioned to distinguish grades. According to Niẓām al-Mulk, writing in 1092, the Samanid court some two centuries earlier administered such a system. There the raw recruit spent his first year as a groom, dressed in a fabric known as zandanijī. After another year, he was given a special belt, and following two more years of service,a qabā' of darā'ī (double-cloth silk) as well as a horse saddle, decorated bridle and a mace. A more richly coloured parade garment was awarded in the sixth year. Honours came thick and fast in the seventh year of service -- a tent, three personal servants and the rank of wīthaq-bashi (commander of the tent). As a mark of this rank, he was permitted to wear a black felt cap embroidered with silver and a qabā' of ganjah manufacture.[46]

Medieval Ganjah in the Shirvan region was certainly famous for its beautiful textiles but nothing is known about the appearance or structure of ganjah, the fabric. There is more information on the Bukhari

textile zandanijī, albeit confusing. On the one hand, it was used for the uniform of the newest military recruit to the Samanid army and so presumably it was cheap to purchase. On the other, zandanijī was much sought after by the aristocracy:

> "The speciality of the place is Zandanijī, which is a kind of cloth made in Zandana. It is a fine cloth and is made in large quantities... exported to all countries such as Iraq, Fars, Kirman, Hindustan and elsewhere. All the nobles and rulers make garments of it, and they buy it at the same price as brocade."[47]

Serjeant suggests the fabric was basically a fine cotton, although in later years the quality declined until it was nothing more than "white cotton very coarsely woven and quilted."[48] There is another possibility; that it was a compound silk with motifs echoing Sasanian patterns. Such a piece, almost a loom length with peculiar fringed selvedges and an Indian ink inscription in a 7th century Bukhari hand survives in the Collegiate Church of Notre Dame, Huy in Belgium. From the inscription it is evident that its writer considered this dark blue silk with tan or buff faded tones a zandanijī piece.[49]

d) Other court groups

It seems particular colours were exclusive to even unimportant sub-groupings in the Abbasid court. The anṣār, a small circle of the descendants of the original supporters of the Prophet, with little political influence, had a distinctive costume of yellow robes and turbans.[50]

The convention of using coloured garments to denote special groups spread even to certain personal attendants. Jaʿfar ibn Yaḥyā of the famous Barmakid family of wazīrs dressed his nadīms or boon-companions

in red, yellow or green clothes to indicate rank.[51]

THE MAN OF FASHION

To al-Washshā' (d.c.936-7), the Baghdadi man of fashion displayed his appreciation of quality fabrics by buying textiles from all quarters of the Islamic empire:

> "You must know that the costume of the elegant, gallant, and cultured man consists of fine undershirt(ghilāla), and qamīṣ of excellent kinds of linen, of soft and pure colours, such as Dabīqī, and Jannābī, and the linings(mubaṭṭanāt) of tākhtanj and raw stuffs (khāmāt), durrā'a of Darabjird and Alexandrian stuff, and mulḥam, and khazz silk, and Khurasani material, linings of soft Qūhī stuff, and 'izārs of al-qaṣab al-sharb (linen), Adenese ridā's with borders(muhashshāt), taylasān of Nishapur mulḥam, and Dabīqī of one colour (musmata dabīqīya), Nishapur jubba, and tirāz stuff of one colour, Sa'di washī, Kufan khazz silk, mitraf of Sus, robes of Fars, blue Sululi Qumis taylasāns, and all things after this sort..."[52]

Preferring a shorter length garment than Umayyad fashion,[53] he would change his clothes with the change in the seasons, a convention known in Nestorian circles in early 5th century western Iran.[54] A week before the end of June, he discarded his coloured garments in favour of white clothes which were then worn until October 1st. Dyed silk and silk mixtured jubbas and durrā'as could be worn in the spring and autumnal months, but with cold mornings linings and padded fabrics were advisable, until the temperature demanded thick, heavy textiles and fur linings.[55]

Care had to be taken to avoid textural contrast, between a thick and thin fabric (and perhaps even a

loose weave contrasted with a firm one). Linen and cotton were not worn together, nor were garments dyed in vivid, contrasting shades:

> "The best taste in dress is to wear clothes which suit one another, with a graduated range of colour, and materials, which have something in common and do not clash."[56]

Certain colours were associated with a disreputable lifestyle or a preoccupation. Yellow, for instance, was a colour to be avoided except at private festivities, where presumably the visible association with the female entertainers might not be considered out of place. On such occasions, a yellow mulā'a (a garment of two pieces sewn together) was the usual party dress. Similar garments perfumed with ambergris, musk and the like were to be worn only when relaxing in such company.[57]

It was not respectable to be seen wearing the qabā' unless one lived in the eastern Iranian provinces far away from the direct influence of court fashions. It was clearly associated with the military and the Turkish ethic group; when the caliph al-Nāṣir appeared in a qabā' in 1184, he was described as wearing Turkish dress.[58] For a devout Muslim to be seen in public wearing a qabā' was to earn immediate public contempt.[59] Instead one took care to wear wide sleeves --"up to three spans" was the fashion during the reign of the Fatimid al-Mustaʿlī (1094-1101) -- in which one carried odd items like money, books, papers, even a pair of tailor's scissors. The elegant man argued that tight-fitting sleeves demonstrated a miserly nature. However as sleeves grew in width so did public cynicism:

> "when hats were tall, turbans over-elaborate, and sleeves too wide, the people were like to perish."[60]

At all times one wore the clothes befitting to his station and his fellows; as al-Waṭwāṭ said "ilbas mā yalbasuh abnā' jinsik".[61] A man proud of his appearance ensured his clothes were clean. Dirty garments were not worn with newly laundered clothing, nor washed items with new purchases. Illkept, wornshoes and sandals, and dirty socks were signs of careless dressing in 10th century Baghdad. Stockings had to be spotless like shoes, and boots were to be unwrinkled.[62]

Cotton or silk socks jawrab, a Persian fashion, were worn in colder weather. These reached to the calf, judging by some early 12th century examples found in Egypt. These specimens and an earlier silk fragment (fig.20) are patterned in at least three colours but the knitting method differs, the earlier piece being worked from the top down while the later examples, imported perhaps from India, from the toe upwards.[63]

For men of taste there was a wide selection of footwear. For indoor wear or hammām use, a light sandal (madās) was ideal, often embroidered according to Dozy, but the usual sandal of camel-leather was still the naʿl. One variety of naʿl, the sabatiya could be luxurious as a Court poet offered a pair as a present to the caliph al-Ma'mūn.[64] Another type, nīʿāl sindiyya, was characterized by its thick soles. Although known to have been the favourite footwear of Zoroastrians, there were discussions over their origin:

> "Some say that the author of the Kitāb al-Bāh was dreadfully short but very anxious to impress women, and therefore had the idea of wearing sandals like this in order to increase his stature by the thickness of their soles. In time it came to be supposed by the ignorant that they were merely decorative, or had some advantage or comfort in

walking. Other say that they were designed to give protection against scorpions at night and mud by day, but that with the passage of time their origin was forgotten. Certainly they are thick enough to allow one to walk through almost any mire, and the scorpion's sting will not penetrate their sole. Other say again: on the contrary, they were adopted by Indian rulers because of the noise they make, so that their tapping might give their wives and free or slave women advance warning of their approach when they were busy about some task; the tapping became a sign of their arrival and their request for admission."[65]

The usual outdoor footwear was khuff, a kind of leather top-boot, particularly for colder weather. These reached to the shank, although there were other varieties which stopped below the ankle. With or without laces, the khuff was often furlined -- if one could afford it, with sable. The wide top could be folded down, providing an excellent repository for knives, small books and mandīl (kerchief) for such men as Hārūn al-Rashīd,[66] although this practice was generally considered inelegant. Colours for shoe leather were varied, black, red and yellow, and of course the quality ranged from the heavy to the light weight.[67]

FASHIONABLE DRESS OF THE ABBASID LADY

Fashionable ladies of the 9-10th century were advised to wear subdued tones:

"... smoke-coloured fine shirts (ghilāla dukhkhāniyya) and Rashīdī ridā's, and linen with decorated bands on it (shurūb muzannara), Tabarī ridā's, coloured qaṣab linen, silk embroidered with circles, Nishapur miqna[c] veils, 'izārs of Khurasani mulḥam, garments with close-fitting necks, wide

> sleeves, white trailing trousers, black mi^{c}jar (veils or turbans)which trail.[68] They must not wear any tikka(trouser-cord) nor any garment sprinkled, nor perfumed, nor of simple colours, nor any garment (thawb) of white linen, except that which is coloured by nature, or dyed according to its kind, or altered from being exclusively the garb of men with some kind of musk, or sandal (perfume), or the hyacinth and ambergris so that the perfume makes them a different kind of garb, seeing that the wearing of white is part of a man's dress."[69]

The wearing of white robes by women had another symbolic meaning, indicating that the wearer had been divorced, abandoned. Similarly blue or black signified that the lady was suffering (muqarra'āt).[70] Multi-coloured or striped fabrics were also considered unfavourably. Clear distinctions were made between the garment colours of ladies of rank and elegance, and of those who entertained. Slave merchants dressed their white female slaves in blue or roseate, and their black girls in red and yellow ghilālas. Similar bright dyes of green, rose-pink, red and yellow were also used by singers, dancers and other female entertainers.[71] The singing girls at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd were dressed in pink qamīs, sirwāl and qinā' (veil) so that it looked as if "a hyacinth had been placed upon a rose".[72] The reconstructed wall-painting from the Jawsaq Palace, Samarra (fig.21) depicts two females, dancing- or serving-girls wearing tops and full skirts, with a loose belt of gold circular plaques, one garment a deep yellow and the other a pale blue. Yellow was so identified with this social group that a fashionable man would only wear yellow clothes at intimate convivial gatherings.[73]

The variety of fabrics was extensive. The

attentive male could be asked to buy for his love Adenese and Anjaji cloth, 'izārs from Nishapur, robes from Rosetta in the Delta, turban-cloths from Susa.[74] Enormous sums of money could be spent on ladies' apparel. Hārūn al-Rashīd's favourite wife spent 50,000 dinars on a robe of washī for her son's circumcision; there are no further details. High prices were not necessarily associated with durability. The expensive perfumed shoes of al-Muqtadir's mother in the late 9th century lasted only ten or so days, made from an Egyptian (linen?) textile called dabīq, steeped in musk and ambergris and then hardened.[75]

For one period, few ladies' shoes were made in Egypt, when the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥakīm (996-1021) restricted females appearing in public, and forbade shoemakers making ladies' footwear in 1014.[76] Shoes from Edessa were favourite summer footwear in Baghdad and for colder weather, furlined green shoes were bought from Cambay, India. Two other kinds of footwear were available; one type called maksūr (split ?) and the other known as khifāf zanāniya (possibly of zandanijī material?). Frequently the ladies gave their shoes a more personal touch by writing or embroidering inscriptions and lines of poetry on them.[77]

If money allowed, a lady's wardrobe in Fatimid and Ayyubid Egypt consisted of several layers of garments worn indoors and several more outside. The basic items were sirwāl and a qamīṣ, or more often a dirᶜ (shift) or ghilāla, a fine light weight lounging garment. Over these, a long robe with or without sleeves, was belted with a khaṣī or wasaṭ (cummerband or sash), costing from one to twelve dinars. In Fatimid times this robe often had a distinctive 'square' neckline (fig.22). The head-covering usually matched the colour and fabric of the overgarment and was secured by a headband (ᶜiṣāba) or kūfiyya, with ribbons cascading down the

back. For outdoor apparel, a bukhnuq or head-dress with a face-veil was donned; over this a large head-veil was thrown and a thawb or ridā' over the shoulders. The final outer layer was a large enveloping wrap such as the milhafa and 'izār, or if the temperature had dropped sharply, a heavier cloak like a burda or barrakān[78].

Not exactly an item of clothing but an important accoutrement of a gentleman or lady was the mandīl or kerchief, whose fine appearance could be likened to "the blossoms of Spring" if of Yemeni manufacture, or the "white membrane inside eggshells" if from Egypt.[79] It was used as a napkin, towel, wrapper or kerchief, and no person of any social standing would be seen without it carried in the hand, or in the later period ostentatiously tucked into the belt. On the battlefield if worn about the neck or head, it served as a 'flag of truce' giving the wearer safe conduct into the enemy's camp.[80] Although generally white or pale grey in colour, the mandīl was sometimes very colourful, red, black or various tones of blue often with additional decoration in the way of lace (presumably crochet or needle-work),[81] fringes and ornamental borders. For embroidery in metallic threads, either the services of a professional embroiderer (raqqām) or of the female members of the household would be sought. Inscriptions with a romantic content were favourite decorations:

"I am the mandīl of a lover pining,
Consumed by desire, a prisoner of separation.

I was the best of mandīls, but
The tears of the lovers have changed me."[82]

Indeed some ladies were known to begin a romantic liaison by dropping a mandīl from a window into the

street below.

The size, the fabric, the colour and the decoration all influenced its price. In the Geniza lists, one mandīl length is mentioned as 5 dhirāᶜ (over 3 yards: 2.9m) and elsewhere, one of 9 spans (2.25 yards: 2m) is given. The cost varied from half a dirham to sixteen dinars but the average price was between four and five dinars, but in the 15th century it was possible to spend up to seventy dinars for a mandīl.[83]

Certain textiles were considered extremely stylish, and by combining fashionable garments with appropriate fabrics, the fashionable man or woman could demonstrate discriminating taste. However, there were regional differences regarding both colours and styles.[84] Usually the elite took up a particular fabric associated with the ruling caliph. One of these has already been described, washī which retained its appeal into the Abbasid period. Another fabric, mulḥam found favour with al-Mutawakkil in the mid-9th century:

> "...and this fashion was followed by all the members of his household and then spread among the people. Everyone wished to imitate the sovereign, so the stuffs of that weave reached high prices, and the manufacture was perfected so as to respond to the fashion and to satisfy the taste of the princes and his subjects. In our own time [circa 943] some of these stuffs are found; they are known under the name of Mutawakkilī. It is a kind of cloth of a very beautiful weave... and of an excellent colour(ṣibgh).[85]

Another description indicates mutawakkilī was a silk mixture (the other yarn is unspecified) woven with a looped pile, probably formed in the weft bearing in mind this textile was produced in Egypt. From the description, the colour was placed in decorative woven

bands:

> "...[a] towel of light Mutawakkilī dabīqī, embroidered with a tirāz border, with a velvet-like pile (mukhmal), made in Egypt, with two badges (ᶜalam), and two bands (zunnār) and their patterns of fine thread, of perfect length, exquisite width, with a short pile, bordered with a fringed border (hāshiya mashqūqa), softer than qazz-silk and finer than floss-silk (khazz)."[86]

Obviously the court and in particular the caliph governed the world of fashion. Hārūn al-Rashīd, for example, insisted his favourite poet wore a specially tall spirally wound turban while his half-sister created a fashion in order to hide a birthmark, by wearing her headband across the forehead.[87] However, these particular styles did not necessarily indicate the wearer's standing with the sovereign. This came with the donning of honorific garments khilᶜa awarded by the caliph, in recognition of the recipient's services.

KHILᶜA and TIRĀZ

In the Islamic world[88] the first recorded present of ~~this kind~~ khilᶜa involved the Prophet himself giving his burda to the poet Ka'b ibn Zuhayr as a mark of personal regard.[89] This idea of a highly personal gift was continued by the Umayyads; Yazīd II literally took a garment off his own person to present it and his seal to two poets.[90] In Sūfī and Futuwwa rituals, a transference of this kind symbolised a handing-on of spiritual knowledge from the master to the initiate. Similarly in the Abbasid period, the ceremonial wearing of the Prophet's burda by the caliph signified that authority over the Islamic community had been handed to the Abbasid caliph.

In early Abbasid times khilᶜa was given to the

favoured few -- the heir-apparent, powerful provincial governors and personal intimates at Court, but soon the practice became a regular almost daily occurrence. Those honoured, called the ashāb al-khil^{c}a (those who wear the khil^{c}a) grew rapidly in number. Around the year 1100 the system was so widespread and debased that the presentation of the khil^{c}a was written into a private marriage contract in Egyptian bourgeois society.[91] Neverthless the custom of bestowing honorific robes at court continued for many centuries, throughout the central Islamic lands.

A provincial governor who did not receive such a present at least once a year knew immediately that his days in office were numbered. Accordingly, the act of handing over the khil^{c}a to the recipient (fig.23) became a ritualised ceremony held outside the city walls. The honoured official then rode back through the streets to public acclamation secure in office for the immediate future.[92] In this period, the khil^{c}a,[93] was organised in three classes, 300 dinars, 100 or 30 dinars.[94] Perhaps the latter gift consisted solely of one garment, but generally the khil^{c}a consisted of several items, a qabā' or durrā^{c}a, a qamīs, sirwāl and an ^{c}imāma and taylasān, decorated with the tirāz of the donor, along with personal weapons and horse equipment. If the gift came from the caliph, the robes and turban were of Abbasid black, presumably to remind the recipient of his allegiance, even when he was Toghril Beg, the Seljuk commander in control of virtually all the Abbasid lands. In the mid-11th century khil^{c}a given to the military differed slightly from that presented to the wazīrs, the former having gold thread decoration.[95]

The khil^{c}a given to personal favourites at court were more colourful and comprised of a greater range of items, as is shown by the gift offered to the poet al-

Zafranī by the Buyid wazīr, Ṣāḥib Ismāᶜīl ibn ᶜAbbād (d.995):

> "And so we now present unto thee jubba, shirt and coat, trousers, turban, handkerchief, a wrapper, a mantle, and socks of floral silk. Had we but known of another wearing apparel which could have been made of floral silk we would have presented that also to you."[96]

The annual Muharram gifts to the court physican Bakht-Īshūᶜ b. Jibrā'īl during his twenty-three years of loyal service to Hārūn al-Rashīd further demonstrate the richness and variety of court gifts. They included twenty pieces (shiqqa) each of qaṣab(linen), al-khāṣṣ al-ṭirāzī, a light-weight silk mixture with gold decoration,and ṭirāz mulḥam, ten pieces of a light-weight silk named after caliph al-Manṣūr (al-khazz al-Manṣūrī), three robes or lengths (thawb) each of Yemeni washī, and of the type called al-nasībī, three taylasāns and also, various furs such as sable, marten, ermine, stoat and squirrel.[97]

It was not only the rich fabric which identified a khilᶜa garment; its long length was a special feature. In the Umayyad period, full-length robes were popular but everyday Abbasid dress was shorter, well above the heels, unlike the khilᶜa garment.[98] Similarly the ṭirāz band, which presumably decorated all khilᶜa items proclaimed the wearer's standing at court. In the 8th century, the ṭirāz was so considered a visible sign of the wearer's loyalty and subsequent reward,[99] that the deliberate omission of the ruler's name in ṭirāz inscriptions, in the khuṭba or Friday 'sermon', and on the coinage was considered a public act of rebellion. Thus when al-'Amīn proclaimed his son as heir-apparent in 194/809-10, his brother and co-ruler al-Ma'mūn, showed the measure of his disapproval by ordering al-Amīn's name to be struck off ṭirāz, dirhams and

dinars.[100] In similar fashion, the governor of Egypt, Ibn Ṭūlūn, removed the name of the caliph's brother Muwaffaq from the khuṭba and ṭirāz in 269/882-3 to indicate his dissatisfaction with Muwaffaq's influence at court. This brought down the wrath of Baghdad upon his head, so serious an act of defiance was it considered.[101]

As far as can be gathered, the normal placing of the ṭirāz inscription (fig.24) was near the fringed edge of the turban cloth, or on the sleeve[102] on the (dropped) shoulder seam. But obviously other items of dress were embellished with ṭirāz and similar inscription bands are found on textiles used for example as wrappers or hangings.[103]

The most famous and complete garment with ṭirāz is the so-called Veil of St. Anne (fig.25), formerly in the Cathedral of Apt in Vauclose, France. This bleached plain-weave linen length, 3.10m x 1.50m loom width (6'2" x 4'11") has three parallel bands of tapestry woven decoration employing red, green and blue silk floss, and some gold thread; these give the name of the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustaʿlī (1094-1101), a date of either 489 or 490 (1096 or 1097),[104] and the place of manufacture as Damietta, in the eastern Delta, known for its textiles:

> "...nothing on earth can approach for price and beauty, softness and luxury, thinness and fineness... manufactured there... Everything manufactured there is of linen, and sometimes the weight of a mithkal of its thread will fetch several dinars.[105]

This particular length would have been folded to bring the two ends to the centre, and sewn along one set of selvedges to form shoulder seams, the classical ʿabā'. When the garment was worn draped over the shoulders, the decorative bands then would fall vertically, two at

the front and the middle band down the centre back. As Golombek and Gervers point out, the voluminous loose-fitting ʿabāʾ was an ideal garment to carry ṭirāz as it fitted all manner of wearers.[106]

A variety of techniques was employed for the ṭirāz inscriptions and motifs: tapestry weaving, embroidery, painting (fig.15) and printing, in a range of yarns, wool, linen, cotton, and silk (fig.24). Those with a linen ground are generally accepted as Lower Delta products, whereas wool ṭirāz are thought to have been manufactured in Central and Upper Egypt. The Mesopotamian region and Iran (fig.24) also used wool along with silk and mixtures, cotton too which formed the main ṭirāz fabric for Yemeni work.[107]

In Egypt there appears to have been a radical re-organisation of the linen ṭirāz craftsmen in the mid-10th century. From about seventy years before, Z- and S-spun yarn were used in Egypt, but the ṭirāz of the Egyptian Fatimids (969-1171) rarely contains Z-spun yarn. About 940, a fashion for tapestry-woven rather than embroidered decorative bands flourished, only to wane in favour of embroidered bands towards the end of Fatimid rule.[108] Also a preference for a more cursive style of calligraphy is found, instead of the Kufic hand (e.g. fig.26); presumably the former was easier to reproduce by stitching than by weaving. In the early Fatimid period, the inscription band was balanced by a frieze of vegetal, animal or particularly bird forms. In the last decades of the 10th century, calligraphic bands were arranged either side of a more elaborately designed decorative frieze. During the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Ẓāhir (1021-36) this tri-composition was repeated twice as if emphasizing the political content of the inscriptions.[109] But the calligraphic band was soon dominated by a mass of ornamental motifs, as is seen in a later example (fig.26), and short

honorific formulae of a general nature, such as "Victory to God", came in to replace the highly political inscriptions of the earlier period. Britton has seen this change as reflecting the loss of effective political and military control by the Fatimid rulers. Perhaps though the reason for this fashion lies in the emergence of a strong bourgeois community in the Fatimid lands, seeking to buy such garments,[110] as increased demand could have brought about less-personalised inscriptions.

By the early 10th century, tirāz workshops had been established in all the Abbasid provinces. Overall control of these establishments was considered a great responsibility and so the sāhib al-tirāz rivalled the controller of the postal and intelligence service, and of the mints in importance.[111] In Fatimid Egypt, the head of the tirāz workshops was accorded great honour, being permitted to ride with official insignia generally restricted to the caliph -- a parasol, the badana and a royal horse. His salary was a princely 70 dinars a month.[112]

Orders for a garment or textile article for the royal household was placed with the tirāz workshop by the central dīwān al-khizāna (wardrobe office) accompanied by money to cover the estimated cost, and the gold thread if required. The worker was given instructions, which had to be meticulously followed. Loom pieces were marked with a governmental stamp before being cut free and then checked against the specifications before packing and despatch through official brokers.[113] On receipt, a full check was again undertaken. If the quality and standard were not as expected, particularly in the use and amount of gold thread the employees had to make up the deficiency.[114]

The temptation facing the workers in the tirāz establishments must have been great.[115] If labour was

contracted freely -- and it seems in the eastern Abbasid provinces weavers and other textile workers were in forced employment (see below) -- it was still badly paid. In the early 8th century, the Christian linen weavers of Tinnis, Egypt received half a dirham a day, which was liable to tax. By the mid-11th century, earnings had increased considerably as Nāṣir-i Khusrau visiting Tinnis reported :

> "the qaṣab and būqalamūn made for the sultan are paid for at their exact value; thus the workmen work willingly for him, as by contrast to the other countries where the government and sovereign impose forced labour on the artisans."[116]

About then, Jewish weavers in Tyre, Syria were paid 3 quarter dinars for each supplied roll(maslak) of yarn, while embroidery or tapestry workers received another 1/6 dinars and 1/2 qirat.[117]

The Geniza records show that private individuals could order tirāz fabrics with their own name incorporated. But the exact nature of the distinction between the tirāz al-khaṣṣa (royal workshop) and the tirāz al-'āmma (public factory) owned by merchants has not yet been satisfactorily established.[118] The royal household was not bound to purchase only from the royal workshop nor were the finished goods reserved purely for it. Textiles intended for royal use, after being boxed. stamped, transported and rechecked, entered the imperial storehouses. In Baghdad there were two departments of the royal wardrobe (khizāna al-kiswa), each with a slightly different function. The khizāna al-ẓāhira or later al-kubrā looked after the costly fabrics and the cutting-out process for the caliphal robes and the honorific clothing. The actual sewing of the caliph's garments was the responsibility of the second department, the khizāna al-khāṣṣ,later the tashtkhāna.[119] A similar establishment was to be found

in Egypt which according to Maqrīzī was set up by the Fatimid al-Mu^{c}izz (953-75). Twice a year, summer and winter, ceremonial clothing badla mawkibiyya was issued according to rank to the entire court and their families from this department. The high-ranking officials received both clothing and the other non-textile items usually found in khil^{c}a presentations, sword, tawq and siwār. In 516/1122 the number of articles distributed in this manner amounted to over 14,000, an increase of over one-third over three years. The expenditure was staggering -- one sum mentioned was 600,000 dinars -- but presumably these items were offered in lieu of or in part payment of salaries.[120] Something is known of the staffing arrangements of the Fatimid royal wardrobe. A master tailor headed a team while the immediate clothing needs of the caliph were met by a woman called zain al-khussān, who supervised thirty females. Probably the same system of storing was followed as with hangings and furnishing fabrics; separately or in units the garments would have been folded, packed up and laid flat on rows of shelves, reached by ladders.[121]

GARMENT CONSTRUCTION

There were essentially two methods of constructing the sewn garment. One was based on the simple seaming of Coptic Egypt and the Arab lands in which the selvedges were joined to form horizontal or vertical seams. The other was a more tailored process perhaps necessitated by the narrow loom widths of Iran and Central Asia, where supplementary pieces of the material were sewn onto the basic panel width (fig.16 & 17). At this time, both structures were fashionable. In Fatimid Egypt, for instance, alongside the voluminous ^{c}abā', formed by sewing two widths together to form a horizontal seam, more tailored garments were

worn, as depicted on contemporary lustre pottery. These garments possessed narrow or flaring sleeves to the wrist with the ornamental armbands presumably marking the shoulder/sleeve seam, and often a shaped neckline, probably square although shown as hexagonal falling over the shoulders or collarbone, very different from the split-neck of the Coptic dalmatic. If one accepts Fendri's dating of a child's garment (Bardo Museum, Tunis) the complex multi-seamed structure was in use in 9th century Egypt. Measuring 65cm (25.5") in length with a hem width of 50cm (19.5") this woollen tunic (fig.27) dyed with indigo and madder to produce black, was made from thirteen pieces joined with flat seams. One of its sleeve tapestry-woven bands contains an Arabic inscription reading "the Kingdom is God's", indicating a later date, as indeed the actual structure does; Ibn Jubayr mentioned that the well-dressed man of the 12th century wore shirts made of nine units, fastening on the shoulder.[122]

Another piece (fig.28 left), dated by Shepherd to the Buyid period (932-1055) has a simpler tailored form. The length is folded to form the back and front, each 127cm (50") in length, the width being 72cm(28.25"). The sleeves cut from the yardage are sewn onto the folded length at right angles. No inserts nor gussets are added but certain sections under the arm are left unsewn as are the lower panel lengths to facilitate movement. In all, a simple convenient method of using the whole yardage without wastage of fabric. A robe (fig.28 right) given a similar dating and provenance, 10th century Iraq/Iran, by Shepherd has a separate skirt panel sewn to the bodice. The material is lampas silk, patterned with flattened octagons containing hunting scenes with horse-riders, while the interstices are filled with four leafy stems with a common centre. It has been calculated that the

garment was made from a piece approximately 159cm (62.5") long by 92cm (36.25"), selvedge to selvedge. Both the skirt length (47cm: 18.5") and the bodice (92cm: 36.25") were folded so that the warp ran horizontally. The sleeves, whose warp runs vertically are cut at the top in an inverted W-shape, to fit into shaped armholes. The shoulder seam of this garment is sloped, another atypical feature along with the shaped armhole seam seen usually in late 19th century garments influenced by European styles. Another garment published alongside[123] and similarly dated possesses an armhole shaping formed in the weaving, another unusual feature. The whole subject of these 'Buyid' textiles has provoked great controversy, and these atypical features on these three garments should be viewed in this context.

The cost of sewing and tailoring was much less than that of the fabric. Money could be made by the tailor from the off-cuts of the yardage but there were other methods of making extra money on the side. The market inspector (muhtasib) was warned in various manuals of the tricks of the trade, used to disguise the outward, superficial quality of the cloth. The tailor and weaver were enjoined to weigh yarns and threads supplied by the client, no doubt important if metallic thread was included :

> " Thread must be received by weight for weaving and the cloth returned by weight, to avoid doubt. If it is claimed by the customer that the weaver has changed the thread and if he has a sample and the weaver declares it is the same, the muhtasib shall take them before persons of experience; if the customer has no sample or proof, the weaver shall swear an oath that he has not changed it, being an honest man. If a man hires a weaver to

weave a piece of cloth of certain dimensions and he weaves it differently, the learned say he deserves no hire."[124]

Hisba advice from 11th century Spain and late 13th century Egypt warned of water-soaked garments and sand in the scales at the final re-weighing so preventing the client from receiving the correct measure of the fabric given for tailoring. However, the major complaint seems to have centred around the cutting and sewing:

" The muhtasib must watch over the tailors to see that they do not sew with one thread only, nor yet with a whole (length of) thread, because it cannot be strong on account of its length, and the sewing will be loose. He must be on the watch for loose stitching of robes of cloth by the makers of garments 'to order'...

" He must watch the 'cutting' (tafsīl), for there are some rascals among them who cut the whole (correctly) but curtail those parts of the garment which correspond to the hips and the waist. They act in similar fashion with regard to the rectangular pattern in which the garment is placed, so that it is narrow, and the cloth thus cut is stolen. Similarly they make the sleeves... too narrow, and tack the sewing in it, wishing to make it (appear) bigger. When the robe is worn a little the threads escape, the various sections of it fall apart... Similarly they make the necks (tawq) of linen garments wide so as to appear complete on inspection. On being worn they hang down the side of the body of the wearer."[125]

For tailoring purposes it was said the best measurement of dībāj silk was 120 spans (shibr) or 30 yards (27.3m), while a piece of light-weight khazz-silk should not exceed 15 dhirā^{c} by 4 spans (9.5 yards x

36"; 8.67m x 91.5cm). As much as 20 dhirāᶜ could be used for 11th century trousers, and in the Egypt of al-ᶜAzīz (975-996) each turban cloth was an unbelievable 100 dhirāᶜ in length (63 yards: 57.8m) and, although according to one Geniza letter the taste in Ahwaz, Southern Iran, in 1026 was more moderate, a length of 40 dhirāᶜ (over 25 yards: 23m) of dabīqī linen being requested for a turban cloth.[126]

Prices naturally varied over the decades and across the regions. Plain white turbans in Alexandria, Egypt fetched 75 dirhams but double that in Marrakesh. Taking the gold dinar to be worth 15 to 20 silver dirhams, some relative costs can be gauged as the monthly salary of a lower middle class person in Egypt was 2 dinars, while an average salary for high officials in the bureaucracy, doctors, etc. was about 30 dinars.[127] In Mosul, Northern Iraq circa 819, a qamīṣ of standard quality cost 2 dinars, but one of dabīqī linen could cost 50 dinars, or even 200, of which 2 dirhams was the cost of tailoring. Similarly the saffron-coloured pure cotton robes made near Samarqand could vary in price from 3 to 20 dinars, depending on quality. If the lower classes were unable to spend vast amounts on clothing, the wealthy could and did. The wazīr Ibn al-Furat spent 70 dinars each for his taylasān, ᶜimāma and kīsa' (wrap) of fine dabīqī linen and a garment of washī in the mid-9th century could cost anything from 1000 to 6000 dinars for the finest quality.[128]

FABRICS

Textile names, usually derived either from the place of manufacture or from a famous individual who had popularised the fabric, abound in the literature, while textile fragments dateable to this period can be found in all the major collections of Islamic art.

Rarely do the two correlate. Even the exact structure and appearance of the favourite Umayyad and Abbasid textile washī are still unclear although modern scholars increasingly opt for Lamm's theory that the term refers to a specific technique of colour patterning, i.e. warp-dyeing, rather than a distinct yarn or weave composition.

Occasionally the medieval sources are more precise in their descriptions, as with the fabric būqalamūn, also known as Abū Qalamūn or qalamūn, an expensive material of violet-coloured threads shot with red and green, like the plumage of the wader bird from which the fabric apparently derived its name, the Abū Barāqish (Porphyrio Porphyrio or sultan fowl).[129] Unfortunately no such Islamic textile of medieval date appears to have survived. Neither has any example of the famous ᶜattābī silk material produced in the ᶜAttābī quarter of Baghdad been published. Ibn Jubayr described it as a silk and cotton mixture of varied colours, and other Arabic chroniclers likened its visual appearance to the black and white stripes of the zebra.[130] However, it has been suggested that the fabric was a taffeta silk with moiré or water markings.[131]

Modern textile historians are generally agreed that the term mulḥam should be interpreted as a silk-cotton mixture. The most famous manufacturing centres of mulḥam after all were Nishapur and Merv in eastern Iran, regions famous for cotton cultivation. There is a number of surviving fragments of tabby (plain) weave employing raw silk floss warps and two spun cotton wefts sometimes glazed (fig.24)[132], which have been classified as mulḥam. However, it should be remembered that al-Muṭarrizī (b.1143-4) in describing mulḥam did not specify that cotton was used in the wefts:

"Mulḥam cloth is a kind of which the warp(sadā) is

ibrīsm-silk, and the woof(luḥma) of which is not ibrīsm-silk."[133]

Since Lamm's work was published in 1937 examples of other Islamic silk-mixtures have surfaced. A silk-linen mixture was manufactured, at least in Egypt and it may be that wool was also used. Evidently sea-wool was occasionally mixed with silk, as noted below, so it can no longer be assumed that mulḥam in Abbasid times referred exclusively to a silk-cotton mixture.

Qaṣab was a costly linen decorated with gold, but how the gold was introduced into or onto the surface is speculative. Cahen argues that there were two major classifications of qaṣab: dabīq and sharb (sharbī, shurūb), both of which employed gold filé giving the textile its generic name; whether these two fabrics were distinguishable by different weft-and warp-thread ratios is unclear. Gervers has also suggested that tirāz with gold filé in the tapestry-woven decoration should be categorised as qaṣab, and elsewhere that blue or green linen with gold thread was produced in Tinnis, whereas bleached white examples with gold should be identified with Damietta manufacture, as their weavers did not work dyed stuffs.[134]

Sometimes the textile was so unusual that contemporary observers reported all they knew about it. Byssus or sea-wool was one such fabric. Collected from the large salt-water mussel(Pinna marina) the fibre was mixed with silk to produce probably the most expensive fabric known then. The fabric had a soft, downy golden appearance like a fine linen, with a certain 'shot' quality so that the colour appeared to alter with the changing light.[135]

Similarly there is a problem with pattern terminology. The word mukhattam is one of many used to describe the numerous types of decorative checked weaves and patternings. It was possible to buy at

least four different kinds of striped material: habar, makhṭūṭ ᶜalayhā, muzannar, and jāri al-qalam. One wonders which word applied to the colourful. narrow striped silks used for pantaloons and coats, generally classified as Fatimid or Ayyubid. Fabrics patterned with circles or spots were also extremely popular, judging by the variety of names, liking the motifs to copper or gold coins, or to the eyes of wild birds and animals. The names of the dye colours available in Fatimid and Ayyubid times, and the Abbasid period were just as evocative, such as "slave-girl's thigh" and "blue onion".[136]

Not all the patterning was woven or embroidered. Stamps were used by government agents as quality control and excise marks but printing was also used to decorate the textiles. Wood blocks have survived, dating possibly from the Fatimid times[137] as has a number of Egyptian textile fragments although most textile historians still classify all medieval printed cottons found in Egypt as originating in India. No detailed analyses of mordants and dyes, nor the printing processes have yet been published but apparently the designs echo the motifs of more expensive materials. In one later example the pattern of a two-coloured plain-weave silk is faithfully copied in a printed, inexpensive, standard cotton fabric (fig.29), presumably of the same period.[138]

Islamic textile historians have recently been preoccupied with the authenticity of certain medieval textile fragments, known as the Buyid silks. Originally it was thought that these pieces were produced in the Buyid period of power (932-1055), but now a wider chronology is accepted, to circa 1220. Their authenticity was questioned at the 1973 CIETA conference, with technical and stylistic analyses of the thirty-nine examples in the Abegg Stiftung

collection, Berne. Shepherd's consequent refutation of this evidence was in turn not unanimously accepted.[139] Leaving aside the disputes over certain technical and chemical analyses carried out or omitted, the Islamic art historian examining these pieces is confronted with problems regarding the content and calligraphic styles of the inscriptions. Furthermore, the structure of garments linked by Shepherd to these fragments runs counter to all evidence of contemporaneous dress structure and social habit.

However, if one is confused by the conflicting theories, the medieval Muslim was certainly not. The Geniza trousseau lists and correspondence records show that the average citizen knew the exact kind, quality and colour of textile he or she required. The Baghdadi man of taste was advised specifically as to the 'brand' name of the textiles from which his clothes should be fashioned. Textiles sold on their name and reputation for quality and the civic authorities in this period continually attempted to maintain these standards. A 14th century hisba manual defined the duty of the cloth-merchant as follows:

> "It is incumbent on him when he has pieces of cloth (khirqa) derived from a district the cloth (qumāsh) of which is much sought after by the public, not to sell the cloth of another district as the manufacture of the first, even though the two districts are close to one another... Analogous to this is the case of a craftsman who is good at weaving (nasj), the public competing to put up the price of cloth (thawb) attributed to him. So let him [the merchant] not sell anything manufactured by someone else as his work, even if it be like it, or better..."[140]

Such instructions were not always heeded. Textiles produced near a famous weaving centre were frequently

sold under that centre's name, for example Zandana. Sometimes the competing area was not nearby; for instance, the Persian city of Rayy manufactured textiles in the manner of Yemeni ʿasb technique.[141] Finished textiles were often stamped or had the name of the manufacturing town incorporated on the loom length, but this practice was open to abuse :

> "There is an inspector who oversees on behalf of the treasury, and there are the brokers who set a just price on the cloth, sealing the bales with a stamp before they are delivered over to the foreign merchants... But now, in these latter days, fraud has become rife, and the people becoming dishonest, all confidence is gone, for the goods with the treasury stamp are often found deficient, whereby foreign traders have come to avoid the merchandise of Qazirun."[142]

The government stamp (fig.30)[143] was also used to register excise duty. A loom stamp on silk and cotton cloths in Baghdad from which a 10% tax was levied, caused public outcry in 985, and again fourteen years later when it was reintroduced. After public protest the cotton tax was withdrawn but the silk levy remained. In 1121 the 8 qirats tax on each siqlāṭūn loom in Baghdad was abolished. Some idea of the revenue raised can be obtained from the stamp tax imposed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on taking over Fatimid territory, on the high quality linens, sharb and dabīqī which brought in 1000 dinars.[144]

In 13th century Aleppo, Northern Syria, dye stuffs such as indigo and the dye-houses themselves were liable to tax. The dyes were expensive and this cost figured largely in the final price to the customer, up to 25%, four times the wages of the dyers.[145] To prevent the dyers, often Jewish, using cheaper preparations to save money, regulations were issued

throughout the Islamic empire, as it was known:

> " Most of the dyers of red silk and other thread and materials dye with henna instead of madder and the dye appears bright; but when the sun strikes it its colour deteriorates and its brightness disappears. Some take money froma customer to dye kuhlī [dark blue-black]. They dip the cloth into a substance called jarrāda [locust], remove and treat it with the froth from the vat, and return it to the owner. It is not long before it reverts to its original colour. On each article the owner's name must be written. Most dyers pledge their customer's property or hire it to persons who wear it. This is dishonesty."[146]

Something is known of the preparation of the yarns. That of flax in early 11th century Qazirun was described briefly by Ibn al-Balkhī, incidently showing the keen involvement of the central and provincial administrations in the textile industry:

> " First they tie up the fibrous stalks in bundles and throw them into a tank full of water, leaving the fibre being separated out, and the flax is then spun into linen thread. Next, this linen is washed in the water of the Rāhbān water channel, and though the water is but scanty, it has the property of making white the linen thread that is washed in it, and if it be washed in any other water it never becomes so white. Now this Rāhbān water channel is the property of the royal treasury, and the custom is now established that the profit thereof belongs to the house of the emir, the treasury having granted the usage thereof to the weavers who weave cloths under the orders of the treasury."[147]

Both Qazwīnī and Damīrī commented on the silk-worm (dūd al-qazz) but concentrated on its lifespan rather than describing the process of boiling and unwinding the

cocoon.[148]

Information on the spinning and weaving processes of this period is scanty, perhaps because both occupations were considered makrūh (reprehensible) for men, though highly recommended for female workers.[149] Spindle-makers were advised to make their spindles of knot-free sturdy wood such as red mimosa nilotica, so that the thread would not catch, nor the spindle break.[150] There is an indication that more mechanical spinning methods were being used as Miskawaihī alludes to a supervisor watching over spindles controlled by a some mechanism:

> "Do you not know that all the trouble of the worker consists of setting up and arranging the machine; after that he has only to watch the tails of the distaffs and keep on twisting them ? Now we have arranged the machines, the distaffs that are revolving, the silk is taut, and the winding is proceeding; but if we leave the place, the force of the revolution will weaken, there being no motor power to renovate it; it will begin to slacken, the velocity of the revolution of the distaff will be reduced, and they will begin to unwind, revolving to the inverse direction. No one will be there to attend them, so that, one by one, they will fall off, and finally none will remain."[151]

As so few fabrics have been convincingly dated to the Abbasid period, it is not possible to offer any firm conclusion as to the types of dyes used and their mordants. Even the 'Buyid' fabrics have not yielded much information.[152] The practice of substituting cheaper dyes like henna for more expensive colourants has been noted above. Madder (fuwwa, runas, rudina) was one of the Yemen's chief exports through Aden. Another red dye qirmiz (from which comes 'crimson') was obtained from South-west Iran, Northern Azerbaijan and

also in Spain and North Africa. It was believed only certain Jews held the secret of the exact location of the qirmiz worm that lived on certain grass.[153] The plant giving the yellow dye wars (memecylon tinctorium) mentioned in Hadith literature and cultivated in Southern Arabia since the 6th century, continued to be used during the Abbasid period. Supplies were also obtainable from Ethopia, but this was an inferior product which gave a blackish tinge, and from India which dyed a reddish-yellow, according to al-Aṣmaʿī (d.828) and others.[154]

Legally speaking spinners and weavers were classified in the same banding as money changers, tanners, gold- and silver-smiths, singers and dancers; in other words following occupations which placed the individual in some moral or ethical dilemma or involved him or her in the usage of ritually polluting material. Conversely the crafts of shoemaking, bleaching, forging, tailoring and dealing in linen (bazz) were highly commended by such medieval commentators as al-Ghazālī. He along with Ibn Ḥamdūn and al-Raghib divided the crafts into two categories -- those 'uṣūl or fundamental such as agriculture, building, weaving; and those complementary or subordinate, such as smithery, tailoring, bakery. Later Ibn Khaldūn, resident in Damascus and Cairo in the 1390s redefined these two categories as darūri fi'l-ʿumrān or necessary for civilisation, e.g. carpentry; and sharīfa bi'l-mawdiʿ or "noble by virtue", e.g. book production. In the 10th century the manual component was measured in order to distinguish between the two categories. Al-Mawardī stated that secretaryship for instance required major intellectual input with comparatively little manual skill, whereas the manual element in construction work needed little or no intellectual involvement.[155]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa vol.I p.35.
2. Daniel p.65.
3. For Fatimid ceremonial, see Canard Procession and "Ḥidjāb" EI^2.
4. Grabar p.52-8 argues that court ceremonials of this kind already existed in early Umayyad times. For Abbasid protocol concerning audiences, see Salem p.63-4; Sourdel Questions p.141-6. Fatimid ceremonial was strongly influenced by Byzantine ritual according to Canard Ceremonial.
5. Le Strange p.43 ff; Serjeant p.22.
6. The term siqlāṭūn or as it was known in Europe sigillatum is discussed in Heyd vol.II p.700 and Lombard p.242-4.
7. Salem p.73, 29; Sourdel Questions p.137.
8. Levy Notes n.9 p.329.
9. Serjeant p.18.
10. Levy Notes n.9 p.329; Ahsan p.51; Mayer Remarks n.1 p.38; Serjeant p.18. Al-Ma'mūn attempted to win public support for his choice of an ᶜAlīd for an heir. Earlier in 778, the Shīᶜi revolutionary al-Muqannaᶜ (the Veiled One) donned a green face veil, declaring that God was incarnate within him; Bartol'd p.199. Both events indicate that the colour green was already associated with the Prophet.
11. Duri p.253.
12. Daniel p.66, 511-24; Dozy p.19; "Abbasids" EI^2.
13. On the murder of the powerful Abū Muslim, his followers in Iran and the eastern provinces donned white robes and revolted; Bartol'd p.197.
14. Letters of state were tied up with black tassels and then put into black silk envelopes; Salem p.103. On non-ceremonial days, white was worn; Sourdel Questions p.140. See also Marin p.19 & 114.
15. Levy Notes p.333. The exact form of the ṭawq is not known. Mayer Mamluk p.53 shows that in later Furūsīyya manuscripts ṭawq referred to the front edges of a coat. Esin Hunter p.114 argues for an aigrette. Possibly Rice Aghāni p.133 has correctly identified it as a chain of office as worn by the figure depicted in the 13th century Kitāb al-Aghānī frontispiece to vol. IX, Islamic Art Museum, Cairo (Ms. Adab 579).
16. Duri p.252.
17. Levy Notes p.337.

18. Canard Ceremonial p.401 ff; "Libās" EI^2.
19. Levy Notes p.331.
20. Ibid. p.325; Ahsan p.30-1; "Ḳalansuwa" EI^1. Eighth century Muslims and Christians used it, and al-Ghazzali writing circa 1100 notes that soldiers, police and pack-animals drivers wore it; Duri p.245-6.
21. Lewis Islam vol.I p.204-5; see also Canard Procession p.379-80.
22. Salem p.61-2 for anecdote, p.73; see also Sarré p.596 "All kings of the Sasanian dynasty wore red boots".
23. This exclusive quality was lost by Ayyubid times; "Libās" EI^2; Stillman Female p.64-5.
24. Serjeant p.146, also p.152; Dozy p.56-8.
25. See Hald p.211-7 for the world distribution in classical and medieval world. The looms employed vary from the very simple (Hald fig.213 p.211, fig.216 & 217 p.213, fig.220 a-d p.215) to the sophisticated (Roth p.122-5). For modern tubular looms in use in northern Syria, see Dalman fig.26-7 and in Palestine, Hald fig.188 p.172, p.174-5.
26. Ahsan p.53-4; Serjeant p.16; al-Thāʿalibī p.119.
27. Lewis Islam vol.I p.201-8; Canard Ceremonial p.395-6; Arazi p.124-7.
28. Salem p.61; on other occasions white garments were allowed.
29. Ibid. p.30 and for anecdote.
30. Levy Notes p.326,335; Stillman Female p.35; Ahsan p.39-40; Dozy p.177-81.
31. Ahsan p.39.
32. Ibn Khaldūn p.193.
33. Levy Notes p.331 who translates shāshiyya as skull-cap; Sourdel Vizirat vol.II p.686-7.
34. Ahsan p.39.
35. The Umayyad taylasān was large enough to encompass three sitting men; Levy Notes p.334.
36. Levy Notes p.333-4; Arazi p.129-38. See Sourdel Vizirat vol.II p.688 for use by wazīrs. Tyan vol.I p.305-7 argues that the tarḥa was a mid-11th century innovation and worn first only by the Shāfiʿi qadī and later by the Hanafi qadīs also.
37. Levy Notes p.325, n.7 p.333; Ahsan p.30-1, 42-3; "Kalansuwa" EI^1.
38. Ahsan p.31.
39. Salem p.74; Tyan vol.I p.305.
40. Sirwāl were considered by the fashionable man as too Persian and effeminate, except when worn as undergarments. A shorter form, the tubbān was worn by those requiring extra freedom of movement for work and leisure

pursuits, for instance fishermen, huntsmen, hammām attendants, etc.; Levy Notes p.324, 327; Ahsan p.45-6. See also Mahdjoub.

41. Duri p.245.
42. Salem p.74.
43. Mahdjoub. Khurasani troops were distinguished by the bāzbākand or bāzfākand, which has been translated by Harley Walker p.646, 653 and Ahsan n.271 p.60 as "épaulette" but Dr. Nicholle in a personal communication suggests that it was a protective shield for the lower arm. Ornate armlets are featured on Seljuk stucco figures, generally dated as 12th-13th century. In 18th and 19th century Iran such armlets were called bāzūband; Curzon vol.I p.316.
44. Schlumberger Laskari p.62.
45. Jeroussalimskaja; Riboud. My thanks to Barbara Brend who took sketches, photographs and notes of this piece and spoke to Mme Jeroussalimskaja about this robe on my behalf.
46. Schefer p.139-40 who translates darā'ī as a cotton-silk mixture. Referring to later sources, he deduces ganjah was a silk fabric; p.139. Also, see Serjeant p.99-100.
47. Shepherd & Henning p.16. Serjeant's translation p.99 differs.
48. Serjeant p.100 quoting Vullers.
49. Shepherd & Henning. Shepherd associates eleven other silks with this piece, which measures approximately 1.9m x 1.2m (about 6'3" x 4').
50. Salem p.74.
51. Chejne p.332.
52. Serjeant p.214 with minor alterations.
53. Levy Notes p.322. It should be recalled that Ḥadīth literature was strongly against long trailing garments.
54. McCullough p.170.
55. Serjeant p.167; Ahsan p.58.
56. Serjeant p.214 quoting Washshā' with minor adjustments; see also Lamm p.183; Goitein Letters p.134-5.
57. Ibid. Other scents were permissible; Ghazi p.56. Again the disparity with Ḥadīth advice about wearing yellow clothes should be noted. This was also the period when yellow was officially stipulated for non-Muslim dress; see Tritton p.116-9; Lichtenstadter p.35-52; "Ghiyār" EI^2; Lewis Islam vol.II p.244-5.
58. Ibn Jubayr p.228.
59. Grunebaum p.679. Ibn Ḥawqal noted that preachers (khātibs) wore the qabā'; Ahsan p.64.

60. Levy Notes p.327.
61. Duri p.244.
62. Levy Notes p.327.
63. Bellinger.
64. Ahsan p.48; Dozy p.421.
65. Ahsan n.182 p.48.
66. Ibid. p.47-8.
67. Serjeant p.214; see also Ahsan p.50-1.
68. This word could also be read as "sweet-smelling".
69. Serjeant p.214-5 with minor adjustments.
70. Ahsan p.67 suggests muqarraʿāt means "suffering from a skin disease", while Serjeant p.215 prefers "in trouble".
71. Duri p.253; Serjeant p.215; Lamm p.184. The Geniza trousseau lists in Stillman Female p.81ff., Table I, p.94-5. 105 & 106 ff., Table II reveals that the ladies of medieval Egypt preferred bright colours for their robes.
72. Ahsan p.67.
73. See fn.63.
74. Serjeant n.11 p.62.
75. Ibid. p.139.
76. Any woman found abroad, e.g. in the hammām was to be walled up then and there; "al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh" EI^2.
77. Serjeant p.215; Ahsan p.68; Ghazi p.57-8. Shoes, like ladies' sirwāl are rarely mentioned in the Geniza trousseau lists, presumably for the sake of propriety; Stillman Female p.222.
78. Stillman Female p.203-7, 209-11, 222-4.
79. Serjeant p.136. The narcissus flower was described as "a goblet of gold in a mandil of camphor"; Rosenthal p.69.
80. "Ḥarb" EI^{2}iii.
81. Lace in the European sense was only introduced into the Middle East in the 19th century.
82. Rosenthal p.94.
83. Ibid. p.75-6. The range and variety available in medieval Egypt are tabulated in Stillman Female p.150-62.
84. For details, see Ahsan p.63-6; Goitein Industries p.181.
85. Serjeant p.18.
86. Ibid. p.19; elsewhere Serjeant translates ʿalam as "border".
87. Walther p.145.
88. The tradition of bestowing clothing goes back to Biblical times, to Joseph accepting such a gift from Jacob and later from the Egyptian Pharaoh; Stillman Female p.17 quoting Genesis 37:3 and 41:42.
89. Mayer Mamluk p.56 argues that the evident

protection, however temporary, such a gift afforded the recipient was equally important.

90. Grabar p.51; he argues that by this time the caliphate was already held in high regard bordering on veneration.

91. Stillman Female p.18.

92. Serjeant p,24. For a description of the investiture of al-ᶜAdil, see Humphreys Saladin p.139. The installation and investiture of qadis is described in Tyan vol.I p.269 ff.

93. From which we get 'gala'; D'Ohsson vol.VII p.199.

94. Salem p.78; Ahsan p.75.

95. Ahsan p.60; Levy Notes p.336-7; see also Salem p.75-8.

96. Mez p.105.

97. Serjeant n.9 p.17.

98. Levy Notes p.322.

99. Bierman ch.2 & 3 argues that the Abbasid regime viewed tirāz more as an honour than the overt political statement of the Fatimids.

100. Serjeant p.18.

101. Ibid. p.19.

102. Bierman p.84 sees the sleeve band coming from both Coptic and Turkic costume, but that its use for tirāz was a Fatimid innovation.

103. For obvious reasons tirāz fabrics used for furnishings, etc. have not been included here.

104. Golombek & Gervers p.85-6 has full bibliographical references. Serjeant p.142 states that Damietta products did not include working with dyed stuffs; work of that kind was kept to Tinnis.

105. Serjeant p.141.

106. Marcais & Wiet p.192; Golombek & Gervers p.86.

107. Britton p.21-3.

108. See Bierman p.37ff. for a possible technical explanation.

109. Golombek & Gervers p.84; Bierman p.62 ff; Marzuk Four.

110. Britton p.21; see also Gervers Weavers p.128; Bierman p.75 ff, 90 ff.

111. Serjeant p.16-7.

112. Ibid. p.152.

113. Cahen Texte p.166-8; Mazrouk Five p.284-5; Marzuk Four p.48-9.

114. Serjeant p. 151; see also Marzouk History p.69.

115. Sometimes the gold thread in an ᶜimāma could be worth 500 dinars; Serjeant p.146.

116. Ibid. p.143; see also Marzuk Four p.48-9. For the meaning of qasab and bugalamun, see below p.93-4. As a profession, weaving was

considered an inferior occupation. The training period for an apprentice was four months, contrasting sharply to the two-year instruction given to a trainee silversmith; Goitein Mediterranean vol.III n.243 p.472.

117. Goitein Letters p.108. The name of one such worker in the Cairo tirāz workshop is known from Maqrīzī, a certain Muhammad ibn Makk.. al-Raqqām al-Dimashq (1217-99) but possibly urban women did out-work of this kind; Goitein Letters p.200. Golombek & Gervers n.70 p.125 suggest the reading of "tapestry work".

118. The present state of scholarship is summed up by Golombek & Gervers p.90.

119. Serjeant p.21-2.

120. Ibid. p.157-8.

121. Ibid. p.159; see also p.23 where the words bāba and safat, which Serjeant interprets as "locker" and "case", are used as storage containers for dress fabrics.

122. Fendri p.247, 255-6; see also Braun fig.28 p.75 for a "Coptic" shirt with a similar structure.

123. Shepherd Medieval p.112 ff.. I am grateful for the information given by Miss Shepherd. Unfortunately because of the political situation in Iran it has been impossible to obtain further details, and inspect these garments personally.

124. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa p.43. These are Shāfiᶜī regulations of a later period, but they echo the spirit of earlier instructions; see Serjeant p.204-5. For the role of the muhtasib, see "Ḥisba" EI².

125. Serjeant p.200, quoting 11th century Spanish ḥisba rules; see also p.201-2. See also Ibn al-Ukhuwwa p.44; Talbi.

126. Goitein Letters p.38; Serjeant sup.n. p.81, p.201. A span is taken to equal 9" (22.8cm) and a dhirāᶜ (cubit) to average 22.75" (58cm), although there were many regional differences in this latter measurement; "Dhirāᶜ" EI². It seems inconceivable that 120 spans is correct, unless it referred to a bolt of cloth, and similarly that an ᶜimāma could measure 63 yards. Could these be copyist errors, or was another measurement meant ? In today's Sudanese turbans, over 8 yards is utilized.

127. Goitein Letters p.60-1; Ashtor Coût; Jabbar Beg p.152-3, and for approximate salaries, p.164-6.

128. Goitein Mediterranean vol.IV p.166-77; Serjeant p.102; Ahsan p.70 ff.

129. Serjeant p.142-3; Stillman Female prefers qalamūn p.23; "Abu Barakish" EI² Supplement.
130. Duri p.148; Serjeant p.28.
131. Stillman Female p.21; Lombard p.246.
132. Lamm p.95-105; Golombek & Gervers p.83. It has been suggested that cotton was used for wefts not warps, because the cotton yarn could not withstand the heavy downward beating movement on a vertical loom. This ignores the use of cotton wefts and warps in early medieval 'Yemeni' cottons, although perhaps another variety of cotton was cultivated in that area; see Watson p.360; "Kutn" EI².
133. Serjeant n.12 p.62, also given in Dozy n.9 p.113.
134. Cahen Texte p.166-9; Golombek & Gervers p.85; Gervers Weavers p.129; Gervers Rags p.26. See also fn.104. Gervers's theory that ṭardwahsh probably resembled qasab does not tally with Serjeant's interpretation (p.118) that it was a heavily embroidered gold cloth, implying a brocade. Marzouk History p.59 pl.XV and XVI argues that qasab was a silk with horizontal stripes containing the sultan's titles and a 'hunting scene' or animal frieze; see Abu'l Fidā' n.1 p.174. Throughout Serjeant the term 'brocade' is used with no regard for the technical textile definition. For the technique of making gold thread, see Cahen Documents; Wulff p.42-4, 176.
135. Serjeant p.197.
136. Stillman Data p.192-3.
137. Ettinghausen Originality p.88-9.
138. UAR Islamic item 251 and 268. See also Chapter V p.169 ; the late dating given here relates to the design of the lining dye stamp.
139. BCIETA 1973 no.37, 1974 no.39/40, 1976 no.43/4; Shepherd Archaeology.
140. Serjeant n.56 p.46.
141. Gervers Weavers p.126-7. See Day p.191-4 for a silk, formerly attributed to Baghdad because of its inscription, now known to be of Andalusian origin. See also Serjeant p.46.
142. Serjeant p.52 with minor adjustments.
143. Christie's item 765.
144. Serjeant p.29, 144. Mez p. 125-6 has the 375/985 levy on silk and woollen fabrics, not cotton. In contrast, to subdue the 1069 riots in Baghdad, the authorities distributed garments and food; Grabar Cities p.89. See also Serjeant p.115.
145. Goitein Industries p.183.
146. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa p.45; see also Serjeant p.206-7.

147. Serjeant p.52.
148. Ibid. p.198.
149. Duri p.242.
150. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa p.90.
151. Serjeant p.198-9.
152. Kajitani p.198: "I regret that the dye and mordant analyses... were not all systematically done..."
153. Serjeant p.65; see also p.73.
154. Baldry p.8-9. See also Lombard p.117-49 for summary on dyes used in the medieval period.
155. Duri p.238 ff.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORIENTAL INFLUENCE

> "... I choose a grey horse, because just as red is the adornment of women, so the blood of a wound on the rider and his horse, which drips on to the man's clothes and the horse's limbs and can be seen from afar, is the adornment and decoration of men."[1]
>
> Sogetei, grandson of Chingis Khan.

Throughout the early medieval period, incursions of Turkic tribes from Transoxania and beyond continued into the eastern provinces of the Islamic Empire. The menfolk found employment as soldiers for the semi-autonomous regional governors. By providing a new powerbase for the existing governments they rose to dominate the military and political circles by the late 11th century.

One of these tribal confederations, the Seljuk family, reunited the empire temporarily under the caliph, after entering the Islamic lands circa 970, and soon after adopting Islam as Sunnīs. By 1040 the Khurasan provinces and the rest of Iran were under its control and successful campaigns followed in the Levant and eastern Anatolia, in eastern Arabia and on the borders of China and India. But then family disputes resulted in the establishment of independent Seljuk principalities. In 1141-2 the north-eastern Seljuk lands were lost to the Karakhitay,[2] and fifty years later, Iraq passed to the Khwarazm shāh Tekish. Anatolia remained under Seljuk control until the decisive defeat of Koshdagh in 1243 after which the Mongols swept into the region.

In 1258 Hülegü, grandson of Chingis Khan took

Baghdad but his western advance was stemmed by a Mamluk victory two years later. Despite moving the Il-Khanid administration into north-western Iran, western Iran was soon lost to the Muzaffarid family established in Shiraz, and Iraq to the Jalayrid house in the first half of 14th century. In its turn, this political re-arrangement of territorial possessions was short-lived. From a Transoxanian power base, the military commander Timur moved westwards from 1380 to take Syria and enter Anatolia, and eastwards into northern India. Following his death in 1405, the Iranian lands soon became the battle-arena for the tribal confederations of the Qara Qoyunlu and the Aq Qoyunlu. Only under the Safavid dynasty was Iran later reunited under one central authority.

In this period there was a marked transition from a monetary economy to a feudal one, which was to remain in force for many years. The important man in society was not the merchant but the new land-owner, the military man. Court life assumed a distinctive military air, with the bureaucracy playing an important but subsidiary role. The language of state and of culture became Persian and Turkish, as did the language of the arts. The ruler was no longer depicted as a Byzantine or Sasanian emperor with a throne but, employing the visual language of the eastern regions, he was represented as a warrior with a steppe horse, or sitting cross-legged holding a bow and arrow. These symbols were diffused through the central Islamic lands, especially those passing under the authority of the Seljuk family, to be retained and elaborated by its political successors, the Mongols and Il-Khanids, and later by the Timurids.

As well as profound changes in the language of iconography and aesthetics there were important innovations in manufacturing techniques, which were to

establish the standards for centuries to come. Important work remains to be done to determine provincial styles[3] and analyses of the cross-cultural links between each of the ethnic groups, Turkic, Tatar or Mongolian, and their influence on Islamic arts and culture still have to be written.[4] There is no clear agreement on the origins of inspiration governing the artistic development of these centuries. Nowhere is this better demonstrated than in the case of military dress fashion prevalent throughout the central Islamic lands, as depicted as figural decoration from the 12th-15th century.

THE MILITARY QABĀ'

This garment has been the subject of much attention in recent years. To certain scholars, the positioning of the qabā's fastening indicates the ethnic origins of the wearer, and by implication the direction of his political loyalties; his social standing; or the prevailing cultural influence.

Out of the three main neck formations in the male garments, the close-fitting round neck, although frequently depicted, has received less attention than the other two types: the pointed collar or rever buttoned centrally, and the cross-over panel fastening on the left or right, under the arm. In his study of the 'St. Louis' basin, circa 1290-1310, (Louvre Museum, Paris) Storm Rice suggests the pointed collar or rever was the dress of attendants and serving men.[5] The fact that it appears on clothing of two enthroned figures elsewhere on the basin, did not alter his opinion. He also argues that the cross-over fastening on a long garment with a turban head-covering identifies military personnel of Baḥrī Mamluk Egypt and Syria. No mention was made that the different direction of the cross-over panel could have special significance, until Mayer in

his Mamluk Costume and more recently, Rogers.[6] Both scholars hold that any garment with a front diagonal fastening left to right, as mentioned by Carpini and Rubruck, was the qabā' tatari, of the later Arabic authors Maqrīzī and Qalqashandī, and that the other fastening, closing right to left, was Turkic dress. As costumes with right-side fastening can be seen in Syro-Egyptian miniatures and metalwork of the Mamluk period, it is suggested that these, with the Mongolian-inspired head-gear, clearly demonstrated one aspect of the decisive, persuasive influence of the Mongol Il-Khanid court, over the Mamluk court.[7]

Undoubtedly there was a distinctive style of Mongol military dress. Al-Sarim Uzbek serving the Ayyubid ruler of Homs, al-Malik al-Ashraf, donned the uniform of a dead Mongol soldier during the 1260 siege of Aleppo in order to gain access to Hülegü. Not long after, al-Malik al-Ashraf dressed in a green qabā' tatari with a band (sash) of red satin (aṭlas) to be received by Hülegü.[8] What is not clear is the exact style of this Mongol uniform and if it was adopted basically unchanged by the Tatar auxilaries of the Baḥrī Mamluks. In 1264 the ruler of Armenia sent a troop into northern Syria, dressed in the qabā' tatari with the sarāqūj headwear.[9] This Mayer interprets as a deliberate ploy to reduce public attention being drawn to his men;[10] in other words, by 1264 the qabā' tatari and sarāqūj were widely accepted as Baḥrī uniform. However, the actual wording in the Arabic text suggests otherwise; the purpose of this disguise was the reverse, to frighten the local population into thinking these men were part of a Mongol contingent.[11]

If one is to attach political and social significance to the Maqrīzī and Qalqashandī term qabā' tatari[12] identifying it with the left-right diagonally crossed fronted long robe as seen in Mamluk

representations, pictorial evidence from the early Mongolian period is needed to show that this garment was indeed worn, and appeared in the central Islamic lands only from the time of Mongol military involvement in the area, circa 1220.

The 13th century writings of Carpini and Rubruck include brief details of Tatar clothing which fastened on the right:

> "they are open from top to bottom and are folded over the breast; they are fastened on the left with one tie, on the right with three, on the left side also they are open as far as the waist."[13]

A contemporary, Simon of St. Quentin, described a short, sleeveless or short-sleeved garment opening at the left-hand side :

> "Habitus autem tartaricus quo totum corpus eorum superinduitur exceptis bracis in pluribus est nigri coloris. In latere sinistro, antequam induatur, divisus est et apertus ab umbilico et supra in anteriori parte equaliter a latere in latus se extendens, et inferius ultra genua non descendens. In parte posteriori descendit plus aliquantulum quam in anteriori, non extensus ultra costas vel dilatatus ac usque ad humeros retro supraextensus, duabus lingulis latitudinis trium digitorum insutis super humeros parti posteriori et inferius recte descendertibus, partique anteriori per umbilicum a latere in latus se equaliter extendentes insuuntur. Ab ipso autem indumento nec brachia nec latera nec pectus nec aliqua anterior pars ab umbilico et supra exceptis duabus lingulis sunt cooperta. Quidam eciam ipsorum supra disposicionem predictam in duobus lateribus habent fissuram. Hec est forma specialis indumenti quo a ceteris hominibus discernuntur Tartari."[14]

Otherwise textual and visual material concerning

Mongolian costume of this period is sparse; indeed until recently comparisons had been made with 19th century Mongolian dress. However, in the last ten years, archaeological excavations in the People's Republic of China have revealed Yuan tomb paintings which depict men riding horses or sitting in formal situations, wearing robes with a diagonal left to right fastening. The extended shoulders (i.e. a 'sleeveless' garment) reach almost to the elbows. The length of the garment is unclear. Similar garments, calf-length, are seen in the Bezeklik and Qočo wall-paintings, Central Asia, presumed to be 9th century (fig.31). Clothing from the Alar site, dateable to the Sung (1127-1280) and the Mongolian Yüan periods possess definite left to right fastenings but have no diagonal crossing. These garments are full-length.[15].

Leaving aside the Lashkar-i Bazar paintings which depict a lapel or rever neck, found also on Nishapur slip-painted ceramics, at first glance it seems that the so-called qabā' tatari was the dominant fashion among the Seljuk Turks. One scholar has even stated:

> "Generally Seljuq coats are open in front and closed on one side crossing the chest of the figure invariably from left to right..."[16] (emphasis added)

However, the other direction of fastening is often found. The mid-13th century frontispiece of Kitāb al-Diryāq (National Library, Vienna, Codex AF 10) (fig.32) for example contains sixteen male figures wearing a crossed fastening on their robes, all with a right-left diagonal. The left-right diagonal fastening or 'tatari' style appears on pottery before the turn of the 12th century, and both fastenings occur on later 'Seljuk' lustre and mīnā'ī wares.[17] Sometimes the two are depicted side by side, as for instance on a later 13-14th century lustre tile fragment (fig.33) (Museum

of Oriental Art, Moscow), which depicts five men wearing headgear, generally associated with Mongolian fashion. Their garments show, not as one might expect, an uniformity of a left-right closing in the tatari manner but both crossings.

In short, visual evidence shows that both styles were in vogue some decades before the territorial conquest of Transoxania and Iran, and the formal establishment of the Mongol court in the Middle East. So as yet there is no proof that this type of left-right fastened garment was exclusively connected with the Mongol invading forces or their court in this early period, and bearing in mind the composition of its army in the mid-13th century, perhaps none should be expected. The Mongol armies were then assimilating large numbers of Turkic soldiers under their banners; Ibn al-Athīr, the contemporary Arab chronicler, commented that over half of the Mongol army was Turkic.[18] Similarly there had been Tatar and Mongols entering the service of the early Baḥrī Mamluk sultans, who also employed Khwarazmi and Kurdish elements formerly of the Ayyubid armies.

SELJUK DRESS

A) Male Attire

It has been shown above that both kinds of diagonal front-fastenings on short garments were worn in Seljuk times. However, judging from contemporary figural depictions, the usual garment of both men and women in court circles, whether in central Anatolia or Iran, was the close-fitting, round-necked robes (fig.34). The robes depicted on the walls of Lashkar-i Bazar (fig.19) are similarly close-fitting, the sleeves long and narrow falling from dropped shoulder seams, here emphasised by decorated bands. Fastening on the left shoulder, the opening is shown open with the right

lapel forming a rever. The garments falling to the mid-calf are made of richly patterned fabrics, confirming contemporary accounts that the Ghaznavid sultan dressed his soldiers well in siqlātūn, Baghdadi and Isfahani stuffs, with gold girdles and jewelled swords for his bodyguard, and in colourful Shustari patterned silk for another unit.[19]

Regarding the basic shape of these garments, which here are classified for simplicity under the general heading of qabā', the sleeves were tight and long, pushed up forming wrinkles at the wrist. The bodice, regardless of the type of fastening used, was close-fitting and the length of the garment varied between the knee or mid-calf. Occasionally there is a marked difference in length between the front and back panels and it has been suggested that this feature indicated the social rank of the wearer: the longer the back skirt, the higher the status.[20] It appears both bodice and skirt were one continuous length of fabric (fig.19 & 32) without extra material added to increase the skirts. Instead the horseriders' skirts were split back and front (fig.32 upper register).

A belt with lappets, or a fabric sash with two long ties with gold borders, falling to the knee, conceals any detail of waist seaming if any. On the Sasanian Taq-i Bustan bas-relief (fig.5) the waists of the shān and his retinue are encircled with such girdles, the royal belt having ten visible lappets while those of the courtiers number only four or five. Frequently other items were suspended from the thongs, such as small box forms, horns as in the Bazaklik wall-painting (fig.6), purses as at Lashkar-i Bāzar (fig.19), or daggers and maces. Sometimes the surface of the belt and thongs suggests jewelled settings or applied shapes, as seen on a Seljuk belt (British Museum, London inv. no. 1939 3-13, 1-39) consisting of a series

of silver placques with repousse and niello decoration.[21] As implied in the Sasanian context, the belt was a symbol of rank and authority; the elite troop of Maḥmūd of Ghazna was known as kūy zarrīn kamarān (the gold-belted ones).[22]

Over this tunic was worn or casually draped another garment frequently richly patterned. Its structure followed that of the qabā' with long or elbow-length sleeves; both lengths are visible in the Kitāb al-Diryāq frontispiece (fig.32) for instance, which also shows the over-garment of the dominant figure is fur-trimmed or -lined. In this miniature, the over-coat has folded-back lapels, but another type possessed no revers, just a simple taper at each front edge forming a V-form, as seen on the attendants in the Rayy panel in the Pennsylvania Museum of Art (fig.35). Often a little shorter than the inner robe, this outer-garment is usually shown with an edge-to-edge front meeting.

It is not known whether both these inner and outer garments would have been described as qabā'. Ibn Faḍlān refers to a tight-fitting short garment worn in Central Asia as qurtaq,[23] so possibly a distinct term was used for each variation, as in the Mamluk period.[24]

In Seljuk and early Il-Khanid representations full trousers were worn, gathered into boots reaching to the calf or up to the knee. The boots appear to have been made from at least four pieces of leather, two covering the front foot and two for the leg, sewn at the sides, the back section covering both the calf-muscle and the heel. Despite his reputation as a superb horseman, the military man of this period is depicted with no heel support to engage the stirrup; presumably though the sole was rigid. Separate leggings are visible in the Rayy stucco panel (fig.35), with lines indicating two distinct sections, a shoe to the ankle and then a chap

to the knee. Probably these leggings and boots were kept up in the traditional fashion, with thongs attached to the waist, as seen in the Bazaklik wall-painting (fig.6), and the Kitāb al-Diryāq frontispiece (fig.32 top left, third figure and bottom left, second rider). This kind of footwear is shown frequently as dyed and occasionally further decorated, possibly with stamping, painting or embroidery. On the Rayy panel, for instance, a sun-burst design figures prominently, and this motif or one very similar is echoed elsewhere. In the later Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, such motifs often formed part of the heraldic repertoire, displaying the office and status associated with the wearer. Already in the reign of the Khwarazm shāh Muḥammad b. Tekish (1200-20) the post of the court official was recognizable from the official emblem he carried:

> "And the emblem of the secretary (dawādār) is the pen-box, and of the armour-bearer (silaḥdār) the bow, and the superintendant of stores (ṭishtdār) the ewer, and the master of the robes (jamdār) the napkin, and the emblem of the marshal (amīr akhūr) is the horse-shoe, and the emblem of the jāwīsh is a golden qubbah".[25]

The Kitāb al-Diryāq frontispiece (fig.32) shows the master falconer with a bird, the polo-master holding a polo-stick, the cup-bearer and his goblet among others. Similar officials can be identified in the Rayy stucco panel (fig.35) and the Hazine miniature (fig.36). Each holds his attribute rather than displaying a blazon, so it may be the sun-burst motif on these high boots had no symbolic meaning.

These two frontispieces (fig.32 & 36) depict distinctive fashions in headgear, shapes which owe nothing to the wrapping and winding techniques of the turban cloth. Again, it is difficult to identify with

certainty the specific shapes with any given term, except perhaps one, the sharbūsh, which Maqrīzī described as resembling a tāj with a triangular shape worn without a turban cloth or kerchief.[26] It is presumed that this is the type as worn by the two central figures in the Kitāb al-Diryāq frontispiece: a tall fabric or decorated leather cap with a central triangular plaque coloured gold and a deep trimming of dark fur. The term sharbūsh suggests a Persian origin, but in Turkish usage, the word denoted a head covering or ornament worn by females. It was never donned by Muslim theologians, but remained the headgear of high-ranking officials, which also suggests antecedents in the east. When it first appeared is unknown but by the end of the 12th century, the wearing of the sharbūsh demonstrated support for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Under the later Baḥrī Mamluks of Egypt and Syria it formed part of the khil^{c}a given to an amir on his investiture.[27] Before then the sharbūsh had fallen from favour in the eastern provinces, for only on the early examples of lustre and mīnā^{c}ī wares of 'Seljuk' Iran, does the sharbūsh appear regularly if occasionally as the headwear of the enthroned figure, or of the heavily armed men within the composition. Lesser figures - from their demeanour and position, attendants or similar - are portrayed with a pill-box form in two colours. The flat top is surmounted with a tiny cylindrical finial, as seen on a 583/1187 mīnā^{c}ī bowl in the British Museum (inv. no. 1945 10-17.261)(fig.38) where six attendants wear this while the seated figure carries the sharbūsh.

Still popular in this period was the diadem form of the tāj with its distinctive upright central and side prongs, evolved from the Sasanian crown, and already seen in an Umayyad context. A number of stucco figures dated to the late 12th/ 13th century wear this kind of headgear. The other simpler form, recalling the

qalansuwa, is occasionally depicted but on the heads of attendants rather than a regal head. This conical shape is the basic feature of another type which possessed a wide, pointed and curving brim, sometimes depicted with ties of a contrasting colour crossing over the brim in front, as in the Kitāb al-Diryāq frontispiece (fig.32). Less frequently illustrated is another head-covering seen as early as the 9th century in the eastern provinces, the kulāh-i dūshākh. This tall bifurcated head-dress almost mitre-shaped was worn in the Ghaznavid period, forming part of the governor's khil^{c}a. It remained either fashionable or established as a power symbol to be included within an enthronement scene in the Warqa wa Gulshāh manuscript (Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul, Hazine 841) produced in the first quarter of the 14th century.[28]

With the various head-coverings, the hair was worn long in at least four ringlets or plaits, two falling in front often reaching down to the waist, as pictured on several contemporary unglazed jars. This hairstyle drew comment from Matthew of Edessa, describing the Seljuk raids into Armenian territory in 1018/9:

> "Until that time the Armenians had never seen Turkish cavalry forces. When they encountered these Turks, they looked strange to them armed with bows and having flowing hair like women."[29]

B) Female Dress

In nomadic society of the eastern regions, the tradition of veiling among the womenfolk was not widespread but rather limited to the major urban settlements, such as Herat.[30] Legend had it that the universal hero Alexander/Iskandar was responsible for its introduction into the lands of Turkestan,[31] but obviously the source of this dress custom has to be sought in the spread of Islam.

In Seljuk illustrations, women no longer feature as members of the entertainment or serving circles as earlier. The individual female is instead portrayed as a consort, with or without in a veil of variable length. The full veil covered the forehead, nose and mouth is displayed on a late 12th century lustre plate found at Ghazni (National Museum, Kabul); on it three ladies, two in chequered wraps, gaze down from the ramparts of a building or gateway. Those worn by the women in the 634/1237 Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī of Iraqi production (Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, ms.5847) are similar but the decorative edging bands reveal more of the face. A shorter version reaching only to the shoulders, rather like the ṭaylasān of the Abbasid male and the ṭarḥa of western Muslim ladies, is shown in the Kitāb al-Diryāq frontispiece (fig.32), where the females in the lower register wear coifs, sometimes held in place with a forehead-band, with or without long ties down the back. Elsewhere, on ceramic surfaces for instance, the ladies are shown wearing the bağaltak, a small diadem-like head-gear with a central tear-shaped plaque standing proud in the hair, to which one, two or sometimes three circlets are attached. The long hair was parted into two soft curves across the forehead and then braided over the shoulders, back and front. The ear-rings, according to Maḥmūd al-Kashgārī, were not chosen at random; pearl drops signified that the wearer was single, while the married woman wore crescent shaped ear-rings of gold and silver.[32]

These Seljuk ladies are usually depicted sitting in the presence of a man of like size or flanked by retainers. Their üçetek[33] or three-panelled robe, frequently shown with a long waist sash, reached to the mid-calf where ample trousers fell loosely or were gathered in at the ankle. As with the menswear, it had ṭirāz-like bands on the upper sleeves, both on the

outer and inner robes. In tragic representations, such as the death or funeral of a relative, a more voluminous robe is depicted with strikingly long sleeves which fall over the hands to hang dramatically in a manner associated with dancers.

The close resemblance to the male dress of the period was noted by early 13th century Chinese travellers to the more easterly regions. They also mentioned the central opening of the robes, and from the stylised representations on contemporary lustre and mīnā'ī wares, this was indeed the usual type of fastening for female garments. However Carpini and Rubruck, writing in the same period, stated that the cross-over front panel garment was the fashion for men and women alike.[34] From the poetry and oral traditions, the women had a more important role in the life of the nomadic camp.[35] They were expected to be as skilled as their menfolk in riding and hunting, and it could be argued that this more 'equal' status is reflected in the similarity of dress between men and women.

C)Dress of the non-military class

The miniatures of the 634/1237 Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī manuscript show that the usual dress of the non-military man of the central provinces was a long ample robe, with round neck, central front fastening and long wide sleeves (fig.18), which can perhaps be identified as the jubba or durrā'a. Again the exact distinction between one clothing term and another is unclear and the pictorial depictions do not clarify the situation. Usually illustrated as non-patterned and monochrome, the ankle-length robe is relieved only by the addition of ṭirāz-like bands on the sleeve seam, and sometimes by the quality of the textile itself. It has been suggested that the rippling horizontal waves detailed

on some of the robes convey not drapery folds but moiré or watered silk, atlas mutammar, a luxurious fabric produced in medieval Baghdad.[36] No extant textile example of this particular kind has been published although other fragments dated approximately to the 10th-12th century indicate that the satin weave technique was being developed in this period.[37]

No back seam is indicated suggesting that the robes were made from one wide length folded in half (across the shoulders) to form back and front. Two further sections were cut on the warp or weft to form sleeves set in at right-angles with no shaping, to the selvedge sides of the front and back panels. Under the robe, fine white pantalons cascade about the ankle, with the foot protected by a pointed black shoe with low sides.

These Maqāmāt illustrations indicate that the most fashionable method of wrapping one's ʿimāma in early 13th century Baghdad was to leave one long section, often carrying a fringe and decorative banding (?tirāz), to fall down the back. The other end was brought across the main turban folds and then tucked in or draped casually over the crown. Further east, the ʿimāma was still worn; the Chinese monk Ch'ang Ch'un noted that in Samarqand the "men of lower classes", presumably meaning the indigenous population and the ʿulamā, wore turbans of white muslin.[38]

MONGOL DRESS

A) Military attire

It is not disputed here that the qabā' tatari possessed a left-right front fastening, but it is suggested that because this particular feature was clearly in use before the Mongol invasion into Islamic lands, Mongol dress as a whole, as seen by Carpini, etc. differed from the tatari garment of Mamluk times.

The distinctive hair style caught the attention of

Ch'ang Ch'un, who mentioned the long braids worn by both men and women in the Mongol camp of the early 1220s. Carpini's description shows the difference between the Seljuk plaits and the Mongol hair loops:

> "On top of the head they have a tonsure like clerics, and as a general rule all shave from one ear to the other to the breadth of three fingers, and this shaving joins on to the aforesaid tonsure. Above the forehead also they all likewise shave to two finger's breadth, but the hair between this shaving and the tonsure they allow to grow until it reaches their eyebrows, and, cutting more from each side of the forehead than in the middle, they make the hair in the middle long; the rest of their hair they allow to grow like women, and they make it into two braids which they bind, one behind each ear."[39]

To wear one's hair in this manner meant that one was identified with the Mongol army. Juwaynī reported that the Turkish men captured by the Mongol forces at Samarqand lost any apprehension about their immediate personal safety after their hair was shaved in the Mongolian fashion. Their confidence was ill-founded; they were killed at sunset.[40]

This distinctive hairstyle is not shown in association with the sharbūsh. It is only depicted with other types of head-gear held to be Mongolian and by some, Uighur, in origin, for instance the flat-banded cap sitting horizontally across the brow with the band extending back, sometimes almost set at right-angles, perhaps to protect the nape of the neck (fig.33, 37 & 39; see also 31). The 13th century chronicler Simon of St.Quentin described this 'souwester' cap:

> "Ore cappellorum ipsorum in anteriori parte et lateribus habent quandem reflectionem extra ad

> grossitudinem digiti, sed non in parte posteriori; due quoque ligature in eisdem oris supra aures insute sunt, quibus sub mento colligatis cappellum inherere capiti faciunt, ac ne a vento vel aliquo alio evellatur infigunt vel imprimunt. Super has quoque ligaturas due sunt ligule parve volatiles ad decorem sive potius ad terrorem. Hujusmodi ergo forma capellorum est Tartaris omnibusque quotquot sunt cum eis."[41]

Alongside this 'souwester' form another head-dress is often depicted as a 'pudding basin' form with a wide brim notched at the side (fig.40 see also 41). Different knobs or spikes sometimes decorate the crowns which may indicate a grading system, as was the case in China under the Yüan and later dynasties.[42] But more usually, sprays or one or two puffs of feathers embellish the hats and it is thought that these and the single plumes worn in groups of two, three or four also signified certain ranks or honours the wearers held.[43]

These feathers are assumed by modern art historians to be owl plumage but there is little in the Oriental sources to support this, other than a brief indirect reference by the Il-Khanid historian Rashīd al-Dīn.[44] There are two stories related by late 13th century Western chroniclers in which an owl saved the wounded Chingis Khan in hiding, and in another episode, the bird along with the hare[45] led the Mongols to the safety of an empty stronghold. As a result, we are told :

> "Les Tartars rendirent graces à Deu, e dès adonques orent en tante reverence cel oisel, qui est appellez duc, que chascun qui poet avoir de la plume de cel oisel la porte sur sa teste."[46]

As yet no oriental reference has been found to confirm these western reports, except the Mongolian legend Bolur Erike mentions an incident involving the adopted

son of Chingis Khan. Woken by an owl's screech, the boy threw his boot at the bird whereupon a snake fell out. Hearing of this, Chingis Khan announced that henceforth no-one was to kill owls although it was an unpopular bird.[47] As in the Islamic world, the owl was regarded as a bird of ill omen [48] and it was not known to have been hunted in Mongol society.[49] The literature of the period suggests that the ability to shoot birds on the wing was especially admired in Mongolian society [50] so presumably the wearing of feathers symbolised the skill and marksmanship of the wearer.[51] Tibetan chronicles refer to a distinctive "winged swallow" Mongolian hat and elsewhere we learn that Öljeitü (1304-17) wore an eagle feather.[52]

It has been argued cogently by Simpson[53] that these first two types of head-wear, the 'souwester' and round crown, when worn with the braided hairloops and a knee-length, apron-skirted robe with a cross-over fastening, (fig.39) was a short-lived fashion for high-ranking officials in the central Islamic lands in the last decades of the 13th century. By the mid-1300s this ensemble was no longer being depicted by contemporary artists and craftsmen. The looped hair style and the two types of head-wear were retained well into the mid-century but the robe worn with them (fig.40), although having a cross-over panel, was much longer falling to the lower calf or ankle and with shorter, elbow-length sleeves usually rather than the earlier wrinkled sleeves so fashionable around 1300. This proves that there was at least one distinctive change in male court or military dress. It would follow the Mamluk historians who used the term qabā' tatari were thus referring to this later, longer garment with shorter sleeves, etc., rather than the earlier style.

The lower waist of both early and later robes was encircled by a narrow (leather?) belt which had

important significance in 13th century Mongol custom and ritual, and there is some evidence that Turkic tradition predates the Mongol. Before serious military action, the belt was taken off and slung round the neck or across the back (the wording is unclear) then prayers were uttered. A similar ceremony took place at the election of the Khan as in the case of Ögedey (1227), Güyük (1246) and of Möngke (1251).[54]

The robes themselves carried decorative panels on the bodice, front and back. One type, less frequently represented than the other, is very similar in form to the later 'cloud-collar' found in Chinese costume of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). The soft lie of the collar on the shoulders suggests it was made of a supple material such as leather or textile, either worn separately or attached as appliqué work. In the Bazaklik wall-paintings (fig.6) similar collars were an integral part of the robes as the left front panels are folded back.

According to Cammann the four-lobed collar appeared in Chinese costume before Han times (206-12 B.C.) when it symbolised the control and authority the wearer possessed over his world. The first Chinese textual reference to the collar (yün chien) occurs in the dynastic history of the Chin Tatars (1115-1260) in an edict restricting the wearing of yellow silk garments decorated with the collar and with dragons and other cosmological symbols to members of the imperial household.[55] There is no evidence to prove that the symbolic significance, as expounded by Cammann, was transferred to outside communities, but a certain exclusive quality was retained when this dress ornament appeared in the Islamic lands. Its depiction in the 13th-14th centuries is rare, but when it is shown, it embellishes the shoulders of the dominant figure or figures within the composition.[56] On the left page of

a frontispiece, circa 1300, incorporated into the Hazine 2152 album (Topkapı Saray, Istanbul) only the centrally-placed enthroned figure (fig.36) is wearing such a collar, gold with intertwining scroll and leaf decorations, over his short-sleeved rose-pink robe. The lobed outline is also seen on two of the late 12th/ early 13th century figural bas-reliefs found in the Kubatchi region of the Caucasus, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Rogers Fund 38.96) and in the Louvre, Paris (inventory no. AA 265).[57]

Perhaps these collars were made of gilded leather, sitting independently on the shoulders, but also possible, the decoration could have been stamped on to the textile. This technique was in use at this time although admittedly it was associated with inexpensive cloth. An embroidered example (fig.42) of an Iranian cloud-collar survives in the Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow, but dates from the early Safavid period, the first half of the 16th century. This appliqué piece has the conventional lobed shape except that the front pendant has been extended to form two decorative edging bands, so that the total length measures 1.54cm with a maximum width of 93 cm (60.75" x 36"). It is conceivable that the late 13th century collars were similar, but perhaps the design was embroidered[58] on to or woven into the fabric before cutting and sewing, much in the manner of Chinese costume of a later period. Indeed, the attendant's garment in the Hazine miniature (fig.37), has the central back seam cutting through the gold patterned square.

Such squares form the other type of bodice decoration, placed on the front and back of the garment (fig.37 & 40) and have also been associated with later Chinese court costume, with the so-called 'mandarin squares' p'u fang. As depicted by the Turkic and

Persian painting schools from the turn of the 14th century for over 150 years, the squares are usually decorated with floral elements and occasionally an animal, mythical or otherwise, or bird often a duck, among the foliage and arabesque scroll. As early as 694, Chinese officials above the third rank were presented with robes with special pattern motifs as befitted their office; the garments given to princes for instance were decorated with figures of dragons or deer. Under the Liao and Sung dynasties certain motifs were retained exclusively for use by the nobility.[59] The Mongol ruler Kublai Khan, later emperor of China also legislated in like manner in 1271.[60] Possibly then these squares, so carefully depicted in certain Il-Khanid and post Il-Khanid miniatures, did indicate the wearer's rank and status at court. Al-ʿUmarī (d. 1349) suggests there was an honorific significance by writing that the Mongols present at the Delhi court wore the tirāz not on the sleeves of their robes but "between their shoulders".[61]

Sleeve bands in the accepted tirāz tradition, usually coloured gold, continued to be worn until the mid-14th century, when this device disappears from the artist's repertoire. Some bands are shown with inscriptions, others with geometrical or floral patterns, or even plain. Possibly these bands were deliberately portrayed with such differences, as by 1285 there were two separate kinds of tirāz: the tirāz zarkash, a gold-thread patterned silk band placed on the outer robes, and the tirāz mudhahhab a gold-coloured textile band which decorated the thawb or under-robe.[62] In 1293, to persuade the populace to accept the introduction of paper money, the Mongol administration forbade the weaving of inscriptions on luxury silks (zarbaft) except those produced in and for the court (sarkar-i pādshāh).[63]

Occasionally another sleeve ornament is illustrated in the form of an armlet, embellished with an ovoid or circular boss. In painting (fig.37), this ornament has a two-dimensional quality, but on certain Seljuk stucco figures, this boss has a three-dimensional form with up-standing studs or 'pearls'. Could this be a development of the early Abbasid bāzbākand or bāzfākand worn as an emblem of the Khurasani troops ?[64]

Some paintings are thought to depict contemporary rulers (e.g. the Aghānī frontispiece, the Hazine page and the Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushā illustration) (fig.36 & 39).[65] In early Seljuk times, rulers were advised to cultivate an atmosphere of splendour at court by Niẓām al-Mulk, wazīr to Alp Arslan (1063-72) and Malik Shāh I (1072-92). He suggested twenty attendants, magnificently dressed, should be present at audiences to symbolise the status and wealth surrounding the ruler.[66] However, although the texts allude briefly to some sort of 'royal dress',[67] the rulers themselves were usually noted for modesty and austerity in dress. As mentioned previously, such behaviour was a sure attribute of a hero, a champion of the people and the faith. Toghril Beg, the Seljuk commander, made sure his public image fitted this model, wearing white cotton and fasting twice a week.[68] Even Chingis Khan proclaimed his dislike of ostentation in a letter of 616/1219:

> "I hate luxury and exercise moderation. I have only one coat and one food. I eat the same food and am dressed in the same tatters as my humble herdsmen."[69]

But for all the veneer of unpretentiousness, there were important dress rituals which accompanied the installation of the khan in the mid-13th century. For each of the three or four days before the actual election of the Mongol khan took place, the assembled

notables wore garments jisun of prescribed colour and perhaps fabric. The precise details differ in the various reports but evidently white clothes were donned on one day, followed the next day by the assembly dressing in red. Carpini for example reported on the first day white velvet was worn, red on the second day, on the third day garments of blue velvet and on the last day, fine patterned silks were donned. Brother Benedict the Pole stated that cloth of gold, and white samite were ordered for the first two days respectively, and for the third day, the actual day of election according to him, all the notables dressed in red.[70] Immediately after the election, the assembly doffed their hats and slung their belts over their shoulders, or round their necks before raising the new khan on a piece of felt.[71]

B) Dress of Mongolian Court Ladies

All visitors from the western or eastern regions commented on the spectular head-dress of the high-ranking married ladies, calling it boqtak, bocca, botta, bokhtakh, gu-gu or ku-ku. Of the reports of Rubruck, Carpini, Odoric, Ibn Battūta, Ch'ang Ch'un and others, the first contains more information:

> " They also have a head-dress which they call bocca, which is made out of the bark of a tree or of any other fairly light material which they can find; it is large and circular and as big as two hands can span around, a cubit and more high and square at the top like the capital of a column. This bocca they cover with costly silk material, and it is hollow inside, and on the capital in the middle or on the side they put a rod [tuft] of quills or slender canes, likewise a cubit and more in length; and they decorate this rod at the top with peacock feathers and throughout its length all

around with little feathers from the mallard's tail and also with precious stones. The wealthy ladies wear such an ornament on the top of their head and fasten it down firmly with a hood which has a hole in the top for this purpose, and in it they stuff their hair, gathering it up from the back on to the top of the head in a kind of knot and putting over it the bocca which they then tie firmly under the chin."[72]

The strange shape was explained by Odoric and Ricold of Montecroce as symbolising a man's foot, so acting as a constant reminder to the wearer of her subservience to the male sex.[73] The head-dress is depicted in several miniatures thought to have been produced in Iran in the early 14th century (fig.40), perhaps one of the earliest being the Hazine miniature (fig.36 the female on the extreme centre-right).

When she donned the boytaγ, the Mongol bride also changed her hair style. Instead of braiding her long hair into numerous plaits, the hair was according to Rubruck partly shaved and then arranged in the shibülger, parted in the centre with two heavy plaits falling over the ears. The bride also dressed in a different way:

"[she] puts on a tunic as wide as a nun's gown, but everywhere larger and longer, open before, and tied at the right side.... And they tie their gowns with a piece of pure silk stuff at the waist and they wrap another band at the breasts..."[74]

The mid-14th century traveller Ibn Battūta mentions this voluminous gown as worn by the wife of a Crimean ruler, a region under strong Mongolian influence. This garment required thirty young girls, each holding a loop to lift the gown.[75] Certain 14th century Persian miniatures (fig.40) show the ample cut, quite unlike any earlier fashion in the Islamic empire, the full

width of fabric seemingly being used not only for the main garment panels but also for covering the arms, caught only at the wrist. This robe and the boxtay remained court fashion for high-ranking married ladies at least until the mid-15th century, as is evident in both contemporary painting and De Clavijo's description of the dress worn by Timur Leng's wife in Samarqand, 1404:

> "... a robe of red silk, trimmed with gold lace [frogging], which was long and flowing, but without sleeves, or any opening, except one to admit the head, and two armholes [presumably wrist-cuffs]. It had no waist, and fifteen ladies held up the skirts of it, to enable her to walk."[76]

The quotation used to introduce this chapter shows that the colour red had particular meaning in medieval Mongolian court circles. Further east, the colour had and still retains an association with good luck and fertility, as its use in marriage dress of successive Chinese dynasties proves. In the Turcoman territories of Iran and 19th century Ottoman Turkey, the bridal veil was always a brilliant fiery red.[77] A Seljuk woman by dressing in red silk showed she desired love. This message became subtly altered in the Mamluk lands some two centuries later when the colour signified easy virtue, for red pantalons (assuming sarafīl is an error for sarawīl) and mulā'a (wrap) was the dress of a prostitute in that society.[78]

TIMURID COURT DRESS

A) Male clothing

The 17th century French traveller Chardin reported seeing in Isfahan the very garments that Timur Leng (d. 1405) had worn, noting that they closely resembled in cut the current style of Safavid garments.[79] He was correct in so far as Timurid dress styles remained

influential in Iranian provincial court circles for many decades, particularly the ankle-length outer robe, with its diagonal front panel overlapping to tie under the right arm. Two other styles were equally popular, both with a central fastening down the front. It is not known whether any or each of these styles were exclusive to certain court groups. One had a small round neck, sometimes with a small upright collar, worn open slightly at the throat to form revers, revealing the undershirt. The other was also an over-tunic of the same ankle-length but with a deep U-shaped neck-line, with tight sleeves to the elbow. Probably the bodices of these garments were cut separately and sewn onto fuller skirt panels as the late 14th/ early 15th century artists have carefully painted tiny gathers, and occasionally a waist-seam, but usually this is concealed by a leather or fabric belt. A seam line is also sometimes indicated down the centre of the cross-over fronted garments, suggesting that these robes were constructed from very narrow fabric widths.
Furthermore the skirt is shown with a high central slit (fig.43) the hem corners of which are tucked up into the belt, when worn by attendants and servants. This costume structure is not found in early 14th century paintings; instead side slits to the hips are depicted (fig.40).

The fabric is generally represented in bright monochrome with gold decoration woven into or applied by embroidery or printing in defined areas; that is, a skirt band approximately one-third up from the hem, on the chest (and presumably on the back) and on the shoulder edge in the case of garments with the cross-over front fastening. A single or double row of stitching approximately 2" (5cm) from the edge emphasizes the line and direction of the cross-over panel and the elbow-length cuffs, the unpatterned

undershirt, visible on the lower arms providing a rich contrast.

The difference between the late 13th century cross-over garment and the early Timurid version may appear slight, just a matter of modified length, etc. but this ignores the possible change in method of construction at the waist. These later variations, along with the specific pattern areas in this style of dress surely comprise the distinctive features of the qabā' tatari of the Mamluk historians.

Head-wear underwent noticeably radical changes in the 14th century. The 'souwester' type of Mongol head-dress embellished with feathers disappeared from the artist's repertoire by the mid-14th century, being replaced by a variety of head-gear, with a few basic types: a taller, conical cap worn again with or without a brim, split or otherwise; and a small turban with the folded cloth wound tightly round the base of a red kulāh, gently rounded in shape.[80] This re-emergence of the turban at court perhaps is linked with the conversion of the Il-Khanid ruler Ghazan Khan to Islam shortly before his accession in 1295, or with another event nearer in date to the visual evidence, the adoption of Shī'ism as the state religion in the Iranian provinces by his brother Öljeytü Khudābanda in 1309.

B) Ladies' Dress

As noted above, the voluminous robes of Mongol period worn with the eye-catching boyṭaγ (fig.40) were retained for Timurid court occasions in the eastern lands. However simpler styles were introduced in the later 14th century. The hair was worn over the shoulders or more frequently contained in a long, thin snood which fell down the back to the heels. Over the head a shaped piece of black fabric with a narrow chin

strap covered the hair and the hair-line, reaching down in front of the ear-lobes. On to this wide band a series of stiffened kerchiefs were fastened, often arranged in a cock's comb-fan, a south-west Iranian fashion, according to Robinson.[81] A development during the second decade of the 15th century was the introduction in contemporary painting of a transparent coif reaching just below the shoulders. For outdoors, an ample full-length white veil was worn low across the forehead held in place by concealed hands in front of the breasts. To cover the eyes and the nose, a narrow band of woven horse-hair, the pìchəh was tied about the forehead and secured at the back, as noted by de Clavijo in 1404.[82]

Their robes followed the styling of the men's-wear, full-length with a soft line from the shoulders. The ties of the waist sash hung to the ground or were caught up in itself after forming deep curves. By the mid-15th century, a shorter sash was more fashionable, again in common with male fashion of the period. If a cloth belt is not depicted a waist seam is shown with the soft gathers of the skirt panels. But one style of outer garment worn by men was not used by their womenfolk: this was the robe with the diagonal cross-over panel. The other two front-fastening robes were used by the late 14th/ early 15th century lady at court (fig.43). As in the male version, the small round neckline was left open and folded back to form small revers and reveal the chemise underneath; the sleeves were again usually long and tight-fitting down the whole length of the arm. Short, capped or elbow-length sleeves were worn especially with the robe with the deep U-shaped neckline. Another item of dress, seldom if ever donned by high-ranking ladies, princesses or heroines but used by their personal attendants in the miniatures, was the multiple belt or 'corselet'

(fig.43). For about forty years or so, judging by the pictorial evidence, this piece of clothing was worn on or just below the breasts and reached to the lower waist area. It is shown with the same ground colour as the full- or sometimes knee-length outer skirt; in the latter case another longer differently coloured skirt is worn below. This suggests that the outer skirt was attached to the 'corselet' in some way. The multiple belt was itself supported by two shoulder straps, tied in front with bows, clearly visible in the British Museum Anthology 813/1410-1 (Persian Add. 27261 fol.38). The function of this item of dress is not known; it is rarely featured in Persian painting after 1440.

Richly patterned mantles with luxurious fur linings, which also covered the pendant back collar completed the ensemble for both high-ranking gentlemen and ladies of the late 14th and early 15th century. The coat is often depicted draped over the wearer's shoulders, in which case the long sleeves hang empty. It is also worn as a fully functional garment, with the cuff edge extending some 6" or more (15cm) beyond the fingertips. The pictorial evidence suggests the upper sleeve was slit, allowing the arm passage while the rest of the lower sleeve fell gracefully.

C) Khil^{c}at

The tradition of bestowing khil^{c}at (Arabic: khil^{c}a) was continued in the Mongol, Il-Khanid and Timurid courts. Few details are given in the sources but this does not mean the practice had lost any of its significance. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa shows in the visit of Sultan Muḥammad Khudābanda to the qaḍī of Shiraz circa 1310 that garments were considered as having baraka or good luck, offering protection to the recipient and his family. The qaḍī had miraculously escaped from death

and

> "On being informed of this the Sultan went out from his residence, bare footed, prostrated himself at the qaḍī's feet, kissing them, took him by the hand and placed upon him all the garments that he was wearing. This is the highest distinction which a sultan can confer in their usage. When he bestows his garments in this way upon some person, this action constitutes an honour for the latter and for his sons and his descendants, which they inherit generation after generation so long as these garments last or any part of them, the most honourable garment in this respect being the trousers."[83]

The custom of presenting khil^{c}at to foreign envoys was still continued in the post-Timurid period, among the tribal confederation of the Aq Qoyunlu. The day after Barbaro was received in audience by Uzun Ḥasan (d. 1478), leader of the Aq Qoyunlu, the khan

> "... sent me twoo garmentes of sylke, that is, to witt, a straict gowne furred w[i]th barco and a jackett, a towell of sylke to girde me, a fyne peece of lynen called bumbasie to putt on my hedde..."[84]

TEXTILES

Few textiles have survived from this period, a bitter legacy perhaps of the devastation wrought by the numerous Mongolian and Timurid military campaigns across the central Islamic lands. The so-called 'Buyid' pieces, the compound twill silk fragment (fig.44) which contains the name of ^{c}Alā' al-Dīn Kaykubād of Konya (1219-1237) (Musée Historique des Tissus, Lyons inv. no. 23.475) and an Il-Khanid piece (fig.45) in the Dom und Diozesan Museum, Vienna form the basis of our knowledge of textile manufacture in this period,[85] and some of these were probably

furnishing, not dress fabrics. However, although the non-contentious fragments are few in number, contemporary poetry testifies to the rich visual appearance of 12th and 13th century fabrics, and the esteem in which they were held. The Seljuk poet Manūchihrī Dāmghānī, resident at the court of Maṣᶜūd of Ghazni until 1041 described a garden employing textile imagery :

> "The garden desolates a hundred factories (kargah) of Shustar [fabrics], and the plain would close a hundred factories of Tiber (by the beauty of flowers growing upon it).
>
> This white lily which has blossomed in the garden has one branch of silver and one of gold. You would say that it was a brocade shirt of [S]tushar, the outside of an indigo-blue color, and the lining of ivory."[86]

Similar imagery was used by his contemporary Farrūkhī Sistānī[87] who likened the difficulty and effort of composing poetry to the work of the weaver:

> "I left Sistan with a caravan of clothiers,
> Bringing a robe (hulla) woven from my soul and spun from my heart,
> Bringing a robe whose silk is composed of words:
> Bringing a robe the designer of whose brocade was my tongue
> Each thread of its warp was drawn from within me:
> Each thread of its woof was painstakingly extracted from my soul;
> Every [rhetorical] art has gone into its making.
> In it you'll find the trace of every style."[88]

Möngke (1251-60) was among the first of the Mongol khans to wear Chinese fabrics and reference to textiles found in the western Islamic provinces clearly

demonstrates the impact of Far Eastern silks on the Middle Eastern textile market. In their decorative composition appear non-Islamic figural devices, such as dragons, phoenixes, mythical ch'i-lins, ducks and turtles. Floral elements were also sinized with the introduction of peony and lotus blossoms. Woven inscriptions in Arabic contain the conventional honorific sentiments offered to the ruler, and on some fragments the sultan is actually named as, for instance, on the Marienkirche cope (fig.46). However, the basic composition of the pattern retained a strong Sasano-Islamic character in as much as paired animals, usually addorsed, are held within a circular, ovoid or polygonal frame. A stiff, hierarchical version had been popular in the Seljuk world (fig.44). There has been much debate among scholars over the provenance of these sinized textiles. Because of the use of gilded leather strips within the textile structure, rather than the Seljuk use of gilt membrane, there is now general agreement that these pieces were produced in the East, although opinions are still divided between a production centre in China, and in Central Asia.[89]

No textile has been definitely identified as Timurid in date and manufacture and no example of the courtly menswear as featured in the paintings has apparently survived. The costly, opulent fabrics such as those produced in late 15th century Yazd described by Barbaro :

> "CASSACKS... of clothe of golde, of sylke, and of damaskyne chamlette, lyned w[i]th sylke or furred w[i]th exceading faire armelynes and sables"[90]

are not known today. Neither do we have any Timurid textile bearing his special armorial device:

> "...the Three Circlets set thus to shape a triangle o o o, which same it is said signifies that he Timur is lord of all Three Quarters of the World." [91]

The fragments of compound twill weave shows that the drawloom was used. It had been employed in pre-Islamic Iran and China, and arguably in Syria[92] but obviously underwent refinement and improvement in the Seljuk period[93] with the production of double and treble cloths, and satin. These technical improvements were taken up by the Chinese, considered masters of textile technology for the production of their weft-faced twill or k'ö-ssu 'tapestry'[94] and perhaps this diffusion of technical knowledge can be linked with the capture of Herati weavers after Chingis Khan's successful siege of the city in 1221.[95]

Some information regarding spinning techniques is available but still inconclusive. In the 634/1237 Iraqi Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī manuscript (BN Arabe ms. 5847) one miniature (fol.138 r) 'Discussion near a village' includes a figure in the upper extreme right spinning, using the suspended (or drop-and-spin) spindle-weight uppermost method, holding the fibres head high in the left hand on a distaff. Another more mechanical method, utilising a four-legged frame and spoked wheel on a spindle is represented in the 731/1330-1 Shiraz Shāh-nāmah (Topkapı Saray Hazine 1479), illustrating the story of the magic worm in the apple.[96] Like the 20th century version from Ardestan illustrated by Wulff,[97] this ground-level spinning wheel has four uprights in groups of two separated by horizontal bars. In between the two of the verticals is an axis carrying the spoked wheels, worked by a crank, while the other usually shorter verticals hold the winding spindle. There is another spindle wheel coloured white in the composition, and elsewhere a basket. Possibly this Shāh-nāmah illustration depicts the whole spinning/plying process, from the basket of cocoons, to the plying of the filaments, and to a full skein of finished silk yarn (the white-coloured spindle).[98]

No dye nor mordant analyses have been undertaken on the Kaykubād piece, the Il-Khanid fragment and the less problematic of the Buyid examples, despite exhaustive work on the latter.[99] In modern Iran alum is the usual mordant and this was readily available in the medieval period from Anatolia, and from Egypt. The monopoly of the Anatolian trade was held by a Genoese and a Venetian[100] but it was generally agreed that its alum was the best quality, with the region of Karahisar producing approximately 800,000 kgs. a year.[101]

In the eastern provinces, the textile workshops suffered greatly during and after the military campaigns. The important cotton textile centre of Merv, for instance, saw all except four hundred artisans killed during the Mongol invasions. The Mongols themselves had a reputation for wearing nothing but animal skins and wool, though it was acknowledged that the khans recognised quality when they saw it.[102] The Il-Khanid rulers made several attempts to re-establish textile manufacture. A ṭirāz workshop was established after the death of Hülegü, and one of his sons summoned a number of weavers to Tabriz to work for the court.[103] Rashīd al-Dīn, the Il-Khanid wazīr set up a dye-house and cloth-weaving workshops in the city with contracted workers from the Levant and Cyrus.[104] It appears that at least one other new textile industry was set up in Abarquh, known previously for its cotton production, concerned either with sericulture or with the processing and manufacture of silk, for a bronze seal (fig.30) bears a foliated Kufic inscription of "Khudābanda Muḥammad [1304-17]. Dār al-ḥarīr Abarquh".[105] This movement of craftsmen from one region to another might explain why established textile centres which managed to survive military action, introduced new yarns rather than

relying solely on traditional materials associated with the locale. With the introduction of new ideas and processes into the provinces came another element, which was to have a far-reaching effect on the home industries, that of the European trader.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Rashīd al-Dīn p.162.
2. For details, see CHI vol.V; Cahen Pre-Ottoman and Spuler/Drummond.
3. Grabar Visual p.628. His method of evaluating the artistic development of the Seljuk and Mongol Iran is to discuss the architectural development of the mosque; the three-dimensional objects of the 12th and 13th centuries; and 14th century Persian manuscript painting. The brevity of this section in "Libās" EI^2 is an indication of the present state of knowledge concerning costume.
4. See Rogers. Esin has written several articles, emphasising the Turkic heritage. The Mongols although called Tatars or Tartars by their contemporaries, referred to themselves as Mongol from the time of Chingis Khan, it is suggested to differentiate themselves from the Tatar tribes they had subdued and then controlled.
5. Rice Baptisterie p.13.
6. Mayer Mamluk p.21-2; Rogers p.391 ff.
7. Rogers p.391-5. It should be noted that on the St. Louis basin, dated and provenanced as the Vasselot piece (i.e. 1290-1310, Syria), the costumes are depicted with both kinds of diagonal crossing in detail.
8. Ibn al-Dawādārī vol.VIII p.53,55. See also Ibn al-Furat as given in Lewis Islam vol.I p.90, 95.
9. Maqrīzī Sulūk vol.I p.511.
10. Mayer Mamluk p.22.
11. My grateful thanks to Dr. Robert Irwin for his advice on this complex issue.
12. Qalqashandī and al-ᶜUmarī give no specific description of the method of fastening nor the direction, but the latter mentions that the qabā' tatari was worn at the Delhi court; Quatremère p.213-4.
13. Dawson p.7; Carpini implies but does not state that the garment was fastened with a diagonal crossover. See also Dawson p.102; Carpini-Rubruck p.46, 154.
14. St. Quentin p.42.
15. Wen-Wu 1982 (i) for Yuan murals from Chifeng-xian, p.54-8; also Wen-Wu 1979 (iv) for tomb finds of Yuan official; GBY figs.1,4, and 10 and an English abstract of this find is published by Hsio-Yen Shih.
16. Grube Islamic n.112 p.91.
17. This is taking into account that mīnāᶜī vessels have sometimes received later

additional painting. Grateful thanks to Dr. Oliver Watson for allowing me to study his photographic records of lustre and *mīnāʿī* wares.

18. Ayalon *Yasa* vol.36 p.126, vol.38 p.15, points out the difficulty in ascertaining whether the Mongols mentioned in the texts were really Mongols; see also Haidar, and Morgan p.94.
19. Mahdjoub; Bosworth *Ghaznavids* p.136.
20. Esin *Court* p.96; she classifies the knee-length garment as *qurtaq*, and the shorter version 'cengshu'.
21. Gray p.75-6. An Ayyubid belt (Benaki Museum, Athens) is designed differently, resembling the girdle worn by the central figure in the *Maqāmāt al-Harīrī* frontispiece dated 734/1334 (fig.41). It is formed from over forty discs interspersed with rectangular plates, vertical and horizontal.
22. Bosworth *Later* p.70; n.70 p.173.
23. Ibn Faḍlān p.82, n.80 p.226-7.
24. See Chapter V.
25. Mayer *Saracenic* p.4.
26. Mayer *Mamluk* p.27.
27. Dozy p.220-3; Mamluk *Mamluk* p.27-8.
28. Chirvani p.81 pl.IV; see also Bosworth *Military* p.62.
29. Dostourian p.54.
30. For Chin envoy's report on veiled women of Herat about 1220, see Bretschneider vol.I p.31.
31. Adahl fol.328 v. p.35 pl.22.
32. Onder p.656.
33. Ibid. p.658.
34. Bretschneider vol.I p.89; Dawson p.7 (Carpini), p.102 (Rubruck).
35. Hatto passim; *Dede Korkut* passim.
36. Mayer *Mamluk* p.14; see also Lombard p.246-7 who defines *'attābī* as a *moiré* taffeta.
37. Reath & Sachs p.22-3.
38. Bretschneider vol.I p.89, 91.
39. Carpini as in Dawson p.6-7. For Ch'ang Ch'un's report, see Bretschneider vol.I p.52-3, 89.
40. Ayalon *Yasa* vol.38 p.151. See also Esin *Court* p.95 for another theory regarding the hair-lock.
41. St. Quentin p.42.
42. Cammann *Mandarin* p.28-9.
43. Ettinghausen *Mongol* p.53; Esin *Hunter* p.27.
44. Boyle *Owl* p.69.
45. The significance of the rabbit/ hare in medieval Islamic iconography has been explored by Daneshvari, and more tentatively in the

case of Egypt by Cruikshank Dodd; see also Boyle Owl.

46. Hethoum (Hayton) p.151-2; Backer p.165-6, and also p.291 for hare and owl incident.
47. Boyle Owl n.10 p.67-8.
48. Howorth vol.I p.101.
49. Clauson p.11.
50. Jagchid & Hyer p.35.
51. For another interpretation, linking the wearing of feathers to Shamanist practice, see Roux p.38.
52. Jagchid & Hyer p.35-6,50; Hatto n.304 p.125-7; Quatremère Histoire p.437; see also St. Quentin p.42.
53. Simpson p.287-8, 292.
54. Roux p.9-26. A belt studded with 'jaundice stones' (Pliny's icterias) was thought to aid digestion; Rashīd al-Dīn p.73.
55. Cammann Symbolism; Cammann Mongol p.165-6.
56. A traditional Mongolian saying suggests that a collar (unspecified) on a man's garment denoted the wearer was a chief, leader or elder; Bawden p.117.
57. Orangerie item 208 for full bibliographical references.
58. In the Babur-name, the adjective tigigan is used, suggesting embroidery; Andrews in Vollmer Technical p.144. See also Woods p.149-50 for the description of the robe of Yaʿqūb, leader of the Aq Qoyunlu.
59. For example, dragons, mountains and planets; Wittfogel p.236.
60. Cammann Ming p.10; Cammann Dragon p.4-7.
61. Jagchid & Hyer p.48-9; Quatremère p.215. Serjeant p.113 associates the Baha al-Dawla garment in the Textile Museum, Washington (inv. no. 3.116) with this statement. See also Bretschneider vol.II p.195 for report of the sultan of Turfan seeking permission from the Chinese emperor to use textiles decorated with dragons and other motifs associated with imperial authority in 1469 and 1470. Both times the request was refused.
62. Mayer Mamluk n.1 p.34. Riefstahl p.462 argues that the presence of a Kufic-inscribed tirāz band on a figurine signifies a production date before 1250. Talbot Rice Armbands p.270 states that tirāz decoration disappeared in the western provinces at the end of the 13th century, with the collapse of the Seljuk regime, but that it was retained in Iran by the Mongol rulers until their fall in 1349. Bierman p.152 feels the political significance of tirāz declined with the establishment of

the Ayyubid regime in the 1170s.

63. Serjeant p.68.

64. See Chapter III fn.43 p.103.

65. For the Aghānī miniatures, see Rice Aghānī; for the Hazine page, see Esin Court; for the Tarikh manuscript see Ettinghausen Mongol.

66. Schefer p.127.

67. For example, Matthew of Edessa in Dostourian p.174-5, 240; Bar Hebraeus vol.I p.201. See also Woods p.149-50 for an anecdote regarding the attire of Yaʿqūb, the leader of the Aq Qoyunlu.

68. Bar Hebraeus vol.I p.201.

69. Bretschneider vol.I p.37.

70. Dawson p.61, 81. Friar Odoric writing in the early 14th century mentions that certain colours worn at court feasts identified various ranks, green silk for the highest grades, crimson for the second and yellow for the third rank; Yule Cathay vol.I p.141.

71. Roux p.9-26.

72. Rubruck as quoted in Dawson p.102. For a precis of sources, see Yule Cathay vol.I p.222-4. For Chinese descriptions, see Bretschneider vol. I p.52-3 and for Ibn Baṭṭuṭa, see Ibn Baṭṭuṭa vol.II p.485.

73. Yule Cathay vol.I p.131-2.

74. Rubruck p.19-20. See also Petis Genghizcan p.366. The 13th century Hei-ta Shih-lueh states that the robe was buttoned on the right "with the neckline or collar cut so as to form a square just below the neck"; Jagchid & Hyer p.48-9. This description fits a woman's robe excavated in North-west China from the Yuan or early Ming period; GBY.

75. Ibn Baṭṭuṭa vol.II p.48, and p.485.

76. Clavijo/ Markham p.154. See also Gabain p.125 and pl.51 fig 126.

77. Garnett p.240, 247. For an earlier association in Roman times, see Wilson Clothing p.141-2. Today among the Nubian Kenuz community in Egypt, the wedding dress (jalabiya) is usually red "the color most associated with marriage" (Callender & el-Guindi p.62).

78. Onder p.658; Mayer Costumes p.302.

79. Chardin vol.IV p.148. Presumably Timur's clothes, if they existed at that time were destroyed in the 18th century Afghan siege.

80. Schroeder fig.1 and 2.

81. Robinson p.15.

82. Clavijo/ Markham p.89. Perhaps the earliest representation of the pichah in Persian miniature painting appears in the Shāh-nāmeh of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, circa 1425-30 (ms. Ouseley

Add.176 fol.186, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

83. Ibn Baṭṭuṭa vol.II p.304.
84. Barbaro & Contarini part I p.53, also p.135.
85. Far more is now known about Chinese silk technology in this period; see Kuhn.
86. Serjeant p.44.
87. Clinton p.8.
88. Ibid. p.128.
89. Atil Renaissance p.223; Hayward textile item 15.
90. Barbaro & Contarini part I p.59.
91. Clavijo/ Le Strange p.208. The device reappears with the addition of wavy lines in Ottoman textiles; see Chapter VI p.202.
92. Wulff p.174-5.
93. Forbes vol.IV p.215.
94. Wulff p.175.
95. Keyvani p.27-8.
96. The tale describes how a young girl while eating an apple discovers a magic worm which enables her to spin greater quantities of yarn. Her father nurtures the worm and great prosperity comes to the family and the town as a result. Jealous of this affluence, Shāh Ardashir using deceit, finds the worm and kills it.
97. Wulff p.186 who says this method, according to Iranian spinners, produces a consistent standard of yarn faster.
98. Wulff p.186-8 for a full description of the process. My grateful thanks to Sally Oates for discussing this interpretation of the Shāh-nāmah illustration.
99. See Kajitani p.198.
100. Cahen Pre-Ottoman p.319-20.
101. Lopez & Raymond p.353.
102. Bar Hebraeus vol.I p.357 . See also Keyvani p.27-8.
103. Serjeant p.68.
104. Ibid. supp. notes p.120.
105. Christie's item 765. Grateful thanks to Ralph Pinder-Wilson for bringing this object to my attention.

CHAPTER V

THE MAMLUK SULTANATE (648-922/1250-1517)

> " The amīrs and the Baḥriyya assembled for counsel, and they agreed to install the amīr ᶜIzz al-Dīn [Aybak], the commander of the guard, in the sultanate. They gave him the title of al-Malik al-Muᶜizz... They caused him to ride on Saturday at the end of Rabiᶜ II. The amīrs in turn bore the saddle-cover [al-ghashiya] before him to the Citadel, and they sat at the banquet with him."[1]

The Mamluk period is usually divided into two sections, the Baḥrī and the Burjī, names which refer to certain military factions. The bahriyya force was created with purchased man-power by the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn (1240-9). Originating from Central Asia, these Baḥri Kipchak men were known as al-dawlat al-Turk in the historiographic literature and dominated political, military and civic affairs until 1300, although the Baḥri period is generally said to have ended eigthty years later. By 1276 the Ayyubid principalities were firmly under Mamluk control, the Crusaders were losing ground and the Mongol army had been crushingly defeated but despite these military successes the internal wranglings for power continued unabated; the average tenure of office for a Baḥrī sultan was just over five years.

In 1279 Sultan Qalā'ūn established another regiment, the Burjī, with purchased men generally of Caucasian origin. The force first flexed its political muscles following Sultan Khalīl's murder in 1293/4. Six years later the regiment re-emerged to control virtually every action. The political history of the Burjī sultanate is no less complex than its

predecessor's. Its authority reached from the Libyan desert to the Euphrates, from Arabia and Sudan (Nubia) to the Taurus mountains of Southern Anatolia. In the first decade of the 15th century, low Nile floods, famine and plague resulted in great hardship. Special taxes were levied with monotonous regularity, while state monopolies were established, for money was required to combat the growing Ottoman and Turcoman threat. By the second half of the 15th century, the Mamluk economy was near complete collapse. The final blow came with the Portuguese discovery of the sea route from Europe to the East, by-passing Egypt and its voracious customs officials.

The political intrigues continued through the Burjī period. The blindness to the gravity of the situation, political and economic, was mirrored in military affairs. The refusal of the established mamlūk regiments to accept firearms, leaving these weapons to lesser troops, badly trained and equipped, was a fateful mistake. In the New Year of 923/1517, the Ottoman Sultan Selim was handed the keys of Cairo, and Egypt, Syria and other Mamluk dependencies became part of the Ottoman empire.

Until recently it has been assumed that Mamluk society was static and formal in character, qualities reflected in its material culture according to some art historians. The Baḥrī administration, it was held, did not introduce any major innovations but continued to develop on Ayyubid lines. Similarly in describing Mamluk dress it has been considered that both regimes, the Baḥrī and Burjī, preserved custom and practice with only superficial changes throughout the two and a half centuries.[2] However, historians are now questioning the established generalisations and there is no reason why this questioning should not be extended to costume

history.

MILITARY DRESS

If the foundations of Mamluk military and social stratification were laid in Ayyubid institutions, it could follow that military and ceremonial dress for the first decades of Mamluk rule would mirror Ayyubid military and court dress. On the other hand, if one holds that the development of the military and administrative institutions was indebted to the Mongol tradition, logically one would expect military costume to follow this model.[3]

In the reign of Baybars (1260-77) there were at least five main ethnic groupings -- the remnants of the Ayyubid army (Kurdish and Yuruk Turcomans), Syrian Arabs, the Baḥrī Kipchak troop, the regular Egyptian contingent, and the newly recruited wafidiyya of Mongols and Oirats. These elements did not constitute an unified military force acting in unison, with a singular loyalty. In the mid-13th century for example, the Turkish Mamluk troops were openly hostile to those of Kurdish origin. As certain scholars maintain these men were always mindful of their origins, one would suppose these forces dressed differently to emphasise these divisions but the literary evidence indicates that both these groups dressed alike in robes, headgear and belts, at least in the Ayyubid period.[4]

There were three major divisions in the Mamluk army of Egypt, the most important being the mamlūks of the sultan numbering at times 10,000 in the Baḥrī period but later substantially. The second and third categories, whose influence fluctuated during the entire period, were formed from the mamlūks of the amīrs, and the ḥalqa, a cavalry force which included the sons of the mamlūks and amīrs. One section, the khāṣṣakiya or bodyguard of the sultan renowned for

their meticulous dressing habits and riding skills, were recognisable by their ṭirāz zarkash (? gold embroidered or brocade ṭirāz).[5] There are other instances of certain fabrics and types of headgear being permitted to specific groups. Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl (1290-4) directed that his commanders dress in satin qabā's and kalawtā caps of zarkash to set them apart from other amīrs. Red garments were worn by the rammāḥa (lancers) when performing their games during the maḥmil processions in the last years of the Burji sultanate, a conscious revival of the old ways.[6] Likewise, red was the colour of the jūkh (?broad)cloth issued to the musketeers of 1498.[7] Certain garments or colours were associated with particular military sections[8] and if the Farajallāh incident is anything to go by, possessed a certain exclusivity. Sultan al-Nāṣir Abū al-Sa'ādāt Muḥammad in the spring of 903/1498 presented the black leader of the black firearms troop, a certain Farajallāh, with a khil'a of a sallārī with short sleeves but this was met with such outright hostility from the royal mamlūks, that the sultan was forced to change his mind.[9] Obviously the sallārī and the takhfīfa turban, composing the zivy al-Atrāk (Turkish dress) were considered far too worthy for a commander of such a troop.

It was the responsibility of the iqṭā' (land-fief) holder to see that his soldiers were adequately clothed and equipped.[10] On the eve of a military campaign and when state finances allowed, the sultan distributed the nafaqa, money to buy or repair the necessary equipment, including clothes. One or twice a year the army officers were given a clothing allowance, the kiswa. Ready-made garments were not distributed, only money, suggesting the absence of a field uniform for the rank and file. However, there are indications that a sort of field-dress was worn by all in action. After a rout

in 1299, the Mamluk troops went into hiding, first cutting their beards and throwing off their qumāsh, probably a coat-like garment, given to the young mamlūk after his manumission. And Ibn al-Dawādārī specifically mentions that the re-equipment in 1312 of the Il-Khanid army carried out on Mamluk lines by the former Mamluk vice-roi of Syria, Qarasungur, included satin field-dress.[11] Mayer argues the qumāsh with a turban (shāsh wa-l qumāsh) was the full-dress uniform for amīrs during the Burji period, which according to one chronicler was introduced by the Baḥrī sultan al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn (1280-90). The exact form and composition of this officiers' dress is not known nor it is clear whether clothing worn on other ceremonial occasions differed from this dress, and from each other, although the use of separate terms like qumāsh al-khidma and qumāsh al-mawkib suggest that particular and exclusive costumes were worn when attending the sultan and when participating in royal processions.[12]

There were several kinds of qabā' and usually more than one was worn at a time. Some had short sleeves: the qabā' qaṣīra al-akmām and the garments, bughluṭāq, sallārī, qamjun. It is suggested that others such as the qabā' maftha introduced by Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad during his last reign (1309-40) and the qabā' islāmī, possessed a central-front opening and fastening. How these robes differed in detail one from the other is not known. Mayer wonders whether there were any identifiable characteristics at all, suggesting that the bughluṭāq and sallārī were one and the same, as the qabā' islāmī and maftha were. The bughluṭāq with its fur lining was presented as a royal gift to members of the ḥalqa and the baḥriyya troops at the end of a successful hunting day or military exercise in the reign of Baybars (1260-77), and Mayer suggests that the Oirati amīr Salar (d.1310) revived interest in it and

gave it his name. The actual structure and shape of the sallārī (or the bughlutāq and the qamjun for that matter) is speculative. To Mayer and others, the central figure of the Vienna Maqāmāt al-Harīrī 734/1334 frontispiece (fig.41) wears a sallārī draped casually across his shoulders.[13] Depicted as a tight-fitting, open coat, reaching to the hips or below, it has short sleeves to the elbow and is lined or trimmed with red. However, Storm Rice identifies the sallārī (fig.47) as a short jacket-type with a long back panel and elbow length sleeves.[14] The method of fastening is clearly depicted as a cross-over diagonal fastening on the right side.[15] The only common denominator between the two garments is the sleeve length. Of course it is possible that the same name was used for both garments, but with such a variety of terms it seems more likely two distinctly different terms were employed for each of these garments; but which ones is still open. Likewise the similarity or difference between the qabā' islāmī and qabā' maftha cannot be settled as yet.

In the previous chapter it was noted that the identification of the two garments, the qabā' tatari and the qabā' turki, mentioned by later Mamluk historians, has been based on 13th century Western reports which described the Tatar dress fastening on the right with three ties, and the Turks wearing their garments closing on the left. Any narrow-fitting garment, whatever the length and sleeve style, providing it had a diagonal front fastening, depicted in Mamluk art has been presumed by Mayer onwards to be one or other of these two qabā's. More recently it has also been argued that the wearing of one or other diagonal cross-over panel, betrayed the origin, the political loyalty etc. of the wearer. This may be, but as shown in the previous chapter, both cross-fastenings, with various sleeve lengths and widths,

garment shapes and lengths, were well established in the Islamic pictorial repertoire by the 1200s, some twenty years before the Mongol incursions into Iran. Furthermore it has been shown that the dress worn in the 14th century Il-Khanid court differed considerably from that worn in the 1290s in Iran. We cannot therefore presume that the garment identified as the qabā' tatari in Il-Khanid and Mamluk depictions was identical to the costume seen by the earlier European visitors to Central Asia, nor that the garment identified by Mayer and Rogers as the qabā' tatari was worn only by mamlūks of Tatar or Mongol origin or their followers, and that the other garment was the exclusive prerogative of the Turkic military elements. Clearly both fashions of cross-over panels were equally popular at least in the first half of Baḥrī rule. The textual evidence shows that the qabā' tatari was worn on certain occasions in the Burjī period -- for instance, at the accession of al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad in 1461, the amīrs immediately donned the white qabā' tatari and the kalawtā head-dress "according to the custom".[16]

Around the qabā', underneath which were the qamīṣ and libās (drawers), was a belt, either fabric or metal. Such girdles were the only form of personal jewellery made of precious metals allowed to the devout Muslim male according to the four Sunnī law schools. Al-Maqrīzī described the various grades of belts presented as part of the Mamluk khil^{c}a:

> " The belts vary according to the rank (of the wearers). The most distinguished of all have, between their upright parts (^{c}umud), intermediate roundels (bawākir) and two side pieces (mujannibatān) ornamented with rubies, emeralds and pearls. Next (in rank has) one roundel (bīkāriyya) only, studded (with precious stones); and lastly, comes one that has but one roundel without

stones."[17]

From the belt, on the right side, were hung a black leather purse, a kizlik (dagger) and a mandīl.

On certain occasions various low ranks of the military and administrative establishments sported a coloured band or sash. One of yellow silk was worn by Sultan Qā'itbay (1468-96) at polo and it seems that this particular colour was only permitted to higher ranking courtiers and officers.[18]

The kāmiliyya was worn on top. Evidently tailored for horse-riding, this garment with long narrow sleeves had a central back slit from the hem upwards, which allowed the skirt panels to fall over the rider's leg. This is clearly depicted in Mamluk paintings and metalwork, and if this garment is indeed the kamiliyya there is no visible difference in shape or styling from the qabā' except in this back slit.

In cool weather, the Mamluk sultan and soldier would put on some form of wrap (malūṭa). In the Burjī period, this together with the red zamṭ or zanṭ (cap) became the established uniform of the soldiery, to the extent that on seizing control, the Ottoman authorities ordered all Mamluk troops to wear these two items; in this way, any disorderly soldier could be identified correctly.[19] However, the term malūṭa was not used exclusively for a military garment, so there must have been a clear stylistic or structural difference, which distinguished the soldier's wrap from that worn by the populace in the late 15th century.

Another outer garment took its name from jūkh the coarsely textured imported woollen fabric (?broadcloth) from which it was made. In the early Mamluk period, it was worn by the lower classes so presumably it was inexpensive to purchase. Used for clothing musketeers in the late Burjī period, occasionally it was seen gracing royal shoulders, such

as al-Nāṣir Faraj, and Qānṣūḥ al-Ghawrī in the early and late 15th century respectively.[20]

The sort of head-covering worn depended on the rank of the wearer and when he lived. An early but short-lived fashion among all ranks of the military was the sarājūq. It with the qabā' tatari was identified with the Tatars,[21] and warriors like Bereke Khan were known to have worn it. Again its exact form and structure ~~is~~ are not known, although Mayer suggests that it had a definite ridge up the front leading to a pointed top, with an upturned brim in front (fig.48).[22] But no such shape is depicted in Mamluk art. As military dress, the sarājūq passed out of favour in the Baḥrī period but returned as a Burjī female fashion, only to be banned in the edict of Qā'itbay in 876/1471-2.[23]

The texts mention that high-ranking military officers in the early Baḥrī period wore the sharbūsh, as in the Seljuk and Ayyubid periods.[24] Why and exactly when the style became outmoded are unknown, for the sharbūsh disappears from the artist's pictorial vocabulary after the early 13th century. The Burjī sultanate viewed the sharbūsh with disfavour and it was not used. Even so, the Cairo bazaar where sharbūsh were made or sold retained its name right up to the time of the Ottoman conquest.[25]

The head covering which presumably replaced the sarāqūj and the sharbūsh was the kalawtā, a small cap with a wide band (taḍrīb) and clasps(kalālīb), worn with or without a turban cloth. The colour and material of the kalawtā were subject to variation through the whole period. Under Ayyubid rule, it was yellow, a colour carried into the early years of Mamluk control. Extremely costly material could be used; two kalawatās made of zarkash complete with a winding cloth presented by Baybars (1260-77) to an amīr were valued at 90 dinars each, 50 dinars for the kalawtá itself.

But the usual fabric was inexpensive red jūkh, with a low-priced turban cloth. The idea of wearing a decorated kalawtā continued to some extent until 1282-3, but died out before the reign of al-Ashraf Khalīl (1290-4) who, continuing his father's policy of raising military dress standards, ordered his amīrs to wear satin qabā's and kalawtās of zarkash, instead of cheap jūkh fabric.[26] The kalawtā became so established a part of the amīr's dress that the military were occasionally referred to as the mukalwatūn. It was removed on arrest and donned when the amīr was pardoned and this remained the practice in the Baḥrī and Burjī periods. It was frequently included in the khil^{c}a given to state officials; One Burjī wazīr who died in the 1410s left in all 6000 kalawtās as well as 6000 ḥiyāṣa (belts). The shape altered during this time, growing in size and ostentatiousness as in the kalawtā tarkhāniyya in the second half of the 14th century. Then the turban cloth was arranged about the kalawtā to form nodules (ʿawaj). This style remained in fashion for two decades, until it was replaced by the kalawtā bi-ṭarafain (? two-sided).[27]

As the kalawtā was the military head-dress of the Baḥrī troops, the zamṭ or zanṭ was the usual head-covering of the Burjī soldiery. This with the malūṭa wrap was the Burjī 'uniform', and recognised as such by the conquering Ottomans. The exact shape of the zamṭ is open to interpretation; to one modern historian it is a garment, to another a piece of armour. From the description of a late 15th century German traveller, Mayer understands that the zamṭ was a shaggy red cap with a rounded or conical top and material wrapped around it; accordingly he identifies a simple woollen 'pull-on' cap in the Coptic Museum, Cairo as a zamṭ.[28] However, a more sophisticated head-dress, round in shape with an up-turned brim, and a central aigrette,

as featured in the 734/1334 Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī (fig.41, lower right) has been identified by Haldane as a zamṭ,[29] although this type of headgear is generally associated with Mongol dress. Recently, it has been suggested the late 15th century zamṭ was squarer in form, with a close nap if any, and a kerchief around the base and over the top from ear to ear with a small fabric flap at the back shielding the neck.[30]

Yet another type, the ṭaqiyya, was extremely popular, finding favour with the women and also among the Burjī military. Made in various fabrics, its shape was simple. Developing from a wide head-band with a flat disc top it doubled its height during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (1398-1405). With padding, it took on a domed (muqababb) profile with fur trimming the base. The outline became more pronounced, so that in the 1480s, the rim section, sometimes green in colour, had a smaller circumference than the top section, sometimes made of black material. This 'bear-skin' shape can be seen, it is suggested, in the early 16th century[31] painting Reception of a Venetian delegation (Louvre Museum, Paris) on the heads of the men waiting in and by the porch (fig.49).

In the major public and private collections, there are a number of examples whose shape could be described as 'domed' or muqababb, but opinions are divided on their classification. The Keir fragment, for example, a cap of blue-grey silk with gold and coloured silk embroidery (fig.50) has been catalogued by Spuler as either a sharbūsh or kalawtā, not as a ṭaqiyya. The richness of the embroidered decoration with its bird and leaf motifs suggests it could be an example of zarkash, the fabric associated with the kalawtā, but its padded and ribbed outline of the upper section recalls Mamluk architectural domes and so suggests the ṭaqiyya of the early period.[32]

The variety of head coverings for military personnel seems endless. The St. Louis basin in the Louvre Museum shows in meticulously worked detail some of the kinds worn in the early Baḥrī period, circa 1290-1310. No one style is associated exclusively with any particular mode of dress, but it could be that the dress plus the distinctive head-gear allowed the contemporary observer to identify the ranks of the characters portrayed on the basin, if not the exact person.

Various turban-like forms were worn by the military in the early Baḥrī period. Sultan al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad is said to have introduced this fashion in 715/1315, although it had been popular in the late Ayyubid period. At the same time, he brought in the Arab practice of shaving the head instead of continuing the hair fashion of the Ayyubids and his predecessors of plaiting the hair.[33] Two reasons for these startling changes. The sultan was said to have undergone a change of heart following a pilgrimage to Mecca, while Maqrīzī records that it followed an illness.[34] There were two basic types of turban head-dress worn by the armed forces, the takhfīfa kabīra and the takhfīfa ṣaghīra (large and small, respectively) but both led to several versions. No doubt because of the size[35] the takhfīfa kabīra was associated with royal usage, especially the version called al-nā'ūra (described later). The use of a takhfīfa was a privilege granted by the sultan to a favoured few, the highest ranking amīrs, to the extent that when the sultan presented a sallārī and takhfīfa to Farajallāh, the black commander of the musketeers in 903/1498, the royal mamlūks broke ranks and rebelled.[36]

The amīrs were permitted to display their particular blazon rank on their belongings, from pen-cases to warehouses.[37] The design was stylised: a

single motif, geometric (circle, rectangle, etc.) or stylised (archer's bow, pen-case, etc.); or a combination of these elements (fig.51). It has been suggested that the devices were also worn on personal clothing, such as footwear (fig.47)[38] but although there survive appliqué fragments of these blazons used presumably on saddle-bags and blankets, it does not appear that such devices were displayed on actual garments worn by the amīrs and their men.

THE SULTAN

The ceremonial dress of the Mamluk sultan reflected the military milieu in which he had been trained, except when he dressed for the duties associated with the religious aspects of power. Certain sultans were noted for their austerity in matters of dress. Like the famous Ayyubid ruler Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, these men wore simple woollen or cotton clothes of plain colour -- men such as al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (1293-4; 1298-1308; 1310-41) whose belt ḥiyāṣa was valued no more than 100 silver dirhams and who, with his son Aḥmad, preferred to wear bedouin clothes;[39] Sultan Barqūq (1382-9;1390-9) who forbade the wearing of silk; Jaqmaq (1438-53) known for his generosity but who wore summer clothes costing 10 dinars or less; and Sultan Qā'itbay (1468-96) who rode in woollen robes for the public processions. Other sultans were more involved in sartorial matters. Maqrīzī, the 15th century chronicler noted that Qalā'ūn and his son Khalīl attempted to improved the overall standards of military dress in the last two decades of the 13th century. The Burjī rulers Khūshqadam (1461-72) and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (1501-16) took a more personal delight in luxurious clothes, expensive fur linings and trimmings, in gold jewellery, etc..[40]

As at the Abbasid court, the sultan led his court

in the ritual of changing from summer to winter clothes each year. In mid-May, the heavier winter wardrobe with its fur trims and linings, sable for the highest ranks, grey squirrel and beaver for the lesser officials, would be laid aside for lighter-weight fabrics. Winter wear was more colourful, red or violet wool being a favourite royal colour throughout the period for the kāmiliyya or the sallārī; that is with the exception of Sultan Jaqmaq who refused to wear red, we are told, after learning of the theological disapproval.[41]

Obviously because of his position the sultan could, if he wished, become the leader of fashion. Few would question him wearing the most expensive fabrics and furs, despite the theological dislike of luxury and ostentation. Few would disregard any innovations in dress introduced by the sultan, for example the head-shaving and turban as initiated in 1315 by al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad. He and his son also shocked the establishment by wearing Arab bedouin dress "which no Mamluk Sultan preceding him had ever done."[42]

In the late Burjī period, there was apparently one item of dress exclusive to the sultan, the large turban known as al-nā'ūra. Described as the Mamluk tāj (crown) as the tāj had been the insignia of the Sasanian shāhs, it was introduced sometime in the second half of the 15th century, as no reference to it is made by the early chroniclers. It was weighty and awkard to wear because Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (1501-16) refused to wear it when suffering from boils or eye trouble, using the takhfīfa saghīra instead. Some idea of its size is indicated by its name which recalls massive Syrian water-wheels, and it is suggested it appears in the early 16th century painting Reception of a Venetian delegation (fig.49). Another variation of the takhfīfa kabīra possessed lengthy horn-like

appendages (bi-l qurūn al-ṭiwāl) which Mayer suggested is featured in the 734/1334 Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī (fig.41).[43]

At his investiture the Mamluk sultan appeared in dress which stressed the moral and ethical responsibilities of office, thus proclaiming the legality of Mamluk authority. He therefore wore black, a sign of (nominal) allegiance to the Abbasid house, as in Ayyubid times when it demonstrated publicly the return to Sunnī Islam from the Fatimid Shīᶜi doctrine. The black round turban ᶜimāma mudawwara of the Muslim theologian with a rafraf or tail about a foot in width hanging down the back to the waist was the sultan's head-dress at the investiture, mirroring that worn by the caliph. The main garment was a black silk jubba with its distinctive wide sleeves, decorated with gold ṭirāz bands :

> " The judges went up [to the citadel] and the Caliph al-Ḥākim bi-amr Illah Abū'l-ᶜAbbas Aḥmad took his seat on the third step of the Sultan's throne. He wore a green robe, and on his turban was a black covering with stripes of gold. Then the sultan came out into the hall... The caliph, the judges, and the seated amīrs stood up for him, and he took his seat upon the first step, below the caliph. The caliph stood up and began the khuṭba'...
>
> " He sat down. Immediately a black robe was brought, and the caliph with his own hand robed the sultan. The he girt him with an Arab sword, and the confidential secretary read the caliph's diploma to the sultan in its entirety. He then presented it to the caliph, who signed it, followed by the signatures of the chief judges as witnesses. The banquet was then spread. They ate, and the court dispersed."[44]

Perhaps this coronation dress resembled the costume of the Mamluk ᶜulamā, which in turn was probably based on that worn by 13th century Baghdadi ᶜulamā as featured in the 634/1237 Maqāmāt al-Harīrī (fig.18). Whatever its exact form, it was firmly established by 1325 as the costume of investiture, for on hearing of the accession of a Nubian (Christian) ruler, the Mamluk sultan sent both the robe and turban as khilᶜa.[45]

KHILᶜA

It was normal for the investiture robes to be given to the sultan as khilᶜa by the caliph, and vica versa. The early khilᶜa investitures are vividly described in al-Sirat written by the confidential secretary to Sultan Baybars. Shortly after the arrival of the Abbasid caliph in Egypt in 1260, he rewarded Baybars who disappeared into a tent to clothe himself in the garments and tawq emerging "like the full moon rising on a dark night". Lengthy speeches were given and then the sultan displayed the robes of honour to the public by riding in procession, his horse walking over costly fabrics strewn on the road's surface.[46]

The description by Maqrīzī of the khilᶜa given to the various ranks gives a valuable insight into the complex pecking order of Mamluk society in the Burjī period:

> "As to the Masters of the Sword, the robes of honour of the principal Amīrs of a Hundred, consist of a coat made of red satin from Asia Minor, with (another one of) yellow satin from Asia Minor underneath. The upper coat (fawqānī) has bands of gold embroidery with a lining of grey squirrel, with fringes (or border?) on the outside, and a ghishā' of beaver. The kalawtā-hat is made of gold embroidery, with gold clasps. The turban-shawl is of fine muslin (shāsh lānis), at each end of it are

(bands of) white silk, on which are embroidered the sultan's titles, in bright silk of diverse colours; then (comes) a gold belt (mintaqa). The belts vary according to the rank (of their wearers)... Every (amīr) who is given a high post, received further a sword decorated with gold... To this is added a horse, saddled and bridled, covered with a housing (kanbūsh) of gold...

" Among the robes of honour, just below this rank, there is one called tardwahsh[47] produced in the Royal factories (dār al-ṭirāz) of Alexandria, as well as in Cairo and in Damascus. The tardwahsh was formed of several bands, some of different colours mixed with gilt qaṣab. Between these bands, were embroideries. These bands were woven in a gold material (qaṣab). If the person grew in rank, then a ṭirāz-band made of gold brocade, was appliqued on to the material and (the coat) was covered by grey squirrel or by beaver, as mentioned before. Lower in rank than the tardwahsh is a coat (qabā') of an Alexandrian stuff (mufarrij al-Iskandarī al-ṭarh). The kalawtā (to match) is of gold brocade with clasps, a shāsh like the one already described, and a gold belt (hiyāṣa) sometimes with a roundel, and sometimes without one. All this (is destined) for the lesser among the Amīrs of a Hundred and for those immediately below.

" As to the robes of honour immediatly below in rank, they (are made) of kamkhā material[48], which has a pattern of a colour different from the (original) material. Sometimes, however, the pattern is of a similar hue to the material, but with some difference. The rank below, has grey squirrel hemmed with beaver, and the rest is according to the description given already, except

that the belt (hiyāsa) and the shāsh have no embroidered ends, but are composed of bands of green and gilt-yellow, and the belt has no roundel.

" The robe of honour of a lower rank is (made of) kamkhā-material of one colour only, with grey squirrel hemmed with beaver, the rest is according to the description given above. The kalawtā has only little gold in it and its sides are almost without (metal). There is no belt.

" For the rank below, the dress is of muḥram-material of one colour, the rest as mentioned above, excepting for the kalawtā and the clasps. For the rank below, the dress is of muḥram and beaver (and lower still), there is a coloured qabā' coat with bands of red and green and blue and other colours, with grey squirrel and beaver; and lower in rank a qabā', either of blue or green, with a white shāsh, with ends of the type mentioned above. For the rank below, the dress is of the same kind (though to a lesser degree)."[49]

Such gifts were given on a variety of occasions. Those welcome at court could expect the khil^{c}a al-^{c}āfiya (health) after any major illness, while those restored to grace received the khil^{c}a al-ridā' (pardon). There were khil^{c}as given on appointment to office, on renewnal of term, on dismissal with honour (al-niyāba or al-istiqrār; al-istimrār; al-^{c}azl respectively). There were khil^{c}a to welcome an envoy or representative (khil^{c}a al-qudūm) and to mark his departure from court (khil^{c}a al-safar).[50] Obviously there were occasions when an amīr was rewarded two or three times during one ceremony, to mark his transfer from one office to another more responsible which necessitated leaving Cairo. To refuse such a gift was to reject openly the authority and generosity of the donor and so was never to be undertaken lightly.

As yet no surviving Mamluk garment has been securely classified as khil^{c}a. However, it is possible that one or both of the tunics from the Jabal Adda excavations in the mid-1960s was an honorific garment. Both qabā's were found in Coptic burials, one belonged to Gapoiapa and the other to a certain Kumar. The grave of Gapoiapa contained not only this but also pantaloons, shoes and a knotted kerchief, as well as two shrouds, one of which carried his name, and a quilt.[51] Kumar's grave contained less but his outer garment, part of which is now housed in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, fits Maqrīzī's description of a khil^{c}a presented to a low-ranking official

> "a coloured qabā' coat with bands of red and green and blue and other colours..."[52]

Made of silk warps with madder red silk and natural or faded pink linen wefts, this fragment (site inventory no. T.104) of the front panel measures 49.4cm (19.5") long and 31cm (12.25") wide, lined with a plain weave cotton, with a green silk edging. The pattern of meandering floral sprays is arranged in broad vertical bands separated by thin stripes of black silk and gold metallic thread on a membrane core. The colour of each band is different, produced by floating unspun silk threads of indigotin green, orange[53] or indigo blue contrasting vividly with the scarlet red of the floral spray. This fragment indicates the neck opening was small and round, with a central vertical opening/ closing fastened by tiny buttons and red and yellow cord button-loops, one of which remains on the fragment. There is an interesting pleat arrangement quilted at the hip, a feature also found on a virtual complete tunic in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London (inv. no. T.787-1898; together with T.1142-1900 and 1142a-1900).[54] Although the rather stiff arrangement of coloured vertical bands and stripes is usually

associated with the Ayyubid or early Mamluk period, the excise stamp (fig.52) on the lining points to a later date, firmly in the Burjī period, as its form and epigraphy closely resemble the chancery document stamps of the last years of Mamluk rule.[55]

The second more complete garment found at Jabal Adda is in the collection of the Islamic Art Museum, Cairo (inv. no. 23903), while the shoes, pantaloons and kerchief are at the Royal Ontario Museum. The unbleached cotton pantaloons, still unconserved making detailed measurement-taking impossible, are long about 1.37m (54") with a drawstring waist. Following the usual pattern for medieval trousers, straight rectangles of material form the main leg garment with inserts attached to the inside leg give extra material. All the seams are run and fell with cotton as the sewing thread. The shoes, or slippers are very simple, made of red leather, measuring 27.7cm (11") along the length of the sole. The upper sections sewn onto the sole consist of four pieces joined at the heel, at the sides and down the centre of the front, which is cut low. The outer tunic is better preserved than that of Kumar. Its back panel width is some 73cm (28.75") with two front panels of 36cm each (14.25"), while the length is 1.18m (46.5"). There are no shoulder seams; instead the material is folded over to form both front and back sections. From the narrow collar band the robe is divided vertically down the centre to the hem, with a series of 12 small round thread buttons on the front edge of the right front panel, and matching red and yellow braid loops are placed on the edge of the left panel; three buttons are sewn on the interior. Triangular inserts are sewn to the main panels at the sides only, increasing the total hem width of the garment. Similarly two small triangular gussets measuring 5x10x12cm (2"x4"x4.75") are added to each of

the slightly tapered sleeves, which measure 25cm(10") in length and 41cm(16") in total circumference at the cuff. Set at right angles to the main panels by back-stitch, the sleeve width at this point is 32cm (12.5") total circumference. The heavy yellow and faded madder silk (fig.23) has a complex overall woven pattern of stars containing eight-petalled rosettes, surrounded by a lively animal frieze of hares, antelopes and pursuing dogs. At the centre of the diaper infills between the stars is a lobed medallion holding a pair of addorsed birds with inward-turning heads. The plain-weave silk is edged on the inside with a green silk facing and lined with a medium-weight linen which carries a excise dye-stamp on the back near the hem. Although unfortunately the stamp is again indecipherable, its form and design suggest a late 14th or 15th century.[56]

Khil^{c}a was also presented to the non-military officials of Mamluk society, and the descriptions of these garments reflect the difference between the military and the arbāb al-^{c}amā'im (turban wearers):

> " As for the viziers and scribes, their most magnificent khil^{c}a consists of white kamkhā, with bands of plain silk embroidery, with grey squirrel and beaver. [The beaver is lined with grey squirrel, which (likewise) lines the sleeves.] (A robe of honour) of lower rank is made of green kamkhā. (On their heads they wear) embroidered baqyār -turbans of linen, manufactured in Damietta, and ṭarḥa-shawls.
>
> " For one rank lower, no grey squirrel is used, and the sleeves as well as the opening (of the coat) are hemmed with beaver. For one rank lower, the ṭarḥa is suppressed, and for one rank lower (still), the under-coat (ṭahtānī) is made of muḥram-cloth. For a rank lower, the upper-coat (fawqānī) is of kamkhā, but not of white colour.

> A rank below, the upper coat is of white muḥram.[57] A rank below, the under-coat is of ᶜattābī-cloth."[58]

It will be noted that the term qabā' is not used in the description; neither does it have a place in the section detailing the khilᶜa presented to the ᶜulamā:

> " As for judges and scholars, their robes of honour are made of wool without ṭirāz-bands, and they wear ṭarḥa-shawls. The most distinguished of these robes are white with green lining. For the lower ranks [matters are more or less as we have mentioned already]."[59]

This practice was not followed by the Baḥrī Sultan al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad when he wished to reward a qaḍī who had given loyal government service. The khilᶜa on that occasion had distinctly luxurious with garments of white satin with ṭirāz-bands, and a zarkash head-covering. Lengths of silk were presented to Qur'ān readers and khaṭībs which, remembering the orthodox dislike of silk, appear to be gifts in bad taste. The safe return of the pilgrims' caravan each year, and the public lecture on Ḥadīth given every Ramadan after 775/1373-4 were always celebrated with the royal presentation of khilᶜa garments to the major participants.[60]

Increasingly through the period, robes of honour were distributed to a wider group of people. The completion of major building work, like a mosque in 1503 was marked with the skilled artisans receiving robes, referred to as mutammaral or kawamil. Successful medical treatments on members of the royal household did not go unrewarded; physicans and barbers were presented with khilᶜa.[61]

The custom had already spread through Mamluk society, as the Geniza trousseau lists show.[62] Khilᶜa ensembles could be purchased on the open market

following the closure of the royal ateliers at Alexandria and Cairo by Barsbay, until governmental restrictions prevented sales to the public.[63]

With the decline of the Egyptian textile industry in the 15th century, there is every indication that the royal khil^{c}a robes became increasingly slight in appearance. Indeed during the last years of the Burjī period, the low standard of khil^{c}a was frequently commented upon in the Arabic chronicles. The presentation of poor quality coloured cotton robes worth a mere three dinars each, to the amīrs in 912/1507 at the annual celebration of 'Īd al-Fiṭr was no isolated occurrence.[64]

However, the khil^{c}a given to foreign envoys and to relatives of rulers did not reflect this decline in quality. Those presentations were stage-managed to obtain the maximum impression of wealth, power and majesty of the Mamluk ruler. In the Burjī period great play is made in the sources that the robes often came from the sultan's private wardrobe, the greatest honour of course being a garment given from the reigning sultan's own shoulders. The value of such a robe could be 200 dinars, as was the one presented to Qurud Beg, son of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II.[65]

OTHER HONORIFIC APPAREL

The conferring of official titles and khil^{c}a by the Abbasid caliph on Baybars in 658/1260 has already been mentioned. The sultan was further honoured by the caliph in the same year during Ramadan, when a more unusual garment was offered, the trousers or pantaloons (libās)[66] of the futuwwa order, a secret fraternal society. The Abbasid caliphate since the time of al-Nāṣir (1180-1225) had involved itself in the fraternity, ordering the sultans to follow suit.[67] Baybars accepted the gift with gratitude and respect.

This is interesting in itself for pantaloons (and shoes) were rarely mentioned in public for the sake of propriety. Presumably something made the futuwwa trousers different from the usual garment made or purchased in the period. It may be that there was some manner of cut, styling and/or decoration of the garment, like the apron worn by members of certain Masonic orders of the 20th century, for in al-Nāṣir's time the libās al-futuwwa were conferred as a symbol of full membership to the order.[68]

After the death of the caliph, Baybars handed the pantaloons to the successor and this became established practice at the accession of each new caliph. The sultan also invested others with libās al-futuwwa, Mamluk amīrs and foreign rulers such as the Kurdish ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Hakkarī in 1292[69] but after this, official interest in the futuwwa order declined, particularly in the 14th century.

It is not clear from the texts that these libās were actually worn but it has been argued by Mayer that the pantaloons were depicted in a stylized form as a Mamluk blazon (fig.51), but as these two horn/oliphant-like shapes have been variously interpreted by scholars[70] this theory must be treated with caution.

CALIPHAL DRESS

As custom demanded, the Abbasid caliph in Cairo dressed in black robes although not exclusively for frequently his main garment was called a qabāʾ over which he worn the kāmiliyya with tight-fitting sleeves and the back slit. On his head, the caliph wore a small round turban with rafraf, a style which was also used by the sultan, but occasionally as in 1508-9 another type was donned, the ʿimāma baghdādiyya with two trailing lengths. Over the turban was draped the tarḥa shawl again black in colour. Often the robes of

honour given by the ruling sultan to the caliph were in colours other than black, usually green or white or in a combination. Perhaps a certain laxity had set in by the late Burjī period, for the texts mention that royal khil^{c}a similar to that presented to the high-ranking amīrs was given and accepted by the caliph, as in 1453, despite the fact that these robes were made of satin silk.[71]

CLOTHING OF THE ^{c}ULAMĀ

The usual overdress worn by the ^{c}ulamā, the dilq (fig.18), was an ample full-length garment with a round or square neck and long, wide sleeves. On top of this was worn a long farajiyya, open all the way down the front, and fastened with buttons. Mayer supposed that the farajiyya was worn only by this group, and by the sultan. However, Tyan has shown that minor-ranking qaḍīs wore the farajiyya while high-ranking judges and magistrates clothed themselves in the dilq, with turbans with a long tail of cloth (^{c}abda). Stillman's researches demonstrate conclusively that the farajiyya was worn by other Mamluk men, and by women as early as 1031.[72] In the early 14th century it still figures in the wardrobe of the richest ladies. Mayer suggests there were two kinds of farajiyya: the fawqāniyya or jubba; and the rarely mentioned taḥtāniyya.[73] As mentioned above, the fawqāniyya formed part of the khil^{c}a ensemble presented to the highest ranks. In those cases it was lined with grey squirrel and trimmed with beaver, and we know that the farajiyya offered to qaḍīs and scholars were similarly embellished. Perhaps there was a noticeable difference between the farajiyya and the fawqāniyya in the Mamluk period but Stillman points out that in present-day Morocco the terms are interchangeable. It may be that a particular style of farajiyya was worn exclusively by the religious sector.

If the garment (which Mayer interprets as both coat and cloak) did have sleeves,[74] they were wide enough to accommodate those of the dilq worn underneath.

Important religious functionaries followed the court ritual of summer and winter wardrobes, wearing cotton or more frequently linen in the hot season, and wool in the colder temperatures, but always white in colour. Until 1396-7 that is, when Sultan Barqūq permitted or ordered the wearing of coloured woollen outer garments for the ᶜulamā after being struck by the contrast to the rich colouring of military dress.[75] One presumes that black robes were donned for religious ceremonies.

The turban was now firmly identified with the religious group, from the 13th century. In the early Abbasid period the qalansuwa was the distinctive head-covering of the ᶜulamā, but by the 13th century the ᶜimāma had become an essential item in the costume of the theologian. Fashions in size and style came and went during the two and a half centuries of Mamluk rule. In the 14th century for example, very large turbans were worn. Ibn Baṭṭuṭa wrote in amazement of the one he saw worn by the qadī of Alexandria:

> "Neither either in the eastern nor in the western lands have I seen a more voluminous headgear than this. I saw him one day sitting in the forepart of a prayer-niche [in the mosque], and his turban was not short of filling it up completely."[76]

The habit of leaving one end of the cloth to hang down the back was frequently recorded but in early 13th century Syria and Iraq at least, this fashion had been followed by most males of the middle classes, as depicted in contemporary Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī manuscripts.

The quality of the fabric used for the turban cloth and the cap underneath naturally depended on the individual wearer. Unnecessary luxury was frowned upon

but the official gifts of ʿimāma cloths decorated with gold embroidery or printing were allowable. Otherwise, the Muslim scholar or theologian was answerable to the public and to his peers. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa in listing the responsibilities of the muḥtasib stated that it was the public's duty to report any khaṭīb wearing a predominantly black silk robe for the Friday services. Stiff penalties of imprisonment and punishment awaited such men, as a Mālikī scholar found out when he was caught wearing a silk cap under his turban cloth.[77]

In 773/1371-2 an edict was issued requesting the descendants of the Prophet's family to wear a piece (shaṭfa) of green material. If the individual was also of the ʿulamā, he was asked to attached this fabric to his turban.[78] There was no compulsion to do so: it was meant purely to be a method of recognising and honouring these people. Perhaps the practice was already established to some extent, for contemporary poets alluded to the earlier brief and unsuccessful attempt of al-Ma'mūn in 204/817 to introduce green as the dynastic colour.[79]

Over the ʿimāma was placed the ṭarḥa (fig.18) or ṭaylasān, falling down over the shoulders. The first was more of a shawl like the earlier Abbasid ṭaylasān, but in the Mamluk period the ṭaylasān was described as a hood with the central cut-section passing over the face but not the head. Occasionally it was starched and in the 15th century, such a ṭaylasān was called a ṭarḥa. In the early Baḥrī period there was a certain exclusiveness concerning the ṭarḥa. Only the highest ranking members of the ʿulamā were permitted to don it and then only on certain important state occasions, such as receptions of foreign envoys. Originally this privilege was granted solely to the chief qaḍī of the Shāfiʿī school until, according to Maqrīzī, Baybars allowed the other three chief qaḍīs to wear it in

663/1265-6. Another chronicler indicates the honour was retained by the Shāfiᶜī judge for over a century: only in 773/ 1371-2 was the privilege was extended first to the Ḥanafī leader, and then to the other two chief qaḍīs.[80]

Theologians and jurists were sometimes appointed to military posts and then it was customary for the individual to retain his non-military dress. Some did replace the ᶜimāma with the sharbūsh, a move which usually aroused no hostile comment from the state or public at large. Similarly, a military man accepting a bureaucratic post faced the same decision.[81]

THE FEMALE WARDROBE

At times the excesses of the ladies of the Mamluk court caused much anger among the ᶜulamā, and disquiet in political circles. As in the preceding regimes, women in the Baḥrī and Burjī period exerted influence and at times political power, directly or indirectly. The end of the Ayyubid regime was marked with the seizure of power in 648/1250 by Shajar al-Durr, the wife of the last Ayyubid sultan until the military arranged her death. Almost a century later, Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāᶜīl publicly acknowledged his devotion to the royal ladies by riding in procession with his mother and two hundred other ladies who were dressed in coloured satin with Bulgarian leather ṭaṭūr head-dresses, decorated with pearls and other gems.[82]

Huge sums of money were occasionally spent on certain items of female dress. A lady's farajiyya in 1338 cost 7000 dinars, while the sirwāl of the wife of Amir Aqbughā were valued at 200,000 dirhams or 10,000 dinars in 741/1341, and a short-length qundara (shirt) of Zainab, wife of Sultan Ināl (1453-61) at 12,000 dinars. But perhaps the most extravagant item of clothing was the robe worn by the mother of Sultan

Barsbay's son, at his circumcision. The expenditure of 30,000 dinars for this garment provoked bitter comments from outraged ᶜulamā.[83] Even allowing for exaggeration, the amounts are staggering and it is unfortunate that no further information is available in the chronicles, as to the fabric, colour, decoration or style of these particular clothes.

There was very little difference between the wardrobe of a Fatimid or Ayyubid lady, and that of her Mamluk descendant (fig.53), that is as far as can be gauged from the vocabulary; the terms and the contexts in which they are used do not differ. Perhaps the cut of 14th and 15th century mi'zār (wrap), the sirwāl, the qamīṣ was identical to that of earlier garments, perhaps not. It seems unlikely that the design and appearance of such items remained static for four or five hundred years.

On the face of it, it would seem that women did not favour the sirwāl, for as Mayer argues, very few textual references to this garment occur. However, Stillman and Abd al-Raziq have shown this probably reflects the code of propriety, rather than the unfashionability of this item of clothing.[84] There are after all few references to female footwear in trousseau lists, but this does not mean that the medieval Egyptian bride went about bare-footed. Some high-ranking ladies obviously wore sirwāl and spent vast amounts on them. A wife of one Baḥrī wazīr, living in the first half of the 14th century was known to possess 400 pairs, and the famous Shajar al-Durr, mentioned above, met her death in 1257-8, dressed in an undershirt and pantaloons. Although concealed from view, the habit of wearing their sirwāl slung low on the hips, was public knowledge for the ᶜulamā demanded that the fashion be banned.[85] The elaborate and costly decoration of the sirwāl legs worn by Cairene and

Alexandrian ladies in the late 14th century was known to

> "... cost 400 ducats each, and even 500 ducats, so many are the pearls and precious stones with which they are pleated. Then they wear chemises all worked in silk and gold and silver, so that they cost 200 gold ducats and more, and the said chemises reach to the knee and are very wide; the sleeves, reaching to the elbow, are a good braccio (cubit) of our measure."[86]

Although generally voluminous and long with a back train, this short qamīṣ mentioned by Sigoli was fashionable during the 14th century to the consternation of many. One style in particular, the bahtala which could cost 1000 dirhams was the subject of repeated governmental edicts in the second half of that century. In 751/1350, the year in which the sale and wearing of silk 'izārs by Cairene women were forbidden, the administration moved to restrict the amount of material used in making the bahtala. Imprisonment faced any lady caught in public wearing sleeves of about 4.5 yards (3.5m). But Sigoli's report of 1384 shows that the fashion was revived to an extent. Up to 115 yards (105m) of Venetian stuff could be used, we are told, and in 793/1391 the government issued regulations considerably limiting the yardage. Patrols were put on the streets of Cairo with authority to employ force if necessary. The stipulations resulted in the birth of a new style of qamīṣ, named after the man responsible for the edict, the qamīṣ al-Kumushbughāwiyya.[87]

Over the qamīṣ was thrown the thawb which in Fatimid and Ayyubid times was a wrap in various attractive shades, pistachio green, reddish-violet, wax-yellow as well as the usual white, yellow, blue and green. These were frequently embellished with borders,

fringes, tassels, embroidery and printing.[88] Perhaps the wraps worn by the females depicted in the 634/1237 Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī manuscript were thawbs; the representations in the paintings do show a wide variety of shades and colours. But there are indications that in the early 14th century, the thawb had a more structured form, of a robe with wide sleeves.[89]

Another outer layer was placed on top of the thawb, the 'izār which could cost as much as 100 dirhams, twice the amount of an expensive pair of shoes, although the usual price was about one dinar. Before 751/1350 silk 'izārs were evidently popular, for in that year the Baḥrī administration attempted to restrict their sale to women.[90]

Unless the individual was a slave, the head and face was covered by a veil. Only on rare occasions was this discarded in public and such happenings, if on a large scale, were recorded in the chronicles to indicate the gravity of the situation. Natural disasters such as the great fire of Cairo in 1321, the earth tremors of 1481, or the news of the arrest of public figures, or impending danger were marked by such public displays of anguish.[91] The all-concealing niqāb covered the whole face with two eye-holes cut out, while other face-veils such as the burqu^{c} revealed the eyes and most of the nose-bridge, or the sha^{c}riyya, a piece of coarsely woven material or horse-hair which concealed the eyes and nose but allowed vision.[92] Three examples of the burqu^{c} veil have recently been excavated at Qusayr al-Qadim and Qasr Ibrim, Upper Egypt. The least damaged is made from two pieces of undyed plain-weave linen to form a complete length of 61cm (24") and a maximum width of 19cm (7.5") found at Qusayr al-Qadim. The Qasr Ibrim fragment is made from one piece of crimson plain-weave silk cut across about 4cm (1.5") from the top to form the eye slit. The

forehead band and lower section are joined at the bridge of the nose by a leather plait and iron ring, decorated with five beads.[93]

The miqnaᶜa veil which fell from the head to the waist was generally made of inexpensive light-weight cotton but there were exceptions. One purchased with a ṭarḥa for the wife of Sultan Qalā'ūn in 1337 cost in total 7000 dinars. The ṭarḥa itself, popular with the Cairene ladies from the 12th century onwards, did not take the form of that worn by the Mamluk qaḍīs, but the only detailed description of this veil occurs in the 19th century.[94] The veil, whatever length and style,[95] covered the the head-dress, and this was also liable to governmental restrictions. Again there seems to be no one reason for state intervention, except that ostentatious luxury always caused hostile theological reaction and so the sumptuary restraints may reflect the growing influence of the ᶜulamā in Mamluk administration. It was announced that such anti-social behaviour brought about Divine retribution --for instance the 1437 outbreak of plague was blamed on Cairene ladies parading in public dressed in expensive clothing.[96] Edicts were issued forbidding women citizens wearing head-coverings associated with male fashions, as in 1263 with the ᶜimāma and in 1426-7 with the ṭāqiyya. The texts suggest that the fashion of wearing masculine items of clothing among Cairene ladies was deliberately affected to counteract the sexual appeal of modish young men and so regain the affections of their menfolk. However, there is nothing to show that homosexuality was particularly prevalent in these two periods. There is no indication that these two types of head-dress were outrageously expensive, either in make-up or decoration, unlike the eye-catching turban form with protusions like camel-humps, which provoked much disgust in ᶜulamā circles,[97]

until the fashion died out during the second half of the 15th century.

The reasoning behind the 876/1471-2 ban on women wearing the ʿiṣāba muqanzaʿa and also the sarāqūsh in public is also unclear. The term ʿiṣāba in the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods referred to a head-band of either cloth or precious metal set with jewels costing 70 or 80 dinars,[98] which could by its cost attract the attention of government or religious functionaries. But the Mamluk ʿiṣāba muqanzaʿa was a padded head-dress of perhaps a crested shape[99] (qunzaʿa: tuft of hair, cock's comb); no reference is made to jewels or precious metals embellishing it. Similarly no clear explanation is given for the edict proscribing the sarāqūsh at the same time. If one accepts Mayer's identification that this sarāqūsh is in fact the male sarāqūj, then this ban could have been another attempt to stop Cairene ladies wearing male dress. Severe penalties were introduced and, faced with the possibile public beating, the Mamluk woman left off both offending head-dresses when in public, or wore the longer ʿiṣāba (fig.53) with the government stamp. In the privacy of the house, of course, the two head-coverings could be worn with impunity.

In the last years of the Baḥrī regime a very striking head-dress became fashionable:

> "women wear a high thing on their head, in the shape of a goblet, wound with expensive cloth and ornaments."[100]

Its tall concave cylindrical form covered with a veil is reminiscent of the boxtaq (fig.40) worn by the Mongol married women, and indeed this Mamluk head-dress was referred to as "tatari".[101]

About the home the Mamluk woman wore slippers (madās) or more decorated shoes awtiʾa. Even the traditional wooden bath pattens (qabāqib) with the two

4"to 9"(10 to 23cm) high blocks placed horizontally across the sole under the heel and the ball of the foot were, if finances permitted, frequently inlaid with gold, silver, and mother-of-pearl. It was with such pattens that Shajar al-Durr was beaten to death.[102] Outdoors madās could be worn, but more likely boots (khuff) of coloured or white leather were used. The fashion for lavishly decorated khuff grew until it provoked state legislation in 751/1350, when a pair of the boots with the over-shoe sarmūza could cost from 100 to 500 dirhams in Cairo. The customer was protected by the public watch-dog, the muḥtasib, who ensured that only good-quality leather, properly tanned, was used and sewn with short lengths of strong flax. He also checked that the padding between the inner and outer soles of ladies' shoes was not too excessive.[103]

The Geniza trousseau lists indicate the range of garments and their quality, cost and colouring for the medieval bride, and similar Mamluk lists show a continuation of the tradition.[104] There appears to be no detailed description of the various ceremonies associated with the exchange of marriage contracts, but according to a 14th century Florentine traveller, custom demanded that the bride dressed in white, and in seven robes worn one on top of the other.[105] At such times entertainers were brought into the house to amuse the male guests, and in the Mamluk period such female musicans and dancers, who were associated with the world of prostitution, were frequently the subject of governmental legislation in the 14th and early 15th centuries. The prostitutes were identified by a particular mode of dress, a distinctive mulā'a (wrap) or ṭarḥa, worn with red pantaloons or shoes.[106]

FABRIC DESIGN AND MAKING

The literary descriptions give a vivid impression of the luxury and opulence displayed during the court ceremonies in the Baḥrī and early Burjī periods. The wealth of the emergent bourgeois class also found expression in fashion and dress. On numerous occasions the government felt it necessary or expedient to pass laws attempting to curb the more excessive tendencies. As Lapidus succinctly sums up:

> "Cloth played the same part that automobiles and durable mechanical goods play today in the American middle-class standard of living."[107]

Despite this evident richness and variety, few items of dress have survived from the Mamluk period. The Royal Ontario Museum is not only fortunate in possessing the majority of the Jabal Adda Islamic costume finds excavations but also holds a collection of children's shirts of the Mamluk period. Several national museums and the major private collections possess examples of the quilted, padded caps, together with fragments of multi-coloured pin-striped silks which show evidence of cutting, shaping and seam sewing, generally classified as Fatimid/ Ayyubid/ Mamluk. Some pieces have woven inscriptions which identify the maker and more often the Mamluk sultan in whose reign the textile was produced, but not all textiles with such legends were manufactured in Mamluk territory. One example carries the title of Sultan al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (1294-5; 1299-1309; 1310-40) but the textile itelf with addorsed parrot-like birds within polygonal medallions, protected by sinuous dragons (fig.46) is of Chinese or Central Asian production, a fine example perhaps of kamkhā.

It has been generally presumed that the restoration of Sunnī Islam in Egypt and Syria by the Ayyubids was mirrored in the increased use of non-figural patterns

on fabrics. The running animal and standing bird forms which decorated tirāz fragments of the Fatimid regime were replaced, it was agreed, with an increased use of horizontal or vertical stripes in which madder, indigo and natural tones predominated. Textiles showing a greater complexity of pattern design were accordingly associated with the increased complexity and sophistication of the Mamluk state. Patterns based on geometric units still satisfied a demand but these possessed a nervous energy and vitality unapparent in Seljuk examples; instead of lying stationary on the field, stars, circles, and rosettes appear to rotate on their own axes across the fabric. The dynamism of the Mamluk state was perhaps unconsciously reflected in the later use of rhythmically meandering bands forming ovoid medallions, while the figures of birds and animals no longer had the arrested, heraldic quality of the earlier periods but were frequently depicted in flight,reflecting the love of hunting in the Mamluk court. Fish, a frequent decorative element in Ayyubid metalwork, came to be used in textile patterns but apparently only in the Mamluk period. Occasionally non-Islamic motifs (for instance the ch'i-lin and phoenix, lotus and peony) are included in the patterns and these have their origins in the Chinese decorative repertoire. Obviously the makers of the Yüan silks exported to the Mamluk lands incorporated familiar designs as well as elements specified by the importers, and these foreign motifs were soon copied by the early 14th century Muslim designers. Whether this love for 'Chinoiserie' should be seen as a reflection of Mongol political and military influence in the Middle East is debateable but the undoubted popularity of these Chinese elements gave a graceful, flowing vitality to Mamluk pattern composition, complimenting the sweeping curves of naskhī, muḥaqqaq and riḥānī calligraphic

styles of the period.

Little is known about the methods of textile production. Although the miniature painting of the period demonstrates an interest in genre, the activities of fibre and yarn preparation, spinning, weaving and tailoring are infrequently depicted.[108] Despite this, there is unequivocal textual proof of draw-looms in use:

> "He[the sultan] went up the staircase to the place where there were the looms and the stores... He went around the looms, observing them and putting his head below them to see their lower parts, and enjoyed himself by looking at the weavers while they were working and throwing their shuttles to and fro. He raised his head up to see the top of the looms where the 'draw-boys' raised up and lowered the top threads. He observed how the motifs of birds, geometric designs and other patterns were produced by these threads that went up and came down till each of the birds and other motifs were completed."[109]

This short description refers to the draw-boy sitting above the draw-harness near the weaver; it was his job to lift and lower the weighted ropes or cords which controlled the individual sheds, which in turn determined the pattern weave.[110]

The social status of the weaver and dyer in Mamluk society was no better than in Abbasid times, when it was considered that weaving skills could be learnt in a matter of months rather than years. By the later Mamluk period, the apprentice went through four stages before being accepted as a master, and being granted a licence to practice. The first ceremony marked the young man's assignment to a master for training; the second celebrated the exchange of contracts; the third acknowledgement of the trainee as <u>ʿammāl</u> or journeyman

with the ritual of knotting his sash or girdle four times and the fourth stage, his entrance into the circle of masters.[111]

The craft of tailoring and weaving were considered as essential services in urban society, akin to the work of carpenters and smiths, while that of patterned silk weaving was found only in highly sophisticated societies along with the skills of glassblowing, goldsmithing and perfume-making.[112] The tailored garment formed of a number of cut fabric pieces was in this period judged to be the mark of sedentary urban man :

> " Desert people restrict themselves to... [spinning and weaving]. But people who are inclined towards sedentary culture cut the woven material into pieces of the right size to cover the form of the body and all of its numerous limbs in their various locations. They then put the different pieces together with thread, until they turn out to be a complete garment that fits the body and can be worn by people. The craft that makes things fit is tailoring...
>
> " Tailoring is restricted to sedentary culture, since the inhabitants of the desert can dispense with it. They merely cover themselves with cloth. The tailoring of clothes, the cutting, fitting, and sewing of the material, is one of the various methods and aspects of sedentary culture.[113]

It was unlikely that once having learnt the craft of tailoring, that another skill could be mastered to such a level, as the habit was too "firmly rooted in [the] soul" of the craftsman.[114] It was the duty of the skilled worker to maintain standards.

This was also one of the responsibilities of the local muḥtasib. He checked that the quality of the silk, and flax yarns was pure, and that the cotton spinners took care in carding and twisting:

> " They must not mingle new cotton with old nor red with the white. The cotton must be carded repeatedly so that the black husks and broken seeds shall be removed. If the seed is allowed to remain it shows in the weight and if left in a jubba or blanket and then washed and crushed it will cut the article and people's clothing will suffer damage."[115]

It was his duty to ensure good quality, permanent dyes were used in the dye-houses, particularly in the case of reds and blues. It was not unknown for dyers to substitute cheaper, more fugitive colouring agents and charge the client the full rate. To minimize any possibility of substitution of yarn or fabric while in the hands of the dyer, the client's name was to be clearly marked on the article. Any attempt to make money by obtaining credit or hiring out the customer's property was to be severely punished.[116]

This concern over quality and also protection of the client's goods was apparent in the muḥtasib's overseeing of tailoring establishments:

> " Tailors must be ordered to cut out properly and shape the neck well, to make the ornamental borders wide, the sleeves of equal length and the skirts even. Raised seams are better than tacking. The needle is to be fine and the thread contained in the eye short -- a long one frays and weakens. A valuable piece of stuff must be measured before it is cut out ...
>
> " When stuff is made into a coat (qabā') and the owner claimed he ordered a skirt, the tailor's word is to be taken -- thus [is] Ibn Abi Layli['s ruling]. Abū Ḥanifa declares the owner's word is to be taken for it is to him that reference is made with regard to details of his order. Another alternative is for both [the owner and the tailor]

> ... to swear an oath. The question arises whether on swearing an oath the tailor ceases to be liable to pay compensation and whether he at the same time has a right to payment for the work he has done."[117]

Not only was the client's name to be written on the article but further precautions were to be taken:

> "Valuable stuff like silk or brocade must be accepted by weight only, what is left after the garment is made up to be returned to the owner. Some will impregnate a piece of silk or the like with water and salt in order to increase its weight to correspond to what they received...
>
> " The muḥtasib must forbid their causing delay to people in making up their stuffs, making them return repeatedly or holding back their goods. No greater delay than a week is allowed... unless an arrangement had been made...
>
> " Repairers may not repair a valuable garment received from a fuller or cloth-beater except in the owner's presence. Embroiderers and ornament-stitchers must not transfer embroidery from one garment to another which fullers or cloth-beaters may bring them."[118]

Generally prices for raw materials and finished textiles remained stable in the Mamluk territories until the last decades of the 14th century. From 1390 cotton, wool and linen cloth prices rose three to ten times in line with overall inflation. By 1405 the worst was over but the damage to state and private textile workshops was irreparable. In 1394 there had been 14,000 silk looms in Alexandria, Egypt but the census of 1434 revealed that only 800 remained in operation[119] and that region had not been devastated by Timur's incursions, as the Syrian provinces had been.

The year 741/1340-1 is seen by modern historians as the watershed for the Mamluk textile industry. For the

first time, the supervisor of the Alexandrian royal textile atelier was not appointed by the sultan but by a government official, indicating a withdrawal of royal interest and support. Shortly after, Sultan Barsbay announced its closure and around the same time, that of Cairo was disbanded. Yarns and textiles were seen increasingly as highly taxable items. Duties were levied on stuffs produced on Mamluk soil and elsewhere and merchants taxed. The Mamluk government seized control over Iraqi and Syrian textile merchandizing, closing the frontiers in 1429 and confiscating goods imported in contravention of the rules.[120] These taxes and levies would not have encouraged investment and development in the industry. The 15th century in Southern Europe heralded mechanical innovations in the textile craft, utilizing water power but apparently there was no similar development in the Mamluk world.[121] The conservative attitude of the high-ranking mamlūks concerning the introduction of firearms into the army is well-recorded and perhaps such antagonism towards technical innovation permeated the textile manufacturing world. Together with the restraints on trade movement within the Islamic world, this combination of events probably opened the door to European textile merchants; it has been argued that Cairo clamoured for European textile designs and fabrics, in preference to home-produced goods.[122] Presumably in the hope of at least arresting the decline, taxes levied on the textile workshops in Egypt and Syria were abolished from the 1420s. The levy on raw cotton was withdrawn in 836/1433, while in Syria the linen excise was cancelled in 845/1442, followed eight years later by the removal of the linen bleaching tax.[123] Further moves abolishing taxes continued through the century but the industry showed no signs of recovery.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Maqrīzī as given in Holt p.238.
2. It has been assumed that because the same terminology is employed throughout the period the style and structure of clothing remained unchanged.
3. Humphreys Emergence; Ayalon Aspects p.6.
4. Ayalon Aspects p.6-8.
5. Ayalon Studies p.214.
6. Mayer Mamluk p.25; Ayalon Gunpowder p.55-6; Ibn Iyās p.56-7, 59.
7. Ashtor Lainages p.673.
8. Ayalon Gunpowder n.63 p.37 points out that the early naptha throwers wore distinctive dress but presumably this was protective clothing, not a dress uniform. Possibly the various regiments were identified by coloured banners or pennants, as the sultan's mamlūks were recognisable by the yellow streamers on their lances; Ibn Ṣasrā p.75.
9. Ayalon Gunpowder p.70, n.131 p.121.
10. The amīr of 100 (also known as the amīr of 1000) for example had 100 horsemen and 1000 men to equip.
11. Ayalon Payments p.46, 53-4, 257-8; Mayer Mamluk p.76-7; "Harb"EI^2 p.189; Little Introduction p.121-2. My thanks to Dr. Robert Irwin for bringing this last reference to my attention. The mandīl al-'aman (piece of cloth) was used in battle as a flag of truce and surrender, but occasionally the supplicant would drape a garment around his neck ; could this item been the field-uniform ?
12. Mayer Mamluk p.77-80.
13. Ibid. p.23-5; Rogers p.395; Haldane p.28 pl.66.
14. Rice Baptistèrie p.17.
15. Salar (d. 1310) was captured by Mamluk forces during the Anatolian campaign in 1276 and entered into the service of the sultan. Son of the master huntsman to the Seljuk household, he rose to high office. Despite his upbringing at the Seljuk court, it appears he was not Turkish in origin but an Oirati by birth; this could explain why the decorator of the St. Louis basin chose to show this figure wearing a garment closing left-to-right. Rice Baptistèrie p.16-7,27; Mayer Saracenic p.196; Ayalon Wafidiyya p.92.
16. Mayer Mamluk p.22.
17. Ibid. p.58.
18. Ibid. p.26-7.
19. Ibid. p.24.

20. Ibid. p.25; Ashtor Lainages p.671-3; see also Raymond & Wiet p.168-9.
21. It is unclear whether the Tatars concerned were the Mongols or the Tartar auxilaries of the Mamluk army; see Chapter IV fn. 9-11.
22. That is, if Mayer Mamluk p.30-1 is correct in assuming sarājūq and sarāqūsh are one and the same.
23. Ibid. n.1 p.72.
24. Ibid. p.28 suggests another style, taller with a less noticeable triangular section, rounded brim and top stud was also a sharbūsh.
25. Ibid. p.27-8; Dozy p.221-3; Ibn Iyās p.55.
26. Mayer Mamluk p.29.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid. p.32-3.
29. Haldane p.29.
30. Raby p.41. Raby does not identify the shaggy cap as featured in fig.15 extreme left, as a zamt but this article fits the description perfectly.
31. Ibid. p.62-3 argues for a date circa 1495-9.
32. Spuhler p.161; Abd ar-Raziq p.240-1.
33. Braided hairstyles were associated with Turkic and Mongol peoples; see Chapter IV p.120.
34. Lewis Egypt p.219. This sultan with his sons spent much time in Kerak, Syria and possibly this fashion and his son Aḥmad's liking for bedouin clothing reflected a stronger Arab influence at court; see Ayalon Eunuchs p.292.
35. It is unclear how the takhfīfa differed from the ᶜimāma; perhaps the former had an inner frame to support the fabric.
36. Ayalon Gunpowder p.70-1.
37. For instance, Aybāk, a jashnigīr or taster of Sultan Nahm al-Dīn Ayyūb had as his device the symbol of a round table.
38. For examples, see Rice Baptistèrie p.16-7; Spuhler p.162. These blazons were changed immediately on the death or removal of the office-holder; Ibn Ṣaṣrā p.168 and 136 for episodes in 1382 and 1391 respectively.
39. See fn.34.
40. Mayer Mamluk p.16, 18-9.
41. Ibid. p.18-9.
42. Ayalon Eunuchs p.292-3; see fn.34 above.
43. Mayer Mamluk p.16-7; see also Drawing 273 p.287 in UAR Islamic for another suggestion; the authenticity of this painting is disputed.
44. Ibn Taghrībirdī, as given in Holt p.244.
45. Mayer Mamluk p.15.
46. Sadeque p.36/125. Circa 1470 tawq came to mean in military vocabulary the front edges of the outer-coat; Mayer Mamluk p.53. For a 683/

1284-5 Syrian governor's investiture, see Abū'l Fidā' p.167-8.

47. This term could be interpreted as patterned with running animals; Abū'l Fidā' n.1 p.174.

48. Ibn Baṭṭuṭa describes kamkhā as "a silk stuff (harīr) made at Baghdad, Tabriz, Nishapur and in China" (Serjeant p.31), which could mean a decorative pattern including Chinese motifs, as seen in a number of surviving Mamluk silks.

49. Mayer Mamluk p.58-9. It should be noted that Serjeant p.156 gives a different interpretation in places.

50. "Khil^{c}a" EI^{2}.

51. UAR Islamic item 251 pl.64a; Millet p.60. My thanks to Dr. Michael Rogers who drew my attention to these finds, and sincere gratitude to Dr. Nicholas Millet and Mrs. Elisabeth Crowfoot for their kindness and readiness to share all their information. It was possible to visit the Royal Ontario Museum in 1984 through a Pasold Research Travel Grant.

52. Mayer Mamluk p.59.

53. The orange threads have largely disappeared, except for a small section protected in a seam. Dye tests (no fragment with orange was available for the tests) were carried out by Dr. GW Taylor.

54. These items were purchased at different times from various vendors but clearly they are all part of the one tunic.

55. Wansbrough pl.V. Unfortunately the name of the ruling sultan on the stamp cannot be deciphered; neverthless undoubtedly it is not 13th century as suggested in the preliminary excavation reports, and probably it is later than the 14th century dating proposed more recently; Millet p.60; UAR Islamic item 251. My thanks to Dr. Bivar for his advice on these stamps.

56. See previous fn.

57. Muhram is possibly a wool cloth without seams; Lane Lexicon muhram.

58. Mayer Mamluk p.59-60.

59. Ibid. p.60.

60. Ibid. p.62; Darrag p.119.

61. Ibn Iyās p.55; Mayer Mamluk p.63.

62. Stillman Female p.93-4.

63. Mayer Mamluk p.63.

64. Ibid..

65. Ibn Iyās p.180; see also p.151, 163 & 165.

66. Also referred to as sarawil al-futuwwa.

67. For instance, Sultan al-^{c}Ādil and his sons in 1202-3, and al-Kāmil; Humphreys Saladin

p.138. According to the poet al-Jazzar, Sultan al-Mu^{c}izz of Egypt (1250-7) ordered all (? Muslim) men to wear sarawil al-futuwwa; Ziadeh p.167. Ibn Baṭṭuṭa vol.II p.304 relates the incident of the qadī of Shiraz visited by Il-Khanid ruler Muḥammad Khudābanda (1304-17), who gives him his own garments. Ibn Baṭṭuṭa concludes the story with: "the most honourable garment in this respect being the trousers."

68. Similarly we know little about the special aprons (uzra; mi'zār) worn by the members of the 10th century secret organisation, the ^{c}ayyārun and the shūṭṭar. In Syria, circa 1485, members of the ẓu^{c}ar association cut their hair in a particular but as yet unidentified way called qar^{c}ani. This hairstyle with an outer garment draped across the shoulders formed their 'uniform'; Lapidus p.154 ff. See also "Futuwwa" EI^{2}. For details of 15th-16th century Anatolian futuwwa rites, see Breebaart.

69. Ziadeh p.167.

70. Mayer Saracenic p.11, 19-22. The 'horns' have also been interpreted as powder-horns and oliphants; Ellis p.57. According to early European descriptions, the symbol represented dolphins or candlesticks; Kurz p.303-6.

71. Mayer Mamluk p.14.

72. Ibid. p.52; Tyan vol.I p.310; Stillman Female p.66-7.

73. Mayer Mamluk p.52. Despite the lack of specific information, Mayer classifies the garment illustrated in his pl.XIII as a taḥtāniyya.

74. Stillman Female p.67-8 points out that there are sleeveless examples worn in modern-day Fez, Morocco.

75. Darrag p.119; Mayer Mamluk p.5.

76. Ibn Baṭṭuṭa vol.I p.21.

77. Ibid. vol.I p.136; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa p.62; see also Tyan vol.I p.211.

78. "Sharif" EI^{1} p.327.

79. Ibid. In 1596 the Ottoman governor of Egypt decreed the turban of the sayyids should be entirely green in colour, but it never became general custom throughout the Islamic lands.

80. Tyan vol.I p.308-10. Dozy p.278-9 was of the opinion that ṭaylasān and ṭarḥa were identical. See also Mayer Mamluk p.51.

81. See Ibn Ṣaṣrā p.227; Mayer Mamluk p.54. In the early Baḥrī period, the post of wazīr was usually filled by a member of the ^{c}ulamā but from the 1280s, increasingly amīrs were

appointed to this office.

82. Ayalon Eunuchs p.284.

83. Darrag p.395; Mayer Mamluk p.74.

84. Mayer Costumes p.299; Mayer Mamluk p.70; Stillman Female n.1 p.222; Abd ar-Raziq p.233-4.

85. Abd ar-Raziq p.233; Mayer Costumes p.302.

86. Sigoli in 1384, as in Bellorini & Hoade p.163. The braccio was no more exact than the dhira' but in general it represented the length of an arm, an average of 60cm (23.5"). For Cairene ladies' dress, see Frescobaldi, October 1384 in Bellorini & Hoade p.47.

87. Mayer Mamluk p.69; Abd ar-Raziq p.234 ff. and for an unusual reason for the wide sleeves, n.4 p.235.

88. Stillman Female p.104-5; Mayer Costumes p.299.

89. Stillman Female p.104; Mayer Mamluk p.70; Abd ar-Raziq p.235.

90. Abd ar-Raziq p.236; Stillman Female p.49. In 700/ 1301 the first of numerous Mamluk fatwas was issued stipulating that the women of the various non-Muslim communities had to wear 'izārs of certain colours; Stillman Female p.48-9.

91. Abd ar-Raziq p.242-3.

92. Frescobaldi, October 1348 as in Bellorini & Hoade p.47.

93. Eastwood p.35-6.

94. Lane Manners p.43.

95. Perhaps there was some social coding regarding veils; the hijāb and sitara, for instance, were used as honorific titles for very high-ranking ladies. Of the two, al-hijāb seems to signify the most elevated status as the mothers, wives and daughters of sultans were known by this epithet; see Abd ar-Raziq p.95-6, 103.

96. Raymond & Wiet p.81.

97. Mayer Mamluk p.71; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa p.53; Abd ar-Raziq p.239.

98. Stillman Female p.128-30.

99. Mayer Mamluk p.72. Abd ar-Raziq p.238 disagrees with Mayer's interpretation.

100. Arnold von Harff as in Mayer Mamluk p.71.

101. See Abd ar-Raziq p.241-2 for references. This form of head-dress was also popular in the Ottoman lands; being frequently depicted as the bridal head-dress in the various religious/ ethnic communities in later centuries.

102. Abd ar-Raziq p.247; Mayer Costumes p.301..

103. Abd ar-Raziq p.246; Mayer Mamluk p.74; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa p.48.

104. Stillman Female section III; Abd ar-Raziq p.146-52.
105. Bellorini & Hoade p.167-8; Abd ar-Raziq p.159-61. Details of a 20th century Kenuz wedding in Upper Egypt lasting several weeks are included in Callender & el-Guindi p.62 ff.
106. Mayer Costumes p.302 reads sarāwīl for sarāfīl/ sarāqīl, but in his later work Mamluk he translates sarāfīl/ sarāqīl as possibly shoes. See also Abd ar-Raziq p.47-8.
107. Lapidus p.31.
108. There is an example of spinning in the 634/ 1237 Maqāmāt al-Harīrī, Arabe ms. 5847 fol. 138r, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
109. Marzouk Tirāz p.161.
110. In Europe it was customary for the draw-boy to stand at the side of the weaver as the harness of the European draw-loom was guided over rollers; Wulff p.205-9; Kobb p.231.
111. Baer Egyptian p.50-2.
112. Ibn Khaldūn p.292.
113. Ibid. p.322.
114. Ibid. p.318.
115. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa p.45.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid p.44.
118. Ibid.
119. Lapidus p.31-4; Darrag p.70-2, 155-7.
120. Darrag p.69 ff., 155-7.
121. Ashtor Venetian p.24; Ashtor Lainages p.681 ff.. See also White Medieval p.86-161; Ashtor Social p.306-9.
122. Darrag p.72.
123. Lamm p.228; Ziadeh p.34.

CHAPTER VI

THE OTTOMAN COURT

> "... their ... Apparel was very costly of several sorts and colours, all most radiantly shining with Gold, Silver, Purple, Silk, Velvet, etc.. I am not able to describe the Gaudiness of the Show; in one word, 'twas the most glorious one I ever saw in all my Life."[1]

By 1300 the Turkic families of Germiyan and Osman controlled most of Western Anatolia, while the Karamans held the south-east and the Mongolian Il-Khanid regime ruled over the north-eastern lands. Byzantine authority in Anatolia was restricted to a land strip connecting the towns of Brusa, Nicaea and Nicomedia. By the end of the century the Ottoman house controlled all of Western Anatolia and had moved into territories now within the modern national boundaries of Bulgaria, Greece and Hungary. The Timurid campaigns forced a temporary withdrawal to these land holdings in Europe but the opportunity to re-establish Ottoman authority in Anatolia came during the reign of Murad II (1421-44;1446-51). In May 1453 Constantinople and the Byzantine house of Palaeologus fell to Mehmed II and the territorial advance began in earnest. The Ottoman army bit deeply into the Balkan peninsula, and eastwards into Anatolia and Persia, with the Mamluk territories becoming Ottoman in 1517.

Throughout the rest of the century the advance continued and often the cost in men and money was enormous just to maintain control. The administrative system of the Empire was in danger of breaking under the strain and a sharp increase in palace intrigues worsened the situation.

The appointment of Mehmed Köprülü to high office in the second quarter of the 17th century saved the empire from disaster. The Ottoman navy, crushingly defeated by the Venetian fleet was rebuilt. On land, rebels in Anatolia were suppressed, and Transylvania was occupied in 1655. However, major European counter-attacks began in earnest. With internal dissessions over succession there was little choice but to sue for peace. In 1699 under the Treaty of Karlowitz the Ottoman army withdrew from Transylvania and most of Hungary, but the losses were temporary. After defeating the Russians in 1711, the Ottoman armies were victorious against the Venetian and the Austrian forces. It was a time of military successes and a period of great artistic and cultural out-pouring known as the 'Tulip Period' of Ahmed III (1703-30). However, it was clear that major reforms were essential both in bureaucracy and in military administration if the Ottoman Empire was to defend itself successfully against European interventionist and expansionist policies.

THE DRESS OF THE SULTAN

The Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul has in its collection garments and clothing from the royal wardrobes. The problem of this collection has been noted by textile historians[2]; it remains only to remind the reader that not all the attributions given to these items of clothing can be correct. The Ottoman dress collection of the Istanbul Military Museum will not be included here as the majority of items displayed are later than that the early 19th century.[3]

The life-style of the early Ottoman ruler was by all accounts simple, fitting for the leader of a military force, rather than the head of a vast bureaucratic and military machine the Ottoman state was to become. Orhan in Bursa resided in a tent easily

accessible to his subjects, and his immediate succesors also declined the trappings and ornaments of power.[4]

From the Ottoman miniatures, it appears the dress of the sultan and the royal princes provided the model for other court costumes, but differed in the choice of fabrics, furs and ornaments. There is some evidence to indicate that there was a 'Romantic Turk' movement at court in the first half of the 15th century; literature poetry and dress of the period alluded to the Turkic ancestry of the Ottoman house, and to the Oghuz tribe in particular.[5] Elsewhere it has been suggested that Byzantine ceremonial can be perceived in the style of certain items of Ottoman court dress worn in the 15th century.[6] More recently, a dominant Persian influence has been identified, which it is argued did not diminish until the end of the 17th century.[7] It has also been noted that generally speaking the Ottomans employed Arabic clothing terminology, rather than their own vocabulary.[8]

Not all the Ottoman sultans are represented in the Topkapı Saray costume collection. The 1760 inventory listed garments belonging to Orhan, but no clothing of following Ottoman rulers until Mehmed II Fatih (1444-6;1451-81) yet between the mid-14th/ early 15th century there was considerable advances in the home textile industry. In the present catalogue, however, there are three items attributed to the wardrobe of Murad I (1360-89), two kaftans and one jacket. Clothing said to have belonged to Mehmed II Fatih are far more numerous, more than fifteen kaftans, four mintans, three entaris, two cloaks (maşlah and yağmurluk), a kürk, as well as çakşır and a gömlek (shirt),[9] but the high technical quality of some of the fabrics suggest a later dating, as does the sophisticated character of the pattern composition and motifs.

The basic garments were as follows:

"Their habit is fit to make them seem proper, and it covers defects far more easily than the Canons or Pantaloons of France; next to their skin, they wear a pair of Drawers, which shut alike behind and before; their Shirt (which hath sleeves like out Womens Smocks, and is slit in the same manner) comes over their Drawers; they have a Doliman above their Shirt, which is like a close-bodied Cassock, that reaches down to the heels, and hath straight sleeves, ending in a little round flap that covers the back of their hands; these Dolimans are made of Stuff, Taffeta, Sattin, or other neat striped Stuffs; and in Winter they have them quilted with Cotton; over the Doliman, they gird themselves about the small of the waste with a Sash, that may serve them for a Turban, when it is wreathed about the head; or with a leathern Belt two or three fingers broad, adorned with Gold or Silver Buckles."[10]

There were three main types of outer garment worn by the sultan and by high-ranking officials at court. George Sandys, writing about his visit to Istanbul in 1610, described them :

"Overall when they go abroad they weare gownes, some with wide halfe sleeves... others with long hanging sleeves, buttoned before: and a third sort worne by the meaner sort, reaching but a little below the knee, with hanging sleeves no much long than the arme, and open before; but all of them ungathered in the shoulders."[11]

All three are portrayed in court paintings from the late 15th century until the 1700s and are represented in the Topkapı Saray collection:- the voluminous full-length mantle with wide sleeves and generous pendant collar; the shorter closer-fitting garment with elbow-length sleeves; and the type with long narrow 'false'

sleeves which fall behind the wearer's arms. It would appear that the same styles of outer garment were worn through the centuries. There were minor alterations in, for instance, the line of the skirt inserts, but these do not lend themselves to any suggestion of a chronological evolution, if the attributions of ownership are accepted without question.

Nor did the wide, long or short-sleeved garment evolve into the long narrow-sleeved robe with shoulder or sleeve openings for passage of the arms. Early examples of the pendant sleeve are depicted in the Achaemenian bas-reliefs from Persepolis, south-west Iran, on the robes worn and offered as tribute by the Median envoys. The first known illustrated example from the Islamic period, where such a garment is associated with a ruler, is found in the Edinburgh Jāmi^c al-Tawārīkh manuscript of 1306-7 (fig.23). At the Timurid court the ruler's empty sleeve was proffered for the kiss of homage but at the Ottoman court, homage was paid by kissing the hem or waist of the imperial robe. The Il-Khanid and Timurid pendant sleeve retained its primary function but the Ottoman version of the 1700s had become non-functional, with its excessively length and extreme narrowness at the cuff.[12]

By or during the reign of Ahmed I (1603-17) another sleeve form was also worn. As usual, this type of sleeve is set at right angles "ungathered", and without underarm gussets, to the back and front panels, but tapers quickly from the elbow to the tightly buttoned wrist-cuff, rather like the later European 'leg of mutton' sleeve. The short white satin tunic with an impressed design of scallops and floral sprays (Topkapı Saray inv. no. 13/312-35/184) said to have belonged to Osman II(1618-22), and a striped satin robe of Murad IV(1623-40) (inv. no. 13/412-35/654) are fine examples of this sleeve construction. In the cream

moiré dolaman of Mustafa II (1695-1703) however, the extra width of the upper sleeve is achieved by additional pieces sewn in and the tapering commences just before the wrist, not at the elbow.

These robes are essentially simple in construction, with no complicated shaping, gathering nor darting. The material falls from the shoulders so displaying the pattern, texture and trimmings to their full advantage. This was remarked upon by numerous European observers, such as that of the mid-16th century ambassador, Busbequius. The first part of his descripion of a court audience at Amasya introduces this chapter; it continues:

> "And yet in all this Splendor, there was a great deal of Simplicity and Parsimony too. Those who were of one Order had cloathing all of one sort; there were no foolish Hems, Lacings, Fringes or Borders, as among us, which cost a great deal of Mony, and yet wear out in a day or two..."[13]

There is no extra shaping nor seaming distinguishing the front panel from the back. Triangular inserts with straight or curved outlines are attached to the main front and back panels from the waist down to give additional width in the skirts. The sleeves, as described above, are set perpendicular to the main panels. All these elements are featured in the non-voided cut silk velvet kaftan of Mehmed II Fatih (fig.54) and other garments[14] and depicted in a guild parade sequence (fig.55) in the Sur-nāme manuscript, circa 1582-3.

In the Fatih robe, the short tubular sleeves of 30cm (11.75") with an elliptically-cut front-facing edge are set at right-angles, without gussets, to the main front and back panel, which is 63.5cm (25") wide excluding the backstitched seam allowance of 0.5cm (1/4"). There is no collar only a narrow neck band

which, Slade argued, facilitated summary execution.[15] Barrel-shaped silver thread buttons and loops on twelve horizontal braids provide a right-to-left fastening down the central front to the waist. The robe, lined with crimson satin and edged with stamped green satin is 105cm (41.25") long in the front and at the back, 115cm (45.25"). The golden-orange silk velvet has a pattern repeat in crimson of three circles with two curving lines, the so-called 'tiger stripe'. This chintamani motif[16] was a favourite Ottoman device, frequently appearing on many types of textiles, on metalwork and glazed ceramics. In Persian miniatures, the 'tiger-striped' tunic was associated with the legendary hero, Rustam, so symbolized heroism, physical power and masculinity. The combined motif of 'stripes' and three circles has been interpreted as representing the sun, moon and Venus rising over the Milky Way; as three moons over two forks of lightning; as the three Truths (the knowledge of God, the Law of God, and the Path of the Chosen Faith).[17] More recently, it has been suggested that the chintamani is linked to Chinese symbolism of pearls and waves, bringing good fortune and power to the wearer[18] or more specifically, of the Buddha, the Law and the Congregation.[19]

This type of outer robe was worn by the sultan at audiences and reviews, but by the 18th century one style was particularly associated with power and authority -- the kapanice. This was the ample, full-length robe with a long, wide back collar flap, covered in fur. The sleeves were long, but extremely narrow with vertical slits to allow the passage of the arms before the cuffs. Gold braid fastenings çaprast, themselves a mark of rank, were sewn down the front opening in horizontal lines. At his investiture, the sultan was dressed in this with black fox on the collar, a gold belt encrusted with jewels, and a turban

but only after he had presented sable-trimmed kapanice as hil'at (Arabic khil^{c}a) to the three most important court officials. ~~Evidently~~ the garment evidently symbolised executive power as it was presented to the Grand Vezir at the start of a military campaign to mark his appointment as commander-in-chief.[20]

Sable (samur) and especially black fox (tilki) were the prerogative of the sultans and the highest officials, the Grand Vezir, the Chief Eunuch and the Bostancı Başı for instance. Usually their use was confined to trimming and lining garments -- as Pero Tafur, struck be the extensive use of fur at the Edirne court, wrote winters could be very cold[21] -- but Ibrahim (1640-8) had such a passion for furs that ceilings and walls of Topkapı palace were covered in skins. Charles White, resident in Istanbul in the early 19th century, noted :

> "Their rarity and high prices not only placed them beyond the reach of ordinary purchasers, but they were regarded as symbolic of rank and power. Strict etiquette was moreover observed in all these matters... This etiquette constituted a court law, and could not be infringed in public. It was the duty of the chief white eunuch to announce to the teshryfadjy bashy (master of ceremonies), the day appointed by the Sultan for the adoption or laying aside of certain furs. The latter functionary then gave notice of this to the grand vizir, and others. These days were generally determined by the calculations of the chief astrologer, but invariably took place upon a Friday, when the Sultan proceeded in state to mosque. The projected change having been announced to all persons concerned, two or three days previously, each was prepared to appear in the furs appropriate to his position.
>
> "... The first period for putting on furs commenced

about three or four Fridays after the autumnal equinox, when the court usually moved from the summer to the winter residence. Then the light summer djubba or caftan, worn over the entary (robe) was laid aside; and a kurk, lined with ermine or martin sable, was adopted. In the course of a month, grey squirrel or red fox became regulation. These were worn until winter set in, when fine Siberian sables were adopted, and retained until near the vernal equinox.

" The changes were then repeatedly inversed, until summer permitted furs to be laid aside. The same rules were observed by the harems, and nearly the same materials were employed by the ladies."[22]

The foreign observer's attention was always caught by the sultan's turban and the jewel-encrusted sorguç (aigrette), although in the late 16th century, the sultan replaced the sorguç with "a small striking clock, oval in shape".[23] The royal turbans were kept in the Revan odasi or later the Sarık odasi, where after being worn, the kavuk or cap base to the turban was handed over to the Kavukçu Başı for attention, while the sarık (turban cloth) was the responsibility of the Sarıkçı Başı and his fifteen attendants.

There were numerous turban forms judging by the variety of names but it is difficult to identify conclusively all the terms with the actual shapes depicted in Ottoman painting. Some were exclusive to the sultan while others like the halafat and dardağan were widely used by sultans after Mehmet IV to walk incognito in the streets of Istanbul; the precise shapes of these two types is unclear as yet.[24] Occasionally the sultan would be responsible for introducing a new style. Selim I (1512-20) gave his name to a particularly tall head-covering, said to have been twice the height of the mücevveze,[25] but his

successor, Suleyman I preferred the smaller yusuf named after the Qur'ānic/Biblical Joseph whose turban had been brought to Istanbul after the 1517 conquest of Mamluk Egypt. However, 'smaller' is a relative term. According to Jenkinson, it was not an insignificant head-dress, consisting of 15 yards of silk and linen mixture.[26] Invisible to the observer under the cloth and kavuk, but no doubt worn by Suleyman who firmly believed in such talismans, was a small cotton cap worked with calligraphic and mathematical formulae to protect the royal person from an untimely death.[27]

For military campaigns, the men of the imperial family would don a tunic carrying similar magical formulae. A number of these garments dating from the late 15th to mid-16th century have survived in the Topkapı Saray collection (inv. nos. 13/1133; 13/1135; 13/1404 made for Cem Sultan, son of Mehmed II; 13/1408).[28] They are simple in shape, made of two flared T-shaped pieces sewn together. The fabric is a white tabby weave linen or cotton, the surface being completely covered with magical numbers and Qur'ānic formulae[29] arranged in geometrical units such as squares, circles, six-pointed stars, painted in coloured inks, dyes and gold leaf.

Another concealed item of clothing was the sultan's pantaloons. Although often made of exquisitely decorative fabrics this garment was seen only in circumstances of public humiliation as for instance the deposed Osman III's degrading ride through the Istanbul's streets with his trousers on his head.[30] A royal gift of trousers to a Grand Vezir warned of retribution unless the sultan's orders were immediately obeyed.[31] The Topkapı Saray Museum possesses several pairs of various styles, some with the inner leg material deeply concave in shape, cut on the bias and others with a heavy convex profile, cut on the

straight. Even presuming that their labels correctly identify their royal owners, no chronology of stylistic development can be offered. Although Suleyman I was reputedly austere in his dress, disliking silk on theological grounds,[32] his pantaloons (inv. no. 13/131-2/4414) (fig.56) are splendidly luxurious. In some areas the silver thread has tarnished, but the exquisite quality of this heavy compound plain weave silk fabric remains. The design of rosette forms enclosed by crescent moons embellished with infill motifs of pomegranates and artichokes is outlined in pale blue silk, separating the silver thread on white from the silver on the golden silk background. Their length is a staggering 141cm (55.5") with a waist measurement of 144cm (56.5") expanding to 252cm (99") at the lower hip, then narrowing in a curving inner leg seam to 45 cm (17.75") lower leg.

MILITARY COSTUMES

The name 'Ottoman' immediately evokes that of the Janissary, so feared and hated until the disbandment of the force in 1826. However, this body of almost two hundred companies in the early 17th century formed only one section, admittedly very important, of the Ottoman armed forces.

There were two methods of recruitment. One continuing the established fief system provided certain troops of cavalry, the fortress and derbent (frontier) guards, the raiding forces or akıncıs, and the deli corps formed mostly of Croats, Serbs and Bosnians. The other supplied the army and also the imperial household, and so is more relevant to this study. In Hanafi law twenty per cent of the prisoners taken in military action became the property of the ruler. These men, augmented with purchases from the slave markets, formed the army of the Ottoman state until some time in the

14th century when the devşirme or child levy became the main source of man-power.[33] In the 16th century two officials were despatched to certain European Ottoman provinces every three to seven years, to select the best young males of the Christian and Bosnian Muslim populations and send them to various training centres. A 1558 miniature (fig.57) represents such a team in the field, with a number of devşirme children wearing floppy red caps falling back from the head with two points. Their red broadcloth garment falls to the calf with narrow sleeves reaching to the wrists, and a cloth belt.

After training and further selection, the youths were drafted either into the inner service or enderun, described later, or passed to the outer service (birun) and from there, into either the military or general attendance services. The first step was entry into one of the thirty-four messes of the acemi oğlan, the body set up by Murad I to provide training for future Janissaries. Their uniform is described by Rycaut and de Tournefort writing in the second half of the 17th century as being made of coarse Salonika cloth, blue in colour according to de Tournefort, with yellow felt conical head-covering shaped like a sugar-loaf. In addition to pay, the acemi oğlans received two sets of clothing and linen each year of their training.[34] Apparently the dress remained basically unchanged in colour for a century or so; a miniature in the 1588 Hünername (Topkapı Saray H.1524) shows a musket-bearing youth wearing a yellow conical cap on the extreme left, and identical caps are worn by the three youths peering over a fence on the right.[35]

The origins of the Janissary force (Turkish: Yeni Çeri) and its distinctive ceremonial head-dress are unclear. 16th century Turkish historiographers stated that the corps was established in Orhan's reign

(c.1324-60). However the 15th century writer, Chalcondyles reported the corps dated from the time of Osman (1281-c.1324), and 16th century European sources credit Murad I (1360-89) or Murad II (1421-44; 1446-51). Whoever the founder was, by 1480 the Janissary regiments numbered 10,000 men. This number had trebled *circa* 1610, and in 1670 risen to over 53,800.[36]

The instigator of the white felt *keçe* is also now disputed. The traditional story tells of the *dervis* leader, Haci Bektaş, blessing the Ottoman soldiers by laying his sleeve on their heads. Aaron Hill in Istanbul at the turn of the 18th century related the version he heard:

> "...foreseeing easily, what Fate would soon befall him he [Haci Bektaş] rent off a long Sleeve, which he wore continually on his Right Arm, and putting it upon the Head of one of the Soldiers, cried out prophetically in the *Turkish* language,
>
> 'Life from my Death shall like a Phoenix spring,
> To Guard from Dangers your Succeeding King.'
>
> ...[Janissaries] to this Day in Imitation of the Sleeve which *Bectash* put upon the Soldiers Head, are all obliged to wear a Head-piece fac'd with pollish'd Steel, to which is fastned a large piece of *Buff*, that falling in a moderate Breadth from the Crown of their Head spreads gradually wider to the midle of their Backs."[37]

Looking at the head-dress (fig.58) one can see why this version gained so much credence. The long, folded tube of white felt, described by Botta in 1479 as:

> "uno capello biancho de lana alto uno brazo con un friso d'oro intorno, largo quatro dida et quatro penne de garzetts dentra"[38]

could well have been adapted from a garment sleeve. A Turkish biography of the *Haci*, *circa* 15th century,

associates him with the soldiers and its glossary states that the term yeni çeri was derived from yen meaning sleeve; perhaps this and other works like it were the source of the legend.[39]

However, it is not possible that the founder of the Bektaş dervis order and the military corps had a common history, and the story gained formal recognition only in 1591 when eight Bektaşi dervises joined the 99th orta (company).[40] Possibly though, the head-dress was linked with another order with religious affiliations, the ahi (Arabic: Akhi) fraternity. Ibn Battuta describes the dress worn by these devotees in Northern Syrian circa 1330:

> "...and on their heads were white qalansuwa of wool with a piece of stuff about a cubit long and two fingers broad attached to the top of each.[41]

One modern scholar argues that not only were the Janissary caps linked with those of the ahi order, but also their trousers and short knives.[42] Certainly both Osman and Orhan relied on ahis for support in the first years of Ottoman expansion.

Whatever the origins of the Janissaries and their ceremonial head-dress, the colour white was definitely associated with the slave or kapıkulu soldiery in the early Ottoman period, while the colour red marked the Turkish-born Muslim soldier. A mid-15th century copy of the Chronicle of Uruj states that Orhan and his brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn were responsible for introducing this colour distinction.[43] A Persian version written at the the order of Sultan Bayezid II, however, credits Bayezid I with the introduction of different coloured head-gear, white for the ruler's personal troops and red for the others.[44]

Examination of the keçe now in the Karlsruhe Landesmuseum collection (fig.58) shows the exact composition. Of two lengths of white felt, some 80cm

(31.5") long, the slightly wider one was placed on the other, the edges turned in and up so forming two points at the base; this was the yatyrma. The open end was secured onto a pasteboard shell with a linen covering and blue lining, joined to a green velvet headband edged with brown. The wooden spoon holder is 32cm tall, 8cm wide (12.5"; 3.25") and decorated with black, green and gilding.[45]

During the reign of Mehmed II Fatih the Janissaries were given money annually to purchase certain equipment and also textile lengths for their uniforms. In the second half of the 16th century, each man was given by his commander:

> "...a gold piece per year for a bow, and in addition a tunic, a shirt, and large trousers made, as is their fashion, of three ells of cloth, and a shirt of eight ells.'[46]

By the end of the century the Janissary regiments were all clothed in English cloth supplied by Venetian merchants. A decade or two later, the annual allowance included two robes, one of violet cloth, the other of stammell, a coarse woollen fabric usually red in colour. The practice continued into the next century; Aaron Hill mentions the annual clothing gift being either green or violet-blue.[47]

Nothing is known of the form of dress worn by the alp-eren or frontier warrior other than it was different from others to show the wearer's loyalty to Osman, founder of the dynasty.[48] Nor do we know the exact style of early military dress, but a late 15th century miniature in the Khamsa of Shaykhi (British Library Or.14010, fol.28b) perhaps depicts contemporary military dress. On the left and in the centre of the composition, bowmen on horseback wear tall tapering white caps, while their outer robes are painted deep blue, red or vivid green. The manuscript Külliyat

Kātibi of the same period includes a double-page miniature (fig.59) in which four keçes are depicted, reaching only to the base of the wearers' craniums; in the late 18th century the flap fell almost to the waist. In this early work, Janissaries are shown with side locks and wearing long, narrow-fitting robes of a soft fabric, with a slim leather or metal belt around the lower waist. The neck edges are folded back to form revers, and fastened with buttons and loops. Two shirts or tunics are worn underneath, one a thin shirt visible only at the throat and another which appears on the lower arms and over the revers. No pantaloons are visible in this miniature.

Illustrations of the following century (fig.60) show similar close-fitting robes but knee-length, and the sleeves wrist-length. From a small round neck with pointed collar, the two front panels are fastened down the centre front to the waist. Frequently the front corners of the skirts are tucked into the fabric belt, revealing leg-hugging pantaloons or perhaps thigh-length boots. The colour of the robe and the flashes of the revers identified the wearer's company, but the main emblem of the orta was carried as a tattoo on the leg or arm. The members of the 75th orta bore a wheel-like device of two circles, one inside the other and joined by spokes, whereas the 19th Bölük orta's tattoo was a cypress tree.[49]

The ağas (commanders) dressed in similar fashion but wore beards, a rare privilege at the court. One mid-18th century European commentator stated that only when the Janissary had achieved promotion to a corps-commander class, or a pay-grade of 9 akçe, was permission granted to grow a beard.[50] In an early 18th century Sur-nāme (fig.61) recording the circumcision festivities of the Ottoman princes, some of the Janissary commanders are pictured in fur-trimmed robes

with long pendant sleeves, probably representing hil'at gifts. The commanders of the ortas, the serpiyadeğan or yayabaşı, wore yellow shoes with crane feathers in their head-dress, whereas most of the odabaşı dressed in red shoes and had heron feathers. Those Janissaries who volunteered for special duties and survived the action were rewarded with extra pay and a distinct head-dress with ostrich feathers, so that their bravery was apparent to all; this practice was abolished in 1689.[51]

The visual evidence suggests that the dress took on an increasingly non-functional, more ceremonial look, probably reflecting the changing role of the Janissaries.[52] The tight-fitting pantaloons of the late 16th century are replaced by extremely baggy trousers falling over the knee drawstrings in late 18th century Janissary dress, the colour usually being a dark blue or green. The belt developed from a simple folded or twisted fabric tie in the 16th century into a stiff 'bandage' wrapping, some 9"(23cm) deep around the waist, by the 18th century. The square shoulders of the felt overcoat had by then taken on a sharper, even up-curving line and the stiff quality of the felt became a distinctive feature in the mantles of high-ranking officers, made in heavy leather encrusted with brass and silvered 'jewels', as seen in an early 19th century sakabaşı dress in Istanbul Military Museum.

The Janissary regiments were not alone in having a special uniform. The richness of the sipahi cavalry dress during the time of Suleyman I was described by Busbequius as:

> "a dress of cloth of gold or silver, or else of silk or velvet. The very lowest of them is clothed in scarlet, violet, or blue robes of the finest cloth..."[53]

He also mentions their head-dress, the kavuk (fig.62

bottom left), a padded flat-topped head-covering with quilted flutings around which was wound a turban cloth, crossing in front; in John Fuller's words:

> "an upright cap made of blue or green cloth, very thickly stuffed and indented all around, like the sides of the sponge cake which occupies the centre of the dessert. The lower part of it is wound round with a long piece of coarse white muslin very artificially folded."[54]

The kavuk was not exclusive to the sipahi officers. It was rather a sign of belonging to a certain power grouping. It was placed with due ceremony on the head of any new recruit into the iç-ağas of the Grand Vezir, and removed formally if the wearer was found guilty of a crime; he was then expected to leave and find other employment.[55]

Royal processions called for another form of head-dress for the high-ranking men of the six cavalry corps, the müçevveze. This type (fig.63 back left & right, and fore-ground), said to have been introduced by Bayezid II (1481-1512) was also worn by other powerful military or bureaucratic officials, e.g. the chief eunuchs, and even the sultan. Selim I was said to have deliberately designed another turban form for himself as all his officials wore the müçevveze.[56] Some 16" (41cm) high, the cylindrical form supported by an interior thin wooden frame as in the Topkapı Saray example (inv. no. 13/2098-2/300) gradually increased to the crown and the red top-knob, with padded fabric rolls travelling up the sides accentuating the height.

Frequently described by contemporary European travellers were the bodyguards of the Sultan, the sixty solaks and the thirty peyks. The former was formed of selected archers, drawn in later years from the 60th, 61st, 62nd and 63rd Janissary messes, each supplying about a hundred men until the company was disbanded in

June 1826.[57] In the mid-16th century illustrations the solaks, carrying bows as a reminder of the early service, wear tight-fitting ʂalvar (Arabic:sirwāl) or hose with ankle boots. By the 1720s the uniform had changed. There were voluminous knee-length ʂalvar and white stockings for some men (fig.62), while elsewhere in the same manuscript, solaks attending the imperial princes wore long pantaloons and higher boots, which might indicate higher ranking. Over the ʂalvar (fig.62) was worn a filmy underskirt, and an elaborate outer garment, buttoned up the front to a small pointed collar. The lower front corners were tucked up, sometimes crossed over, into a knotted fabric belt. This outer garment looks sleeveless but the arms are thrust through slits on or near the armhole, so the sleeves hang down loosely, or caught in the belt.[58] The pictures show the solaks sporting beard or moustaches, indicating the high regard these men were held in. They wore a distinctive wide gold-coloured head-band supporting a white asymmetrical conical (?felt) form, with a tall white plume and several small black feathers. In mid-16th century Ottoman paintings, the white plume is straight, but by the 1720s, this plume was shown as an almost semi-circular sweep.[59]

Accompanying them in royal processions were the peyks (fig.62) who had no association with the Janissaries. These men were messengers, who had proved themselves by running from Istanbul to Edirne (approx. 125 miles) in two days. Beardless, they wore tall cylindrical head-dress, which legend had it was a legacy of the gold booty taken at Apollonia in the late 14th century.[60] An example is in the Bavarian Army Museum collection, Ingolstadt[61] which reveals the accuracy of the Ottoman depictions. Made of gilded copper, it measures 28cm (11") high decorated with incised lobed lozenges carrying arabesque patterns and

horizontal cartouches with pious formulae. The front tube would have held the tall grey-black feather seen in many Ottoman paintings, sometimes accompanied by four small black plumes. The narrow-fitting outer-garment of the peyk is frequently depicted as more patterned than that of the solak. In the mid-16th century, it had a small round neck, elbow or wrist-length sleeves, and a fabric belt, called a kuşak or "shoushiash" according to one 17th century traveller.[62] The back length reached to the knee or beyond, and the front panels were either cut away, or crossed and then tucked into the belt to form a V-shape, revealing a knee-length skirt or apron. Tight-fitting trousers or hose protected the legs with ankle-high shoes, usually yellow in colour. Around 1720 the peyks' ceremonial dress was even more elaborate (fig.62). The patterned robe with its vertical fastening had a gold-coloured strap, passing diagonally from the right shoulder to the waist on the left. The front panels were now definitely shaped to fall into a sharp point at the centre back, showing a two-tiered fringed underskirt to the knee. Later that century, the tunic was made of gold fabric, with high collars and extended cuffs to hide the hands, as seen in Bayram Audience oil-painting, Topkapı Saray Museum.

It was not only sections of the 'slave' or kapıkulu army that had spectacular uniforms. The deli[63] cavalry force, established in the late 15th/early 16th century for frontier duties, took its name, according to European travellers, from the adjective deli (mad, heedless) and the uniform lived up to this reputation. The ceremonial dress included an animal skin cloak such as leopard, worn with high calf-length boots with spurs and pointed toes called serhaddlik[64] and a fantastic head-dress of eagles' wings, seen in the 1582 Nusret-nāme (British Library Add.22011, fol.199a). However,

the costume was radically altered in the 18th century, with the head-dress being replaced by a stove-pipe hat, some 26" (66.5cm) tall.[65]

If the acemi oğlans were not moved into the Janissary regiments, they were usually assigned to the bostancı, formed in the first half of the 17th century.[66] Although first established to look after the imperial gardens, as the name suggests, its foremost responsibility was security of the palace grounds and buildings, in Gallipoli, Edirne and Istanbul. It consisted of two major categories, the senior hasekis (bodyguard) and hünkär sandalcıs (royal bargemen) with other minor divisions supervising the palace grounds, gates, food and water supplies and entertainers. The commander, the bostancı başı (fig.62 lower centre), was permitted to wear sables in the sultan's presence and was the only member of the regiment allowed to grow a full beard,[67] both privileges indicating high rank. Carrying a staff, he is shown here unbearded and in a simple kavuk; in another miniature in the mücevveze and a long sleeved plain robe. The ağa of the haseki troop (fig.62 upper centre), whose men were drawn from the 14th, 49th, 66th and 67th Janissary ortas sported a moustache but no beard, and a high pointed cap. His red robe with pointed collar had the front hem corners tucked up into a wide belt from which hung a pair of pouches. A front triangular apron protected the underskirt and the şalvar. Similar dress was worn by both corps at this time. Over their orange şalvar tucked into high yellow boots, they had striped underskirts and over these, long outer garments buttoned down the front, with no collars. The front panels were folded back and the corners tucked into the belt, a folded length of cloth, the colour and fabric of which denoted the rank and years of service of the wearer in

the late 17th century.[68] The bostancıs wore either a tall pointed, conical hat made of a brown fabric[69], or more usually the distinctive red felt barata which fell limply at one side after

> "suddenly making an acute angle to the front or rear, like a machine called a cow on our refractory chimneys..."[70]

Although only a few of the military uniforms have been briefly discussed here, these serve to show there were stylistic alterations in ceremonial dress during the Ottoman period. Robes and sleeves lengthened with ornate cuffs becoming the order of the day. Colour and fabric served to distinguish the ranks, but increasingly more emphasis was placed on the head-dress which became taller, more pronounced in profile and flamboyant through the centuries, perhaps reflecting the changing role of the wearer, whose function became more concerned with palace ceremonial than the battlefield.

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD

The recruit could enter the enderun (inner service) of the imperial household as an iç-oğlan (fig.63). While receiving instruction he wore garments of wool and linen, or English cloth in the 17th century. Good performance in his studies was rewarded with money or with pieces of gold-, silver- or patterned silks, and once within one of the four main palace schools, the iç-oğlan was dressed in "Sattan Vests and Cloth of Gold".[71] In the time of Murad III, according to Thomas Dallam, the pages were

> "... apparled in ritche clothe of goulde made in gowns to the mydlegge; upon theire heades litle caps of clothe of goulde, and som clothe of Tissue [i.e. variegated]; great peecis of silke abowte theire wastes instead of girdls; upon their leges

Cordivan buskins reede."[72]

Those of the hass and kiler oda were called the kaftanlı, after the robe with the central front fastening which they wore, while the dolamanlı (dolaman: robe diagonally fastening under the right arm) was the name given to those in the bālük and küçük odas. Underneath these two garments, both sets of pages wore trousers with attached soft shoes of red or yellow leather.[73] A miniature in the Sur-nāme circa 1582-3 (Topkapı Saray H. 1344, fol.123) depicts the guild parade showing the making of these items, variously described as mest, çedik and içedik, and the Topkapı Saray costume collection includes such a garment said to have been the property of Mehmed III (1595-1603). Made of cream silk with silver thread carried in the weft, these trousers (inv. no. 13/230-35/84) are cut on the bias with close-fitting legs to the ankle where soft goat-skin 'bootees' with painted floral patterns are sewn.

In the early Ottoman period, the iç-oğlan dress was red in colour but this restriction was later lifted and any colour was permitted, although black was discouraged. By the 1820s, the training system of these pages had fallen into a sorry state, reflected in the ragged robes of the pages with head-dresses made of cardboard covered with red cloth.[74]

The pages were not allowed beards but were permitted a lock of hair "like a squirel's taile"[75] over each ear (fig.63), in memory of their patron saint Yusuf (Biblical Joseph). Grown to the ear by novices, the locks reached to the lower jaw on the senior pages. The rest of the head was shaven but this was concealed by a gold-coloured decorated cap, with a wide head-band and rounded top.

The tasks of the iç-oğlans depended on the function of the specific school. The seferli oda under its

chief officer camsuy basi (Persian: jamah/garment; suyidan/to wash) saw to the cleaning and repairing of the sultan's wardrobe, having the privilege of washing and folding the imperial turban cloth and towels each Tuesday. The kiler oda had the task of titillating the royal palate, while the treasury school (hazine oda), whose pages wore a head-dress valued at 1000 to 1200 ducats, undertook among other things the inventory and storage of hilat, battle-spoils and gifts, and the summer sale of clothing confiscated from officials and garments no longer required by the royal household. They were responsible for the twice-yearly cleaning and airing of the retained garments, furs and fabrics including those of the early Ottoman rulers. However, the privilege of looking after the Prophet's mantle lay with the fourth school, the hass oda or privy chamber.[76]

Moustaches were allowed to the ağas of the iç-oğlans but not beards, and they too wore the tall domed gold-coloured cap. Their ceremonial dress demonstrated their non-military role at court. In the early 18th century (fig.63) they wore full-length robes in a variety of colours with wide sleeves to the wrist. The outer garment -- all that is visible in the miniatures -- had a small collar band, and a narrow girdle but no braiding, indicating the wearers did not hold high ranking. However, an Ottoman painting circa 1635 (Topkapı Saray H. 2148 fol.11r) shows a different dress, with long narrow sleeves, a wide belt and çaprast or braiding signifying that the particular individual had personal influence at court.

Among the highest-ranking functionaries of the hass oda were those whose duties in name concerned the outward appearance of the sultan. The dulbend ağası (the master of the turban) held the imperial sarık (turban) on royal processions:

"...[he] slightly inclined the turban, to the right and left, as an acknowledgement of the prostrations or obeisances made to the imperial person in front."[77]

He was the official directly responsible for the care of the Holy mantle. Another, the çuhadar ağa (master of the wardrobe) carried the sultan's rain-mantle, the hass yağmurluk in a red cover on the parades. With the rikaptar ağa or master of the stirrup, he and the silahtar ağası, the bearer of the imperial sword, had the right to wear a head-dress other than the decorated gold cap of the iç-ağas, and also the üst-kusak or belt of Kashmir fabric.[78]

The growing power and authority of the silahtar ağası (fig.63) at court particularly during the reign of Ahmed III(1703-30) at the expense of the Chief White Eunuch is shown by the increasingly dominant positioning in Ottoman pictorial composition. The Nigari painting of Suleyman I (Topkapı Saray H. 2134/8) circa 1560-5 includes the silahtar ağasi and another ağa of the hass oda (he holds no identifying attribute), both wearing full-length outer-robes and the special head-dress discussed below, but whereas the light green robe of the silahtar ağası has long 'false' sleeves, the red costume of the other official appears sleeveless. Underneath, both officials have a 'tiger-striped' garment with elbow-length sleeves, and another coloured under-robe with extremely long sleeves, pushed up to form wrinkles. The silahtar ağası has red, heeled shoes but the other official wears yellow. He and the other three ağas of the hass oda were permitted to wear a long waist sash, a privilege which ceased in the 18th century. Made of linen, some 14 cm (5.5") wide with bands of densely embroidered silks in pastel shades and gold threads, four of these sashes are preserved in the Topkapı Saray collection.[79]

The robes of these royal attendants are often represented in 18th century paintings as dark red with highly ornate gold patterning, reminiscent of contemporary silk velvets with secondary wefts of gold or silver threads, or sometimes as a gold-cloth textile. Within the Topkapı Saray costume collection, there is a garment (fig.64) described as the ceremonial dress of the silahtar agaši (inv. no. 13/1888-2/465). The heavy (? Italian) cloth of gold is dominated by a huge crown motif and leaf spray with blossoms and berries, picked out in two levels of looped pile of 'purl' gold and silver wire on the gold twill ground. The garment is 130cm (51") in length with a back width of 110cm (43.25") constructed without shoulder seams and with extra skirt width created by triangular inserts at the sides. A pocket is placed on each of the two hip-side seams, above the skirt-slit of 50cm (19.5"). The front edge was not fastened by the large spherical buttons (there is no sign of button loops) but by a tie on the outside and on the inside cream silk lining edged with crimson silk. Around the inside waist is thick padding, no doubt to support the heavy, wide metallic-looking belt worn by the silahtar ağası in all the 17th and 18th century paintings. The long (114cm: 45") 'false' sleeves have been set at right angles to the front and back panels, the armhole width being 31cm (12.25") half-circumference but this tapers down to 19cm (7.5"). The functional sleeves are full-length (56cm: 22") white twill silk, patterned with satin-weave pink roses within green leafed lozenges. Buttons and loops at the wrist allow a snug fit of 21cm (8.5"). Also in the collection is the head-dress of the silahtar ağasi (inv. no. 13/1889-2/463). Rising steeply -- it could reach 37" high (94cm)[80] -- from the gold headband 'lace'[81] arranged in a chevron pattern, the red felt imprinted with horizontal lines

doubles back like the Janissary kęçe.

Before the 18th century reorganisation of the enderun, the influence of the silahtar ağası was secondary to that of the chief white eunuch, who dominated the harem until that was lost to the chief black eunuch. Both chief eunuchs dressed alike in fur-trimmed üst with long false sleeves, or in the fur-lined kürk with long wide sleeves (fig.63). On the head the eunuchs wore the tall white mücevveze, with its flat-topped cylindrical form but the increased influence of the chief black eunuch is apparent in depictions in which he wears the kallāvi-i mutallā (fig.63 & 65), a tall, pyramidic form with four flutings called peşmire with a diagonal gold band, four fingers wide, crossing from the right to the left.[82] This head-dress was also permitted to the chief court vezirs and the kapudan başı or Grand Admiral who stood on the right of the Grand Vezir at divan meetings, so demonstrating his status at court. The rest of the admiral's ceremonial attire also reflects his influence as it closely resembles that worn by the Grand Vezir and his deputy, the kaim-makam (fig.65 upper centre). This is further evidence that the particular robe and head-dress represented rank and status of the wearer, not his office. Clearly in the 1720s, the highest ranking officials were required to appear at ceremonies in the kallāvi-i mutallā, and a fur-lined outer garment, either in the form of an ample coat with long wide sleeves, or a closer-fitting garment with heavy çaprast or braiding across the chest, and with long 'false' sleeves.

The use of the mücevveze by the Grand Vezir on certain occasions did not necessarily reveal diminished influence and authority.[83] It held two aigrettes of black heron feathers, one less than worn by the sultan, which were said by Tavernier to symbolise the sultan's

control over the three empires of Istanbul, Babylon and Trebizond.[84] On departure for a military campaign the Grand Vezir was handed this third sorguç, to show complete authority over the armed forced was invested in his person. All functionaries except the şeyh ul-Islam were required to show respect by kissing the hem of his robe on entering into his presence. His household was large as befitted his office and many of his staff carried the same titles as those in the sultan's service. It is unclear whether these men always wore special dress to distinguish them from the sultan's staff, but the şatırs (messengers) of the sultan wore a black aigrette in their kavuk, and crimson velvet robe to identify them from the Grand Vezir's şatırs,[85] whose colourful costume was described by Guer writing in 1747:

> "Ils sont vêtus de velours cizelé, de damas, de satin ou de drap, avec des caleçons de satin, un petit turban de soie de couleur, des bottines jaunes, et deux ceintures d'or massif; l'une ferre le corps, l'autre passée en baudrier sur l'épaule droite, se boucle sous le bras gauche, et porte un demi sabre. Ils tiennent de la main gauche une hache d'armes dorée."[86]

A contemporary miniature (fig.65) depicts eight şatırs with their commander in red garments, collarless with buttons down the front. The narrow wrist-length sleeves have long cuffs with a gold-coloured lining, also featured on the decorative front corner hems tucked into the gold waist belt. The colour is echoed in the knee-length şalvar with white stockings tucked into ankle-high yellow shoes. On the head is a kavuk. The ağa is recognisable by his beard, as his men were allowed to grow only moustaches.

THE ULEMA

As in the earlier periods, this group was keen to

distance itself from the military at the Ottoman court, through dress and the wearing of beards. The cubbes (Arabic: jubba) of the less important theologians and jurists were ample, buttoned to the waist from the narrow collar, with the hem sweeping the floor, and long wide sleeves, although Covel writing in the 1670s decribed the ulema's robes at court as being short sleeved, like the gown of English lawyers and made of silk or satin.[87] This mention of silk and satin contradicts another description written about fifty years later, which insisted that fine wool was worn, particularly by the two kadı askers (chief judges of Ottoman Europe and Asia) as silk was forbidden in deference to Hadith.[88] In the miniatures the garments are rarely represented as patterned and details regarding texture are ambiguous.

The dress of the highest-ranking ulema at court ceremonies resembled those donned by other influential courtiers, fur-lined with 'false' pendant sleeves. The şeyh ul-Islam was permitted sables as a mark of respect for his office as the leading Sunni theologian, and these were invested by the sultan himself, while the Grand Vezir robed the kadı askers. The mullahs of the major cities[89] of the empire were not allowed sables, but were permitted ermine.

It would seem from the evidence available that this most conservative stratum of Ottoman society was last to change its mode of dress, and no significant alterations in terms of style or shape is evident. Foat Tugay's description of the dress of the şeyh ul-Islam seen at the court celebration of the Bayram festival circa 1912, fits the costume worn several centuries earlier:

> "Dressed entirely in white from turban to shoes, his hands covered by his wide sleeves, his long gold-embroidered cloak swaying as he walked, he

looked magnificent."[90]

In 18th century illustrations lesser members of the ulema wore small, white head-coverings in the form of a flattened cone, which sat low over the brow. Presumably the angular profile was produced by a light inner frame. In contrast, high-ranking ulema were dressed in the örf, the enormous spherically-shaped turban said to have been introduced for them by Murad II (1421-44;1446-51), and later adopted for court wear by Mehmed II Fatih. This was supported by an internal wicker frame some 46.5cm (18") high, around which rolls of twisted or padded cloth were wound.[91] White was the colour for the ulema, the şeyh ul-Islam (fig.65) and the two kadı askers, while the emir başı or nakib ul-eşraf the leader of the descendants of the Prophet's family, wore green:

> "...a sort of Turbant High and Stately, in Bulk not much Inferiour to a British Bushel; its Colour is and must be Green, for that alone Distinguishes their Lineage."[92]

The title and 'office' of the nakib ul-eşraf had been revived by Bayezid II (1481-1512), and by the 18th century the holder had at least the same status at court as the kadı askers. In court ceremonial, he outranked them, as he like the şeyh ul-Islam had the privilege of kissing the sultan's robe at the waist, while the others were allowed only to touch the hem. He also assisted at the Hırka ul-Şerif (Arabic: Khirqa al-Sharīf) ceremony in the month of Ramadan.[93] In 14th century Mamluk society a piece of green fabric worn in the turban denoted this noble lineage but it was Şerif Mehmed Başa, Ottoman governor of Egypt (1596-8) who instructed that the whole turban should be green in colour. In Istanbul, this colour association was taken further, with the emir başı donning a green robe (fig.63).[94] Another section of the Muslim community

to wear green were the eight Bektaşi dervişes resident with the 99th orta of the Janissary force. From 1591, these men walked in green in front of the company commander in processions and parades.

In the circumstances, non-Muslims had to be careful not to appear in public wearing green. To do so was to provoke possible physical attack, as late as the first half of the 19th century.[95]

HIL'AT

The hil'at (Arabic:khil^{c}a) garments were presented at least once a year at the Bayram festival in the palace grounds. Important investitures, such as the installation of the sultan himself, or the appointment of a new Grand Vezir were also celebrated with gifts of clothing. There was hil'at for dismissal from office as well as promotion, and on one occasion as a pointed reminder of duties. In 1578 the sultan sent a gold silk robe to Mustafa Başı to mark the start of a military campaign; learning the commander was delaying his departure, he ordered its return, despatching instead a pair of gold embroidered şalvar with a horse and sword, underlining the imperial command to march immediately.[96]

The cost of the hil'at accounted for a sizeable percentage of the total state expenditure; for instance in 1690-1 over six million akçe was consumed in this manner, almost half the amount spent on clothing the Janissaries.[97] The garments themselves along with the luxurious silk document bags were kept within the Treasury by the hazinetar başı and his staff of twenty.

There were at least four main categories of hil'at: the hassülhas (the most excellent), the kuşaklik (kuşak: belt, girdle), the ālā (variegated), and sade (plain). One garment, the kapanice worn by the sultan at his investiture was also awarded as hil'at but only to the highest officials, according to d'Ohsson, the Grand Vezir, the kaim-makam and the ağası of the

Janissaries,[98] the colour of which was related to the recipient's post, red, green, and scarlet cloth respectively. This practice began in the reign of Mehmed II Fatih, when the Grand Vezir and leading başıs were given sable-trimmed white silk pelisses. Sable was also presented to the leading ulema but apparently their hil'at consisted of cloth, not silk, blue for the mufti and green for his subordinates.[99] For other court officials, it was the type of fabric rather than the colour which denoted the grade. The ağa of the zülfüfli (also known as the baltacı:axe-men) with their distinctive gold cap fringing were presented at an early 18th century Bayram ceremony with three gold brocade kaftans, three satin and three damask kaftans whereas the senior iç-oğlans of the hass oda received only the first two types and their underlings, three satin robes each.[100]

The system also applied to presentations to foreign envoys. The Hospodars or ruling princes of Wallachia and Moldavia were accorded the pomp and ceremony due to a Grand Vezir and invested with sable kapanice in red and plumed kuka, whereas the 18th century representatives of the Dubrovnik (Ragusan) Republic were given the üst-kürk when they attended the court every three years, with the tribute.[101] At first, reflecting the Sublime Porte's disregard for European governments outside its immediate sphere of political interest, their envoys were offered only kaftans. However, in 1644 a sable coat was presented to the Austrian envoy, an extraordinary distinction, and again in 1772 to the Swedish minister.[102]

It was customary that the foreign envoy and his retinue were dressed in the palace grounds in hil'at appropriate to their status before being received:

> "... certain Pages of the Wardrobe come among them, bearing each upon his Arm a sort of Vest, or upper

> Garment, roughly wove with Silver, Gold, and yellow Silk not neatly intermix'd, of length sufficient to hang down and trail upon the Ground."[103]

The number of the robes presented signified the political and economic importance of the country he represented to the Sublime Porte, and the ambassadors were well aware of this. In 1674, Sir John Finch, the English envoy, ascertained that the Venetian representative could expect seventeen garments from the kaimmakam, demanded and received two robes in addition to his usual fifteen.[104]

The important members of the delegation were presented with the most costly robes of the category offered:

> "The stuff is of white silk, flower'd with great branches, some times half moones (and the like), yellow or tawny, all with very great weales; and, according to the dignity of the persons, they are of cloth, of silver, or gold, or with more of less gold and silver wrought in the silk. There were given 16 amongst us. I sold mine for 6 1/2 dollars. My Ld.'s was worth 25 or 30; all the rest like mine, except the Treasurer's, Secretary's and chief Dragoman's, which were worth about 8 dollars a piece."[105]

This description written by Covel in the 1670s fits a garment (fig.66) originally presented to the Prussian envoy circa 1760. Its pattern of a large floral motif framed by two lanceolated leaves according to Öz was a traditional hil'at design dating from about 1364:

> "In those days... There was the crescent patterned white cloth of Denizli, of which Hilat... was made..."[106]

and a short sleeved garment of Denizli cloth "with crescents, especially one on the back" appears in a list of bequests to Osman I.[107] Within the Topkapı

Saray collection, several robes similar to this Prussian example survive.[108] The design is in yellow, golden or orange, sometimes with green, with or without the inclusion of silver threads in the weft on the white or cream ground. The basic structure of the garments follows convention, a long robe about 1.5m (59") in length, without fastening, formed of a loom width approximately 66.5cm (25.5") of a silk-cotton mixture with floating wefts, folded in two on the shoulder line. Extra skirt width is achieved by the addition of triangular inserts from the armhole, forming a back hem width of 109cm (43"). The pendant sleeves (about 133cm:52") have slits of about 54cm (21") down the arm and taper to a small circumference of 22cm (7.75").

The presentation of garments to foreign envoys[109] and high-ranking persons of dependent territories continued into the 1830s. By then the quality had deteriorated considerably according to Adolphus Slade, but the foreigner's status was still indicated by the selection of the robes offered, at that time scarlet, red or yellow.[110]

CLOTHES AND CLASS

The rank, responsibilities and privileges of each court official were indicated by the form, colour and fabric of his attire and head-covering, which ensured he received the attention and respect due to him. This system was mirrored to an extent outside the palace.[111] Clothes were seen to reflect the social class, profession and by implication the personal character. If a man wore garments associated with a person of higher social status, it demonstrated the wearer's dissatisfaction with the established, God-created, social order.

Ostentation and luxury was permissible only for

those with wealth and status:

> "Heavy silk cloth and brocades, spectacular rare silk brocade, velvet, and woolen cloth after the latest fashion have to be reserved to the kings and their princes. Cloths of lesser quality, satin, wool cloth, and shot silk, are appropriate for vezirs, begs and beglerbegis. Materials which are inferior to these in appearance and in a way more popularly in demand befit the middle classes, the sipahis and the highly respected za^{c}ims. Similar is the case of the various qualities of woolen cloth: the use of cloth of 100 hanks [çillesi] begins with the sultans and ends with the ameers. Cloth of 60 hanks should be used for the middle class, 70 hanks exclusively for the outstanding sipahis. It can be stated that usually on the whole kings and ameers can acquire whatever fancy materials they wish. However, ameers and vezirs can neither acquire nor wear clothes made of the precious materials of the kind reserved to the kings. If they dare to have such clothes made for themselves, men of sense should censure them and fine them in the currency of slander and ill talk."[112]

However, the ideal world was one thing, the reality of late 16th century Istanbul, another and the author concludes:

> "Would that it were seen fit that the clothes of these four categories, the harnesses of their horses and the style and fashion of their weapons were distinct and fixed and by statute arranged in four degrees."[113]

During the reign of Murad IV (1623-40) social disquiet was such that the palace intervened directly to re-establish order and harmony by issuing sumptuary legislation. Everyone was to resume the wearing of the

attire associated with his/her class, profession and status. Similar regulations were issued throughout the period, as it was believed such measures would remove at a stroke the social conflicts of class and status. Inspectors were appointed and a system of heavy punishments for culprits established, but to little avail.

The early 18th century fashionable outfit was as follows: a thin, fine shirt and drawers were worn next to the skin, with pantaloons (çaksır) reaching to the ankle, and then, as Aaron Hill describes, the outer garments :

> " A Doublet made of thin strip'd Silk, or Stuff, convenient for a Summer wear, [which] is form'd without the shortest Sleeves; and reaching to the Hipp, is folded, one side o'er another, and fastned on the left with Loop and Button.
>
> " OVER this they wear a Dolamann, or long loose Robe of Callico or Muslin in the heat of Summer, in the Winter made of Silks or Stuffs, embroider'd richly, or not at all, according to the Quality of those, who wear 'em. These reach, like Ladies Night-gowns to the Ground, of specious breadth at bottom; the Sleeves are close and button at the Wrist, where they turn back with Facings of the same; they button also at the Neck, whence one side sloping o'er the other, they are fastned in the same place and manner with the under Wastcoat just now treated of.
>
> " THEY bind these Dolamanns with Silk or Muslin Girdles, of a length sufficient to allow three rounds about the Body; after which, they tie an artificial double Knot before, and twist each overplus within the Girdle to the right and left; the ends of these long Scarfs embroider'd purposely, or richly flower'd with Gold and Silver, finely

intermix'd with Persian Silks of various Colours... " WHEN they go abroad, they let down constantly the Corners of their Dolomann, and put on Blue, or Scarlet, sometimes Green, long Robes which train upon the Ground, lin'd thro' with Ermin, Squirrels-Furr, good Fox-skins, Rats, or Sables, some of which are very costly, and can scarce be bought for fifteen hundred Dollars."[114]

DRESS OF THE COURT LADIES

Few Europeans were ever invited into the palace harem, so unless a chance meeting with court ladies occurred,[115] information on female fashions was generally based on seeing entertainers, and the like. The mid-18th century illustrations of dancers (fig.67) recall Covel's description of such a troupe in the 1670s:

"They had on a just à corp, as we say, coming to mid thigh, close button'd at the hands, and girt about them with rich girdles as their purse and fancy led them; under it (over the rest of their cloth's) they had a petticoat, which was very large, and hang'd very full, down to their ankles; this was very rich, and of some pretty light merry colour... Their heads are not shaven quite close, but very lovely locks are left round, which at other times, they wear up close, and are unseen: but now they let them down... sometimes disshevel'd all about their shoulders, sometimes braided and hanging down their back. They commonly wore over their hair a plain cap of silk (small, or scull fashion'd) or (which is more gentele) a fur'd sort of cap, cal'd here a culpack [kalpak]."[116]

In time the wives and daughters of foreign envoys and agents were to be occasionally allowed into the households of the high-ranking court officials, and the

reports of these rare visits[117] are most informative, if it is remembered that these ladies were generally ignorant of the ethnic groupings within the households. Their menfolk, other than perhaps encountering the females of families friendly to the factors, or glimpsing a royal lady passing in an araba (carriage) usually saw only the all-enveloping ferace worn by every urban women:

> " TIS but very rarely that they go abroad... but when they do they cover their above-nam'd Head-Dress with a Linen Muffler, which Meeting with another Piece of Black and Shining Silk that hides the upper Part of their Faces, nothing but their Eyes and Nose can possible be seen.
>
> "... they Wear abroad, a Gown of Blue or Scarlet-Cloath, which Buttons fast before, and Hangs with narrow Sleeves below their Fingers; as they Walk, they hold the Bottoms of their Gown in their Left-Hand as low as they can possibly Reach, and Swing with their Right each step they take with a Surprising Haughtiness or rather Gravity."[118]

In two Sur-nāme manuscripts (Topkapı Saray H. 1344 c. 1582-3 and A.3593 c.1720), the women bystanders are clothed in this manner. The long robe (fig.68) fastened from the neck to the waist falls to the ground, while long sleeves conceal the arms and usually the hands, a sign of a reputable character.[119] The forehead is covered with a mahrama, a white cotton veil in two sections, one part worn over the head and fastened below the chin; and the other placed across the face hiding the cheekbones, nose, mouth and chin. The black shade (peçe; Persian pichah) mentioned above covers the eyes and nose bridge.

By the 1830s the fashion had changed, with the mahrama being replaced by a yaşmak of

> "fine thin muslin, through which the painted

handkerchief, and the diamond pins that confine it, can be distinctly seen."[120]

Always seeming to need constant adjustment if a young man passed nearby, the yaşmak was regarded by European ladies as "the most coquettish and becoming of all headdresses."[121] At the same time, the fashionable ladies took to wearing feraces (fig.69) of patterned pastel shades, leaving the stronger colours to their servants, while the less wealthy women of Istanbul wore darker shades. The choice of material, dye shade, trimmings etc. reflected the social status and wealth of the wearer, as these effected the final cost.

Any public sign of display provoked hostile reactions from the palace and the ulema. Osman II (1618-22) ordered the long back collar yaka of the ferace to be reduced by 10cm (4"), while in 1703 the palace opposed the fashion for closer-fitting feraces and thinner veils, and insisted on the use of the peçe. Some thirty years later a similar fashion resulted in sumptuary legislation on the grounds that such revealing dress was corrupting orthodox Muslims. During his reign (1789-1807), Selim III ordered his vezir to ban light-coloured feraces and wide back-collars; tailors were to be warned that infringment would result in banishment as such clothing was not edeb.[122] The additional cost of dyeing, and the consequent effect on the national economy were the reasons given by Abdul-Aziz (1861-76) for his ban on pastel-coloured ferace.[123]

It was through clothes that the sultan expressed interest in a particular female in his harem. Chemise and drawers were presented to the lady concerned who, after bathing, dressed in them[124] before going to the imperial bed-chamber. After this visit, she received the title of ikbal (favourite) and if she then gave birth, she was elevated to the rank of hasseki kadın if

the baby was female, or if a boy hasseki sultan on a par with the imperial daughters. At her investiture she was presented with a sable-lined robe and granted the privilege of kissing the sultan's robe, an increased allowance, a stipend and a small staff.[125] According to d'Ohsson, the kadıns or hassekis demonstrated their rank by dressing like princesses of the blood with:

> "...diamond clasps elbow-length sleeves fur-trimmed, and a tuft of hair in front, [which] are the distinguishing marks of their costume, the brilliance of which consists principally in the beauty of the cashmere shawls which serve as robes and as belts, and as coverings for their head and shoulders. The Ikbales wear rich fabrics, and in winter fur-trimmed robes. The Guediklis [gediklis:privileged] and the Oustas have trailing gowns; they are not permitted to wear fur. They wear as girdles shawls, as the Ikbales or else belts fastened with gold clasps, embellished sometimes with stones."[126]

Narrow belts with jewelled clasps (fig.70) are worn by female musicans depicted in mid-17th century album paintings and this belt continued in court circles at least until 1786.[127] But by the turn of the 19th century, a knotted shawl had become fashionable, either folded diagonally or rolled, recalling a 16th century fashion. The wearing of the jewelled belt probably signified a marital status (and therefore a certain social ranking) as presentation of a girdle formed an essential part of the lengthy wedding ceremony in the late Ottoman period, and it was worn on certain occasions afterwards to affirm the wearer's married status. European observers in the 19th century frequently mention the bridal belt fastened around the bride's waist by her father or closest male relative,

just before leaving the parental home. This act was said to symbolise the dignity of marriage and the breaking of parental authority.[128]

The Topkapı Saray costume collection has few female garments as it was not the practice to keep the costumes of the royal ladies. However, this gap is filled to an extent by the portraits (fig.70) by such court artists as Levni and the descriptions by European ladies like Lady Mary Wortley Montague.[129]

To begin with the underclothing: over the cotton or linen drawers were worn the şalvar, light-weight for the summer, heavy for the winter. Some 3 yards/metres wide at the waist, the pantaloons were formed from two or three rectangular pieces of material with a crutch gusset, and drawn in by the uçkur (drawstring).[130] Sometimes the patterned ends (woven or perhaps embroidered) of a sash or mendil hung down from the waist, visible under the fine, almost transparent gömlek (chemise). The gömlek with its long, wide sleeves, often patterned in the weave, was worn loose outside the striped or flowered şalvar, reaching down to the ankle. By 1717, the year of Lady Mary's visit to Istanbul, the neck of the gömlek was fastened by a diamond or pearl button. This did nothing to conceal the form of shoulders and breasts, as Pitton de Tournefort noted some sixteen years earlier.[131]

Over the early 17th century gömlek was worn a hip-length tunic with long narrow sleeves, which in turn was covered by a longer garment fastened by a single row of buttons down the centre-front. Closely resembling one of the male robes except in its stand-up collar, this garment had wide, pointed, elbow-length sleeves and a decorative hem lining, revealed when the front panel corners were caught up in the fabric belt. A short sleeveless tunic with side-slits completed the ensemble. By the early 18th century (fig.70) the tunic

was still hip-length and fastened with buttons, but there the similarity ended. The neckline had a deep U-shape, showing the fine fabric of the gömlek at the breast. The two edges of the stand-up collar could be brought together with a single button, thus transforming the U-shape into a triangular opening. The sleeves were long with buttons and loops along the wrist seam so that the deep cuff could be turned back. But it was more fashionable to wear the sleeve unfastened so the deep cuff fell over the hand revealing the gömlek sleeve: in Lady Mary's words:

> "The Antery is a wastcoat made close to the shape, of white and Gold Damask, with very long sleeves falling back and fring'd with deep Gold fringe, and should have Diamond or pearl Buttons."[132]

But perhaps Lady Mary was mistaken in calling this garment an entari; her letters were not always composed with a strict regard for veracity. The usual term was yalak while a longer robe with a few buttons down the straight front was called entari. By the 19th century, it appears that it was the cut of the bodice, not the length that determined whether the garment was called an entari or yelek. The robe whether short or long, with a deep U-shaped neckline with buttons below the breasts to the waist was the yalak, whereas the garment with a straight central closing, with or without buttons was called the entari.[133] The yelek did not necessarily have sleeves, but the entari possessed long sleeves, tight to the elbow and then unseamed so that the fabric hung loosely. If long, both garments' skirt panels were unseamed from the hem to the thigh or hip area, and by the 19th century these frequently extended some 24" (61cm) longer than the normal full-length, being tucked up into the fabric belt for walking.

The composition of both garments followed the norm, the fabric length being folded over to form both front

and back panels, unless a one-way patterned textile was used. The sleeves were set into these panels at right angles, frequently with triangular or trapezoidal under-arm gussets. Below the waist, the panels back and front were either unseamed as mentioned above, or augmented by extra material, at the side or conversely onto the front edges of the two front panels.

Occasionally the early 18th century painter, Levni depicted a robe with no side slits, but with pocket slits; there is no indication of its name. Court ladies such as Hafise Sultan (d.c. 1683) wore the dolaman, but this closely resembled the man's dolaman with a cross-over fastening and long sleeves.[134] Perhaps it was the "caftan" described by Lady Mary, as worn by the kadın of the kahya (chief court usher):

> "She was dress'd in a Caftan of Gold brocade flower'd with Silver, very well fited to her Shape and shewing to advantage the beauty of her Bosom, only shaded by the Thin Gause of her shift."[135]

In cold weather, a further layer could be added for wearing in the house: a short tunic with straight open front, elbow-length sleeves, lined and trimmed with fur according to the wearer's rank and status. At court the choice of furs was also determined by the regulations regarding seasonal dress, as mentioned earlier.

Examination of 18th century illustrations reveals that there were distinct stylistic changes in the garments worn by Court ladies. The gömlek, so visible in the Levni portraits never appears below the hips or at the arms in late 18th century representations. However, in the early 19th century, the fashion for sleeves unseamed from the elbow was revived so once again the sheer quality of the gömlek fabric was visible.[136] Some late 18th century garments in the Topkapı Saray collection show a new seaming arrangement.[137] Instead of inserts being sewn onto the

sides, they were now attached to the front edges, or solely on the right edge, in which case the garment fastened on the left. This seaming continued into the early 19th century, but with the entari extra width in the skirt was achieved by leaving the side seams unstitched. Attention was drawn to these seams and edges by heavily ornamented braid or fabric strips, approximately 1" (2.5cm) wide. The fine quality of Ottoman embroidery was renowned and the European ladies in Istanbul marvelled at the colours and intricacy of stitching, particularly the shadow-work.[138]

Spring and autumn were marked with a change of fabrics and of furs, and additions to the wardrobe. The celebration of Bayram was also another excuse for new attire for those who could afford it. Such beautiful things could cause envy so each new piece of clothing was blessed with the name of Allah to protect the wearer.[139] It was thought unwise to wear another's garments unless these items were considered propitious because of the spiritual or temporal protection they offered.

It was also customary in Istanbul upper circles, until the early 19th century, to decorate the toes and heels with auspicious patterns in henna. Like the clothes, Ottoman footwear was not designed for energetic, rapid movement, but for a more languid life-style. When outdoors, the fashionable lady

> "...shuffles along the ground exactly like an embarrassed paroquet, looking as if her loose garments must inevitably flutter off at the next step... [the] loose yellow slippers...falling off at every step."[140]

One and a half centuries earlier Aaron Hill had made a similar remark about the man's outdoor shoes or pabuç:

> "...made of smooth and yellow upper Leathers, and the Sole extreamly thin, but so well beaten that it

> will resist the Dirt or Water in their Street to admiration, they are made without the smallest Heel, instead of which they use as piece of Iron fram'd exactly like a Horseshooe; they are shap'd like Womens Slippers with a sharp and picked Toe, and come not half way up the Instep, so that by the smoothness of the outside of the inner, and the inside of the outer Shooes, I often kick'd 'em off as I was walking in the Streets, nor can a Stranger keep 'em on his Feet till use had made 'em easy to his motion."[141]

The colour of the pabuç and also the çedik, an outdoor boot like the mest but worn independently of the pantaloons, was governed by the sumptuary laws of the period, and by custom and practice in military circles. Yellow footwear was restricted to high-ranking government servants or men under imperial protection, such as foreign envoys or important traders associated with the legations. Wearing such shoes, the foreigner could walk abroad in any major Ottoman town without incurring public abuse or ridicule.[142] The use of green leather for shoes and other clothing items was actively discouraged because of its sacred association with the Prophet and his family.

Footwear worn outdoors was left at the entrance so that street dirt was not brought inside. Şipşip were put on and those worn by wealthy 19th century ladies were backless with upturned toes. Those with gold, silver or pearl embroidery could cost £ 20.[143] The exhorbitant cost of these slippers in the upper classes is indicated by the term başmaklıks (başmak: slipper) for lands ceded to civic officials, the revenues from which were said to pay for this indulgence.[144]

Where the floor was wet or dirty, pattens or nalıns were put on. Said to have been invented by Joseph for the child Jesus, who burnt his feet in a Nazerene bath,

the pattens were made of wood with a 2"(5cm) or higher strip placed across the sole at the heel and ball of the foot, with a leather or fabric strap to keep the foot in place. The choice of wood was reflected in the final price, box or walnut, or most costly, rosewood or ebony, with additional decorations picked out with mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, gold and silver and semi-precious stones.[145]

Stockings or hose prevented feet chaffing with the heavier outdoor shoes. In the 1750s, the fashionable colour was white and this seems to have remained the favourite colour for the next fifty years. By then the young ladies of Istanbul had become so careless in displaying their white cotton or worsted hose, the _şeyh ul-Islam_ rebuked them publicly.[146] There was a social behavioural code associated with wearing hose, at least in the second half of the 19th century. If one received ladies at home, while wearing stockings, this showed that the guests were social inferiors. By leaving off her stockings, the Turkish lady signalled that her guests were equals, permitted to witness this more intimate display.[147]

Moving to the face, the portraits of Levni do not show the way of paintings the eyebrows, which Aaron Hill, his contemporary described:

> "...the _Arched Excellency_ of their _Eye-brows_, is no small Addition to the Beauty of their Features, and... where Nature has deny'd 'em so agreeable a Charm, they are never contented till by the _repeated_ Applications of _Artificial Endeavours_, they raise their Brows to a lofty _Semicircle_, meeting over their Nose in a _Sharp_ and _Gracefull Angle_."[148]

From Julia Pardoe, we know that this dye was made from burnt Barcelona nut-shells. Ladies awaiting confinement plucked their brows completely and painted new

ones a little higher up on the forehead. In the imperial harem, the eyebrows were extended to meet or a star and crescent shape in black was added between the brows. If the face itself had too high a colour, suggesting arduous work in the open, it was whitened and then rouge applied to the cheeks, a device employed even by the sultans.[149] The ladies of mid-18th century Izmir had to avoid lovers of garlic, for their rouge a substance called sulama turned yellow when breathed on.[150]

There is one item of female attire not yet covered: the head-dress. Early 17th century illustrations indicate that a number of styles were fashionable at court, but it is uncertain whether these were exclusive to court ladies or available to a wider circle. The exact composition and precise form of the types most frequently illustrated are unclear as often they are concealed by head-veil drapery.

One form resembled the boytaγ or bocca worn by 14th century Mongolian married ladies, described previously. Its line concealed by veiling indicates that like the boytaγ, this Ottoman head-dress had a tall, waisted cylindrical profile, like that worn by Mamluk ladies in late 15th/early 16th century Cairo,[151] so possibly Mamluk metropolitan fashion was taken up by Istanbul ladies, and that the common ancestor of both was the Mongolian boytaγ. In any case, this Ottoman head-dress had a long life in fashionable circles. It is depicted in early 18th century Ottoman manuscripts and features in European pictures of Jewish and Armenian weddings in Ottoman lands in the 1860s, which indicates that as in medieval Mongol society, this type was associated with marriage or bethrothal.

Another form frequently illustrated in 17th/early 18th century European works had a complex form, of a small cap placed on top of the head, with a small oval

metal plate secured on the front. This stood at a slight backwards angle to the vertical, so that the surface of the plate faced forwards.[152] A third head-dress, illustrated both by European and Ottoman artists of the early and mid-18th century, was described by Sandys in the 1680s as:

> "a cap not unlike the top of a sugar loafe, yet a little flat, of paist-boord, and covered with cloth of silver or tissue."[153]

Standing about 4"(10cm) high, it had a conical form with a flattened top and was kept in place by a thin veil, half concealing the fabric-covered frame and passing under the chin; another scarf around the head gave added security. Two examples in the Topkapı Saray Museum (inv. nos. 13/993 and 13/1970) show how accurate Sandys's observation was. The thin sloping frame is covered with a patterned silk with silver in the weft. These caps were found in the mausoleum of Sultan Ahmed I (d.1617) and are thought to have belonged to his daughters.[154]

Another softer head-covering was popular among early 17th century entertainers, judging by the portraits. It covered the hair completely in the form of a soft, squared cap with a long tassel at the back. Perhaps this is the type referred to by both Poullet and Hill, writing in 1668 and 1710 respectively. Poullet spoke of a highly decorative square-like (carré) bonnet, similar to that worn by French palace ministers while Aaron Hill described it as:

> "...a sort of Past-board like a four-square Trencher, cover'd over with Embroid'red Muslin: to certain Silver point on whose extreamest Edges, their Perfum'd and Scented Hair is fastn'd,... twisted into several Locks, and Hanging with a sort of easy freedom round their Heads, adorn'd with Ribbands, Diamonds and an hundred different sorts

of Glitt'ring Stones."[155]

Perhaps this was the talpock of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

> "...which is in Winter of fine velvet embrodier'd with pearls or Di'monds, and in summer of a light shineing silver stuff. This is fix'd on one side of the Head, hanging a little way down with a Gold Tassel and bound on either with a circle of Di'monds... or a rich embrodier'd Handkercheif. On the other side of the Head the Hair is laid flat... The Hair hangs at its full length behind, divided into tresses braided with pearl or riband..."[156]

Fashionable in the mid- and late 18th century was a soft conical cap, like an inverted cornucopia, set back on the head, revealing the hair at the front and back.[157] Jewelled pins, rows of pearls, feathers and fine crocheted and needle-lace ornaments provided extra decoration.

During the 19th century as their menfolk adopted the fez, the urban ladies took up the full round form of the turban with alacrity, embellishing it with jewels:

> "an enormous cushion of parti-coloured stuffs, covered with jewels and strings of pearls, some of which hang in festoons over the cheeks."[158]

Out of doors, of course, all this finery was carefully concealed with a thin muslin scarf thrown over it. There was either one type known by two names, çalabi and hotoz (also spelt fotoz), or the two terms referred to two different shapes or structures. Either way, this padded form of head-dress recognised no sectarian divides, being worn by Turkish, Greek and Jewish ladies. Jewish wives believed in the magical qualities of the çalabi, knowing they would lose their husbands if enemies managed to secrete an object within its folds, and blaming a severe cholera epidemic among the

community on an imperial edict banning it.[159]

Much time and effort were spent on hairdressing and henna application in the hamam, but it was this time in the bath-house that damaged the hair, according to one European lady living in Istanbul in the 1830s:

> "...[it] loses its strength, and compels them to the adoption of artificial tresses; and these they wear in profusion, wound amid the folds of the embroidered handkerchiefs that they twine about their heads in a most unbecoming manner..."[160]

These artificial tresses were braided with the natural hair either in one long plait down the back or in a series of twenty to thirty plaits, decorated with ribbons or ornaments, which was the fashion for unmarried girls. Both styles had been popular forty or more years previously, along with a vogue of cutting the hair in various lengths about the face, and were the butt for disparaging remarks from European ladies:

> "Nothing can be imagined more hideous. A painted handkerchief is bound tightly round the brow, and secured by jewelled bodkins: the back hair is crèpé until it becomes one huge dishevelled mass,...a number of slender plaits of false hair hang down the back, frequently differing very materially from the colour of the natural tresses; the front locks are cut square across the forehead, and left a couple of inches longer at the sides, where they lie quite flat..."[161]

Very occasionally this style could still be seen in the late 1850s, but then it was acknowledged as old-fashioned.[162]

GUILDS AND TEXTILE PRODUCTION

The number of Istanbul workshops producing clothing in the late 17th century is recorded by Evliya Çelebi. There were forty shops with twenty-five people, each

dealing in embroidered articles, twenty specialising in mendils (Arabic mandil) alone.[163] Tailoring establishments numbered 3000, giving work to some 5000 artisans in the Alay Kiosk area. Selim I had been responsible for setting up and supervising the organisation of the tailors' workshop, the terziler kar-hanesi with its forty tailors under the terzi başı and the hallaç başı, the chief tailor and cotton bower respectively. However, in the late Ottoman period, reflecting the growing fashion for European styling in clothing, most Istanbul tailors were to be found in the Galata and Pera districts, areas designated in 1806 for workshops specialising in European garments.[164] Late 17th century workshops producing headwear totalled over 300 with 750 workers; the small guild of turban-makers situated near Haghia Sophia consisted of 17 shops. This latter guild suffering severely in the early 19th century, as the turban was abandoned for the fez.

The guilds provided a link between the craftsman and the government, while offering the former a measure of protection. It is not certain when guilds in Ottoman territory were first formed, but by the 16th century the trade guilds were firmly established, with a chain of authority and set of rituals,[165] and each having its patron saint: Adam and Enoch for the tailors, Job for the silk workers, Seth for the button and gömlek makers, and wool staplers, for example. By 1769 there were a total of 46 major guilds, subdivided into 554 which included the so-called 'minor' crafts.[166]

At that time the guild (esnaf) generally consisted of masters (ustads), journeymen (kalfas) and apprentices (çıraks), with administration conducted through two officers, the steward (kahya) and the chief fellow (yiğit başı) with a council of elders. The Bursa textile guilds of the early 17th century did not follow

this organisation, nor did they apparently have a kalfa category within the structure.[167] The guild leaders were responsible for ensuring that the dictates of the ruling regime, as communicated by the town kadı and muhtesib, were followed by their members, and for informing and lobbying the central administration concerning the fraternity's needs.

Through the guild network, prices were fixed and production control maintained in matters of quality, quantity and design. As will be noted in the next section, in the early 16th century regulations concerning the Ottoman textile industry focused on the quality of cloth and dyes. The emphasis shifted in the 17th century to price fixing, although questions of standards of workmanship continued to be raised. For instance, the Bursa silk workers' guild agreed in 1603/4 to fix their profit at 10% and allow 20% profit to the wholesalers importing raw silk. In the Istanbul bazaars of 1680, merchants were directed to sell silk kaftans at a maximum price of 35 akçes, more than twice the maximum price of cloth ones. The kaftan had to fit well, be properly finished and have the normal number of panels (i.e. three), buttons and an edging of a certain quality. Suppliers and tailors dealing in fabrics which included gold thread were continually under surveillance, as were the makers of silk buttons. If shoes quickly became unstitched, the cobbler could face corporal punishment, unless the tanner had supplied bad quality leather. Likewise, the cotton weaver in 1659 was liable to a fine of 1 akçe per 2 parmaks (6.2 yards; 5.6m) if his coarse cotton fabric was sub-standard, and twice that for his finer quality of stuff.[168] If an overall deterioration in standard caused public concern, action was taken as in the mid-19th century when a kethüda (chief) was appointed to oversee all fourteen footwear guilds.[169]

Guildmen's anxieties concerning competition and other market forces were conveyed through the fraternity to the central or provincial administration, with requests for intervention. In 1629/30 and again in 1663/4, the manufacture of footwear with pointed toes was forbidden at the request of the Istanbul guild of cobblers. The monopoly of the metallic thread-makers was protected in 1701, by the government banishing Jewish workers to Salonika. Eighty-four years later, similar protective action was taken as requested, to restrict the number of bürüncük (crêpe or gauze) workshops to eighteen.[170]

In return, the guilds implementated state legislation concerning the supply and sale of raw and basic materials, in times of political and economic fluctuations, or with the maintenance of social order.

The latter was of great political concern in the later Ottoman period. Sumptuary legislation was seen as a solution to the social unrest; if people were seen to be conforming in their dress to their social status, as established by convention, their mental attitude and aspirations would likewise conform. The manufacture or sale of any goods to the public which could threaten this conformity were held to be reprehensible. Thus, in 1729 for instance the guilds agreed to prevent the sale of a head-dress similar to that worn by Jews, to any Muslim and in 1807 undertook to bar the sale of green fabrics to any non-Muslim.[171]

However, in the early period the government was pre-occupied with economic anxieties. The gold crisis in 1570s resulted in a ferman (imperial order) forbidding use of gold thread in the Bursa textile factories under pain of confiscation; only the Istanbul workshop was exempted. Military campaigns were frequently supported by economic sanctions imposed on the importers and manufacturers, through the guild

network. So during the 1514-6 campaign the silks and textiles of Persian merchants in Bursa were confiscated and the merchants exiled to the European provinces. The ban on Persian silk imports was lifted only in 1520.[172]

The Ottoman administration collected various taxes from the guildsmen through the muhtesib, such as the damga resmi or stamp duty on textiles. Probably levied on locally produced fabrics, as imported stuffs were liable to custom dues, this duty was assessed by the muhtesib on the quality of the textile.[173] His evaluation was not always acceptable; in 1691 the belt makers of Istanbul protested to the palace that the stamp duty of 100 akçe per item was excessive. Official documents dating from the second half of the 15th century illustrate the continual concern of the central regime about excise tax evasion. Bales of raw silk were not allowed to be stored in insecure places or unpacked without the authority of the market broker (simsar), on pain of arrest, dismissal from the market and/or confiscation of property. Duty on raw silk was payable twice, and failure to present adequate proof of payment made at Tokat, Trebizon or Bursa rendered carriers liable to both levies at Istanbul. The scale of dues varied in this period and depended on the textile or yarn held in transit or sold; also the origin of the merchant was taken into consideration. In general Muslims and Ottoman subjects paid 3 to 4 akçe per cent, while non-Muslim European merchants were liable to a supplementary levy of 1 akçe per cent. Such duties were not only on raw silk but also on imported furs and fabrics, such as linen garments and white (?cotton) stuffs, gauzes, druggets, gold-worked textiles and patterned silks from Kaffa, broadcloth and the narrower kersey from North Africa, and Northern and Southern Europe.[174] These excise duties were an

important source of state revenue, for Bursa relied on raw silk imports till the late 16th century, when it set up sericulture. In 1487 the custom duty on silk in Bursa totalled 120,000 gold ducats, but with war embargoes this amount fell sharply, to 40,000 or 50,000 in 1521 and 1523. In 1579 the renewned hostilities with Iran caused a considerable drop in silk dues; instead of the expected 1.25 million akçes, less than 650,000 was collected. As the Ottoman army increased in size, so did the excise levied on woollen textiles imported from Venice for the output of Salonika woollen textiles was too small. Even with the 1703 expansion financed by the palace, the output from these workshops proved too limited to meet the demand.[175]

OTTOMAN TEXTILES

Although there was already an established textile industry in Anatolia in the early Ottoman period, demand quickly outstripped supply and examination of the court expenditure of Mehmed II Fatih reveals a heavy reliance on imported fabrics. Annually some 60,000 ducats was spent on importing textiles from Florence, with another 50,000 on the purchase of various costly silks. From a total court expenditure of 810,000 ducats, 54,000 was used to pay for the court robes and hil'at.[176] Not only the court and the army relied on foreign fabrics; the man of fashion in late 17th century Istanbul proudly wore his outer garment made of English, French or Dutch cloth and de la Mottraye emphasised this liking for imported textiles:

> "...their [Ottoman men in Istanbul] Ambition being to have the finest English Cloth for their Gowns lin'd with Furs... Their Caffetans, or Under-vestments, are generally some fine Persian Stuffs, very seldom flowered with Gold, but always adorned with little Buttons of Silver gilt, fastened one over against the other."[177]

Despite the constant influx of foreign textiles, the home industry continued to grow particularly in the 16th century. The town of Denizli has already been mentioned; that town was famous for a special kind of gold decorated cotton made by Greek women, in the time of Ibn Battuta.[178]

The fine water-marked mohair fabric made in Ankara and Kastamonu, popular among the 16th century wealthy Ottomans and worn by Suleyman I, caught the eye of many Europeans, including Dernschwaum who described at length the equipment used in its manufacture, such as the upright loom, the lidded copper cauldrons and the seven-men presses.[179]

The most important weaving centre of luxury textiles was Bursa in northwest Anatolia, already famous around 1400 for its silk trade and industry. Its fabrics were highly valued as three types, çatma, kemha and benekli[180] all decorated with gold threads formed part of a diplomatic present to the Venetian ambassador in 1483. Perhaps Bursa produced the earliest known Ottoman fabric surviving today, the Studenica Monastery, Jugoslavia fragment (fig.71). Its design of narrow, horizontal stripes produced by numerous coloured wefts indicates a 14th century date, and as its woven inscription includes the name Bayezid, it is tempting to date this fragment to the reign of Bayezid I (1389-1402).[181]

The supply of silk was restricted during the mid-14th century because of the Mongolian military activity in Anatolia, but by 1421 the situation had eased considerably allowing advances in textile output and range to be made, as in that year a range of 100 fabrics was presented to the sons of Mehmed I. Official support came from Mehmed II Fatih, who realised the importance of strengthening the bases of the country's economic wealth. Apart from mohair cloth

production in Ankara and Kastamonu, the Salonika and Istanbul workshops making woollen cloths and Edirne's footwear industry, the silk weavers of Istanbul and Bursa received financial help. By the early 1500s over 1000 silk looms were at work in Bursa, manned usually by slaves who could achieve manumission after weaving a certain quantity. By 1504 some 91 different types of fabrics were manufactured on these looms, including atlas (satin), gezi (watered silk) and kadife (velvet).[182]

Already there was official concern over quality control. A 1502 document shows anxiety over standards in dyeing, loom threading and weaving. To save on production costs, cheaper dyes were used and inferior quality silk was employed alongside finer yarn. The reduced number of wefts was noted as was the debased metallic content of the gold and silver threads. The guilds were required to act to restore standards. However, by the 1550s economies were again being made, probably because of the high price of raw silk, estimated to have increased over six times between 1548 and 1637. The workshops, often housing twenty to sixty looms each, came increasingly into the possession of court officials. The city of Bursa was still producing silk in the early 19th century, but the Istanbul factories provided most of the supplies until the dress regulations of Sultan Mahmud II were issued, which drastically curtailed demand.[183]

revise as new article

Exactly when the Bursa workshops began producing velvets is not clear, but in the early 1480s the quality was good enough for royal garments. The velvets often included metallic threads in the weaving and, depending on their structure and appearance, were variously classified. Opinions, however, differ as to the precise definition of the terms. Turkish scholars understand çatma as meaning a voided velvet, whereas

western textile historians interpret the word as specifying that metallic thread is 'brocaded in'.[184] Similarly there is no unanimous agreement over the exact definition of hatai, kemha, zerbaft, selimiye and seraser except that it is generally accepted that all these silks or silk-cotton mixtures included gold and/or silver thread in the weft.[185]

Seraser was one of the mostly costly fabrics to produce, because of the heavy use of metallic thread. If it is correct to classify the fabric of Suleyman I's caksır (fig.56), as suggested,[186] then seraser had a weft-faced compound plain-weave structure. The 1564 ferman commanded that all seraser looms had to be registered with a ceiling of 100; these were to be owned and not rented. As a result, some 210 workshops in Istanbul were closed. A minimum sale price of 35 gold pieces was fixed for each piece, which in turn had to be officially stamped. Ten years later, because of a severe bullion shortage, only the Istanbul weavers were permitted to use gold.[187] Production continued in Bursa as another ferman of 1577 re-affirmed that the seraser looms of Bursa were to be limited to 100.[188]

This information conveys little of the beauty, elegance and richness of Ottoman fabrics of the 16th and 17th centuries, but their aesthetic qualities were fully recognised in contemporary Ottoman society. Important state papers were presented in Ottoman fabric bags, satin denoting the relatively minor status of the recipient, while correspondence to such rulers of Elizabeth I of England rated cloth of gold.[189] It was customary for bolts of patterned silks to be tossed before the royal mounts[190] or held by the crowd, as John Sanderson noted in his description of the sultan's procession in 1596, marking the capture of Eger:

"...three or four miles without which gate, and so alonge within the citie to the gate of the

> Seraglio, which is at least 4 or 5 miles furder, all one both sides the ways as he should passe throughe, the people his subjects, Turks, Jewes, and Christians, held in length great peces of cloth of gould, velvett, sattin, and damaske of all sortes and colloures..."[191]

The textile designs as illustrated often closely resemble actual motifs and compositions of surviving Ottoman fabrics and ceramics. Indeed, it has been suggested that the dating of certain royal robes in the Topkapı Saray collection should be revised to accord with the dating of ceramic counterparts.[192] Probably as with Iznik ceramic surface decorations, patterns were devised in the court atelier and then sent out to the production centres. The textile pattern repertoire was also influenced by the designs of imported fabrics. In fact there are many textile pieces in public and private collections on which the opinions of today's textile and art historians are divided regarding provenance. There was an attempt in the late 1920s to establish the technical differences between European and Middle Eastern velvets of the Renaissance period, but some of those theses now have to be re-assessed.[193]

The range of colours and textures available from the Ottoman dyer and weaver are arresting. Generally dark colours were not favoured in Ottoman society, Busbequius noting in the second half of the 16th century that:

> " A black Colour is counted unfortunate, and is dislik'd by them; and when they see any Man so clad, they look on it as an ill Omen... the truth is, none of their own appear in black, but either one that is desperately poor, or else so over-whelm'd with some great calamity, that he regards not what Cloths he wears. A Purple Colour is a

> creditable Colour with them, only it is an Omen of much Bloodshed in time of War: But the ordinary approved Colours among them, are the White, the Yellow, the Sea-Green, the Violet-colour and Mouse-colour, etc...."[194]

He found the ceremonial court dress visually stunning, with the range of furs and the richness of the cloths, with the contrast of harsh metallic threads to the softness of the velvets, and the ethereal plumage of the head-dresses. The 17th century court, judging from the illustrated manuscripts, found the whole range of colours appealing from the vibrant to the more delicate shades, although the heavier tonal qualities of the primary and secondary colours seem to have been preferred, perhaps to show the gold and silver inclusions to the best advantage.[195] The pattern generally dominates the field; bright colours against a light or dark ground. When the ground colour is vibrant in tone, the decorative patternings are highlighted by the use of metallic thread. In the so-called seraser fabrics (fig.56), where the field is a silver or gold colour, this dominating two-dimensional quality is complemented by static and stylized decorative elements.

Conversely for the pattern- (rather than field-) dominated textiles, the motifs are arranged 'on' the field rather than 'within' it. In examples recalling ceramic decoration, there is an illusion of depth; arabesque scrolls intertwine gracefully but with controlled energy while lanceolated and serrated leaf forms and stylised floral heads and blossoms fall across each other in rhythmic and disciplined order. Despite the vivid colours, the total effect is one of order and non-aggression. The balance between excitement and constraint, between movement and immobility is obtained in a masterly fashion.

There is a noticeable absence of human and animal motifs in Ottoman 16th and 17th century textiles, when compared with contemporary Safavid examples. It has been suggested that this is explained by Ottoman adherence to Sunni Islam of the Hanafi school. However, there is an abundance of floral designs including the rose, the carnation, the tulip with the wild hyacinth and lotus in geometric or curvilinear arrangements. Sometimes the floral elements are organised in isolated sprays, reminiscent of Iranian and Indo-Iranian textile patterning, but the figures of insects and birds so often included in those fabrics are missing in the Turkish examples. This may not have always been the case. One text mentions that kaftans of the early period were

> "woven with figures, later with the names of the rulers parallel with the neck-line. Still later...[they] were made of fabrics of floral patterns."[196]

18th century illustrations indicate that the dress materials then were less dramatic in appearance, although continuing the use of metallic threads in the weave. Textiles with small separate motifs in parallel and often staggered rows were extremely fashionable in the 18th century for garments worn under the outer robes. Pastel shades with gold or multi-coloured floral patternings were sometimes set against strong colours of short tunics. By the end of the century these small motif patterns were frequently carried in narrow stripes like the fashionable Indian and French chintzes. The liking for stripes continued into the early 19th century when tartan plaids and checks became the vogue among Istanbul ladies. At the same time, fashion demanded pastel colours for the ferace, leaving the bolder colours for the household servants. However, perhaps in reaction to the sombre olives,

browns and greys of their menfolk's dress in the mid-19th century onwards (discussed in the next chapter), ladies of fashion then adopted more gaudy and 'shot' fabrics. By then also the technical structure of the dress fabrics had changed. Whether because of high production costs or loss of expertise, the complicated weaving techniques employed in the 16th and 17th century Ottoman textiles had disappeared from use by the 19th century. The illustrations of the Sur-nāme (Topkapı Saray, H. 1344) show something of the equipment used then although the representations are somewhat ambiguous. It is not clear, for instance, whether fol.67 (fig.72) shows a winding or reeling process. Within the parade float, distaffs hang near the roof, and it appears that the seated figure is winding silk from a swift (skein winder) to a cage spool on the left. In the same manuscript (fol.82 left), there is a good example of warp-chaining on a simple two-harness loom operated by pulleys.[197] But by the 19th century, decorative motifs were not incorporated into the weave to the same extent as earlier production; increasingly these were applied on the finished fabric, usually by embroidery and needle-lace work, and also by printing.

Coloured silk floss was employed for stitching, especially on the more intimate garments such as pantalons, sashes and kerchiefs. Extant examples display the highest standards in workmanship along with subtle and arresting tonal and textural combinations. Around the year 1900 twisted (embroidery) silks, chemical- rather than vegetable-dyed, became available and within two decades had flooded the home market. A variety of flat and looped stitches in diverse techniques were used, including counted and drawn-thread work and needle-weaving. The chain stitch kasnak was very fashionable in the 18th century,

covering most of the fabric's surface, rather than being solely employed for outline work. Other stitches, such as kesme fulfilled that task, with musabak and mürver as infillers,[198] creating special textural qualities.

It was perhaps the absence of woven gold and silver fabrics that prompted an early 19th century fashion for embroidered motifs, frequently rococo in style (e.g. the flower bouquet, knotted ribbons and bows) in metallic thread, wire and strip with sequins of gold, silver-gilt and later copper and nickel. Despite the technical difficulties of working with a relatively inflexible thread, there is again diversity in the stitches. Surface couching zarduz was used particularly for overall coverage, where the cloth itself is rendered virtually invisible. Satin stitch picked out isolated motifs with sometimes the wire or strip carried over pre-shaped pads of cotton or cardboard, known as dival stitch (English 'raising to relief and mounting').[199] The court dress-coats of the 19th century carried this highly decorative embroidery on the front panels, while ladies' gowns in sombre but rich tones of purple, crimson and blue with such luxurious bindallı became the formal dress of the period, worn with silk pantaloons often carrying identical or closely related motifs; velvet heeled shoes of the European type were similarly embroidered.

Hand-block printing (basma), on textiles was practised in the Ottoman Empire as elsewhere in the Middle East. By the early 18th century there were twenty-seven textile printing workshops in Istanbul. A century later the workshops were situated in a former printing shop, at Haydarpaşa. In all some two hundred artisans were employed in producing fine kerchiefs as well as dress and furnishing fabrics in the lower price range.[200]

Ladies of the household could, if they wished, buy needle-lace work to trim their gowns and kerchiefs. In the first half of the 19th century this usually meant purchasing the work of Armenian women. The design of the needle-lace was generally related to the patterning on the fabric and was frequently staggeringly complex and fine in structure, as surviving garments show.[201] The colouring of the lace was also related to the shade of the garment fabric.[202]

Despite numerous official projects in the 19th century, the decline of the Ottoman textile industry is revealed in both the fabrics and the documents. The 1838 Anglo-Turkish commercial convention allowed a massive influx of European textiles into the Ottoman Empire for almost a quarter of a century until it was revised. Foreign imports faced no further duties after the payment of a 5 per cent on value entry charge whereas the home products were liable to local provincial export duties, a transit tax and a levy on place of origin, totalling 12 to 50 per cent on value.[203] This alongside the new demand for cloths and garments in the European mode meant that the impact on the home textile manufacturing centres was immediate and catastrophic. Where there were 2000 cotton looms in Tirnova and Scutari in 1812, only 200 remained in 1841. In 1815 Bursa had produced about 4 million kurus but by the mid-century production had dropped to 400,000,[204] despite the fact that in the 1840s steam-driven silk-reeling mills of the Italian type had been introduced to replace the laborious hand-reeling system. Attempts were made during 1862-4 to revive the textile industry. Import duties on foreign-made fabrics were increased by 3 per cent and trade fairs were organised to promote home-produced articles. Industrial training schools were set up and concessions

granted to manufacturers who formed themselves into trade associations. Foreign equipment and experts were brought in[205] and there was an improvement, albeit short-lived; as one cynical foreign technican said:

> "It would be very odd... if we could not turn out a piece of the finest cloth occasionally, seeing that we have the best machinery of England and France, that the finest wools for the purpose are imported, *via* Trieste, from Saxony and the best wool countries, and that we, Frenchmen and Belgians work it. You could not call it Turkish cloth -- it [was] only cloth made in Turkey by European machinery, out of European material, and by good European hands."[206]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Busbequius p.95-6.
2. Denny Textiles p.126. Only a handful of the 2500-odd robes have been published and usually without any technical analysis so any theories of stylistic development and chronology of royal dress must be considered as speculative.
3. It has not been possible to examine extensively the court garments displayed at the Military Museum, Istanbul which are said to have come from the 19th century Topkapı Saray permanent exhibition, described by many of the European writers, e.g. Brindesi. However, even a quick inspection reveals the presence of synthetic fabrics and machine stitching.
4. Other early Ottoman sultans declined the trappings of power e.g. Murad II. Babinger p.5; Hasluck vol.II n.2 p.492; Arnakis p.113.
5. Wittek p.303-16.
6. Vryonis Byzantine.
7. Pauline Johnstone's lecture on Ottoman costume, May 1979 for the Oriental Rug & Textile Society (unpublished).
8. "Libās" EI^2.
9. The garment terminology used in this paragraph is that used in the Topkapi Saray Museum catalogues.
10. Thevenot part I p.29.
11. Sandys p.63.
12. The custom continues in Eastern Europe and Soviet Central Asia where the kurti is worn with an empty arm-hole resting on the head; Gervers Szür p.15. Hammer vol.XIV p.45 states that sleeve-kissing was practised, while Reed n.3 p.27 says that only the four highest officials, for example the Grand Vezir, the mufti, the defterdar and the nişancı were permitted to kiss the sultan's robe at the hem.
13. Busbequius p.95-6.
14. For example, V&A textile 735-1884 said to have found at the royal tombs in Bursa.
15. Slade vol.I p.449.
16. According to Clavijo/Le Strange p.208, it was first adopted by Timur Leng, the three circles in an inverted pyramidic form showing he was the lord of three quarters of the world.
17. Goodwin n.37 p.468.
18. Denny Textiles p.126.
19. Cammann Ming p.11-2, the internal circles representing the pearls' lustrous sheen.
20. D'Ohsson vol.IV(i) p.129, vol.VII p.106-7,156; Haidar Arabesque n.on p.222. For the Girding

of the Sword-belt ceremony of the new sultan, see Hasluck vol.II p.604-22 and "Kilidj Alayi" EI[1]. After 1517, the Ottoman sultan at his investiture donned the Prophet's burda and the turban said to have belonged to Yusuf (Biblical Joseph), spoils from the Mamluk treasury.

21. Tafur p.127.
22. White vol.II p.268-9, see also p.267. For prices, see also Hammer vol.XIII p.367 ff. In March 1631 non-Muslims were forbidden to wear sables; Galante Appendice p.22-3.
23. Skilliter Harborne p.129. Watches of silver or pinchbeck were kept in small pockets in the robes; D'Ohsson vol.IV(i) p.138.
24. Jevad p.175.
25. Atil p.xi. Hammer vol.IV p.144-5 states that Selim introduced this larger shape as his officials all wore the mücevveze. However, White vol.III p.355 describes the selimiya as shorter, but wider than the müçevveze.
26. Jenkinson p.7.
27. Chronicle vol.I p.33.
28. The last two garments are published in Anatolian Civilisations E.27 and E.25 respectively, p.120-1. A fragment of a coarser, less sophisticated garment in the Military Museum, Istanbul, demonstrates that the practice continued into the 19th century.
29. The verses are taken from suras II-VII, IX, XII, XIV, XVII, XIX, XXIII, XXXVI-XLVI, LIV, LXI, CX, CXII-CXIII.
30. Guer vol.II p.523.
31. Chronicle vol.I p.61. See also Wright Ottoman p.11 for the dismissal of Sarı Mehmed Başi, an early 18th century defterdar, who also wrote of a "robe of continuance in office" (p.1).
32. Gibb & Bowen vol.I(ii) p.27.
33. One of the earliest textual references to the levy dates to 1395; "Devşirme" EI[2] p.210. The system fell increasingly into disuse from 1582 and completely lapsed in the 18th century.
34. Pitton vol.II p.17; Rycaut p.74-5; Inalcik Ottoman pl.13 states the cap was white in colour. Possibly the 17th century details regarding the in-service uniform refer not to the acemi oğlan but to the pages training for imperial household duties, the iç oğlans. See also "Adjami oghlan" EI[2].
35. Illustrated in Anatolian Civilisations E.184 p.222-3 where the acami oğlans are incorrectly identified as bostancıs, an unit only established in the first half of the 17th century.

36. Hasluck vol.II p.484-6; Inalcik Ottoman p.83 table 2; see also Palmer.
37. Hill p.19.
38. Raby p.21. The brazo or braccio was a cubit, 60cm on average at this time; thanks to Jacqueline Herald for this information.
39. Palmer p.474-5.
40. Gibb & Bowen vol.I(i) p.65; Birge p.74 who adds that the head of the order would travel to Istanbul on his appointment to receive his tac (Arabic: tāj) from the Chief Commander of the Janissaries.
41. Ibn Battuṭa vol.II p.421; "Kalansuwa" EI[1]. It should be noted that Cahen Pre-Ottoman identifies the Ahi head-dress as a turban form, as illustrated in his pl.21.
42. Gibb & Bowen vol.I(i) n.1 p.59. For information on the dervis costume, see Brown; Birge.
43. Palmer p.452.
44. Ibid. p.470; see also d'Ohsson vol IV(i) p.117 and Jevad p.175.
45. Jaeckel p.2-6.
46. Stolz p.xxix, 159. See also Babinger p.448.
47. Sandys p.49; Hill p.21. For the clothing allowance of a Janissary serving in North Africa, see Marcais Costume p.66. In the 17th century the cloth for uniforms was stored in an Istanbul warehouse with a superintendent emin-i çuka entari assisted by 150 men. Once a year the cloth and muslin were distributed and taken to the official tailors for making up; Mantran Istanbul p.403.
48. Inalcik Rise p.18.
49. Reed p.245, n.4 p.323; see also Koçu p.95-6 (Dovme).
50. D'Ohsson vol.VII p.25; Guer vol.II p.205; see also Thevenot part I p.30.
51. "Corbadji" EI[2]; Busbequius p.240; Lewis World p.220; Lybyer n.2 p.139.
52. By the late 18th century, the Janissaries in the provinces were more a political than military force, paying the central administration to release them from battle duties; Bodman p.66-7.
53. As given in Miller Palace p.167.
54. Fuller n. p.7.
55. Gibb & Bowen vol.I(i) n.10 p.152.
56. Hammer vol.IV p.144-5.
57. Reed p.301.
58. The visual evidence does not confirm d'Ohsson's report vol.VII p.25 that the solak officers wore green velvet trimmed with lynx.
59. Jevad p.31 states the plume was horse-hair.
60. Hammer vol.I p.240-1.

61. Jaeckel p.15-6.
62. Sandys p.76.
63. "Deli" EI^2.
64. The correct derivation is the Arabic dalil: guide; Bodman n.26 p.23.
65. Wittman p.149. Galland vol.I p.126-7 mistakes the harbacıs for delis in his 1672 description; see D'Ohsson vol.VII p.325 for details on harbacıs, and also Reed p.303-4.
66. Reed p.305-6; Hammer vol.V p.23-4 implies incorrectly that the bostancı unit was operative in the 16th century.
67. Shoberl vol.I p.241; Thevenot part I p.30.
68. Petis de la Croix quoted by Weissmann p.22.
69. The yedekis or grooms also wore this type of head-dress, see Atil p.29. D'Ohsson vol.VII p.32 states it was also the head-gear of the baltıcıs or woodcutters.
70. Ker Porter vol.II p.758. See also Fuller p.76 "like the vane on top of a chimney".
71. Rycaut p.51.
72. Dallam p.69.
73. Sandys p.63. See also Atasoy. The patron saint of the guild was Abu Huraira; Pallis p.154.
74. Miller Palace p.154, 180. In 1829 the customary dress was abolished for a uniform based on European (or as announced, Egyptian) fashion; ibid. p.155.
75. Dallam p.69.
76. Miller Palace p.131-46.
77. White vol.I p.50.
78. D'Ohsson vol.VII p.35; Gibb & Bowen vol.I(i) p.340; Atil p.24 states that his mundane dress consisted of the kaftan and the kavuk.
79. Anatolian Civilisations E.109 p.176; E.100 p.176-7.
80. Arif p.11.
81. Barker p.3, 12-4.
82. Arif p.12; White vol.III p.355-6. Some European travellers called this head-gear a selimi.
83. Jevad p.31 states the nücevveze was everyday wear, and does not refer to the kavuk. On days of no ceremonial functions, a simple kavuk was worn along with an ermine- or lynx-lined coat; Atil p.21, 33-4, 37.
84. Tavernier Nouvelle p.8; Nijenburg & Heyman vol. I p.221-2 names the three empires as Buda, Constantinople and Babylonia, while Guer vol.II p.160 described them as Greece, Egypt and Babylon.
85. Guer vol.II p.289.
86. Ibid.

87. Covel p.200.
88. Guer vol.II p.159.
89. For a clear exposition of the various ranks in the ulema, see Bodman p.46-9; for şeyh ul-Islam, see Pixley.
90. Tugay p.293. Buxton p.198 mentions that white robes and a deep yellow turban was worn by this "Minister of Public Worship" at the opening of Parliament in 1908; see also p.168-9.
91. White vol.III p.354.
92. Hill p.54.
93. Bodman p.91, 94-5.
94. Women who could trace their line back attached green fabric to their veil; Thevenot part I p.30.
95. See Chapter I and Harvey p.280-1.
96. See fn. 31.
97. Mantran Istanbul p.285. For Ottoman hil'at in Egypt, see Shaw Financial p.227.
98. D'Ohsson vol.VII n.i p.199, 200; Jevad p.177 notes that there were seven categories, and Guer vol.II p.159 gives three grades, as does Shaw Financial p.226-7.
99. Hammer vol.XIV p.45.
100. In addition, the çatma-akçesi was presented annually, representing the cost of four robes, the year's dress allowance; Petis Canon p.136-7.
101. Jevad p.177 calls the pendant-sleeved garment an üst-kürk, although the term kürk is generally reserved for fur-lined robes. In this he follows Hammer vol.XIV p.45.
102. D'Ohsson vol.VII p.497-8,500. It seems that as European envoys received greater attention, the quality of hil'at offered to other delegates lessened; see Gervers Influence p.134.
103. Hill p.154.
104. Abbott p.20. See also Hill p.154; Tavernier Nouvelle p.113 for slightly different numbers; Itzkowitz & Mote n.34 p.168.
105. Covel p.196.
106. Quoted by Öz p.15. Ibn Baṭṭuṭa stated that fine white cotton cloth was a Denizli speciality; Vryonis Decline p.238.
107. Öz p.15.
108. For example, items with the following inv. nos. 13/865-2/3773; 13/866-2/4643; 13/867-2/4641; 13/868-2/4642; 13/869-2/4640. All these garments have been classified in the catalogues as of Denizli production and dated accordingly to the 14th century.
109. Also robes were sent to European rulers; see Skilliter Three p.146 for a gift to Elizabeth I of England.

110. Slade vol.I p.313; see also Reed p.269-70.
111. See Evliya Çelebi's description of Trabzon society, as given in Mardin p.17.
112. Tietze p.581; the word çille or çile also means 'thread', so perhaps in this context refers to the warp thread count of a fabric.
113. Ibid. p.582.
114. Hill p.93-4.
115. See Dallam p.74-5for an incident during his stay at the palace, 1599-1600.
116. Covel p.213-4. Interestingly, White vol.III p.189 mentions shops in the main Istanbul bazaar, which sold women's jackets called saltamarca, fashionable in the provinces but considered out-moded among the Istanbul elite of the 1830s. He states that the name, a corruption of San Marco (Venice) shows the origin of the jacket style, a Venetian juste-au-corps.
117. Grey p.161; Malik Khanam & Ellison p.33-5 and Haidar Arabesque p.167 point out that as a rule Ottoman princesses were not allowed to receive European ladies.
118. Hill p.95.
119. Thevenot part I p.56.
120. Pardoe vol.II p.40; see also vol.I p.33.
121. Ibid. vol.II p.375; see also Harvey p.33.
122. Ziyaeddin illustration facing p.122; my thanks to Caroline Ballingal for her help.
123. Shoberl vol.IV p.36; Hornby p.57. A statement of Halide Edib's grandmother suggests that the wearing of certain pastel shades was linked to the colours of flowers in season; Edib Memoirs p.61.
124. Sandys p.74 mentions that the sultan dropped his kerchief in front of the female he chose. See also Hobhouse p.853, and Hammer vol.XIV p.71-2.
125. Sandys p.75 states that the favourite wore a peculiarly wrought gold head-dress, taller than the others.
126. D'Ohsson vol.VII p.72.
127. Craven p.182.
128. Edib Memoirs p.166; Garnett p.245; Malik Khanam p.327-8. For a different interpretation of the belt's symbolism, see Roux p.23. It is interesting to note that in the later Ottoman period, the girding of the sultan at his investiture became an important ritual; see above, fn.20.
129. The information contained in these letters should be used with caution. Already in 1813 there were suggestions that her accounts were exaggerated; Pouqueville p.329 ff., see also

the editor's note.

130. The extremely long 19th century şalvar had drawstrings so that the fabric doubled back from the ankle to the knee. 20th century şalvar, as worn in Anatolian Turkey today are designed in different ways.

131. Pitton vol.II p.93.

132. Montagu p.326.

133. Penzer p.169 goes so far as to state that if a yalak had sleeves and trailed on the ground "it practically became an entari". The Topkapı Saray costume catalogues show that the word entari is employed for a variety of long garments. See Stillman Palestinian n.11 p.122 where she suggests the yalak was introduced into the Northern Levantine region during the occupation of Ibrahim Başa (1831-41). See also Mayr pl.XL p.63-4.

134. Montagu p.381.

135. Ibid. p.350.

136. White vol.III p.192.

137. As in Anatolian Civilisations E.295.

138. Craven p.183. In fact, Lady Craven was somewhat out-of-date as the tambour frame used in such work had already been exported from the Ottoman lands into England some 25 years earlier; Ribeiro p.21. See also an early 17th century comment by Della Valle vol.I p.54.

139. Garnett p.135.

140. Hornby p.59-60.

141. Hill p.93.

142. Until the 1750s, the European was well-advised to wear Turkish clothes, avoiding green fabrics, when walking or riding, except in non-Muslim residential areas. See Fuller p.103 and Brewer p.59-60.

143. White vol.II p.95.

144. Similarily the term çizme paha (boot price) referred to the fee given to administrators of vekfs or religious endownments; Gibb & Bowen vol.I(ii) p.171.

145. White vol.II p.125.

146. Nijenburg & Heyman vol.I p.224; White vol.III p.192-3.

147. Harvey p.58.

148. Hill p.110.

149. Pardoe vol.I p.29-30, 306-10; Hornby p.362-3; Hill p.110.

150. Nijenburg & Heyman vol.I p.93-4.

151. Abd ar-Raziq p.241. Raby pl.27 p.41. Busbequius p.34-5 mentions that the tall, 9"(23cm) head-dress worn by Bulgarian women in the mid-16th century was made with coils of straw.

152. According to Ferriol (fol. 64, 65, 69 & 87)

this head-dress was worn by Jewish, Greek and Armenian women.

153. Sandys p.68; see also Della Valla vol.I p.47.
154. Anatolian Civilisations E.126 and E.127 p.185.
155. Hill p.95; see also Poullet vol.I p.116.
156. Montagu vol.I p.327. Is 'talpock' an error for kalpak ? Nijenburg & Heyman vol.I p.224 mention a 'talpon'.
157. See British Museum ms.1974-6-17-012(2) fol.5.
158. Garnett Women vol.II p.17; see also White vol. II p.15.
159. Ibid vol.II p.70.
160. Pardoe vol.I p.19. For henna bridal painting undertaken in the hamam, see Garnett p.245.
161. Pardoe vol.I p.305-6.
162. Hornby p.249.
163. Mantran Istanbul table IV; Baer Monopolies p.158.
164. Mantran Istanbul p.403; White vol.I p.8-9; Baer Monopolies p.154; Gibb & Bowen vol.I(i) p.361.
165. Breebaart.
166. White vol.I p.191-3.
167. Gerber p.65-7; Gibb & Bowen vol.I(i) p.281 ff.
168. Mantran Istanbul p.333-4, 339-41. See also Gerber n.85 p.79-80, p.80; "Kutn" EI^2.
169. Baer Admin. p.37.
170. Gibb & Bowen vol.I(i) p.283; Baer Monopolies p.149, 162.
171. Shaw Between p.71; Baer Monopolies p.152.
172. Öz p.55-6; Cizakca Short p.143-4; Inalcik Sulaiman p.110.
173. Mantran Istanbul p.315-6; see also Faroqhi p.75. For the stamp duty on finished cotton, see "Kutn" EI^2.
174. Beldiceanu vol.I p.105-8, 144-8, 126-9, 146-7, 151-3; Skilliter Harborne p.5, n.93 p.20. Including the payment of duty, an Italian merchant could expect to make 70 to 80 ducats of profit on each load fardello of silk; 'Bursa' EI^2 p.1335.
175. Çizakça Short p.144; Afetinan p.71-2; Davis p.96-7. For the Salonika industry, see Goodblatt p.54-7.
176. Babinger p.455-6.
177. Mottraye vol. I p.183. See also Pitton quoted by Mantran Vie p.258.
178. Vryonis Decline p.238.
179. French p.242-3; see also Busbequius p.74-5; Pitton vol.II p.463-4; Evliya Çelebi vol.II p.432.
180. Öz p.14 interprets benekli as 'dotted' but Denny Review p.40 points out that both this term and pelengi were used to describe fabrics

patterned with the chintamani design of three circles & wavy lines.

181. Ettinghausen Ottoman.

182. Ibid. p.134; Çizakça Short p.147.

183. Çizakça Short p.147-8; Çizakça Inflation p.29-30; Öz p.48-56, 59-60; White vol.II p.263-4; see also Faroqhi.

184. Research into Ottoman velvets is presently being undertaken by Diane Mott.

185. Öz p.45-6, 72-3; Denny Review p.39-40; Denny Textiles p.122-3; Mackie p.12-3; Çizakça Inflation n.11 p.142 defines kemha as a heavy, thick silk suitable for winter wear. Suleyman's trousers (fig.56) have been described as seraser.

186. "Harir" EI^2; Mackie p.25.

187. This may explain the use of silver thread on a yellow silk core, giving a golden effect; thanks to Necmiye Akengin, former Costume assistant, Topkapı Saray Museum for pointing out this type of thread to me.

188. Öz p.54-6.

189. Skilliter Harborne p.49, 54; see also Baer Admin. p.45 ff.

190. Öz pl.XII p.71.

191. Sanderson p.60.

192. Denny Dating; Rogers Group p.140.

193. Reath. Regarding revision we know now, for instance, that uncut pile does occur in velvets made in Ottoman lands. See also fn.184.

194. Busbequius p.82. This dislike of dark colours was perhaps cause and effect of specifying such shades for dhimmi (non-Muslim) clothing.

195. Arguably the colours used for garments in Ottoman miniatures do not accurately reflect actuality, being selected by the artist for colour balance within the pictorial composition.

196. Öz p.18.

197. Although the figure is seated like a weaver, he may in fact be the warp maker. Grateful thanks to Sally Oates for examining the illustrations and sharing her knowledge.

198. Gönül.

199. Ibid. p.47-9; Barker p.10-2, pl.IV.

200. See "Kutn" EI^2. DeKay p.383.

201. See Onuk.

202. White vol.III p.186.

203. Issawi Middle East p.38, 46.

204. Ubicini vol.I p.339; see also Macfarlane Turkey vol.I p.145-6, 188-9, 326 and vol.II p.463-8 for details of a state silk factory. Also Clark.

205. Issawi Middle East p.53-7.
206. Macfarlane Turkey vol.II p.453. Despite the decline, textile manufacture still formed the largest industry in Turkey in 1913-5, consisting of 75 enterprises in Istanbul and the main Western Anatolian centres, employing over 7700 workers; Issawi Middle East p.18.

CHAPTER VII

FROM OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO TURKISH REPUBLIC

> " As to the hat and coat decrees they are of less importance... Careful observations in the streets of Pera fails to disclose any perceptible change in the habits of the people, except perhaps that a number of cloth caps of villainous cut have made their appearance. The hat movement here may be compared to the more majestic movement in England towards Oxford trousers."[1]

Sultan Selim III (1789-1807) began a series of reforms aimed at restoring and revitalizing Ottoman military power, but the establishment in 1792 of an infantry corps as part of the Nizam-ı Cedid (New Order) which was to be trained, drilled and equipped in the European manner[2] was short-lived. Under the combined opposition of the Janissaries and the ulema, the sultan was forced to abandon the reform programme. His successor, Mahmud II (1808-39), learning from the experience set about military reforms in the summer of 1826, having first taken care to retain ulema support.[3] And a short cannon bombardment saw to the Janissaries. The way was then open to undertake complete military reform. It was not a moment too soon. Russia had been steadily moving into the Balkans and also Eastern Anatolia. France meanwhile was nibbling at the Ottoman provinces of North Africa, while Muḥammad ʿAlī, the governor of Egypt, ate into Syria. Military fiefs were abolished and a system of municipal authority was set up, while the central government structure was revised on quasi-European lines. At the death of the sultan in 1839, the stage was set for far-reaching reforms over thirty-seven

years, called the Tanzimat (Re-organization) period.

Sultan Abdulmecid (1839-61) and his advisers undertook to carry on and extend the reform programme. Nothing was sacred except the sultanate itself. However, the impetus was lost with his death as public interest was being replaced by a deep distrust of European interest and a growing awareness that the power of the sultan had actually been increased by the reform programmes; this disquiet found voice in the Young Ottoman movement. The slide into state bankruptcy and worsening political relationships with the imperial territorial dependencies gathered speed. With the Congress of Berlin 1878 the Ottoman sultanate lost two-fifths of its territory and so one-fifth of its population. Riots in Istanbul led to the deposition of Sultan Abdulaziz in 1876, and on Abdulhamid's accession, he agreed in principle to a constitution. The first Ottoman parliament met in March 1877, to be dissolved almost a year later, but the opposition movement, the Young Turks, pressing for liberal and democratic government, found support in the army where those officiers trained and educated in Europe were forming a new elite.

Military rebellion began in Salonika and spread to Edirne in 1908. The constitution was restored and elections called. However, when the Young Turk government fell in 1918 the planned democratic government had failed to materialise. Allied forces occupied Istanbul and prepared to divide the territorial spoils with indecent enthusiasm. It seemed as if the end had come, but popular feeling sparked by the Greek landing at Izmir in 1919 provided a military general Mustafa Kemal Başi (later Atatürk) and his party with a parliamentary majority as he earned national and international respect with his military victories. The European powers were forced to end

their occupation of the Turkish heartlands by the Treaty of Lausanne 1923. By that time Kemal had won an important victory, the abolition of the sultanate. In October the next year Mustafa Kemal was appointed president of the republic and moved the seat of government to Ankara to symbolise the complete break with the former system. The change in direction had to be made visible and apparent to all, and to permeate all aspects of daily life, including clothing.

EUROPEANIZATION & THE MILITARY

The major preoccupation of the central regime in the early 1700s concerned the efficiency of the army, and it was to European advisers that the sultan turned. As part of the re-organization proposed by the French military adviser de Bonneval in 1731-2, the bombadier corps, the Humbaracı, was equipped with European firearms and Hungarian-styled uniforms. The head-dress selected was Bosnian, as were most of the recruits. De Bonneval's influence was short-lived but when it was decided to establish the Nizam-ı Cedid regiment, the use of European-styled dress was considered integral.[4] There were two uniforms issued on recruitment and theoretically annually thereafter: the field-dress based on the French military uniform and another for ceremonial wear which included, for certain important officers, a seraser mantle or pelisse; otherwise the regulation dress was a red ferace.[5] Other officers of the ortas wore red, while the yamaks (unpaid auxiliary troops) were to dress in green, cannoners also green and fusiliers sky-blue. The blue uniform of the kara kullakcıs (Janissary orderlies) was to remain as before. The dress of both officers and men was identical except the officers wore swords and buttons on their jackets. Essentially the new uniform was jacket, breeches and a blue or red şubara, like the

bostancı cap in appearance.[6] These dress reforms did not meet with unanimous approval. The light blue version for the provincial auxiliary levies provoked a mutiny which led to the downfall of Selim III in 1807.

The next attempt to introduce European-styled uniforms was made almost twenty years later by Mahmud II. This time many of the Istanbul ulema had been recently promoted and a new şeyh ul-Islam appointed by the sultan before the formation of a new corps, the eskincis, was announced in May 1826. With the agreement of the Janissary commanders, each orta yielded 150 men for retraining and re-equipment, which included a new uniform of tight-fitting knee breeches with leggings, a long sleeved jacket and a coloured fur cap called the laz kalpak.[7] The orderlies received deep red/ chestnut coloured mintan (waistcoat) with short sleeves, a cloak, baggy firemen-like trousers and red leggings, with the laz kalpak. The inspiration was European although it was insisted that it was based on Egyptian military dress.[8] Two days after a few officers drilled in the new uniform in mid-June 1826, the Janissaries revolted, but for the last time. Those who survived the massacre burned off their company tattoos, while others cut their long military-styled moustaches, before the sultan commented disparagingly on them.[9] What other rumbles of discontent there were, were ignored. The eskincis corps was disbanded and plans of the total re-organisation of the army unveiled. Each member of the ʿasakir-i mansure-i Muhammadiye (triumphant soldiers of Muḥammad) (fig.73) or new Ottoman army was to be issued with

> "a şubara, a drill-coat, a short tunic and a vest of broadcloth, tight-fitting serge breeches, and frontier-boots."[10]

But to the European observer the new issue breeches were still ample:

> "The huge balloon chashkeers [çaksir], which impeded his every movement, have given place to woollen trowsers, still rather ample about the nether man, but not so large as to prevent him from making a rapid charge upon the enemy, or from running away. The glittering and flowing jubbee and bayneesh [robe] are well exchanged for a smart tight-bodied blue jacket, closely hooked in front, and allowing perfect freedom to the limbs; while the turban, infinitely varied in shape and colour, often ragged, and frequently dirty, suggesting the idea of walking toadstools, has for ever disappeared. In its place the soldier sports a tidy red cap, with a blue tassel gracefully descending from its crown. With the exception of the cap, and the still lingering amplitude of the trowsers, the Turkish soldiers could scarcely be distinguished from the regulars of any European nation."[11]

The cap mentioned above was not the şubara but the fes (English: fez), that was to become within a century "the emblem of Ottoman and Islamic traditionalism and orthodoxy".[12] Introduced from North Africa, the fez (fig.74) had the approval of the sultan who appeared in public wearing it in August 1826.[13] It remained to obtain the agreement of the ulema.[14] This was vital for if the fez was declared by the ulema to be in its opinion an European (and therefore Christian) head-dress, it would have been rejected by the devout Muslims. The turban was closely linked with the Islamic faith,[15] and the Janissary head-dress also had strong religious associations. It was unthinkable that the soldiers and servants of the caliph, as the Ottoman sultan was, would wear an infidel hat. It is unclear if this was the reason why a small, peaked version was rejected. According to DeKay, it was an

objection on liturgical grounds:

> "It was argued that no true Mussulman could perform his devotions without touching his forehead to the ground, and the proposed leather projection would render this impracticable. As no one happened to hit upon the idea that the cap might be turned around while at prayers, the Sultan was compelled to give up the point..."[16]

White understood that after initially rejecting the peaked version, the seyh ul-Islam was seated in the sun at the next royal audience and so revised his opinion on the peaked cap. However, the army then objected and the proposal was withdrawn.[17]

But the fez finally won theological approval, so the next stage was to guarantee supplies. At first 50,000 fezzes were ordered from Tunis but to save money, it was decided to transport the workers to Istanbul, where a factory was set up near the Eyub mosque in 1832, under Kātibzade Mustafa Efendi from Izmir.[18] Initially there were technical difficulties with the Istanbul water adversely effecting the dye colour. A certain Armenian chemist 'Avanis Ağa' was brought in and appointed Head Dyer, the Tunisians sent home, and three hundred other workers employed. Output soon reached 300,000 a year.

The process of production in the Eyub factory in 1836 is fully described by Julia Pardoe. The wool, mainly Spanish and Russian in origin, was spread over the workshop stone floor and saturated with oil. After carding and spinning it was wound into balls and passed on to home women knitters, who received 1/- or 1/5d (5p or 7p) for each fez, depending on the quality of their work. The fez was then washed, clipped and pressed three times before blocking. After drying, the nap was raised before the final clipping and pressing during which the factory mark was impressed on the crown. The

silk tassel püsk̈ül was then secured on the underside and passed through. Two thirds of the tassel hung down the back, while the remaining third was carefully combed down the sides.[19] It was this practice of combing that resulted in a change to the military fez in 1845:

> " Until this time, the tassels which the regular troops, as well as the generality of Imperial servants and subjects, attached to their fezzes were made of unspun silk. The damage that befell their threads from the wind, the rain, and other vile things made it an urgent necessity to have the tassels combed every day... These silken tassels rightly came to be called by the people 'the tasselled curse'. This being so, and since it was a matter involving much trouble both for the military and for the civilians, the principle was adopted that for commanders, officers, and men of the army, plaited tassels of a designated and indicated weight were to be attached; that for military ceremonies badges of rank in the form of circular metal plates were to be attached to the crown of the fez, and that for other ranks plaited tassels were to be adopted instead of tassels of silk thread."[20]

Officers' rank was also displayed by buttons above the pockets of the jacket, made of çuha (broadcloth) while their subordinates had şayak (serge). Officers generally wore hose and a red cloak to below the knee, fastened at the neck with a silver clasp. The summer uniform was of heavy white cotton (fig.73) with identical styling. Different front fastenings and sleeve facings identified the regiments. Some cavalry officers in their blue jackets with yellow embroidery and blue 'cossack' trousers sported European-styled shirts and black bow-ties to public astonishment.[21]

Increasingly Mahmud II used cavalry dress for public occasions, as well as military functions, and by 1829 it was customary for him to receive foreign dignitaries, dressed in it.[22] Such an uniform with purple brushed wool trousers of Mahmud II is presently on display in the Topkapı Saray Museum. The blue-black woollen coat with its high collar, sloping padded shoulders, shaped armholes, two rows of eight buttons on the chest and waist seam resembles closely that worn by the sultan in a miniature portrait (inv. no. Hazine 1033). These stylistic features pass into the military officers' uniform of the 1890s.[23]

It proved necessary to bring in alterations almost immediately, for the ulema appointed to serve the new army objected to the jackets' decorative frogging on the grounds that it had the form of a Christian cross.[24] The tunics' fastening was revised in the 1830s and simple buckles introduced. By the third quarter of the 19th century military dress had a more definite European styling, with the rank insignia carried on the arm. W.S. Cooke described the changes:

> "The uniforms are mostly dark blue, and fashioned after the manner of the national dress; the red fez with black tassel is worn both by officers and men; the belts are of black leather. The infantry, cavalry, and artillery have red piping, the rifles green. The distinction of grades is shown on the left upper arm, the corporal having one red stripe, the serjeant three, and the sergeant-major three red and one gold stripes. The only apparent difference between the foot and horse soldier consists in the latter's having boots and spurs in place of shoes, the boots being pulled up over the trousers... Every man is supposed to have three suits of clothing, viz:- one fatigue dress, one ordinary suit for daily wear, and one parade suit;

> the latter is seldom worn, many men indeed are never provided with it at all. He receives, according to regulation, 2 jackets, 2 pairs of cloth and 2 pairs of summer trousers, 2 fez, 2 shirts, 4 pairs of drawers. 2 pairs of socks, a neck cloth, and a pair of shoes annually, and a cloak every three years. The rifleman gets an extra pair of shoes. Every man has also a pair of gaiters. The garrison of Constantinople has gloves... The officers' dress is cut more on a European style; they wear wide blue trousers, and long blue single-breasted tunics. The colonel is distinguished by four gold stripes round the facings on the cuff; the lieutenant-colonel two gold and two silver; the major three gold; the vice-major two gold; the captain one gold and one silver; and the lieutenant one gold. The commissioned ranks up to vice-major inclusive receive both armament and uniform, with linen, from Government... the allowance is a tunic and two pairs of trousers yearly, and a cloak every three years, or in some cases the material is drawn from store and an allowance of about 14s. a year given for making-up. All ranks above vice-major provide their own uniform, horses, &c."[25]

Cadets at the military medical, veterinary and naval colleges had a dress uniform based on those of the corresponding service.[26] However, there were at least two regiments which retained a 'traditional' element in their uniforms, the black force sarıklı zuhaf alayı and the Albanian fes zuhaf alayı, the sultan's personal bodyguards. The corps, each consisting of two battalions of four companies, wore as their names suggest the turban and fez respectively,[27] while the colours of their dress were green and red for the sarıklı zuhaf alayı, and red for

the Albanian corps.[28]

THE NON-MILITARY MAN

In 1829 the clothing reforms were extended to include government officials and the public. This action was not as revolutionary as it might seem. In the last two decades of the 18th century, the Porte had ordered the wearing of 'traditional' dress for the individual as a means of controlling and maintaining social order. But the very fact that these regulations were issued indicates that Ottoman metropolitan society was already questioning the validity of such constraints. Social unrest was not diminished by these edicts despite the Porte's belief that such legislation was an effective solution. Briefly the 1829 decree laid down that the ulema alone were allowed to wear robes and turbans, For all other male civilians, the everyday dress (fig.74) would consist of the unpatterned, sombre-coloured frockcoat, after the European manner, known as the 'stambouline' or setre, described by Caroline Paine in 1850 as

> "[a] coat of fine black broad-cloth single-breasted, buttoned with a row of small black buttons set closely together, and a narrow, straight collar"[29]

a shirt and collar, trousers, cape and shoes, with a fez replacing the turban.[30] The fez was smaller than the type worn by the military and official bureaucracy, and in the years to come there were many modes worn, usually with the ruling sultan setting the fashion.[31].

The decree caused no major stir. The progressive Turkish male publicly showed support for the reform programmes by wearing a high collar with a colourful tie, but for the older generation the new fashion did call for some heart-searching, as in the case of the

elderly uncle of A.E. Yalman, the future newspaper proprietor:

> "A colored shirt with attached collar was, for him, the extreme limit of westernization in dress to which he felt that one could go without falling into conflict with religion."[32]

In 1842 the Grand Vezir withdrew permission for the fez to be worn by those not in civil or military service, and particularly non-Muslims were required to re-adopt the kalpak. At the same time decorative braiding or frogging on outer garments was forbidden to all but the military and the bureaucrats. After petitions to the Court, this order was rescinded as far as the kalpak was concerned.[33]

According to Macfarlane, the sultan originally requested the ulema to adopt the fez also, but this was rejected by the seyh ul-Islam who accurately assessed the current mood among the ulema.[34] In fact because of Mahmud II's involvement in the Russian campaign, his proposal to clothe the ulema in the fez was shelved and no further action was taken.[35]

The effect of the clothing reform decree on the textile and clothing industries was devastating. Demand in Istanbul for pastel and patterned dress silks and cottons for menswear plummeted, while that for woollen broadcloth in dark, sombre blues and olive-browns soared. The price of cashmere shawls used for sashes fell by almost a half.[36] The supply of fezzes had to be augmented by imports from Morocco and France, and later from Austria. Most European observers were sorry to see the change:

> "... I cannot forbear to record my regret... indeed, I was nearly tempted in my woman wrath to counter all the admirable reforms, wrought by Sultan Mahmoud in his capital, over-balanced by the frightful changes that he has made in the national

> costume, by introducing a mere caricature of that worst of all originals -- the stiff, starch, angular European dress. The costly turban, that bound the brow like a diadem, and relieved by the richness of its tints the dark hue of the other garments, has now almost entirely disappeared from the streets; amd a group of Turks look in the distance like a bed of poppies; the flowing robes of silk or of woollen has been flung aside for the ill-made and awkard surtout of blue cloth; and the waist. which was once girdled with a shawl of cachemire is now compressed by two brass buttons."[37]

Some saw the dress reforms as an attempt to apply pressure on the common people "as if on purpose to break the spirit"[38] while others more highly placed cynically commented

> "The Porte have taken civilisation by the wrong side; - it is not by giving epaulettes and tight trousers to a nation that you begin the task of regeneration; - instead of beginning by their dress... they should endeavor to enlighten the minds of their people."[39]

DRESS REFORM IN THE 20th CENTURY

By 1900 the fez and its tassel had become so much a part of Ottoman life and society that in 1908 when Austria, then the main supplier, annexed Bosnia, there was a violent public boycott of fezzes of Austrian manufacture and many took to wearing grey woollen caps instead.[40] Rather than remaining a symbol of reform, the fez was now so associated with the ruling order it increasingly became a target for republican barbs. One of the first critics to proclaim the fez as a symbol of reactionism was Ismail Hakkı, the educationalist. In public lectures he denounced the tassel in particular

as being useless, needless and unaesthetic, concluding by producing scissors and cutting off his own fez tassel; he soon earned the nickname of Püskülsüz (Tassel-less). Such behaviour can be dismissed as trivial, but as the modern scholar, Berkes, writes:

> " The tussle over the tassle (sic) deserves analysis because it is a concrete example of an aspect of the Turkish mentality peculiar to the period and almost incomprehensible to Western observers... It symbolized the revolt of the new education against the things that had no meaning or function -- economic, religious, national, or social -- and yet continued to exist simply through dogged adherence to custom. Once an innovator begins to scoff and ridicule, once he demonstrates the irrationality of a practice as insignificant as a tassel, the totality of the customs to which the practice pertains is doomed to be challenged eventually."[41]

Mustafa Kemal saw the fez as a symbol of extreme Islamic conservatism, preventing the 20th century Turkish republic from achieving total modernization. To him, it was a vestige of the old order, symbolizing a challenge to his authority. Kemal wished to abolish it and introduce the European hat in 1923, but realised that such action would be premature. He waited two years. In March 1925 the Kemalist government was granted dictorial powers by the Law for the Maintenance of Order. That spring the republican military, naval and police forces were issued with peaked caps on health grounds.[42] In August Kemal began campaigning in Anatolia for the abolition of the fez, meeting local officials bare-headed and holding a panama hat, and proclaiming his message:

"In a word, the truly civilized people of Turkey...

must prove in fact that they are civilised and advanced persons also in their outward aspect. I must make these last words clear to you, so that the whole country and the world may easily understand what I mean. I shall put my explanations to you in the form of a question.

Is our dress national ? (Cries of no, no!)

Is it civilized and international ? (Cries of no, no!)

I agree with you. This grotesque mixture of styles is neither national nor international... My friends, there is no need to seek and revive the costume of Turan. A civilized, international dress is worthy and appropriate for our nation, and we will wear it. Boots or shoes on our feet, trousers on our legs, shirt and tie, jacket and waistcoat -- and, of course, to complete these, a cover with a brim on our heads. I want to make this clear. This head-covering is called 'hat'."[43]

The tone of his words was unmistakable as British diplomats recorded in their reports to Whitehall,[44] and he moved quickly. Immediately after his return in early September a decree was issued ordering civil servants to wear Western suits and hats (fig.76).[45] It included instructions for a new code of social behaviour:

"Decree no. 2913 of September 2 1341/1925

"Decree respecting the Dress of all State officials

-oOo-

1. The clothing of all State officials, apart from Persons belonging to the army, navy and religious class and of persons like judges, whose clothing has been specially determined by the State, is the same as the common and general clothing of the civilized nations of the world, that is to say,

different garments and hats for different occasions in the day or night time and for official ceremonies.

2. The rule is to remain with head uncovered inside buildings. Salutations are exchanged by a sign of the head.

3. Outside buildings salutations are exchanged with the hat.

4. In general, the people may not wear the clothes which are special to the army, navy or religious class, or which have been fixed by a special law as in the case of the judges. But the clothes of State may be adopted by all classes of the people without change or with adaptions to suit their kind of work."[46]

This decree was followed by a law on 25th November requiring all male citizens to wear hats and making the wearing of the fez a criminal offence, punishable by one month's imprisonment; later this was increased to three months.[47] The reasoning behind this action (fig.76) was given by Mustafa Kemal in his speech of October 1927:

" Gentlemen, it was necessary to abolish the fez, which sat on the heads of our nation as an emblem of ignorance, negligence, fanaticism, and hatred of progress and civilization, to accept in its place the hat, the headgear used by the whole civilized world, and in this way to demonstrate that the Turkish nation, in its mentality as in other respects, in no way diverges from civilized social life."[48]

The reaction of the theologians was swift and hostile. From the acknowledged centre of Sunnī teaching, came a declaration signed by the two chief theologians of al-Azhār:

" It is clear that a Muslim who seeks to resemble

> a non-Muslim by adopting the latter's distinctive form of dress, will also come to take the same way as he in his beliefs and actions. That is why he who wears the hat because of an inclination to the religion of another and a contempt for his own is an infidel, according to the unanimous opinion of the Muslims. He who wears the hat in order to resemble non-Muslims, if he also adopts some of the practices of their religion, such as entering a church, is an infidel; if he does not do this, he is still a sinner."[49]

There were disturbances in Erzurum leading to the arrest of one hundred people and the execution of six religious leaders. In Sivas the mayor and other town councillors led the resistance, while in Trabzon fezzes were defiantly worn. Despite a concerted house-to-house campaign in Istanbul the previous month, some thirty people were arrested for publishing and circulating a tract entitled Hats and Imitating the Frank.[50] But because of the emergency law was in force, these demonstrations were contained.[51] By early December 1925 there was not a fez to be seen in Istanbul nor the rest of Turkey.[52]

Included in the September decree were stipulations regarding the dress of the ulema. Only those individuals holding officially-recognised posts were permitted to wear non-European styled garments:

> "1. Only those charged with the following offices and duties belong to the class of ministers of religion in the republic of Turkey: (a) the chief of religious affairs, (b) the advisory council of the chief of religious affairs, (c) the muftis and secretaries of the chief towns of the vilayets and kazas, (d) the imams appointed by the chief of religious affairs, (e) preachers (khatib) appointed by the chief of religious affairs, and preachers

(*vaiz*) appointed and paid by the chief of religious affairs, and (f) village *khojahs* duly authorized by the chief of religious affairs.

2. The distinctive marks of the clothing of ministers of religion are the white turban and black gown. The *imams* officiating in the army shall have a turban and a gown of a colour conforming with military requirements.

3. Ministers of religion are not obliged to wear their religious clothing outside their duties.

4. Persons wearing religious clothing will in accordance with the established practice remain with their heads uncovered in official departments. Nevertheless, they have the option of keeping their heads covered.

5. Outside buildings persons wearing religious clothing have the option of saluting with the head and the removal of their head gear or with the hand and without uncovering. Nevertheless, during official ceremonies on a day appointed by law to ba a holiday of the republic salutations are to be exchanged with the head and the removal of the head covering.

6. In accordance with article 1, persons outside the religious class may not wear religious clothing."[53]

Infringement of the regulations carried a penalty of up to a year's imprisonment. In December 1934 the government moved again, subjecting the *ulema* to the civilian regulations. With exemption granted to the eight recognised leaders of all the religious communities in the Turkish republic, all clergy whether Muslim or non-Muslim were forbidden to wear 'religious' dress of any kind except during religious ceremonies and in the place of worship.[54]

However, the *ulema* and members of the *dervis* orders

declared illegal in the September 1925 decree, still refused to wear the European brimmed hat willingly, despite the 1934 ruling. The very phrase şapka giymek (to put on a hat) meant to them 'to apostatise from Islam'.[55] Instead they wore the fez, the turban, or the beret. In 1947 there were still arrests being made for contravention of the laws, totalling 579 and gradually the beret became so associated with the anti-secularism movement that it too was banned for a short time.[56]

FEMALE DRESS & EUROPEANIZATION

As far as women's dress is concerned the story is less dramatic. The European influence on late 18th century Ottoman costume in terms of imported cottons printed with European patterns has been mentioned briefly in the previous chapter. French floral silks and European striped and chequered silks, printed cottons and muslins[57] appealed to the early 19th century Istanbul lady. As European women accompanied their menfolk and set up house in the capital and the other commercial centres, interest grew in the actual modes and styles of the European garments. Rumours spread in the 1820s that even the ladies of the imperial household had appeared in public, dressed in French fashions.[58] By the time of Julia Pardoe's visit to the capital in 1836, the fashionable lady of Pera was wearing items of European-styled clothing among her ensemble, although the arrangement remained distinctly different. European ladies shuddered at the garish (to them) colour harmonies and, outside Istanbul, general ignorance of the exact use of certain European garments:

> "A display of Parisian articles of dress applied in the most indiscriminate manner, without any regard to the use for which they were manufactured, and

> the sex of the persons for whom they were designed."[59]

The royal ladies were not immune from criticism. The stepniece of Mahmud II, Nezib Hanum, proudly showed Julia Pardoe the pride of the Harem wardrobe, an European dress worn by one of the ladies

> "... of blue muslin, elaborately ornamented with bows of pink and scarlet ribbon, was drawn round the throat with a cord of green silk, which hung down the back and terminated in two heavy tassels; the petticoat was long and scanty, and was trimmed with two narrow flounces, edged with white satin; black leather shoes of the coarest description, gloveless hands, a sash of pink and silver that swept the floor; a necklace of pearl; and a head-dress at least a yard across, where a mass of false hair was smothered in flowers enough to decorate a supper table, and carefully selected of all the colours of the rainbow, completed the costume..."[60]

The princess's dress was a combination of the Orient and the Occident, ample trousers of flowered blue cotton with a striped green and white entari, topped with a padded Parisian jacket of grey satin with immense sleeves. Julia Pardoe was told that the First Lady only tolerated traditional dress for both sexes on informal occasions, and in the privacy of the palace.[61] As the social life of the court changed in emphasis, so the wardrobe of the Ottoman society lady altered. Sultan Mahmud II and his successors assumed more of a public role, acting in the manner of an European crowned head, making public speeches, opening functions, giving and attending receptions at which European ladies were present. Directly or indirectly, the fashions of these foreign society ladies were understood to have won the approval of the sultan. The

ulema watched anxiously, issuing public warnings about declining moral standards as the yasmaks became more insecure and transparent, and stockinged legs more visible.[62] In contrast reformist demands for increased freedom in dress were voiced more frequently.

By the mid-century interest had spread to etiquette with the garments imported directly from Europe or made in the Pera district:

> "No where are the laws of fashion à la mode de Paris so vigorously observed. There are numerous boutiques furnished with elegant and fanciful decoration in French millinery, and the richest of silks, velvets and laces; yet many ladies are in the habit of importing their wardrobes directly from the city of the modistes."[63]

It was said that culmination came with the state visit of the Empress Eugènie of France in October 1869.[64] It was the first occasion that a crowned head of Europe had visited the imperial court, and her renowned beauty attracted great crowds to her public appearances.[65] But an earlier visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales had broken the ground. On April 3 the royal couple was invited to a state banquet at the Dolmabaçi palace:

> "this was positively the first time the Sultan had ever sat down to dinner with ladies..."[66]

Afterwards the princess in the company of three other ladies were received by the sultan's mother and wife, who wore a low-cut lace evening-gown "dressed like any European princess."[67] It was reportedly the first time an European lady had been in the royal harem for fifteen years.[68] Istanbul society had another shock a few days later when the sultan appeared with the royal couple and the ladies-in-waiting at the Opera, the first time he had been seen in the company in

ladies by the public.[69]

Not even the traditional bridal costume remained unaffected. Caroline Paine described an Armenian wedding in 1851 at which the bride wore a Parisian white satin and lace gown, discarding the usual red veil for a wreath of orange blossoms. However, the traditional "curtain" of gold strands falling down her face was retained as was the crimson cloth on which the bride stood for the actual ceremony. Royalty too succumbed and Naime was the first Ottoman princess to break with tradition, rejecting the customary red for a white gown.[70]

The ferace and yaşmak continued to be worn out of doors, with an European parasol until the end of the century (longer in rural areas). The ensemble was considered correct court dress for such ceremonial occasions as the Bayram reception until 1923, when for the first time it was not worn over the ladies's gowns.[71] In Istanbul, however, another outfit had replaced the ferace as an imperial edict of 1889 forbade all women, other than the ladies of the imperial household to wear it with the yaşmak.[72] This was the çarşaf, which quickly became fashionable for society ladies. By 1908 it was acceptable dress for the opening of parliament. Made of black or dark blue silk, it consisted of an ample ankle-length skirt with, attached at the back-waist, another piece which was then thrown over the head and fastened at the throat to form a hooded cape; a thin black veil fell over the face (fig.77 back figures). In time the cape was removed from the head and shortened to fall just over the shoulders (fig.78), the hair being concealed by a turban arrangement of black or dark blue silk with a fine face-veil. The voluminous çarşaf skirt was replaced by a narrower version tailored on Russian or French lines, and completed by long gloves and black

stockings visible at the ankles, and high-heeled buttoned shoes (fig.77). This fashionable dress was not acceptable in the poorer districts of Istanbul where any wearer would be verbally abused and perhaps physically assaulted.[73]

By 1908 leaving off the veil in public was a recognised method of showing one's support and enthusiasm for the Young Turk movement.[74] The ulema viewed this as proof of the increasing debasement of the female and forbade Muslim females to wear European dress in 1911. But the literate lady of means continued to follow the latest fashion by subscribing to the women's magazines,[75] then visiting favourite dress-material shops such as Hayden, and Baker in the Pera district and seeking the services of a Greek dress-maker.[76]

Daughters of wealthy parents had always received some measure of education[77] but now governmental eductional policy included teaching and training facilities for girls, increasing the number of girls' schools. During the 1914-18 war female students were permitted to attend university courses in separate classes and in 1921, the same classes as the male students. They entered the room veiled, then lifted the veil only to lower it on leaving the class.[78] Female participation in not only the charitable organizations, in education and in medicine but also in commerce and in industry -- especially in the textile and tobacco production plants which suffered from acute man-power shortages -- forced the pace. The clothes of the women had to alter to meet the requirements of a changing life-style, and this was recognised in the manifesto of the Müdufaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan (Society for the Defence of Women's Rights), which had as the first of its four aims, the transformation of the outdoor dress of Turkish women.[79]

Outside the main urban centres, attitudes were more entrenched and even the national hero, Mustafa Kemal, armed with virtual dictatorial powers baulked at acting decisively. Two days after his Inebolu speech he declared:

> " In some places I have seen women who put a piece of cloth or a towel or something like it over their heads to hide their faces, and who turn their backs or huddle themselves on the ground when a man passes by. What are the meaning and sense of this behaviour ? Gentlemen, can the mothers and daughters of a civilized nation adopt this strange manner, this barbarous posture ? It is a spectacle that makes the nation an object of ridicule. It must be remedied at once."[80]

However, the clothing reforms of that year included no mention of any prohibition on veiling, despite the fact that the veil possessed the same stigma as the fez, to fervent republicans.[81] The reason for this is unclear. It was said that Mustafa Kemal believed that the veil had to be rejected by the women themselves; one prominent (unnamed) Turkish leader told Miss Woodsmall, champion of Muslim women's rights :

> "You can compel men, but not women to obey an order... which may run contrary to public opinion"[82]

and the following comment from Mustafa Kemal was recorded:

> "Oh no,... You can't catch me doing that. When religious prejudice and men's jealousy over their women's faces being seen in public are coupled in this problem, it becomes most difficult to cope with. No legislation about veils ! There is a natural law which will take care of it more easily than any written law. It is called 'fashion'."[83]

At the close of 1928, following the Turkish Women's

Union Conference, whose audience had been told "Like the men, wear the hat", women in public service were directed to wear European hats.[84] There was still no outright ban on the veil, although it was made obvious through the media that daughters of the republic were expected to display their support by wearing the 'new' dress (fig.76). Only women without veils, for instance, were allowed to attend special ceremonial occasions. When municipal and then national sufferage were given to women in 1930 and 1934 respectively, females wearing veils were debarred from voting.[85] By April 1935, the veil had been replaced if not by the hat, then by the besertusi or headscarf in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. The People's Party Congress in that year proposed a ban on veiling but no further action was taken, although some municipal authorities, such as Adana, issued orders prohibiting the use of face-veils.[86]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. Lindsay to Chamberlain, Istanbul 9 September 1925, FO 371/10870 E 5527/4706/44.
2. For details, see Shaw Established; Shaw Origins.
3. For the policy towards the ulema, see Levy Ottoman.
4. For an official view, see Celebi Efendi's report, as given in Landen p.32.
5. Mahmud Ra'if Efendi p.22.
6. Ibid. p.23; Shaw Between p.131; Shaw Origins p.299. Weissmann p.96 states the trousers were blue and the head-covering red; this colouring is depicted in Brindesi's illustration of the Nizam-ı Cedid nefer (soldier).
7. Reed p.175, 160.
8. Ibid. p.138.
9. Slade vol.I p.454, 316; Davison p.26.
10. Lutfi vol.I p.193, as in Lewis Emergence p.98.
11. DeKay p.225-6.
12. Lewis Emergence p.100. For greater detail regarding the introduction of the fez, see Baker.
13. Lane-Poole Life vol.I p.421; Uzunçarşılı p.224 ff.
14. Heyd Ottoman p.65-6. Ulema approval had been sought for the introduction of certain guns some fifty years earlier; ibid. p.64-5. For details of the negotiations between the sultan, his ministers and the ulema, see Levy Ottoman p.24-5. For the continuing theological debate over the lawfulness of wearing European hats by Muslims, see Canard Coiffure p.205 ff.
15. See Chapter I p.28.
16. DeKay p.226.
17. White vol.II p.51-3 also mentions the common belief that the European soldier wore peaked caps to avoid God's eye. See also Canard Coiffure p.203-4.
18. Lutfi vol.I p.255. Thanks to Felicity Ünlü for her translation of this passage.
19. Pardoe vol.II p.348 ff. See also Walsh vol.II p.48; White vol.II p.51, vol.III p.184-5; Ubicini as quoted in Issawi Middle East p.45.
20. Lutfi vol.VIII p.69-70, as in Lewis Emergence p.100.
21. Lufti vol.I p.245-5; Macfarlane vol.I p.53-4; vol.II p.162-3, 188-9; Shaw Nizam p.180.
22. He still wore 'traditional' dress for mosque services although in 1828 he changed into cavalry uniform on leaving the Friday prayer;

Slade vol.I p.314.

23. As seen in Abdul Hamid's photographic albums, British Library OMPB, uncatalogued and unpaginated.

24. Levy Ottoman p.26. Similar objections concerning neck-ties have been made in the United Kingdom in recent years. The arrangement of window-struts in the London Central Mosque, constructed in the 1970s, had to be revised to avoid throwing cruciform shadows. See also Canard Coiffure n.71 p.221.

25. Cooke Ottoman p.48-9. See also DeKay p.427; Ward p.6-7, 12, 17-21, 27; Lamouche p.168-74.

26. See fn.23.

27. Lamouche p.102.

28. Edib Memoirs p.102.

29. Paine p.17. See also White vol.II p.50. Unfortunately it has not proved possible, as yet to examine a setre closely for its exact structure.

30. For official receptions, 'traditional' dress was worn and hil'at was still presented; Macfarlane vol.II p.200-1. By the end of the 19th century, the court dress of a Treasury official attending the Bayram celebration was
> "... a uniform of a long, tight, black coat, buttoned to the throat, embroidered in real gold down the front, a large decoration on his breast, his ornamental sword, kid gloves, and shiny shoes" (Edib Memoirs p.80-1).

Ministers of the Young Turk government wore a similar uniform with a broad green sash; Buxton p.168, 198.

31. Uzunçarşılı p.230.

32. Yalman p.13. See McCullagh p.61 for opposition during the 1909 revolution, to collars.

33. Lewis Emergence p.100; White vol.III p.188. As detailed below, on 25 November 1925 the wearing of a fez by any Turkish subject was a criminal offence.

34. Macfarlane vol.II p.347; his comment (p.347) on the Bayram ceremony is second-hand as he had left Istanbul before this event, so it may be inaccurate. See, however, Lane-Poole Life vol.II p.75.

35. Heyd Ottoman p.70.

36. DeKay p.212.

37. Pardoe vol.I p.6-7.

38. Stuart p.31.

39. Ibrahim Paşa, son of Muḥammad ᶜAlī of Egypt, FO 78/209 as in Davison p.31.

40. Buxton p.128-9, 236. For further details and the later Kemalist reforms concerning the fez, see Baker.

41. Berkes p.404.
42. It was argued these peaked caps provided protection against sun; Turkish National Commission p.168. See also FO 371/10870 E 4706/4706/44 dated 3 August 1925.
43. Extract from the Inebolu speech of 28 August 1925, as given in Lewis Emergence p.263. The reference to Turan, an ancient name for the Central Asian region alludes to the pan-Turkism movement of the 1910s; see Lewis Emergence p.339, and particularly p.345-8.
44. FO 371/10863 E 5375/194/44, dated 8 September 1925.
45. Some of Atatürk's formal and informal wear are held in the Military Museum, Istanbul.
46. FO 371/10870 p.211-2.
47. Jäschke p.46.
48. As in Lewis Emergence p.263.
49. Canard Coiffure p.219, as given in Lewis Emergence p.264; see Canard Coiffure for details. Some ulema publicly supported the government by arguing, using Qur'ānic references, such head-wear was permissible; FO 371/10870 E 4706/4706/44 dated 3 August 1925.
50. FO 371/10863 E 7512/ E 7918/ E 6865/194/44, dated December 1925.
51. Atatürk later admitted that without the emergency powers, the abolition of the fez would have been extremely difficult to achieve; Lewis Emergence p.265. See also Edib Turkey p.224 ff.
52. FO 371/10870 E 7672/4706/44, dated 10 December 1925.
53. FO 371/10870 p.210-11.
54. General Arfa who accompanied Riza Khan Shah on his official visit to Turkey in the summer of 1934, relates an incident at Ushak between Ataturk and a mullah, which he implies was the cause of the law; Arfa p.250-1.
55. Was this one of the reasons why the word şapka was studiously avoided in public? Instead the phrase şemsisiperli serpuş or brimmed headgear was employed; Turkish National Commission p.168.
56. Lewis Emergence p.413.
57. Scarce Turkish p.165.
58. Brewer Residence n.p.128.
59. Lane-Poole People vol.II p.62-3.
60. Pardoe vol.I p.318.
61. Ibid. p.319; Lane-Poole People vol.I p.246.
62. See Chapter VI fn.146.
63. Paine p.28.
64. Haidar Arabesque p.37-8. See also Scarce Turkish.

65. Farley p.69-70.
66. Grey p.158-9.
67. Ibid. p.160.
68. Ibid. p.161. This is collaborated by statements of Haidar Arabesque p.167 and Malik Khanum & Ellison p.33-5 that imperial Ottoman princesses were not allowed as a rule to receive European ladies.
69. Grey p.164. Russell p.517 who accompanied the Prince, wrote
> "The mere appearance of a Sultan at a dinner-table at which infidel Franks are seated, is an omen of awful import to true believers.... It is said that the very matter of His Majesty's taking a Christian Princess on his arm, has offended susceptibilities outside his Palace... But if there be a step made towards the improvement of the status of the Mahometan women by this agitation, it will an event to be noted in the history of Islam."
70. Paine p.82-3; Ulucay p.112.
71. It was also the last time the ceremony was held.
72. Abadan p.5. Neave p.68 states that before August 1896 an imperial edict ordered all women to wear the ferace as the yaşmak was considered too transparent; later, p.176, she revises this stating the veil was to be 1" (2.5cm) longer.
73. Edib Memoirs p.363.
74. McCullagh p.66-7, 96.
75. For example, Kadinlar Dunyasi, Mahasin, Kadın, Demet. The first women's magazine was published in 1869; Abadan-Unat p.292.
76. Neave p.67.
77. See Edib Memoirs p.23 ff., 86 ff., 148 ff., 190 ff..
78. Woodsmall p.218 ff.
79. Patrick p.143-4.
80. As in Lewis Emergence p.265.
81. See article by Nezihe Unhidden (Muhiddin Hanum, ex-president of the Turkish Women's Union) in Ikdam, 16 April 1929 as in Levonian p.154-5.
82. Woodsmall p.56.
83. Yalman p.175.
84. Castagne p.174-5. To meet demand, a millinery course was established at the Seljuq Hatun College.
85. Woodsmall p.56, 366-7.
86. Ibid. p.56-7. With the pro-Islamic, anti-Western policy of Menderes in the 1950s, there was a revival of veil-wearing to some extent; Abadan p.9.

CHAPTER VIII

IRANIAN COURT DRESS, 16th to late 18th century

> "Les habits des Orientaux ne sont point sujets a la mode. Ils sont toujours faits d'une même façon, & si la prudence d'une Nation paroît à un usage constant pour les habits, comme on l'a dit, les Persans doivent être fort loüez de prudence; car leur habit ne reçoit jamais d'alteration, & ils ne sont point changeans non plus, aux couleurs, aux nuances, & aux façons des étoffes."[1]

In the early 14th century Ardabil in northwest Iran became the home of the Safavid Ṣūfī order, with the Safavid family recognised as the spiritual leader in the region, with support in eastern Anatolia and Azerbaijan. A century later it was evident that its head Junayd had aspirations towards temporal authority, which brought him and his successor into conflict with the Qara Quyunlu and Aq Quyunlu tribal families.

In 1499 the young Safavid leader Ismāʿīl emerged to seize power.[2] Within the next decade all of Iran from Iraq to Khurasan, from the Caspian to the Indian Ocean had been united under the Safavid banner. The Ottoman sultanate could not ignore such a powerful neighbour with fervent support inside Anatolia, and Uzbeg incursions threatened the stability of the north-east province of Khurasan. Internally, there were dissensions. The original power-base of the Safavid regime, the qizil-bāsh, certain chiefs of Turkish-speaking tribal confederations, fought to retain their political and military influence. To counteract their power Shah Ṭahmāsp resorted to the traditional solution and created a loyal body of men obligated only to him, from the Caucasus and Georgia. At his death faction

fighting ensued and both the Uzbeg and the Ottoman forces took advantage on the internal chaos.[3]

By concluding a peace treaty accepting the Ottoman occupation of northwest Iran, ʿAbbās I bought himself time to reorganise the Safavid army, placing greater reliance on the Caucasus ghulām (slave) element and less on the qizil-bāsh chiefs. By 1607 the lost territories were again in Safavid hands.

This period is seen as the apogee; the restoration of military confidence paralleled with the flowering of the arts under royal patronage. However, major problems concerning delegation of power and state finance remained unsolved. Under ʿAbbās II (1642-67) there was a moment of military glory, but when the Afghan forces rebelled the Safavid house was in no position to resist them. Qandahar fell in 1709 and then Isfahan, the Safavid capital since 1598, thirteen years later.

The Ottoman forces invaded in 1726 but were defeated -- not by the Safavid shah but by one of the Afghan leaders, ~~Ashraf~~ Afghan, who then controlled central and southern Iran, and western Khurasan. His death in 1729 led to Nādir Khan seizing the leadership, who installed Safavid puppet rulers until 1736, when he himself took the title of shah. By then, Nādir Shah had regained the northwestern provinces from the Ottomans so launched campaigns against the Afghans and the decaying Mughal regime. There was military success also on the northeastern frontier against the Uzbegs, but Iran itself was not at peace. The assassination in 1747 of Nādir Shah allowed Karīm Khan Zand to fill the political vacuum from his power-base in Shiraz, south-west Iran, from 1750 until his death in 1779, when political and military power passed to the Qajar family.

THE SAFAVID TĀJ

The Safavid leader Ḥaydar introduced the distinctive form of headwear for his supporters shortly before his death in 1488. The vibrant red colour of the cap gave its name to his Turkish-speaking followers, qizilbāsh(red-heads); its actual shape was also eye-catching

> "...made with twelve foldings, in form much like the Bottles used in Languedoc and Provence, which have great and flat Bellies, and very long and narrow necks.
>
> "...these Red Caps... were done with twelve foldings, in remembrance of their Twelve Imans... which Schach-Ismael presented to the chief Commanders of his Army. He ordered them to be Red, to make a certain representation of the Crown of Aaly, whom the Persians give the quality of King, as well as of Prophet, as they do these Caps the name of Tatsch [taj], that is to say, a Crown. Whence it comes, that the Persians are so far from taking it ill, that they are called Kizilbasks, that they think it an honour done them, though, in effect, only those of the Posterity of Aaly, and these exempted Persons, wear Red Caps: the former having them cover'd with Linnen Cloath, or some other kind of Stuff, and the others without any thing at all about them."[4]

As noted in previous chapters, religious groups, fraternities and orders in Muslim society frequently adopted a particular item and/or colour of dress as it had a specific symbolic meaning; the Safavid tāj was no exception. The twelve tarks (gores) served to remind the wearer of his allegiance to the Ithnā ᶜAshari doctrine formally adopted as the state religion in 1501 and the spiritual leadership of the Imam as the axis mundi or qutb was perhaps symbolised by the baton-like finial of the cap. Possibly the ancestry of the tāj is

revealed by its colour. As the Janissary kecę was possibly derived from Ahi caps, it has been suggested that the tāj came from the red caps of the early Shīᶜi ghulat groups, or from the red head-gear of the Ottoman Turkic forces who, dissatisfied with the growing influence of the slave Janissary element, transferred their allegiance to the Safavid house. Either way, it was quickly recognised as the device of a Safavid supporter. Yaᶜqūb, leader of the Aq Quyunlu, forbade any of his men to wear it after Ḥaydar's death in 1488, and according to certain sources, it was by publicly removing the tāj and donning Turcoman headgear that Ibrāhīm, one of Ḥaydar's sons demonstrated his loyalty to the Aq Quyunlu confederation. Similarly execution of any Safavid official was not carried out until his tāj was formally removed.[5]

The tāj underwent several stylistic alterations during the centuries. The early form had a gourd shape with thick quilted flutes, terminating in a small fat baton (fig.79). Worn without a turban cloth, it sat tightly about the head, coming onto the forehead. Within decades, in Persian paintings, this type was modified so that the finial took on a more elongated, slender form (fig.80)

> "... stand[ing] out half an arm's length beyond the head and is of red cloth quilted in rolls lengthwise, and of a thickness that it can be grasped with one hand."[6]

Usually around this style of tāj, was wound a white cloth so that the outline was more ovoid, with only the baton visible standing out of the rolls of cloth.[7] The baton -- and therefore the rest of the tāj -- is not always depicted as red; blue, black, white and also green examples occur in early and mid-16th century Persian paintings. Possibly these different colours denoted a certain social or military status of the

wearer, perhaps a particular ethnic or regimental loyalty, or merely artistic licence.

The recent Ribat-i Sharaf archaeological excavation yielded an early Safavid tāj. Incorrectly identified as a purse, the tāj was found secreted in the brickwork of the caravanserai, with a document dated Jumada 917 (1511).[8] Although only the finial and the crown remain (fig.81), enough survives to refute Upton's suggestion that the baton was formed of wood, leather or papermache,[9] for this piece shows the tightly packed cotton wadding in twelve vertical flutes, covered in red silk.

In the paintings of the first half of the 17th century another shape is featured. Still red in colour, it has a flat wide top (fig.82) and sits low on the brow with the turban cloth wound round the rim or criss-crossing the crown; the 12-fluted baton, in Silva y Figueroa's words was:

> "... de la grandeur de quatre doigts, et espais d'un doigt, estant un peu plus gros au bout d'en & plat, de la mesme façon que le bonnet."[10]

Recently it has been suggested that this form is in fact a Turkic style worn by the qūrchī or cavalry men.[11] After some thirty years a more rounded type, made of velvet according to most European sources, was being worn by some members of the Safavid court in the mid-17th century. Described by Minorsky as kettle-shaped, this head-wear was perhaps exclusive to certain corps, for it is depicted infrequently and then on the heads of royal escorts carrying spears, the weapon of the qūrchī (fig.82).[12] Fryer gave details of this late 17th century cap with its gentle convex top and 'chess-pawn' spoke, stating that it was worn by the special bodyguard of the shah, calling the men sufis:

> "..an high Red Velvet Cap, plaited at top like a Cap of Maintenance; whence on a wooden Crest they

fix a little Brass Ball, tied on with three wreathen Chains, to which they bring down strait to the fore-part of the Bonnet, whose lower Brim is bound about with a White Sash, and sometimes a Plume of one Feather is set up with the Crest, much after the same fashion the Noble Senators wears in the King's Presence..."[13]

MILITARY DRESS IN THE EARLY SAFAVID PERIOD

The army consisted of some regular forces, the qizil-bāsh, and an elite cavalry corps formed from it, the qūrchī, but in the reign of Shah ʿAbbās I (1588-1629) three other bodies were established, namely the tufangchī (musketeers), the qullar (slave) army manned by Georgian, Armenian and Circassian men who also carried firearms, and the tupakchi tufangchī (gunners). The organisation of the Safavid army was both complex and sophisticated, but little is known about the dress of the officers and men. Was there any uniform of any sort, and if so, did the officers' garments differ from those of their men ? Were various military sections distinguished by dress ? Were the four main classes of frontier amirs, valis, beglarbegs, khans and sultans recognisable by particular costume and did the amir al-umara, the commander-in-chief until the 17th century, wear any insignia or special attire to distinguish him from the qūrchī-bashi, for instance ? Did the qizil-bāsh wear some mark to identify their particular tribal groups ? At present these questions and more remain unanswered.

It could be that colour of the military dress signified a certain corps. In the first quarter of the 16th century, an European merchant noted that the Safavid army was "accustomed to wear a red caftan".[14] Fryer, writing some 150 years later reported that the special bodyguard of the shah, which he called "sufis" had

"a Surcoat of Scarlet Cloath, as it were in defiance to the Grass-green of the Saids[sayyids]"[15]

The wording suggests he meant the colour scarlet rather than broadcloth, although this colour is not often used for costume in contemporaneous paintings. East India Company records imply that the Safavid army of the mid-17th century were not all dressed in red :

"The King [Shah ʿAbbās] has determined to distribute 2000 cloths [pieces] to his soldiers, who are to the number of 35,000, in yearly pay. The colour should be hare colour, deer colour, popinjay, peach, brimstone, red, green, and such-like light colours."[16]

Probably certain devices in the head-dress distinguished the various regiments, but details are confused and the miniatures do not clarify the matter. One corps carried arrows in their caps, the officer in charge having a gold arrow. Della Valle stated this was the insignia of the yasaqchis who guarded roads and supervised the army's march, but Figeroa wrote that this device belonged to the qūrchīs.[17] Almost a century later, Fryer described the uniforms of the two escorts of the shah when riding:

"... before him [the shah] pass a Legion of Footmen, all with Guns, and Shotters [shatirs: runners], or pages, about his Horse in great Crowds; these all wear Feathers; the first in a kind of Hat or Steeplecrowned Cap, the others in their Turbats, which are covered with them, but the Gunmen have only one White Plume bolt upright; the others are of any Colour, and sometimes many Colours."[18]

But this musket-bearing force were not necessarily tupfangchis. The jazā'irī (also known as the kashikchi or watchmen), a small select force of 600 men established in 1654, also carried muskets. Chardin

described them as wearing pointed caps like those of the "capuchons" and wide red cloth sashes with silver clasps.[19] Fryer described the special bodyguard of the shah as possessing a single plume in their head-wear but called these men "sufis". This may refer to the early Safavid practice of awarding feathers in recognition of distinctive service to the shah, a continuation of a Mongol custom. When Shah Ṭahmāsp gave an _otaqa-i ablaq_ (a variegated feather) to one of his Persian (that is, a _tajik_) viziers, it was seen as an exceptional honour.[20]

Safavid illustrations of musketeers do not often occur, perhaps indicating the low status of their commanding officer in court circles, and the general disregard of artillery in the middle Safavid period. A _Shāh-nāmah_ miniature (fig.83), dated _circa_ 1590-5, depicts two musketeers accompanying ʿAbbās I, but their head-dress resembles neither the _tāj_ nor the "steeple-crowned" cap. Instead it reflects contemporary court fashion, a turban with an almost segmented melon form. The outer tunic reaches to the mid-thigh, fastened diagonally across the chest under the right arm, and belted with a folded fabric cloth, from which a small purse is slung, presumably to hold shot and powder. The figure of a musketeer included in the late 17th century Kaempfer album (British Museum 1974-6-17-01) is similarly dressed, but instead of a diagonal fastening, the central front is buttoned to the waist girdle. The head-wear too is different, following earlier fashion with a deep upturned flared brim edged with fur.

A little more is known about the dress of the _shatirs_; Fryer noted that they were

> "... the only Men here also, who wear Plumes of Feathers in their Turbats, small Bells about their Wastes, Truncheons in their Hands, Horse-Cloaths over their Shoulders richly embroidered on Scarlet,

Packthread Shoes on their Feet, and close Jerkins with Breeches below their Knees."[21]

This body of men, who had to prove themselves with a timed run of 108 miles were retained well into the Qajar period, when they had an individual costume (fig.84) said to be a "faithful reproduction of that worn in the time of the Safavi kings."[22]

A brown conical hat with a fabric sash and occasionally feathers was the head-wear of the chavush or footman of the mid-16th century onwards. Its deep brim, as depicted, was split front and back, and turned up on one side. Across the centuries there were variations in the cap and also in the tailoring of the costume, particularly in collar, sleeve and fastening details, but it remained a knee or calf-length belted garment (fig.83), the front cut away or folded to form a small apron. Under this tunic, another garment was worn, perhaps only a skirt, with high boots frequently held up by a tie below the knee, or with gaiters and shoes.

COURT DRESS

Safavid court ceremonial was as sophisticated as that of Istanbul.[23] In charge of court ceremonial was the ishik-aqasi-bashi or Grand Marshal, usually from the qizil-bāsh, as were the various royal arms-bearers, such as the mandil-qūrchīsi, the chakma-qūrchīsi (Master of the royal boots) and the bashmāq-qūrchīsi (Master of the royal shoes). Close to the shah stood two personal attendants (fig.80), one holding the kamar (bow), the other carrying the sadaq (quiver) or qilich (sword). Unlike their Ottoman counterparts, they wore no special clothing. Only if the court officials are depicted carrying their insignia of office, can one ascertain their posts. The staffs held by certain courtiers, for instance,

identify them as court ushers (ishik-aqagis-i majlis). Without these attributes the office and rank of the individual courtier in Safavid painting remain unclear, unless his identity is given in the accompanying text.[24]

No difference is indicated in the mode of court dress among the qizil-bāsh themselves, and between them and the Persian-speaking tajiks, who usually held the influential bureaucratic posts. Safavid artists in the 16th century did depict two types of dress but neither seem to be associated with any particular functionary and office. There is no exclusive dress mode worn by clean-shaven males, sporting a simple tāj with unadorned turban cloth (fig.80), nor by moustached figures wearing heron or crane feathers in the tāj, yet such details were associated with military service. The two main dress styles are shown clothing both the bodies of the ruler, the prince or hero, and conversely an attendant minor figure.

The essential difference between the two styles of robe (jamah) was in the fastening. One had a central front fastening with buttons and loops, the other tied with three or four ribbons under the right arm-pit. Otherwise, both garments were full-length, close-fitting with long sleeves wrinkled on the lower arm. There is no sign of any side-slits in the skirt. Both types in contemporary illustrations seem to be made from narrow widths, as a vertical seam is visible down the centre-back and, in the case of the diagonal cross-over panel, down the centre-front. However, this may be artistic licence as there is no such seam in the Stockholm garment (fig.85) in which a straight horizontal shoulder seam joins the back and front lengths, and the over-long sleeves are set at right angles. Triangular gussets placed under and along the arm give extra width, as do the skirt side-inserts.

While the coat has a diagonal front, the human figures forming the pattern are shown in garments with a buttoned central fastening -- further proof, perhaps, that neither style of garment was the exclusive prerogative of any particular office or rank. Apparently the diagonal fastening did require the wearer to have a certain dexerity (fig.1 top centre, figure on right) as de Thevenot, describing one such late 17th century dress, noted that a servant's help was needed to fasten the ties:

> "...and therefore the most part tye but one of them and leave the rest hanging."[25]

A variation of the diagonally fastened robe sometimes appears in early Safavid paintings, where the individual wears such a top and yet the skirt has a central slit from the hem upwards, with the corner hems occasionally caught up into the belt.

Frequently the central fastening is made into a decorative feature with horizontal gold or silver braiding[26] arranged singly, in twos or threes from the throat to the waist. Occasionally the first two or three buttons are unfastened to form revers. A variation is seen with more distinctive revers with a jagged outline, while another similar long, close-fitting robe with narrow wrist-length sleeves has no neck-band "onely a hem like women's Smocks"[27]; it too was usually worn with the two front corner hems tucked into the belt.

One version of the centrally fastened jamah is shown with elbow-length sleeves with an indented triangular cut at the top edge of the cuff. The other type at first glance has short sleeves but actually the wearer's arms are thrust through slits, with the remainder of the long sleeves hanging gracefully down or perhaps twisting around the lower arms. Occasionally similar frogging to the front is shown around the

sleeve slits (fig.86). It is unclear whether this was purely decorative or indicative that the slit could be fastened.

The wearing of long sleeves which hung well over the hands was perhaps related to Ṣūfī dervish costume, seen for instance in the Dīvān al-Ḥāfiz manuscript, circa 1527 (Fogg Museum). There is a robe[28] with extended sleeves (fig.87) in the Topkapı Saray costume collection (inv. no. 13/2088-35/1165). Said to have been a gift from Shah Muḥammad Khudābanda (1578-88) to the Ottoman sultan in 991/1583 this heavy full-length (142cm:56") garment of dark green velvet has straight-set sleeves 113cm(44.5") long, without slits, so the robe was worn either balanced on the shoulders or in the normal way. The sole decoration consists of rich silver thread and coloured silk embroidery applied in bands 21cm(8.25") wide around the sleeve cuffs, and following the hem and the two front edges, around the neck to the back. The embroidered motifs, medallion forms and their positioning are reminiscent of Mongolian and Timurid 'cloud-collars" discussed earlier. Both this and the Safavid 'cloud-collar' (fig.42) prove that the elaborate designs featured in early Safavid paintings, decorating the shoulders of princes, courtiers and musicians (fig.80) did indeed portray contemporary court fashion.

There are two kinds of breeches depicted in early Safavid painting. It is tempting to attach a social nuance to these garments, as the waist girdles differ according to the type worn, and also their wearers have different roles within the pictorial composition. The type most frequently represented is shown with a full knee-length garment with a narrow metallic or cloth belt, unembellished except for one or two decorative clasps. The breeches reached at least to the knee, with high boots or leggings tied with a knee cord. The

wearers are shown as servants or attendants, subordinate figures. The second type of breeches is infrequently shown but the wearers are depicted as the hero, anti-hero or a close associate of either; in other words significant to the composition. The trousers in this case are long and ample about the hips but narrowing in the leg, fitting snugly around the ankle. The belt worn with this type is clearly metallic and more elaborate, bearing numerous decorative plaques. Remembering the importance of an ornamental belt in earlier Islamic military dress, this would also indicate the wearer had some special status.

Flat shoes are usually illustrated in the early Safavid miniatures, except when the owner is on horseback. But the reports of European travellers reveal that heeled footwear was worn on occasions other than riding. Tenreiro, a member of the Portuguese ambassadorial entourage in the 1520s wrote:

> "The men... are dressed with the best garments that they have, a saber, cabayas [qabā's] of silk, robes of velvet, and scarlet, and violet cloths;... and very sturdy shoes of leather, and the soles fastened with numerous iron nails, and at the heels an attached escudete [plate of iron], with a point of one polegada [inch], which serves as a spur..."[29]

THE SHAH

Of the early Safavid rulers, Shah Ṭahmāsp (1524-76) was perhaps the most fashion- and textile-conscious, ordering cotton fabrics from Hormuz, velvets and satins from Khurasan and woollen stuffs from Aleppo, Northern Syria. At his death, an inventory recorded that his wardrobe included 800 sarpush (turban-cloths), 30,000 garments (jamah va farajah) made from luxurious textiles and 200 kharvars (ass-loads) of silk.[30]

Foreign envoys quickly realised that a gift of fabrics was one way to win royal favour. Arthur Edwards, writing home in 1566 requested examples to be sent out:

> "Violets in graine and fine reds be most worne, but other good colours will away, when they shall see them. I wore a garment of London russet, being much esteemed. You shall doe well to send such sorts as be lively to the sight, and some blacks for womens garments, with some Orenge colours and tawneis... I wish also that you send some good chamlets and velvets died in graine, with purple colours and fine reds: because these are most worne. Also some blacks with other colours: some cloth of gold, tissue and bocky, some velvets wrought with gold, with sattins and damaskes, most purple, and reds of all sorts."[31]

We are told that Ṭahmāsp frequently changed his dress each day, selling off the discarded garments: "what was worth '1' [coin] being reckoned at '10'."[32] This practice was distasteful to the European representatives but it filled the state coffers, and brought spiritual comfort to the new owners for the shah's clothes, shoes and washing-water were seen to possess mystical power and were much sought after. The magical force of used clothing was such that both good and evil could be transmitted through them. If a Muslim's dress was accidentally touched by a non-Muslim, the item of clothing was hurriedly removed and laundered while the wearer took a bath to purify himself.[33]

The donning of new clothes was taken very seriously. The shah would first consult the court astrologer (munajjim bashi); only if the reading was auspicious would a new robe be donned. This was followed by his subjects continuing through the centuries.[34] As will be seen below, the cutting of khil^{c}at (honorific robes) was not undertaken until

the munajjim bashi informed the court tailors of the hour to proceed.[35]

As in earlier periods, the shah and his household alternated their wardrobe twice a year.[36] He led the celebrations of the Nau Ruz (New Year) festival held at the end of March, wearing new apparel. Chardin noted that because of this custom

> "... [ils] l'appellent la Fête des habits neufs parce qu'il n'y a homme si pauvre & si miserable qui n'en mette un, & ceux qui en ont le moyen en mettant tous les jour de la Fête."[37]

He also attended the other two major events at court that, in the 17th century at least, demanded special dress. Both Silva y Figueroa and Pietro della Valle remarked on the Ab-rizan celebrations in July 1619 at which the courtiers wore Mazandaran fashions.[38] The second great annual event in the month of Muharram was marked with proper solemnity, with the shah, his court and the ʿulamā attending the public ceremonies dressed in black to commemorate the deaths of Imams Hasan and Husain, sons of ʿAlī.[39] On each of the ten days of mourning, the shah wore a new black qabā' given afterwards to the royal barber. According to one Carmelite brother, black was also worn during Ramadan in 1608 by ʿAbbās I.[40] Shah Ismāʿīl donned black robes and turban after the Safavid defeat at Chaldiran in 1514 and over a century later ʿAbbās I wore it for a year after ordering the execution of his son in 1615. The court recognised royal melancholy whenever he appeared in it:

> "The King's disposition is noted by his apparel which he wears that day; for that day which he weareth black, he is commonly melancholy and civil; if he wear white or green, yellow or any other light colour, he is commonly merry; but when he weareth red, then all the court is afraid of him,

for he will be sure to kill somebody that day..."[41]

European observers remarked on the frequent wearing of red. As mentioned above, the early Safavid forces were described as wearing red and Fr. John Thaddeus shows that the colour was still associated with military action a century later:

"On some of his festival days for the most part he [the shah] wears red silk, with a scarlet tunic: in time of warfare red twill and cotton only, going poorly clad and wearing even rope shoes."[42]

Courtiers of Shah Ṣafī I (1629-42) knew that royal red robes meant summary death:

"... when he [Ṣafī I] intended any execution, he was ordinarily clad in scarlet, or some red stuff, so that all trembled when he put on anything of that colour."[43]

Some twenty-five years later, it was still regarded with fear and apprehension:

"When the Kalaat [khil^{c}at: robe of honour] is red, it is a bad sign; for commonly when the King sends a red Kalaat to a Governour, it is a sign he has a mind to put him to death; yet that is not infallible, for sometime before I came to Schiras [Shiraz], the King sent the Visier of Schiras a compleat Kalaat, of which all the parts were red, and this made all men men think that he had sent for him to cut off his head, and nevertheless it proved otherwise in the Sequel."[44]

As late as 1861 this association was still prevalent with the Qajar shah's red costume "indicative of further bloody measures."[45]

KHIL^{c}AT

There were various categories of khil^{c}at (honorific garments) (fig.85 & 87) in the Safavid

court. On his accession, the Georgian ruler could expect from the shah a long sable robe, a gold-worked robe, a turban of gold-cloth with twelve aigrettes, a belt with sword and dagger, as well as a horse harness, a nargila (water pipe) mouthpiece, ewer and cup, all suitably embellished.[46] For envoys departing from the court, their final audience was marked with the presentation of khil^{c}at, which had to be worn at the ceremony.[47] The quality of the robes awarded depended on their ranking at court.[48] Envoys important to the Safavid shah received garments of cloth of gold, while their inferiors were given silk or even cotton robes. The five principal members of the Holstein entourage in December 1637 were presented among other things with a satin robe each and another of a rich taffeta material decorated with flowers, while their immediate subordinates were each given a robe of tabi with also a floral pattern.[49]

In the case of khil^{c}at sent to provincial governors, etc. there was prescribed ritual. The shah's envoy was met outside the town and escorted to a pavilion where the presentation would be made. After appropriate speeches, the robes were donned by the official so honoured, who then rode back into town to public acclaim. The recipient was bound by convention to reward the royal messenger who delivered the khil^{c}at; de Thevenot mentioned that this could be as much as two hundred tomans, a huge sum.[50] At court the mihmandar-bashi was also rewarded, receiving 10 per cent of the khil^{c}at value. The Tadhkirat al-Muluk states that a similar fee went to the officials of the royal qaichachi-khana and the khayyat-khana (the cutting and tailoring workshops) in the early 18th century. This Safavid manual of administration describes the lengthy procedures for the ordering and supply of the khil^{c}at:

" Whenever the King graciously gives (shafaqat) someone a present or a robe of honour (Khal^{c}at), it is necessary that [the grant be embodied] in a document written by the I^{c}timad al-daula [Grand Vizir] and sealed by the Nazir [Superintendant]. As regards the textiles which, according to the rule, are usually issued for the clothes of the Royal Private Household and for the robes of honour (khila^{c}i fakhira) of the amirs, etc., at the beginning of the year the Nazir writes a ta^{c}liqa and the I^{c}timad al-daula issues a raqam; then the Nazir's subordinates (tavabin) start for the [special] localities (ulga), thence to send textiles to the capital.

"...the procedure [for the Shah's garments and khal^{c}at] is as follows: the Sahib-jam^{c} [head] of the Royal Treasury delivers to the Royal... Qaychachi-khana the precious textiles chosen for cutting (qat^{c}) of garments in the Private Household. At the hour fixed by the Chief Astronomer and reported by him to His Majesty, the head tailor, in the presence of a trustee (mu^{c}tamad) of the ^{c}ali-jah Nazir, of the Sahib-jah^{c} of the Tailoring Department and of the Mushrif [Supervisor], begins cutting (qat^{c}). Finally (hasil) the clothes are sewn and, together with the other finished clothes kept in the said department, are placed in the care of the above mentioned Ṣāḥib-jam^{c}. The same applies to the textiles [which are destined] to be given as in^{c}ams, or as robes of honour (khal^{c}at), and to those acquired by purchase. The procedure of purchasing textiles in said department is as follows : the Nazir convokes the experts and with their help... fixes the prices and has them seal the lists of prices... On the strength of this document the purchase is

> registered... a receipt is written and included in the lists of goods to be sent [to the capital]... and [the sum] is credited to the vazirs and governors... Precious (sangin) stuffs, as occasion arises are also placed in the care of the same Department. The robes (qaba) which are tailored for the great amirs as 'precious khal^{c}ats' and have the significance of the qaba that has been worn by the king (hukm-i qaba-yi pushida darad) are also kept in this Department. The same applies to sable-marten (samur) furs and to 'londra' [London cloth]."[51]

Another department the qaichachi-khana-i umara'i (Amirs' tailoring workshop) dealt with the robes of honour to be presented to lesser mortals.[52]

THE HAREM

In the early Safavid period there were only black eunuchs in charge of the harem administration, and four administrative posts carrying enormous influence were theirs: the senior eunuch of the Harem who conveyed messages to and from the shah, the sāḥib-jam^{c} or head of the royal treasury, thirdly the keeper of the treasury keys, and finally the master of the royal wardrobe (sāḥib-jam^{c} of the rikab-khana). The latter looked after the royal linen and clothes, shoes and hose as well as other personal items, and assisted the shah in dressing. Standing on his right in ceremonies, this official kept in his girdle purse a supply of kerchiefs, perfumes and medicines for any small emergency.[53] It was ʿAbbās I who introduced white eunuchs into the court, one hundred Georgians, but the black officials retained control over the royal ladies' quarters. No special costume nor head-dress was worn by either of these two groups in the 16th century illustrations. It is easier to identify them in the

later Safavid period, when the court artists were more direct in their portrayals.

Information on the costume of the royal ladies is scarce, especially for the early period, but the brief contemporary descriptions show Safavid ladies like their menfolk appreciated fine fabrics. Tabrizi ladies of quality circa 1507 dressed in

> "... robes of silk, some of crimson cloth, woollen cloth, velvet, and cloth of gold, according to the condition of the wearer. A quantity of velvet and cloth of gold is brought from Bursa and Cafa [Kaffa in the Crimea]."[54]

The basic style of women's jamahs as portrayed (fig.88) seems to be identical to that of the men, with a purity and softness of line. The chemise in rich colours was buttoned once at the neck, with a wide central slit to the waist or navel. Occasionally (particularly it appears for brides) a more conservative garment is depicted with a small round neck from which heavy metallic clasps or buttons were arranged down the centre-front to the waist. On top of this was put a full-length patterned robe, usually of a contrasting primary colour[55] with tightly-fitting sleeves to the wrist. Set back on the shoulders the two front panels were brought together at the waist, sometimes with a knotted fabric belt. Usually the ensemble was completed with a short- or long-sleeved outer-garment, fur-lined and with horizontal braiding down the front, and sometimes gold work in lobed shapes over the shoulders. The long sleeves were non-functional with shoulder slits through which the arms passed. All this was described exactly by Tenreiro:

> "Their garments are very tight through the sleeves, and embroidered on the arms, fitted to the body, and they reach to the foot, [and] open in front

> from the breasts to the waist, and thus even the blouses; and underneath draws of silk worked in gold and seed-pearls on the front side, over which they suit leggings of scarlet or purple-red cloth, with very delicate little shoes of silk and of leather. Over these garments they wear some upper garments fitted with tight and long sleeves, which hang free. They are lined with ermine and marten and with other linings. On the head [they wear] some trançados braids with rebuço covering; this is the dress of all women of the Sufi [shah], and thus of other great lords and rich merchants."[56]

In the early 1600s a full-length white veil was worn in public but the earlier European accounts refer to "kaftans" or "men's robes" being worn over women's heads, as in in the first decade of the 16th century:

> "All the Persian women... are wanton, and wear men's robes, and put them on over their heads, covering them altogether."[57]

The hair was never worn loose except at times of great emotional abandonment -- a funeral of a close relative, or love-play -- instead it was plaited, as the Portuguese visitors noted.[58] It is unclear from the illustrations if the hair was deeply waved by each ear or more probably, covered with a wide, rounded black band over the hair from ear to ear, reminiscent of early Timurid hair-dressing, but without the chin-strap. A band like this would protect the veil-fabric from hair-oils, and provide a base for securing one the or more veils and the occasional tall slender aigrette. The mid-century paintings show some variation in the hair-dressing with wisps of hair tumbling over the ears to the jaw-line. A thin gauze covered the top of the head and was brought around the throat in a coif-like arrangement. It was kept in place by a fillet or cloth ribbon worn around the upper forehead (fig.88) from

which rows of pearls hung by the ear. Conversely a fine kerchief or cap with or without the thin gauze underneath was used with both the fillet and a strap passing under the chin to secure it. Over this was pinned a short veil which dropped gracefully or stiffly into one or more points to the shoulder.

CHANGES IN DRESS IN THE 17th CENTURY

In the reign of ʿAbbās I (1588-1629) several stylistic changes were made. It has been suggested that the move to Isfahan marked the introduction of new fashions in garments and head-wear at court,[59] but why the transference of the Safavid capital in 1598 from Qazvin, dangerously close to the Ottoman battle-front to Isfahan should provide the impetus, is not explained. Usually such stylistic changes are related to significant alterations in the social order and life-style within that particular grouping, or more frequently as a direct response to a powerful new influence applying continual pressure. Such a situation was apparent in 17th century Iran. From the 1570s the original power-group the qizil-bāsh was forced to yield to both the tajiks and, more importantly, the Georgian and Circassian ghulāms. The close association between the tribal confederations and the religious and dervish orders, so marked in the early Safavid period was greatly weakened; the Safavid state at the end of the 16th century was no theocracy.

The ankle-length outer robes which adorn the languid, elegant male figures, drawn by such court srtists as Riẓa ʿAbbāsī (d.1635) are rarely mentioned specificially by European observers[60] but the style continued to be depicted in leisure contexts until the end of the 17th century. Instead the visitors described the contemporary dress as being a short qabā' reaching to the mid-calf and possessing a wide, flaring

bell-shaped skirt (fig.89 & 90). Chardin who made his first journey to Iran in 1664, noted the close-fitting, long sleeves set into the shoulders[61] and that the over-garments, the short sleeveless kūrdī and the long, sleeved kadabi, sometimes worn casually over one shoulder, fur-lined for winter-wear, were also shaped

> "...larges en bas, & étroits en haut, comme les cloches. On les fait de drap, ou de brocard d'or, ou de gros satin, & on les chamarre de dentelles ou de galons d'or, ou d'argent, ou on les brode. Ils sont fourrez les uns de Martre zibeline, les autres de Mounton de Tartarie, & de Bactrians... "[62]

Both Pietro della Valle who visited Iran during 1617 to 1627 and de Thevenot used the same 'bell' simile to describe the width of the qabā' skirts

> "... standing out round as if it had a ring of Iron in it, and that because of the Cotton it is stuffed with."[63]

Both the qabā' and the alkhaliq (Du Mans's "chemisole") were indeed frequently quilted with a coarse lining "afinque le cotton y tienne, & s'y attache mieux".[64]

The structure of the outer garments remained as before, based on narrow loom-widths. The sleeves were tight-fitting, often with the cuffs cut decoratively into points or tongues to rest on the backs of the hands. The two methods of fastening seen in the early period were still employed, namely the central-front buttoning and the diagonal cross-over,[65] but in the case of the former, the neckline was usually deeper than in the earlier style, forming a V-shape with slight revers or edging-band (fig.90); Chardin referred to this style as a Georgian fashion:

> "[ils] aussi portent des cabai à la Georgienne, qui ne different des autres qu'en ce qu'elles sont ouvertes sur l'estomach, avec des boutons & des gances..."[66]

This supports the theory that the Georgian element at court was responsible for at least one of the fashion changes.

Under this was worn a thin chemise pirahan fastened on the right shoulder:

> "Their shirt is of Calico, for there is no linnen-Cloath in Persia nor the Indies. This Cloath is seldom pure white, but commonly of divers Colours: Their shirts have no necks but onely a hem like Womens Smocks; it has a slit above as ours have, but not before, but on the right side, and is tyed upon the right shoulder with a string on each side; it his (sic) slit on the sides below as ours are."[67]

Encircling the waist were at least two silk belts, and one of wool.[68] There was a special silk fabric of Kashan manufacture whose pattern was so designed that when rolled, it appeared as two separate sashes, one striped and the other with leaf forms.[69] Evidently the belt was an indication of social status as Herbert explained:

> "Their waists are girt with fine towels of silk and gold about eight yards long; those and the shashes distinguish the quality of those that wear them: dukes and others of the noble sort have them woven with gold, merchants and coozelbashaws [qizil-bāsh] with silver; of silk and wool those of inferior rank."[70]

The length of fabric folded to four or five fingers in width was wound round the waist three or four times to the front where it was knotted ostentatiously.[71] Within its folds could be secreted a variety of things such as kerchiefs, money, letters.[72]

Underneath the skirts of the robes were pantaloons of patterned silk or linen, which were not shaped to the leg and possessed a method of opening

> "...like the Irish trooze [breeches], [which] have hose and stockings sewed together; the stocking falls not always into their shoes, but from the ankle down gives to the eye two inches of the leg naked."[73]

According to Chardin, the Europeans introduced stockings into Iran. Previously the legs and feet were bound in winter with cloth strips about six fingers wide; this is shown in some early Safavid paintings on the figures of workers and artisans, such as ferry-men. But with the coming of the foreign merchant, those who could afford them took to cloth stockings. The hose had no shaping, being kept up by ties about the knees. Pieces of red leather were sewn onto the heels to protect the stockings from rubbing against the shoe-nails, which gave the sole a longer life.[74]

Always removed on entry to the house[75] the shoes with 2"(8cm) heels were low-cut with a small peaked tongue. For Europeans with experience of Ottoman mores, it was surprising to find green shoe-leather. The colour's sacred association in the Sunnī world seemed hardly suitable for an item of clothing, so constantly polluted.[76] Less expensive shoes were available, the favourite worn by rich and poor,[77] being made

> "... d'estame de <u>cotton</u>, faite à la broche, comme nos <u>bas</u>, mais beaucoup plus forts. On est chauffé fort juste avec ces souliers, qu'on appelle <u>souliers de laquais</u>."[78]

Such needle-netted shoes (<u>givah</u>, <u>maliki</u>)[79] had been made in the southwest province of Fars since the early 12th century, and continues today. Then as now linen or cotton rags were used for the sole, but Chardin noted that higher quality soles were made of camel leather; now, used car-tyres serve the purpose.[80]

The Safavid man of taste in the second half of the

17th century was willing to spend over half his annual income on clothes:

> "Tel Officier qui n'a que douze à quinze cens livres d'appointemens, met un habit neuf qui en coute davantage. Ce luxe des Persans est cause de leur ruine, autant qu'aucune autre chose..."[81]

It was the social convention, summed up in a contemporary saying kurbat bi-libās or "honour is given according to the habit", that expensive fashionable clothing provided an entrée into the upper social circles. The fashionable man of Isfahan seldom wore the same robe two days running and immediately changed if something was spilt on it. The garments were tailored to individual requirements; to be seen purchasing ready-made clothing was to harm one's personal and social reputation.[82] Fryer vividly described a fashionable Persian man seen during his trip to Iran 1679-81:

> "His Head being Shaved, a large Turbat is placed upon his Crown, of divers Colours, either Silk or Cotton, in the Figure of an over-grown Cabage, with a great broad Leaf a top, which is wrought of Gold or Silver, and spread to make a shew... Next, upon his Body is a Shirt, which he covers with a Vest, tied double on his Breast, and strait to his Body as far as the Waste, from whence it hangs in Pleats to his Ancles, sometimes quilted, sometimes not; his Loins are girt with Phrigian Girdles or rich Sashes, above which his Belt carries a Falched Sword or Scimitar; from his Hips long close Breeches of Linnen, come down to his Hose, of London Sackcloth of any Colour, which are cut loose, not respecting the shape of the Leg; over all a loose Coat of the same, without Sleeves, Lined with Furs, or Sables, or else Silk; the outside either Scarlet, or the finest Wool of

> Europe, or Cloath of Silver or Gold of their own Manufactory..."[83]

He draws attention to the other major change in Safavid 17th century fashion, the replacement of the tāj by ample turban forms without a 'baton',[84] and other styles of brimmed head-gear.

A favourite in the last decades of the 16th century was a loose melon form crossed by a swathe of cloth across the front, giving it almost a segmented form. Equally fashionable was a soft, conical cap (fig.83) perhaps made from lambskin, with a cloth band. But by the last years of the 17th century, more compact, rounded turban form was preferred which continued to be fashionable in court circles into the next century. On a skull-cap, two to five yards (1.8-4.5m)long of fine white muslin was secured to give the basic shape around which was wound rich silk fabrics with

> "les bouts d'une riche tissure a fleurs, à la largeur de six ou sept pouces, dont on faut en le mouant, comme une aigrette au milieu..."[85]

This is the style to which Fryer referred to as a cabbage leaf.

A number of the courtiers or military personnel wore throughout the year

> "... furr'd Caps, the inside and outside being of Buchar Sheep skin, so as that the Wool hangs down from the edges the length of a man's finger, and is as soft as Silk. These Caps are esteem'd in Persia as the Castors are in Europe, and are sold at ten or twelve Crowns a piece."[86]

This was the soft conical cap with a tall upturned brim, tilted down in the front to form a horn-like projection (fig.85 textile pattern). In paintings of the period another cap is frequently depicted on the heads of young, clean-shaven men acting as royal attendants. Compared with other extravagant head-gear

worn in the late 17th century, it has a simplicity in its gently rounded form and neat bifurcated upturned fur brim (fig.90).[87] As it is often depicted on individuals wearing deep V-shaped fronted, bell-shaped garments associated with Georgian fashion, perhaps this type of head-gear was particularly favoured by the ghulāms.

The tāj, the symbol of allegiance to the Safavid cause, did not cease to exist totally. But as mentioned earlier, the 16th century ovoid profile and tall, slender baton was replaced in 17th century painting (fig.82) by a flat-topped cap with a short, thin central spoke and narrow folded cloth wrapped round close to the forehead, or across back and front of the cap itself with the fabric ends falling onto the shoulder. By the mid-17th century, the cap possessed a slightly more bulbous top, in that it was visible above the rim-cloth. It is presumed that both versions were re-styled tāj forms,[88] but it should be remembered that in this period, the influential military were no longer the qizil-bāsh; possibly these two new styles were related to the Caucasian and Georgian ghulāms in military service.

Under the caps and turbans, it was customary, as in the Ottoman lands, to shave the head completely except for one lock (fig.1) so that, the story went, the wearer could be lifted into Paradise. Beards were kept short, to half a finger's length. Indeed the Ottoman fashion for long beards was scorned as being "Brooms for a Privy" but moustaches were grown to inordinate length, then tucked behind the ears. Rumour had it that ʿAbbās I graduated the soldiers' pay according the the length of their whiskers. Olearius explained this fashion by narrating a Ṣūfī story of ʿAlī's visit to Heaven; accompanying the Prophet, he drank wine there and as some drops remained on his moustache he then resolved never to cut it again.[89]

DRESS OF THE SHAH IN THE 17th CENTURY

To many Europeans visiting the Isfahan court, the shah was dressed in identical fashion to that of his courtiers, or rather, vica versa. However, the quality of fabric used was often noted as more elaborately patterned or coloured:

> "There was nothing extraordinary in his Habit, save that his Cloaths were of Brocadoe, and that, at his Coiffure, there was a Plume of Heron-Feathers, fasten'd with a bracelet of Diamonds. He had also upon his Kurdi... two Sable Skins hanging at the Neck: but for ought we saw afterwards, other Persian Lords wore the like."[90]

But ʿAbbās I seemed to prefer a more austere dress style unless court ceremonies demanded an ostentatious display of luxury and majesty:

> "In his food he is frugal, as also in his dress, and this to set an example to his subjects;... His usual dress is of linen, and very plain: similarly the nobles and others in his realm, following suit, whereas formerly they used to go out dressed in brocade with jewels and other fopperies: and if he sees anyone who is over-dressed, he takes him to task, especially if it be a soldier."[91]

This preference became more marked after the execution of his son, Muḥammad Baqir, and the blinding of his third and fifth son.[92]

Perhaps as a reaction for the 75 years following the death of ʿAbbās I in 1629, there seemed to be an explosion of colour and magnificence at the Safavid court and in the capital[93] with ʿAbbās II (1642-66) taking the lead:

> "in material striped with gold and [?coloured] silk, and his coat had a gold ground with little flowers of silver and [?coloured] silk, and the fur was of sable, the blackest and the glossiest one

> could see. His belt was very rich, and there was in his head-dress a cluster of heron-feathers secured by a fashionable jewel... Four chains which held this jewel were interlaced among the turban cloth and the bezels (chatons) of these chains were of diamonds and rubies."[94]

Clearly the aigrette in the royal turban was a symbol of authority for the Afghan leader, Nādir Shah, when 'investing' the baby ʿAbbās III in 1732, placed the jīgha at the baby's head, along with a sword and shield.[95]

A few European observers noted that there were certain differences in the shah's head-dress to those worn by others at court:

> "That [turban] which the King himself has on differs not in shape from others, unless it exceed for magnitude: all the difference I could observe was that he wore it the contrary way and more erect than others."[96]

Herbert's statement is puzzling, but there are other references to the shah turning his turban back to front during royal audiences.[97]

It was also noticed that no-one but the shah and his immediate family carried two daggers in the waist girdle.[98] Presumably these were richer in the jewelling and enamelling of the hilt and sheath, than the single dagger or sword worn by high-ranking court officials.

Gold rings and silver neck-chains were not worn because of the theological proscription but the wearing of silver rings, sometimes as many as five or six on one finger alone, did not contravene the religious guidelines. Seals and even a small purse hung on a chain about the neck, and the illustrations show the shah and his courtiers often with one ear-ring on the right ear lobe.

17th CENTURY LADIES OF FASHION

As in the early period, female garments of the 17th century echoed the styling of menswear. Sanson writing in 1695, a decade or so after leaving Iran, summarised the characteristics (fig.89):

> "The Womens Apparel in Persia, does not at all differ from the Mens, but it is always richer, and more splendid: They wear no Turban, but their Foreheads are covered with a Head-band of three Fingers breadth... Their Hair hangs behind all wreathed in Tresses; their Heads are wrapp'd in Caps embroider'd with Gold, and encompass'd with a fine brocarded Scarf, part of which flows behind, even down to their Girdles... Their Under-garments are of Brocard with Gold or Silver Grounds, and their Upper a sort of Justacorps very rich, and furr'd with Martins skins: These have sleeves in the Winter but none in the Summer. They never wear Stockings, because their Breeches come down streight, even to their Ancles. In the Winter they put on a sort of very rich Shooes embroider'd, which they use only as Men doe Slippers."[99]

The fashion of the late 17th century was rather different from that of a century earlier. From the simple draped line, which emphasized the slender willowness of the female wearer, the dress of 1700 was shorter with the more tailored shaping achieved by gussets and inserts, drawing attention to the waist and throwing the curve of the breasts and hips into contrast.[100] A folded belt traced the hip curve but instead of the central knot with concealed ends of the man, the ladies tied the belt loosely, letting the ends hang gracefully. If a more secure tie was required, it was knotted with one loop and unequal lengths.

There was a move away from the deep, plunging central slit front of the previous century; instead the

neck-line was a gentle V-shape with narrow revers or neckband. The sleeves were to the wrist and close-fitting. On top a short jacket was worn, similar to the man's kūrdī, reaching to the hips. At first it appears alongside the earlier fashion of the long over-garment with its elbow or pendant sleeves, but it became increasingly popular to judge from the mid-century illustrations and the report of one European observer, among the Armenian ladies who wore a sleeve-less version.[101]

As the length of the garments receded to the calf and the skirt width grew, so the pantaloons became more visible. As shown in a drawing of a reclining female (fig.91), these had a similar structure to contemporary Ottoman drawers. Two long rectangles were folded, slightly tapered in the leg, and sewn together with a gusset; a draw-string arrangement secured the fitting. However, the Persian type often included a hip-section of different fabric, again of rectangles, attached to the leg tubes, giving a total length approximately 85cm (33.5") and an extended waist measurement of 140cm (55.25"), the waist band protecting the draw-string. Triangular crutch gussets sometimes extended to the waistband and occasionally into the leg fabric. Compared with Ottoman trousers, the Safavid pantaloons of the 17th century appear more tapered, and the surviving fragments prove this. During the century this tendency becomes more marked until the ankle hem is comparatively close-fitting.

One thing remained steadfastly fashionable well into the 18th century and that was the love of diagonally-striped patterning for the pantaloon legs, whether printed[102] or embroidered. In embroidered examples in public and private collections, the designs were worked in silk or fine wool in simple diagonal or cross-stiching completely covering the surface of the

cotton ground, in diagonal stripes containing floral sprays and blossoms, birds and insects.

With these garments the chemise was again visible. Made of fine material frequently patterned, its length is not shown clearly and possibly it was sleeveless, as the jamah's tight, buttoned sleeves conceal details. All that shows is the round neck with its wide slit and buttoned fastening on the right of the throat.

The Safavid lady of quality took advantage of the less rigorous Ḥadīth precepts on gold jewellery for women and wore gold on the fingers, on the arms and around the neck. Young women preferred a torque-style of bracelet, and sometimes wore a nose-ring in the right nostril.[103] There were provincial fashions, but rows of pearls were popular throughout Iran, being used particularly around the face so drawing attention to the whiteness of the skin, and the moon-like quality of the face:

> "All the Ornament they have about their Heads consists in two or three rows of Pearls, which they do not wear about their Necks, as Women do elsewhere, but about the Head, being set over the Fore-head, and falling down along the Cheeks to be fasten'd under the Chin, so as that their Faces seem'd to be set in Pearls."[104]

Around the neck a long chain of gold or perhaps pearls was worn, and to it was fastened perforated perfume boxes of gold.[105] In the head-dress a jewelled aigrette or floral spray was secured, with perhaps a small droplet or painted mark placed in the centre of the brow to emphasize the curve of the eyebrows. Kohl was used around the eyes, and small beauty marks were applied on the cheekbones. To deepen the shadow of the chin-dimple a little blue tattoo design could be pricked. And of course, henna was used for the hands and feet:

> "This is so necessary an ornament in their Married Women, that this kind of Paint is brought up, and distributed among those that are invited to their Wedding Dinners. They therewith Paint also the Bodies of such as dye Maids, that when they appear before the Angels Examinants, they may be found more neat and handsome."[106]

The hennaed designs (fig.92) were often intricate with figures of birds, animals, flowers and architectural decoration.

The hair was grown long and thick with artificial tresses plaited in if required. Jewelled pins and tassels were secured at the end of the braids, to emphasize this aspect of feminine beauty. Two long curling tresses were allowed to hang over the ears (fig.93) Around 1600 a small triangular or folded kerchief covered the head fastened under the chin, or behind the head with one or two points upstanding. In some miniatures, this latter type is created from a starched scarf folded diagonally, placed on the head with the two corners pulled upwards (fig.93) but in others, it appears it was a metallic fillet or stiff frame. Chardin, noting that it was the head-dress of married women, described it as:

> "... un bandeau échancré en triange, & c'est la pointe qui couvre la tête, étant tenue sur le haut du front par une bandelette large d'un pouce. Ce bandeau, qui est fait des couleurs est mince & leger. La bandelette est brodée a l'éguille, ou couverte de Pierreries, tout cela selon la qualité des gens."[107]

Under this, the hair was contained in a long narrow snood falling down the back and occasionally brought round under one arm (fig.93) and tucked into the belt or fillet. Conversely a long veil could be placed over the triangular shape, and draped in graceful folds over the bosom and fastened on the other side.

The variety of head-dresses was numerous during the last two decades of the century, ranging from the simply draped kerchief or long veil to more elaborate types requiring interior frames. Young married girls were identifiable by the small cap they wore, perhaps like that in fig.89, but there were more fanciful small caps, such as a tall, flaring pill-box or a high pointed tricorn, decorated with feathers and jewelled floral sprays or pins.

In public all this richness was concealed by the chādur, the all-enveloping veil, reaching to the ankles.[108] It was not necessarily white; Figueroa stated that yellow and brown were usually worn, except at Muharram, when black was the order of the day.[109] It seems that black veiling was increasingly used because European merchants began specifying black fabrics "for women's garments" in their orders. An Italian in 1574 noted that on one occasion outside Muharram the mother of Shah Ṭahmāsp appeared wearing a black veil, but this has been interpreted as meaning the small horse-hair shade, the pichah, worn over the eyes.[110] However, although featured in 15th century paintings, this shade is rarely, if at all, depicted in Safavid painting indicating that it was not fashionable among court cirles.

18th CENTURY DRESS

In the 1710s the Ghilzay Afghan leaders in military control presented no challenge to the sartorially-conscious Isfahani. A then resident in Iran Fr. Krusinski disparagingly described the dress of the high-ranking Afghan officers:

> " THEIR Way of dressing answers to the Coarseness of their Diet. They wear a Vest which hangs down to their Toes, and which they tuck up towards the Waste, under which they have a very wide Pair of

> Drawers of plain Linnen, but their Legs are always bare. The better Sort make use of Shoes or Slippers when they ride on Horseback, as also of a Sort of Boots of very hard Leather, which when they have them fitted on, they never pull off, but there let 'em remain till they rot away. 'Tis true, that since they have made themselves Masters of Persia, they have begun to wear the Persian Habit, at least in Part, that is to say, they have taken the Vest which reaches no lower than the Knees. As to the rest of their Habit, they have not yet made any Alteration in it, which bears such a mix'd Aspect of Magnificence and Beggary, as is somewhat ridiculous. For 'tis a Strange Medley, to see under a Vest of Gold Stuff, a wide pair of Drawers of coarse Linen, and under these a Pair of Stockings that is yet coarser; for that is the Dress of the Chief Men of their Nation now at Ispahan. With these Vests of Gold or Brocade they make no scruple to sit down upon the bare Ground, with their Legs extended, not caring how they bedaggle them with Dirt. The only Thing they are neat in is, a long and broad Piece of coarse Linen, which they wear about their Neck, from whence it hangs down before them like a Slabbering Bib, and which they make use of to defend themselves from the Injuries of the Air, and especially to cover their Arms when it rains. As to their Heads... they have nothing to cover them but a sort of Scarf, which they fold several Times around, and one End falls down upon the Shoulder, while the other stands up in the Form of a Crest upon the Head, which in the Manner they order it, look very noble."[111]

Their womenfolk were even less flatteringly described as unveiled, having shaven heads with false hair

hanging down the back. Their dress consisted of long trousers and a belted robe.[112]

Although firmly in control by 1729, Nādir Khan Afshar waited before bringing in certain innovations in dress. Probably these were initiated only after he threw off all pretence of acting for the Safavid family, in the spring of 1736. One of his precedessors the Ghilzay Afghan leader Mir Vays (d.1715) laid the foundations for the break, not only with the Safavid regime and Ithnā ᶜAshari Shīᶜism, but also with accepted fashion conventions. He obtained a Sunnī legal judgement (fatva) from Mecca which justified on theological grounds the overthrow of Shīᶜi Safavid rule, as the following Safavid customs were highly reprehensible:

> "... for not believing at the Abdest or Washing, it is lawful to wash the Foot all naked, but only to sprinkle the Water lightly over it; for never shaving their Mustaches, but only the Beard of the Chin, which is the comeliest ornament of a Man, as also for cutting it how they please; for using in their Shoes and Stockings the holy green Colour, consecrated to the Banner of Mahomet, and for wearing the Red Turban."[113]

In the autumn of 1740, while he was on campaigns in the eastern provinces, rumours swept through Isfahan that Nādir Shah had decided

> "... to change the Persian Habit, his Subjects to shave their Beards and to put on Turkish Dress as also to destroy all Places that were built (by) or bear the Name of Shaw Abbas and erect others in their stead..."[114]

But the scheme was never executed. Beards were kept, and the green shoes continued to be worn. However, the Safavid calf-length, bell-shaped skirts were discarded for garments with longer, narrower skirt panels, and

judging from the paintings, this style continued into Zand and early Qajar times. A portrait of Nādir Shah (fig.94) shows the form of the robe, its sombre red-brown colour a stark contrast to the gaily coloured and heavily patterned Safavid fabrics. The sleeves were tight-fitting with triangular-pointed cuffs covering the back of the hands. The bodice also retained a close-fitting shape but the deep V-shaped front, so fashionable during the late Safavid period was replaced by a square neck-line. The illusion of the V-form was kept by placing braiding down the front in two converging lines, the left braiding concealing the bodice fastening. Just visible at the neck was the undershirt with its rounded neck and side-slit at the right of the throat. It appears the front skirt panel overlapped, fastening at the waist either on the left or right, and this is confirmed in later, Qajar paintings.

A new form of head-dress was adopted in the place of the Safavid turban with its fan-tail, still fashionable at court in 1722. Said to have been devised by Nādir Shah himself, the new head-wear took the form of a tall 10" to 12" (25 to 30cm) with four small peaks, which it was thought symbolised Nādir's authority over the lands of Iran, Afghanistan, India and Turkestan.[115] The fashion was already established in the extreme north-western provinces by the mid-century, as John Cook noted.[116]

Military organisation under Nādir Shah and later Karīm Khan Zand followed the late Safavid structure, and according to Hanway, some head-gear insignia of the various units was retained or redistributed. The yasavulan (mounted escorts) who numbered 8000 against the Safavid corps of 1000 were identified by the brass knob on their caps. The small troop of nasaqchīan (camp security guards) wore a feather in their head-

dress, but of a different sort from that on the flat caps with a silver boss belonging to the 900 chavush. The jārchīan corps (heralds or messengers) had a jewelled and enamelled tel or plume as their special insignia but under Nadir Shah, according to Hanway, this was replaced by a brass arrow device, formerly the mark of the early Safavid yasaqchis. The 400-strong kashikchi or watchmen in the Afghan period wore white turbans, a change from the pointed cloth caps worn by their Safavid predecessors, but these disappeared from the scene with the Zands.[117]

Neither the court of the Afghan rulers nor of the Zand family matched the magnificence of the Safavid court. The constant campaigns of Nādir Shah occupied all his waking hours, while Karīm Khan Zand (fig.95) undertook the monumental task of restoring law and order in a country whose internal problems had been neglected in the name of military expansionism. No wonder then that there is little textual information on costume for this turbulent period, when women were forbidden to leave the city walls for fear that their chādurs concealed wanted men.[118]

Certain ceremonies were continued, for instance the presentation of Nau Ruz khil^{c}at. In 1746 some 12,000 robes of honour were distributed to notables at a cost of 10 to 100 tumans each. Diplomatic khil^{c}at were still exchanged on the same pattern, as demonstrated by the list of presents to an Indian prince and his entourage in 1739; he received two garments of rich fabric with a costly turban cloth, and "four yards of tissue" (? chār-gaz waist shawl), with jewelled sword and dagger, while members of his retinue were presented with one to five pieces according to rank.[119]

Certain beliefs concerning clothing and colours continued. Although crimson was a popular dress colour, a bright red was still regarded as heralding

summary punishment.[120] Probably when changing his robes once a month, Karīm Khan Zand consulted an astrologer beforehand, for in Iran of the 1780s it was universally believed that bad luck would otherwise result. As with all folk-heroes and popular rulers in Islamic history Karīm Khan was described in the chronicles as being austere in his dress. Even at the height of his power, he continued to wear calico robes in summer and padded cotton or satin garments in winter. In the portrait generally accepted as his (fig.95), the khan wears a fur-trimmed kūrdī, and a turban cloth replaces the tall four-pointed cap of the Afghan rulers; Karīm Khan never wore the jīgha.[121] This tall, gently rounded form became the Zand head-dress. Under it, unlike the early Afghan hair-style, the hair was allowed to grow until it curled around the ears.

A portrait dated 1793-4 (fig.96) shows that a fashionable Zand man wearing the long skirted garment worn in the time of Nādir Shah, with its square neck-line and converging bodice 'seams'. His waist is encircled by a folded cloth belt decorated with narrow stripes and small floral sprays. Over his shoulders is draped a heavy red coat and, for once, the artist has carefully shown the lines of the seams at the shoulders armholes and sides. The sleeves are set in the conventional way and taper gently to the cuff, where a row of button-loops within ornamental braiding also red in colour, extend along the lower arm edge. Down the right side seam binding is visible terminating with a trefoil shape, perhaps indicating the beginning of a side-slit. The front right panel is cut in a deep, gradual curve, here edged with a wide band, perhaps cut on the cross. In this particular example, a curved triangular piece of fabric has been inserted below this edging band at the front, possibly to give additional

strength as the large almond-shaped buttons are secured along and down this edge of the front right panel.

The habit of the Afghan ladies to appear unveiled in public, as reported by Krusinski, was reversed in Zand times:

> "... the Persians never would permit them to be unvailed. When they go to the bath, which they do twice or thrice in a week, they are vailed with white linen, but have a piece of net-work before their eyes, which renders everything visible to them, but prevents any from seeing them."[122]

From this wording it is clear that John Cook was referring to the rū-band, a rectangular piece of white veil, with draw-thread work at eye level. Chardin in the late 17th century mentioned a similar arrangement over the face and attached at the temples:

> "Ce mouchoir, ou voile a un réseau à l'endroit des yeux comme les vieux points ou dentelles, afin de voir au travers."[123]

By the early 19th century, the Afghan woman wore a combined rū-band and chādur, called the chadri in which the rū-band was attached to the main veil, and the tent-like veil with this embroidered lattice for the eyes fell from a small pill-box or skull-cap.[124]

Underneath were pantaloons and chemise (fig.97). Following late Safavid fashion, the drawers were much less voluminous than those favoured in Istanbul. The ground fabric was rendered completely invisible by overall embroidery of floral motifs arranged in diagonal stripes or diamond forms. This stitching, in fine wool or silk in turn lent a stiffness to the fabric. Over the drawers and reaching down to the hips was worn a loose chemise or pirahan, caught at the neck by a brooch or large button. A central slit emphasized by decorative bands plunged down and past the navel. The material was often fine to the point of trans-

parency, and embellished with a small overall pattern. On the silk/cotton examples the patterning was confined to a triangular area across the front hem and rising pyramidically the base of the slit.[125] A shorter, tight fitting jacket made of floral or striped fabric with a hipped skirt, was worn over the pirahan. Its long tapering sleeves included extended cuffs which could be buttoned at the wrist if required, but usually were left unfastened and turned or flicked back to reveal a decorative lining and of course the wide sleeves of the pirahan.

TEXTILES

The Persian court artist was less concerned with careful, accurate reproduction of textures and chiaro-scuro than with colour harmony and its interaction within the pictorial composition. Therefore the observer cannot ascertain the type of fabric used for costume from the miniatures, nor presume that the colouring and patterning as depicted echoed faithfully those worn by the courtiers at Tabriz, Qaswin and Isfahan.

We do know that the range of dye colours available was wide. An East Indian Company record quoted earlier complements Pietro della Valle's report of "fantastic and bizarre" colours,[126] and clearly Europe thirsted for the secrets of Iranian dyeing techniques. Merchants travelling in Iran were ordered to find out all they could, as in Richard Hakluyt's letter to a colleague in 1579:

> "For that in Persia they have great colouring of silks, it behooves you to learne that also, for that cloth dying and silke dying have a certain affinity, and your merchants mind to bring much raw silke into the Realme, and therefore it is more requisit you learne the same."[127]

Certain dyes were more costly than others. If cochineal was employed rather than the usual madder, the price of the finished dyed piece was increased by almost a third. In the 19th century and probably earlier, it was customary for the dyeing to be carried out to the customer's personal specification after the cloth was woven, for the cheaper range of fabric.[128]

It was considered demeaning to buy ready-made clothing, so it was acknowledged that the tailor made an important contribution to the finished look of the garment. The process of cutting was undertaken only at an auspicious time and usually in the presence of the client. The sewing up was done either by the tailor or by a seamstress who apparently charged much less. Chardin noted the main difference between the tailoring tachniques of the East and of Europe:

> "Pour la couture, ils nous passent asseurément. On n'en sauroit faire de plus fine, ni de plus égale. Ils ne cousent gueres en dehors comme nous faisons. Leur couture est toûjours en dedans, & la plus ordinaire, est ce que nous appelons arriere-point."[129]

The guilds to which the weaver, the textile merchant, the shoe-maker and the tailor belonged, adjusted their price lists every month with a major annual review. The head of each guild, the naqib or kadkhudā was elected by the members, but the office was frequently hereditary. It was he who negotiated the tax levied on the guild with the civic authorities, and arranged for its collection. He fixed prices and organised sales taking into account market forces, communicating with the heads of other guilds. The elders of the guild were responsible for the training of apprentices, usually one or two trainees to the master tailor or shoe-maker. In Safavid times it appears there was no status of journeyman in the

European tradition but there was a category of muzdar or hired worker.[130]

Those craftsmen darbastah working for the court, royal or provincial, were not members of a guild but were considered as government employees. They received food, the amount of which depended on their grade, clothing and perhaps even leave, but were not, according to one source, allowed to undertake other work outside the court.[131] Every summer their work was assessed and if the quality and quantity warranted it, money was given to the individual craftsmen. Otherwise their salary was reviewed once every three years, for each of the employees in the royal workshops, which in Chardin's account numbered thirty-two, each with some 150 workers, the tailors totalling 180.[132]

a)Silk

The main silk production centres were, as now, in Gilan and Mazandaran, bordering on the Caspian Sea. There the eggs were hatched and fed on white mulberry leaves for some seven weeks until they spun the cocoons. These were then subjected to intense heat to kill off the chrysalis -- one report described a cauldron of boiling water and sour milk[133] -- and then unwound.[134] Of the yarn earmarked for domestic consumption, most was sent for weaving in the late 16th century, to Qum and Saveh in the north, to Tabriz famous for silk turban clothes, and to Kashan, Yazd and Isfahan. The finished products, silk mixtures with cotton or wool as well as pure silk taffeta, satin and velvet were sold at very competitive prices:

> "In Persia the clothes of all folk, to speak generally, are made of coloured stuffs, and there are few who do not wear silk, for this is quite cheap. Thus velvet of double and a half pile will

hardly cost ten reals [less than 6 shillings; 1926 ed.] the yard, and eight yards of coloured taffeta, which may be of pearl-colour, can be for five reals, or a pesa [half the price]."[135]

In the second half of the 17th century, there were four qualities of silk recognised:

"La premiére. qui est la moindre, est dire Chirvani, parce qu'elle vient principalement de Chirvan, ville de Medie, proche la Mer Caspienne. C'est une grosse soye, épaisse & larde, & le plus gros file de la coque. C'est celle qu'on appelle Ardache en Europe. La seconde, qui est meilleure d'un degré, s'appelle karvari, c'est-à-dire charge d'âne, comme pour dire que c'est la sorte qu'achetent ceux qui s'y connoissant le moins. Nous l'appellons legia, en nos pais, & apparemment du nom de Legian, petite ville de Guilan sur la Mer, où il ne se fait que de cette soye. La troisiéme est nomme ket codapesend, comme qui diroit la sorte bourgeoise, qui est le nom qu'on donne en Perse à toutes les choses de moyenne qualité. La quatriéme est appellée charbaffe comme qui diroit la soye de brocard, parce qu'il faut la meilleure soye pour les riches étoffes."[136]

Two and a half centuries later, zarbafi silk was still regarded as the best quality with six other recognised varieties: ʿalā a second-class yarn; tajiri (literally meaning 'merchant's') and taj, third-class, the latter being used for embroidery, sewing etc., with the inferior alaghbandi silk; while the last two categories duwal and kaj were used for rough silks.[137]

Presently six types of Safavid and post-Safavid taffetas (fig.98) have been identified, albeit cursorily, each employing a different weaving technique illustrating the high level of technical sophistication achieved at the time. The double and triple faced

cloths of which there were five or six kinds caught the attention of visitors like Chardin:

> "le double qu'on appelle d'Ouroye, c'est-à-dire a deux faces, parce qu'il n'a point d'envers..."[138]

Many fragments of these double/triple cloths survive, displaying outstanding technical mastery. The pattern of Lailā and Majnūn in such a cloth (fig.99) was devised or woven -- it is unclear which -- by a certain Khvaja Ghiyath al-Dīn ʿAlī of Yazd. Fifty of his fabrics were included in the 350 sent by Shah ʿAbbās to the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556-1605) and his designs were used in a variety of weaves, such as velvets, satins, compound fabrics and three types of multiple cloth. Another dozen or so names are recorded on fragments sometimes with a date. Ḥusain active in 1599-60 and Ibn Quṭb al-Dīn of 1626 both worked in patterned silk and at least one of Ghiyath's six sons followed in his father's footsteps. Two fragments bear the name of Shafi, the son of the famous court artist Riẓa ʿAbbāsī (d.1635-6) indicating a close link between the court painting atelier and the royal textile workshops. For this reason, it is generally assumed that the name on these pieces identifies the designer of the pattern, rather than the weaver.[139]

The most spectacular of the patterned silks incorporated metallic thread, and the cost reflected this use and also the lengthy weaving process:

> "Cinq ou six hommes à la fais sont employez au mêtier où on fait cette riche étoffe, & il y a jusqu'à vingt quatre ou trente navettes differentes à faire passer, au lieu que d'ordinaire il n'y en a que deux... les Ouvriers qui y travaillent ne gagnent que quinze à seize sols par jour, & n'en peuvent faire que l'épaisseur d'une piéce de trente sols."[140]

Two of the three kinds of metal thread known to have

been produced in Iran have been noted in surviving Safavid textiles, but few Islamic textiles have been published with precise technical details. The 12th to 14th century methods of employing gilded paper or leather strips covered with metal, were replaced by beaten and drawn gold or silver wire sometimes wrapped round a silk or linen core. These later techniques employed more precious metal[141] but these fabrics were worth the expense:

> "... l'or & l'argent ne passe point tant que l'étoffe dure, conservant toûjours son éclat & sa couleur. Il est vrai que l'argent s'obseurcit a la longue au bout de vingt ou trente ans de service; mais encore alors, il ne passe..."[142]

In the early 18th century the gold wire produced in the royal workshops had to conform to certain essay standards:

> "In the workshops producing [silver] thread (naqda-sazi) gold used for plating is usually of 5 per cent. quality; when it required that gold brocade (zar-baft) should be woven particularly rich in gold (zarrin-i sangin) the plating of high quality is 10 per cent., and of the highest ... 15 per cent..."[143]

It has been suggested that the use of flat metallic strips in the field colour indicates that the fabric was produced in Kashan, especially if the fabric is a cut pile velvet (fig.85). One would therefore expect to find a similar or common weave structure in these velvets but it appears that no two so far examined were made in the same way.[144]

A length of taffeta 6.75 yards by 34" (6.17m x 86.5cm) could cost 40 to 48 shahi whereas the more luxurious fabrics cost from four times upwards:

> "Velvetts made at Yazde 10... dayes journey from Spahan and at Cashan 3... dayes journey from Spahan

> of all Coullours and pryces and are sould accordinge to theire goodnesse from 120 to 160 shahees the peece of 6 3/4 yardes longe... velvet of Christendome, trash to it in goodnesse: the ordinary sortes sould for 8, 9 or 10 peeces of gould, every peece of gould 20 shahees of Persia ... Clothe of goulde and cloth of silver made in Spahan, Cashan, Corroson [Khurasan] and other partes worth accordinge to yts goodnesse from 200 shahees to 2000 shahees per peece of 7 yardes..."[145]

Iranian production of velvet was already well advanced by the 12th century and by the 16th century Persian mastery of the craft is unquestionable. Great skill is needed to handle two or three velvet warps and the Safavid weaver frequently employed up to five, six if the foundation warp is included. To translate the design with its many colour variations into the velvet, the weaver sometimes resorted to introducing velvet warps of a special colour just in the areas required.[146] No wonder then that such high quality velvets were employed for the conveying of diplomatic correspondence and as the Stockholm coat (fig.85) demonstrates, for khil^{c}at gifts.

The depiction of human and animal forms on the velvets and other silk textiles is in marked contrast to Ottoman fabrics. It is generally assumed that the reason for this lies in the different doctrinal beliefs of the two states, Ithnā ^{c}Ashari Shī^{c}ism in Iran and Ḥanafī Sunnism of Ottoman empire. However, as with Ottoman fabrics the pattern motif dominating the decorative repertoire of Safavid textiles, particularly of the later period was the flower (fig.98). Composed as an asymmetrical floral spray, the motif is usually placed in staggered rows sometimes with stamped[147] parallel lines criss-crossing between the sprays.

Occasionally the flower is depicted as an open blossom carried on arabesque scrolls in a single plane, a particular favourite for edging bands, but numerous textile fragments show the conventional arrangement of the flowering plant in its perfection. From delicate leaves at the base, a thin stem curves upto a full, open flower head, with perhaps an opening blossom and a tight bud shown in profile for balance (fig.98). The melodic beauty of the patterns, the exquisite softness and the skilful manipulation of tonal harmonies of Safavid silk textiles are difficult to convey but examining surviving fragments one comprehends why the Safavid man and woman of means were willing to live beyond their financial means in order to be clothed in such fabrics.

For over two centuries silk dominated both court fashion and the state economy. In 1620 silk exports to Europe alone were estimated by the East India Company to be in the region of 1.35 million lbs (.6 million kgs) worth £ 540,000. Fifty years later, this had soared to over 6 million lbs (2.7 million kgs) valued between £ 2 million and £ 2.5 million.[148] As with the cotton crop, one-third of the home-produced raw silk was appropriated by the shah. Heavy duties were also imposed on silk bought for export from private sources. However, the political upheavals of the 18th century severely affected the industry. Hanway estimated that by 1744 production of raw silk in Gilan alone had dropped to some 360,00 lbs (163,636 kgs), from the 1670 level of 2.75 million lbs (1.25 million kgs).[149] The re-establishment of order in northern Iran by the Qajar dynasty allowed sericulture to expand and by 1820, production had almost trebled, about four-fifths being exported. Gilan production reached over 2 million lbs. (.9 million kgs) in 1864 but then the silk-worm disease which had devastated

European sericulture struck and production figures for the next decade fell approximately 70%.[150] Naturally this had a great impact on the silk weaving industry and the membership of the relevant guilds declined rapidly. In Isfahan for instance

> "In the reign of the pardoned Khaqan [Fatḥ ʿAlī] there were 1250 workshops; in the reign of the purified Shah an Shah [Muḥammad] 486; at the beginning of the reign of the present king [Nāṣir al-Dīn] 240; and at the present time [circa 1877] it has come down to 12."[151]

Pasteur's methods were introduced to safeguard unaffected eggs and with European aid, the production and export of raw silk and cocoons revived in the last years of the Qajar dynasty.[152]

b)Wool

Most of the sheared wool produced in Iran went into the rug and carpet weaving, and ancillary products but various garment fabrics renowned for durability and water-resistant quality were made of wool. Aside from the felts and felted cloth, camel-hair was woven into a fine, natural-coloured cloth called barak. The simple ʿabā' cloaks of Kirman and Isfahan were made of this material[153] often with gold-thread embroidery on the shoulders. The "lined blue cloaks of London" of the Iranian gentlemen gave way to the fine goat-hair cloth known as tirmah, still popular today with the ʿulamā. From the mid-17th century on, the majority of good woollen cloth for garments was imported from northern Europe:

> "All such cloth comes from abroad, being imported by Persian merchants from Constantinople through Trebizond and Tabriz. Most of it is of Austrian make, although it is sold under the name of Dutch cloth (mahut valendis)... For a cloak, 3 1/4 meters

of cloth are used; Europeans who bring with them such a piece of cloth, especially in blue, chamois, or olive green, can make themselves very much liked by giving it as a present, and can get in return many valuable services."[154]

In line with the mid-19th century protectionist policies of the Premier, Mirza Taqi Khan, efforts were made to re-establish the cloth industry. Austrian and Prussian experts were hired to teach their skills, modern equipment purchased and government orders were placed. However, with Mirza Taqi Khan's removal from office in 1851 after three years, the impetus was lost. His efforts did bear fruit, particularly in the manufacture of 'Kashmir' shawls:

"...Kirman woolen textiles were as choice as those from Kashmir, so that even experts were unable to differentiate between the Kirman woolen textile, which was and still is known as Amiri cashmere, and that made in Kashmir. For instance, one day a piece of Kirman textile was shown to a couple of woolen textile experts who, taking it for Kashmir product, offered a price of 80 tumans. With all their experience and perceptiveness they could not tell whether it was from Kirman or Kashmir. Consequently, the market for woolen textiles from Kashmir slackened in Iran in favor of the Amiri textiles. In feasts, or on the occasion of presentation a robe of honor, Amiri cashmere was given."[155]

19th century illustrations (fig.100) indicate how highly valued the Kashmir/Kirman fabric was. The royal princes and court officials frequently wore the material for their portrait sittings, not only for outer robes but for linings, sashes and turbans but rarely as shawls as in India.[156] The pattern motifs and colourings were based on Indian examples, although

the reds tended, we are told, to be deeper and the motif design bolder with a greater emphasis on the curved leaf-cone, the butah. During the century two techniques were introduced cut production time and costs. The traditional weaving method of twill-tapestry was both highly specialised and laborious; a richly patterned shawl could take over eighteen months to finish at the rate of 3/4"(2cm) a day. A faster technique using a harness-loom was introduced and these shawls made in silk with floating wefts were known as Husain Qulī Khani. The second technique of needle-work, instead of weaving, was introduced in Kashmir in the 1800s and was then taken up in Iran. These amlī shawls became very popular, with the Kirman embroiderers making the pace by employing more suitable stitching.[157]

But improvement in the industry was short-lived and soon most of the fine quality wool was being exported to India for weaving. The production centres of Kirman and Mashhad survived, but the 2200 shawl looms of Kirman had been halved by the end of the century, with Mashhad retaining only some 300 looms. It was acknowledged that although wool quality was high, the workmanship was inferior:

> "Persian shawls, which are usually 3 meters long and 1 1/4 broad, are comparable in design and color to those of Kashmir, but are far inferior in suppleness and closeness of weave. Good quality shawls usually cost 20-30 ducats,[158] whereas Indian shawls fetch twice to three times as much. Mashad makes shawls for 8-10 ducats, and Kirman fine shawls, a quality similar to European cashmere cloth (shah-i Kusse) costing 5-6 ducats. Different kinds are distinguished, according to pattern and color, under the following names: laki, lajeverdi, butei, shah-i gevezn, ahrami, tirmeh, zengari. A

significant amount of Persian shawls is exported to Constantinople and Alexandria. At home shawlcloth is cut into narrow strips (hashieh) and much used for the bordering and trimming of clothes."[159]

Despite this information textile historians have not attempted to identify shawls of Mashhad manufacture from those of Kirman. Serious research has yet to be conducted into Iranian shawl production to establish the technical and design characteristics of the Persian shawls and those of Kashmir.

c)Cotton

In the early Islamic period, the eastern provinces of Iran had supplied much of the demand for cotton. After picking, ginning and bowing a considerable amount of the crop was used for padding of cushions, mattresses and garment linings.[160] One-third of the total cotton crop was levied by the shah who himself was not adverse to wearing plain dyed cotton robes. However, plain bleached cotton cloth was not generally used and Tavernier explained the preference for patterned fabrics on the scarcity of soap:

"... and so it is not known how to whiten it well. When we come from India to Ispahan, we bring [enough] white linen for five or six months and take it back dirty to India, where it is cleaned much better than in Persia."[161]

Such patterned cottons

"Wreathed and consecutive flowers in gay colours, sparsely thrown upon a ground, white, blue, red, fawn colour"[162]

popular in the 17th century for linings, and outer garments, shirts, etc. remained fashionable for over 150 years.

Without doubt cotton was cheap. In the second half of the 16th century over 20 yards (18.5m) could be

bought for the same price as 8 yards (7.4m) of dyed taffeta silk, and Chardin noted that Indian printed textiles were even cheaper.[163]

The Persian cotton printers of dress fabrics employed wood blocks. The design motifs were isolated according to colour, and hand blocks with the motif in relief prepared accordingly. Inked with the required colour these were applied to the fabric in rotation, with dye and rinsing baths interrupting the process.[164] Both cotton weaving and printing were carried out across Iran but by the Safavid period, certain centres had become recognised for a distinctive quality. However, by the early 1800s Persia looked to northern Europe as well as India for supplies of cheap, good-quality, patterned cottons:

> " Until recently, cotton (panbeh) was, in most parts of the country, made into a rough, strong material, known as kerbas, which was used for clothing by the middle classes, like linen in our country, but mainly as tent covering. In Qum, Simnan, and Abadeh near Shiraz, Kerbas is made by craftsmen, but in addition every household weaves enough to cover its own needs. The piece (tub) is six to eight meters long. Better cloth, similar to nanking (gadek) is made in Isfahan, Yazd, and Kashan... this cloth is closely and evenly woven, and holds its color very well and is therefore very popular for summer clothing... Formerly, the natural yellow cotton (gadek-e shudreng) was used for this purpose but, because of its brittleness, it is difficult to spin it into equal threads, and people prefer to weave gadeks out of English yarn imported through Bushire. As a result the price has been reduced, but the quality has also worsened. The so-called Indiennes or Pars (qalamkar: pen designs) are highly valued -- fine

> weaves with patterns of arabesque-like, interlaced flowers, or many-colored calicoes. Their manufacture is very laborious and costly... The most widely used calicoes in Persia (chit) are usually supplied by Manchester factories, where goods are made to suit Persian taste and for sale in the Orient."[165]

There were various attempts to curtail cotton imports, which in the 1880s accounted for 48% of Iran's total imports, and thereby stem the outflow of currency. In the first decade of the 19th century, rewards were offered to Persian textile workers successfully imitating Indian work. Mirza Taqi Khan who fostered many textile enterprises worked at introducing machinery to speed up processing and reduce production costs. Indeed Yazd and Isfahan did retain some of the market, with the 2000 cotton-weaving looms of Yazd producing 100,000 tumans of cloth annually. Sea Island cotton cultivation was started in the 1850s, and the American Civil War and resulting cotton famine helped to stimulate Iranian exports, but only for raw cotton.[166] The demand for European fabrics remained constant and the revival of the home cotton textile industry proved short-lived:

> "For the past few years [circa 1875]the cheap red and yellow European fabrics have been popular. Whenever their textile fabrics have had a new design and have appeared different to the eyes, the people of Iran have given up their body and soul and have pursued the color and scent of the others. In doing this they have incurred losses which they do not realize... when the merchandise of the weavers' guild lost the market, it began imitating European wares. Weavers paid more attention to appearance than to quality. It was for the sake of elegant appearance and easy handling that they

employed European yarn in weaving qadaks. Their work became ugly and, as a result of mixing European and Iranian materials, it became progressively defective and tore and went to pieces while worn; it also lost its stiffness, fluff, and durability. Spinners lost their jobs and gradually perished. Russia stopped buying. Iranians turned away from their own products, and the weavers' guild suffered a tremendous loss. Consequently other guilds began to face deficits and loss. At least one-tenth of the guilds in this city [Isfahan] were weavers, of whom not even one-fifth has survived. About one-twentieth of the needy widows of Isfahan raised their children by spinning thread for the weavers; they have all perished. Likewise the large guilds such as dyers, carders, and laborers in the bleaching houses, were related to this guild, have mostly disappeared. Other guilds also have felt the effect of this loss; especially the farmers suffered loss because the price of their cotton fell."[167]

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. Chardin vol.IV p.147.
2. For the early history of the Safavid house, see Mazzaoui.
3. Reid p.133 describes this era as a "phantos-morgoria of nightmarish struggles for power." See also "Ḳizilbash" EI^2.
4. Olearius p.235; for a less complimentary version, see Evliya Celebi vol.II p.136.
5. "Ḳizilbash" EI^2; Reid p.21; Woods n.109 p.289; Schmitz p.105. For details of the dress of various dervish orders in the Middle East, and its symbolism, see Brown.
6. Chronicle vol.I p.36.
7. It has been suggested that these changes in height and shape took place between 1530 and 1540, see Goetz p.2247-8. See also Schmitz who suggests that the flat-topped style was derived from Khurasani caps.
8. Kiani pl.16 p.25. Sincerest thanks to Dr. AH Morton for drawing my attention to this find.
9. Upton p.212-3.
10. Silva p.236.
11. Schmitz.
12. Minorsky n.3 p.32, 32-4, n.3 p.136; see also Chardin Atlas p.xxix of qūrchī.
13. Fryer vol.III p.60.
14. Barbaro & Contarini part II p.206.
15. Fryer vol.III p.60.
16. Quoted by Curzon vol.I p.599.
17. Della Valle quoted by Minorsky n.2 p.35; Silva p.256.
18. Fryer vol.III p.53.
19. Minorsky p.34. See Orangerie item 642 p.267-8 for one type of belt clasp.
20. Minorsky p.136.
21. Fryer vol.II p.180-1; see also Keyvani p.94-5.
22. Fryer vol.II n.2 p.180-1.
23. Alessandri as given in Chronicle vol.I p.49, and Fr. Paul Simon as in Chronicle vol.I p.159.
24. The mihmandar bashi, according to Sanson p.27, wore a distinctive tăj described as being of green brocade with "a long Steeple Crown", befeathered and jewel-encrusted; he states that all khans and qizil-bāsh wore this on ceremonial days.
25. Thevenot part II p.93.
26. Smith p.85.
27. Thevenot part II p.91.
28. Ağa Oğlu p.17-8.
29. Smith p.75.

30. Minorsky p.185.
31. Edwards in Hakluyt p.55; see also p.66, and Cartwright p.55.
32. Alessandri p.218-9.
33. Chronicle vol.I p.51; also vol.I p.157 (Fr. Paul Simon) and p.165 (Fr. John Thaddeus). See also Poullet vol.II p.317; Wilson p.225-9 and Algar p.43 for anecdote of a mullah washing his garments after meeting the first Qajar ruler.
34. Perkins n. p.204. For earlier examples, see Poullet vol.II p.317; Chinon p.120-1; Francklin p.170.
35. See below for the ceremony of qat.
36. Krusinski vol.I p.68.
37. Chardin vol.II p.283.
38. Della Valle vol.III p.38. See also Silva p.311.
39. Silva p.276-7.
40. Fr. Paul Simon in Chronicle vol.I p.123. It was also the colour worn by court dancers when menstruating. Black in 16th and 17th century Iran was generally considered unlucky, the "Devil's colour"; Chardin vol.IV p.153; Du Mans p.55.
41. George Manwaring quoted by Denison Ross Sherley p.221.
42. Chronicle vol.I p.285. See also Herbert p.155.
43. Olearius as given in Welch p.73.
44. Thevenot p.104.
45. FO 60/256 paper 27. See also Hanway vol.II p.189 for an incident at Khiva; Eastwick p.290.
46. Allen & Mango vol.II p.519.
47. Previous gifts of robes had to be worn at this audience; Olearius p.214. See also Chronicle vol.I p.213, 480, 559.
48. Chardin vol.III p.266.
49. Olearius p.214. See also Du Mans p.XLIV- XLV; Smith p.13, 48, 73-3; also Chardin vol.III p.266 for the khil^{c}at given to the Indian envoy in 1666.
50. Thevenot part II p.104. Also Tavernier Six vol.I p.432, who mentions 1000 tumans; Chronicle vol.I p.559; Curzon vol.I p.446.
51. Minorsky p.50, 65-6. See also Chardin vol.III p.267.
52. Minorsky p.66; the text continues to note the procedure to obtain a "coronet of honour" (tāj-i vahhaj) which incorporated gold fabric but its exact shape and composition are as yet unknown.
53. Ibid. p.138 suggests that the mihtar referred

to by various European travellers was this official.

54. Barbaro & Contarini part II p.172. See also Smith p.49.

55. The selection of colours was perhaps determined by the need for colour harmony within the composition, rather than a desire to record faithfully the colours of garments worn in the period.

56. Smith p.86. See also Barbaro & Contarini part II p.172.

57. Barbaro & Contarini part II p.172. For 1574 report, see Chronicle vol.I p.50 where it is suggested a chādur is meant, not a kaftan. For 1660s, ibid. vol.I p.157. See also Busbequius p.14. Turcoman women today wear the outer garment in this fashion, so perhaps this custom has its antecedents in qizil-bāsh tradition.

58. Smith p.86.

59. Housego p.207.

60. Taking Fryer vol. III p.121 "it hangs in Pleats to his Ancles" to mean this length, and not the mid-calf.

61. Chardin vol.IV p.145-6; see also Herbert p.232.

62. Chardin vol.IV p.149.

63. Della Valle vol.V p.202; Thevenot part II p.92.

64. Chardin vol.IV p.153; Du Mans p.101.

65. For a description of the diagonal cross-over robe, see Della Valle vol.V p.202.

66. Chardin vol.IV p.149.

67. Thevenot part II p.91. See Chardin vol.IV p.148.

68. Tavernier Six vol.I p.567.

69. Della Valle vol.V p.200.

70. Herbert p.232.

71. Thevenot part II p.92; Tavernier Six vol.I p.567 mentions that the woollen sash was of Kirman production but Olearius p.235 says the finest examples were imported from India, an obvious reference to Kashmir shawls.

72. Olearius p.235.

73. Herbert p.232-3.

74. Chardin vol.IV p.149-51.

75. Olearius p.236.

76. White vol. II p.96-7.

77. See fn.21 and 42.

78. Chardin vol.IV p.151.

79. For an explanation of the actual technique, see Hald p.308-10.

80. Wulff p.228-30; Chardin vol.IV p.151; Binning vol.II p.71.

81. Chardin vol.IV p.159.
82. Ibid. vol.IV p.119, 158-9; Tavernier/Pia p.269.
83. Fryer vol.III p.121-2.
84. Green turbans were worn by descendants of the Prophet, and white by mullahs; Tavernier Six p.568; Olearius p.234; Du Mans p.101; Thevenot part II p.92.
85. Chardin vol.IV p.152.
86. Olearius p.234.
87. Upton gives these innovative fashions precise dating relating to the reigns of the shahs.
88. Schmitz.
89. Olearius p.234; Chardin vol.IV p.153; Tavernier Six vol.I p.102; Thevenot part II p.93.
90. Olearius p.202.
91. Chronicle vol.I p.158.
92. Krusinski vol.I p.42.
93. Chardin vol.IV p.153.
94. Tavernier Six vol.I p.428-9.
95. Lockhart p.63.
96. Herbert p.230. See also Chronicle vol.I p.287.
97. Chronicle vol.I p.287; see also p.239 for story of ʿAbbās I removing his turban as sign of respect for Spanish king.
98. Tavernier/Pia p.269; Chardin vol.IV p.159.
99. Sanson p.63-4.
100. Chardin vol.IV p.156.
101. Tavernier Six p.572.
102. Herbert p.48.
103. Chardin vol.IV p.157.
104. Olearius p.236.
105. Chardin vol.IV p.157-8, also p.163 ff..
106. Olearius p.234. See also Chardin vol.IV p.156; Herbert p.233-4 and 192; Sanson p.64.
107. Chardin p.216. See also Sanson p.63-4.
108. Herbert as given in Housego p.205.
109. Silva p.276.
110. Alessandri p.217; Scarce Development p.7. See also Silva p.276; Edwards in Hakluyt p.55.
111. Krusinski vol.I p.147-8.
112. Ibid. vol.I p.148-9.
113. Ibid. vol.I p.170.
114. Quoted by Lockhart p.271.
115. Otter vol.I p.40; Algar p.41.
116. Cook vol.II p.331-2.
117. Hanway vol.I p.251-2; Perry p.280.
118. Perry p.282.
119. Lockhart p.253.
120. Hanway vol.I p.189.
121. Perry p.288-9.
122. Cook vol.II p.445.

123. Chardin vol.IV p.154.
124. Scarce Development p.13,11.
125. Cook vol.II p.444.
126. Della Valle vol.V p.204 notes a new shade naftî named after the colour of Baku oil became very fashionable in the first half of the 17th century.
127. Hakluyt p.250.
128. Wills p.190-1; Fraser Travels p.361.
129. Chardin vol.IV p.257.
130. Keyvani p.48 ff., 64 ff., 79 ff..
131. Kuznetsova as given in Issawi Iran p.287, 285 ff..
132. Minorsky p.21, 30, 49-50; Floor Guilds p.105-7.
133. Wilson p.130.
134. For details, see "Abrisam"EIr.
135. Denison Ross Juan p.49.
136. Chardin vol.IV p.270. See also Della Valle vol.V p.200 for "milec zerbaf" (? malik zarbafi). Another late 17th century source, Du Mans p.342, gives three varieties Quenart, Carany (? Shirvani) and Sarbafit (zarbafi). See also Davis p.140.
137. Lafont & Rabino quoted by Issawi Iran p.237. Nowadays there are grades 1 to 4 with two substandard classifications, shallah siyah and kar; Wulff p.183.
138. Chardin vol.IV p.261. Du-ruyah (or du-ru'i) means double-faced. My thanks to Dr AH Morton for pointing this out.
139. Aga-Oglu p.44-8; Ackerman and SPA vol.V p.2094 ff. who deduces that Ghiyath was the weaver and designer from his epithet naqshband but usually this term is translated as designer, embroiderer; cf. Steingass. For another signature, see "Abdullah" EIr; Mackie's theory that Abdullah was the entrepreneur is questionable.
140. Chardin vol.IV p.262.
141. Wulff p.176-7. See also Chardin vol.IV p.245.
142. Chardin vol.IV p.262.
143. Minorsky p.59. Both metals were also used in printing onto the fabrics; Chardin vol.IV p.264. For beating and drawing metal thread in the 1960s, see Wulff p.43-7.
144. Reath & Sachs p.39; Kahlenberg p.725. It should be stressed once again that few Islamic textiles have been published with precise technical details.
145. Ferrier p.200-1.
146. Wulff p.177; Reath & Sachs p.37-9.
147. Wills p.191.
148. Curzon vol.I p.367-8; Ferrier p.199-200;

Issawi Iran p.12-3.

149. Hanway as given in Fraser Travels p.358. The royal monopoly on the purchase and sale of silk was removed in 1629; Keyvani p.220.

150. Curzon vol.I p.368; Gilbar p.346-9; Landor vol.I p.60-1; Issawi Iran p.231.

151. Mirza Husain as in Issawi Iran p.281.

152. McDaniel p.40;Gilbar p.348.

153. According to Chardin vol.IV p.263, goats-hair was used.

154. Jakob Polak as in Issawi Iran p.271.

155. Feridun Adamiyat as in Issawi Iran p.294-5.

156. Fraser Travels p.369.

157. Irwin p.3-4; Elphinstone vol.II p.287-8.

158. Issawi Iran p.269 suggests this was the Dutch ducat worth almost 10 shillings.

159. Jakob Polak as in Issawi Iran p.269. Wealthy merchants particularly liked tirmah shawls for their turban cloths; Floor Merchants p.105.

160. Olearius p.235.

161. Tavernier Six vol.I p.567. The scarcity of soap may be linked with earlier attempts to create a state monopoly; Keyvani p.128.

162. Fraser Travels p.362,; for prices, see p.367.

163. Denison Ross Juan p.49; Chardin vol.IV p.263-4. Della Valle vol.V p.201 states that the shah exported the total output of Iranian cotton,

164. For a detailed account of the processing and preparation of cotton, see Wulff p.225-7.

165. Jakob Polak as in Issawi Iran p.269. The Persian word for printed calico chit is derived from the Hindi term. For the price of qadek, see Fraser Travels p.362.

166. Issawi Iran p.135-6, 245, 308-9.

167. Mirza Husain as in Issawi Iran p.280-1; see also p.279, 268; Waring p.8.

CHAPTER IX

THE QAJAR COURT (1779-1924) AND CLOTHING REFORM LAWS UNDER RIẒA SHAH PAHLAVI

> "... a Persian man in the bazaar [was] carrying a parcel under his arm, but a friend stopped him and said, 'I want to speak to you.' He replied, 'I cannot wait now.' 'You cannot wait; what is the matter ?' 'I have bought my wife a new dress.' 'What of that?' asked the friend. 'Cannot you wait to speak to me?' 'No,' was the reply, 'I am afraid if I wait it will be out of fashion before I get home.'"[1] A Tehrani joke of 1930

At his death, Āghā Muḥammad Khan of the Qajar family, governor of Azerbaijan left his nephew and heir Fatḥ ᶜAlī (1797-1834) military and political control of the northern Iranian provinces, but his ill-equipped forces were in no position to forestall the Russian advance into Iranian territory around the Caspian. The eastern regions came under Qajar rule in 1833, but this aroused British military intervention, determined to safeguard its interests in India. Increasingly the Qajar regime found itself unable to act without regard to these two major powers. Internal dissension became increasingly vocal, with demands for participation in the country's administration and cessation of foreign intervention in Iranian internal affairs; real power rested not on the Peacock Throne but on the ambassadorial chairs of Tzarist Russia and Victorian Britain.

Serious disturbances in Tehran in the winter of 1905-6 and the withdrawal of support by the ᶜulamā forced Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shah (1896-1907) to grant a constitution on Belgian lines. Within months of the

national assembly's official opening, the shah was dead and his son Muḥammad ᶜAlī Shah remained unconvinced of the assembly's value. Nationalist forces seized Isfahan and then Tehran, and deposed the shah in favour of his son, a minor.

Public xenophobia was not diminished by the Russian withdrawal during the Bolshevik revolution as Britain filled the power vacuum. Opposition found a leader in Riẓa Khan of Mazandaran, commander of a 'Cossack' brigade and with its support, he was appointed head of the Iranian armed forces while a colleague, Ziya al-Dīn became Prime Minister. Two years later, in the autumn of 1923, Riẓa Khan took on the responsibility of the Premiership. The call for the establishment of a republic on Kemalist lines gathered force, but Riẓa Khan forestalled this and in April 1926 he was installed as shah.

DRESS OF THE QAJAR SHAHS

The Qajar rulers were never to achieve control over all the former Safavid territories, but much of the Safavid administrative system was revived along with the notion that the shah was the Shadow of God on earth. Court ritual proclaimed this concept, as shown in Ker Porter's description of Fatḥ ᶜAlī Shah at the 1818 Nau Ruz festival:

> "He was one blaze of jewels, which literally dazzled the sight on first looking at him; but the details of his dress were these: A lofty tiara of three elevations was on his head, which shape appears to have been long peculiar to the crown of the Great King... Several black feathers, like the heron-plume, were intermixed with the resplendent aigrettes of this truly imperial diadem, whose bending points were finished with pear-formed pearls, of an immense size. His vesture was of

gold tissue, nearly covered with a similar disposition of jewellery; and crossing the shoulders were two strings of pearls..."[2]

The style of the dress followed post-Safavid fashion, the long cuff covering the back of the hand, the square neckline and converging 'seams' down the chest, although these last details are usually concealed in the portraits of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shah by his beard. If he is shown standing (fig.101), wide trousers are visible through the waist-to-hem side slits of the robe. On his feet he wore white socks or hose covered in small floral motifs and green heeled backless shoes. Around the waist of the bell-shaped qabā', was a gold belt, encrusted with diamonds and emeralds.[3] On state occasions the sister diamond of the Kuh-i Nur was worn fastened around the upper arm by silk ties and over the shoulders, falling down the front and the back of the robe was a 'tippet' covered with pearl embroidery on a velvet ground, the pearls "so close together that little, if any, of the velvet is visible."[4] The whole efffect was stunning:

"... he was so covered with jewels of an extraordinary size, and their splendour from his being seated where the rays of the sun played upon them, was so dazzling that it was impossible to distinguish the minute parts which combined to give such amazing brilliancy to his whole figure."[5]

Outside state occasions, the shah's dress in the first quarter of the 19th century was made of inexpensive material, usually cotton. Whether this was a matter of taste or Fatḥ ʿAlī Shah's renowned avarice is unclear, but the court followed the fashion. The basic ensemble in 1824 was described by Keppel:

"Our head-dress was a black sheep-skin cap, pinched into a peak behind, and fitting the head rather closely before. A pale blue gown, which extended

to the calf of the leg was neatly crimped, and decorated with innumerable little sugar-loaf buttons down each side of the chest, and from the elbow to the wrist. This gown was open in many parts, and discovered beaneath it, what I fear must be called a petticoat, ornamented with a pine-apple pattern on a bright purple ground; over this was bound loosely round the waist a scarlet shawl. A capacious pair of silk trowsers of a pale pink, covered the lower extremities."[6]

This tallies with the account given by Olivier earlier but court paintings of the 1830s (fig.102) show the outer garment to the ankle, which is confirmed by Stuart's description of the shah's dress at a military review on 23 November 1835.[7] By the mid-century, this length was accepted by all, as Binning reflects in his summary of fashionable men's wear:

" The Persian costume consists of the following articles of attire -- a peerahun or shirt, resembling a chemise without a collar -- a pair of zeer-jameh or light, loose trousers, fastened by a running string round the waist -- over these, the arkhalek or under coat, and above that the ᶜaba or outer coat; both fitting close to the body as far as the waist, wide and loose below, and reaching to the ankles. The sleeves of these coats, are open from the elbow, and may be buttoned down to the wrist, or left loose, at the pleasure of the wearer."[8]

THE QAJAR KULAH

The black kulāh, the tall, brimless lambskin cap with a conical or bifurcated form was adopted by the Qajar family (fig.100), discarding the four-peaked Afshar head-gear:

"This cap is of black lambskin, nearly a foot and a

> half [45cm] high, of conical form, and always pinched or folded in at the top. It is lined with calico, and has a stiffener of thin pasteboard within it, to keep it in shape. A small skullcap of cotton is worn under the cap, and changed every now and then, as it becomes dirty. A tolerably good cap will cost about fourteen kerroonees, and a common one of rough black sheepskin may be had for two or three; while one of the finest sort, made of the delicate fur of Bokhara, will sell for seven or eight tomans."[9]

Exactly when this was introduced is uncertain, but by the 1820s it was de rigeur for the upper classes. Ouseley's account of April 1811 indicates that the fashion was more strongly associated with the capital city and northern regions than in the south, for the Iranians in his entourage from Shiraz waited until Qazerun before they donned the kulāh.[10]

It lasted over a century, but each year saw a subtle change to the form or the manner in which it was worn. In 1811 fashion demanded that the kulāh was worn slightly to one side or pushed backwards.[11] At that time it was about 18" (46cm) tall with a sloping top, but by the 1890s the height had dropped to 6 to 10" (15 to 25cm) with a level top for the military and civil service personnel, whereas the fashionable kulāh was very tall and conical. The ᶜulamā did not wear this head-dress, retaining instead their turbans wound with white Kashmir.[12]

The Qajar princes frequently wore the kulāh with a rich blaze of jewels pinned somewhere on the fur. Those court officials, honoured with a Kashmir shawl as khilᶜat, would wear this wound round the kulāh for royal audiences. The Grand Vezir and Master of Ceremonies would fix a silver baton inscribed with a Qur'anic verse within the folds. At some point this

style became very exclusive, denoting that the wearer had received royal permission to wear the shawl, and by the end of the century was limited to the shah, his family and certain high court officials, to be worn only at the shah's levées.[13]

KHIL^{c}AT

On the sixth day of Nau Ruz, honorific gifts were sent to the provincial governors to signify tenure was extended for another year. Some officials were deliberately lulled into a false sense of security by the news of such gifts. In 1851 the exiled Mirza Taqi Khan, mentioned in the previous chapter, left the protection of his home for the bath-house to prepare for the handing-over ceremony. This had been the objective all along; in the hammām he was set upon and murdered. As in Safavid times, the handing over of the khil^{c}at was performed outside the main city in a prescribed area, the khil^{c}at-pushān. The bearer was rewarded in return with the khil^{c}at-baha, such a customary expense that provision for it was made in the provincial budgets; in Khurasan it was never less than 1000 tumans. The governor then donned the garments to make his public appearance among the provincial nobility and ^{c}ulamā. The royal letter of presentation was then read out to the assembled crowd and public celebrations followed.[14]

The honour was greater if the garment or garments came from the personal wardrobe of the shah or his family, and more so if it had been worn by the donor himself. Fath ^{c}Alī Shah might have traded on this as apparently his gifts often betrayed his miserly nature.[15] However, it seems his court fared better as a contemporary observed that the khil^{c}at worn by the court included richly embroidered and luxuriously fur-trimmed robes. By 1850 Kashmir, or more probably

home-produced Kirman shawls were awarded as one of the highest honours with garments of "cloth... and spangled muslin"[16] being given to lesser officials.

COURT DRESS BEFORE EUROPEANIZATION

With the exception of Muharram ceremonies when black was worn by all, court dress for state occasions was of richly patterned silks and wools, with glossy luxurious fur tippets worn round the neck (fig.102) and, for the members of the royal family, jewels at the waist, shoulders and arms. Usually the posts of court officials were identifiable not by particular clothing or head-gear but from the insignia of office carried in the hand or about the person, as in previous centuries. The Sadr Azam or Grand Vezir was recognisable by the distinctive emerald and pearl shamsah (star clasp), while the "maréchaux persans" wore a blue with green striped sash.[17]

In the 1890s there was one group at court with distinctive dress, the chief executioners who always wore red to symbolize the shah's displeasure,[18] as the shah did on occasions to indicate his wish for retribution. British legation officials in Tehran reported an incident in March 1861, following public demonstrations against price rises in basic foodstuffs in which the shah appeared in red "indicative of further bloody measures" after dealing summarily with the chief magistrate of Tehran.[19]

Another touch of scarlet was on the feet. In Qajar court ceremonies, all servants of the crown and the official representatives of foreign powers had red cloth boots (fig.102)

> "fastened under the knee with a strong silk garter to keep them up. Meerza Shaffee could not bear this ligature, and his boots were always about his heels. Meerza Bozurg, whose dress was simplicity

> itself, always prided himself on what tailors call 'a good fit', and was more then commonly careful his boots should show no wrinkle; he therefore wore the ligature extremely tight."[20]

Over these boots "similar to those used by our sewer men"[21] a type of kafsh or slipper with 2" (5cm) heels were slipped on, but removed at a prescribed distance according to rank, as one approached the royal presence. In the hands of an irate prince these shoes of green horse or donkey skin with their iron tips, could prove a dangerous weapon as one court official learned to his cost: the loss of two front teeth.[22] They were instruments of torture to the Europeans who found them uncomfortable and difficult to wear, and in a protocol to the Treaty of Turkmenchai 1828 the foreign representatives were allowed to leave these heeled shoes and galoshes at the doorway.[23] Red cloth galoshes continued to be worn throughout the century,[24] even being donned for the Nau Ruz celebrations at the Tehran court in the mid-1910s.[25]

Outside state and official occasions, the popular style of footwear was

> "the Orussi or Russian shoe, similar to our children's shoe without the strap... Next, the Kafsh, or slippers of various kinds. The heel is folded down, and remains so. The priests affect a peculiar heavy shoe, with an ivory or wooden lining at the heel. Green shoes of shagreen are very common at Ispahan... Boots are only used by horsemen, and are then worn much too large, for ease."[26]

Increasingly after 1850 European-styled shoes became available and the fashion for them gained momentum, although it was still generally held that wearers of such polished shoes had to be in the employment of Europeans.[27]. Long hose or jurawb were worn while

the less wealthy had ankle-length socks. White cotton ones were used for summer, a worsted patterned variety for the cooler months. A particular favourite in the 1810s was shir u shakar, so called because its white and light brown patterning resembled the colouring of milk and sugar.[28]

The fabric patterns of the early Qajar period followed those established for so many years, recalling Safavid tradition[29] of small isolated floral sprays or butah motifs arranged in staggered horizontal rows sometimes enclosed by a scalloped or lattice design, or narrow vertical stripes, plain or decorated themselves with flowers.

In the illustrations (fig.102) the cut and style of garments fall into three main categories. The fur-trimmed, sleeveless outer garments are interesting with the marked difference between the length of the front and back panels, with the central front opening more exaggerated than previously. The voluminous robe with the extremely long, wide sleeves must be the jubba, described by Wills writing in the second half of the 19th century:

> "This ample and majestic garment is affected by mirzas (secretaries), Government employes of high rank, as ministers, farmers of taxes, courtiers, physicians, priests. The wearers carry a staff as a rule. The jubas are made of the finest cloth, very amply cut. They have a standing collar and long sleeves. These sleeves are from one to two feet longer than the arm, and are often allowed to hang down empty when the garment is worn out of doors: but when in the actual presence of guests or a grandee, they are used to keep the hands hidden (a token of respect to those present), and the many wrinkles formed by the excessive length of these sleeves are supposed to be the beauty."[30]

Even with the introduction of the sardari or frock-coat for non-military officials in the second half of the 19th century, these long ample robes were still worn for important state occasions such as investitures (fig.104).[31] The third type of outer garment shown was modelled on the fashion popular in the time of Nādir Shah (fig.94) and Karīm Khan Zand (fig.95). The name for this robe is unclear. In his amusingly accurate account of 19th century Persian life, Morier mentions a red cloth rain-coat called a barani worn by the nobility and upper classes, and indeed the coat worn by the Zand 'prince' (fig.96) is red.[32] Another possibility is that it is the kamar-chīn, which Wills defines as

> "... a tunic of coloured calico, silk, satin, moire, cloth, Cashmere, or Kerman shawl, gold embroidered silk, satin, or velvet, according to the time of year and the purse or position of the wearer. This, like the alkaluk [alkhaliq], is open in front, and shows the shirt. It has a small standing collar at times, and is double-breasted. It has a pocket-hole on either side, giving access to the pockets, which are always in the alkaluk, in which garment is the breast-pocket where watch, money, jewels, and seals are kept. The length of the 'kemmercheen' denotes the class of the wearer. The military and official classes of the various 'noker', or servants, from the king's valet, who may also be prime minister, wear them short; that is to say, to the knee, while fops and lutis (sharpers) wear them shorter even than this. The priests, and merchants, and the villagers, especially around Shiraz, and the townsmen and shopkeepers, with doctors and lawyers, wear them very long, often nearly to their heels."[33]

In the early 19th century the physical attributes,

his willowy slenderness, his small waist, of Fath ʿAlī Shah were acknowledged as the fashionable ideal.[34] The heavy full beard favoured by the Qajar ruler was also copied but his successors preferred to grow only moustaches, a trend then adopted by those at court, although the custom of growing full beards continued among the middle and lower classes.[35] By the 1900s, the beard was grown by young men from 30 to 35, but then kept short until the age of 50 when it was allowed to grow unimpeded.[36]

The tradition of shaving the head, except for one long lock (kākul) continued to be popular among Iranian men. Knotted up and concealed under the head-dress, the lock provided a handhold for the Angel of Death or the Prophet himself to lift the individual at death into Paradise.[37] Young dandies of the 1840s preferred to grow their hair to curl gently at the ear-lobes. Even longer hair was fashionable in the second half of the century, when the two long tresses (zulfs) by the ears were constantly fingered by the proud owner. But as European ideas began to influence Persian fashion, so the young man looked westwards for hair-styles:

> "Long hair...is going out of fashion in Persia, and the more civilised affect the cropped hair worn by the Europeans, and even have a parting in it."[38]

THE MILITARY AND EUROPEANIZATION

With the introduction of European military instructors into the Iranian forces, it was decided that the army should have uniforms based on European military dress. In the 1800s the forces were kitted out in French-styled blue or red jackets, with wide white or blue trousers,[39] but around 1810, the uniforms reflected Britain's growing political influence in Iran. The camel corps outside Tehran were

dressed in red

> "something like the fashion of our British regimentals about twenty or thirty years ago. They wear a bright brass cap, of a cone shape, with a bunch of cock-feathers stuck in the pointed top"[40]

while the cavalry of 1818 wore green jackets with red cuffs, a red cape, ample white trousers with half-boots, and the Qajar kulāh. Under the command of Lieutenant Lindsay, the reorganised artillery were kitted out in British-styled blue and red.[41] The bahaduran of grenadiers formed of Russian 'deserters' in 1826 and disbanded fourteen years later had just as colourful an uniform

> "... heavy shakos, with high green plumes, red contees with wings of blue cloth, and white lace; loose white trousers, and high boots."[42]

The changes continued under the direction of the heir-apparent Abbas Mirza (d.1833) who initiated a programme of military reforms which established the Nizam-i Jadid or New Order. The Qajar kulāh was retained "as a sign not so much of nationality, as of religious allegiance"[43] but the rest of the uniform was based on the Russian model (fig.104). Prince Zill ul-Sultan, governor of Isfahan, preferred to dress his cavalry unit, the Fauj-i Fath-i Nasiri in Austrian military kit.[44]

There was no standardization, and little was made in Iranian workshops. With the short-lived appointment of Mirza Taqi Khan as Premier in 1848, steps were immediately taken to rectify both points. Firstly, a standard uniform was made with tight trousers, a short, quilted coat with embroidery and buttons, in the Austrian manner, with the shah kulāh. Secondly, all items were to be produced in Iran. To this end new factories were established for the weaving of broad-

cloth, while existing textile workshops were given financial support, as in Mazandaran:

> " The Mazandaran woolen cloaks... thanks to Amir's endeavors and the efforts of Mahdi Quli Mirza, governor of Mazandaran, gained such popularity and increase in the volume of production that they were used, instead of broadcloth, for the uniforms and garments of the soldiers and were sold at four krans a roll.
>
> " When the Amir learned of the difficulties facing the weavers in Isfahan, he arranged for them to prepare and deliver to the government officials 50,000 uniforms annually. Thus, by giving them financial assistance, he endeavored to stimulate their market.
>
> "... in Kashan Haji Muhammad Husain-i Kashani produced from cotton and silk [reading kaj for gach] a good and durable fabric similar to broadcloth and presented it to Amir. Mirza Taqi-Khan liked it as an army overcoat and gave him a sum of 900 tumans to prepare, from that material, and deliver about 2000 army overcoats...
>
> " Likewise, when a lady artisan from Tehran... made a sample of officers' shoulder straps, which were formerly imported from Austria and the Ottoman Empire, and presented it to Amir, she was received with much kindness and warmth. Through financial aid, Mirza Taqi-Khan had the necessary equipment prepared for her and hired numerous assistants. For five years she was put in complete charge of making officers' shoulder straps."[45]

The second visit of Nasir al-Din Shah (1848-96) to Europe in 1878 resulted in the formation of a regiment of Persian Cossacks, later expanded to three with a full complement of 1800 men. Under Lieutenant-Colonel Domantovich, these men (fig.104) were kitted out in

Russian Caucasian military dress, a long brown 'tcherkess' or coat with a heavy belt and a shako as the head-gear:[46]

> "[an] admirable semi-military costume, -- a garb so graceful and picturesque that it has been adopted by Russia, Turkey, and Persia for Corps of the royal guards. The head is crowned with a red leather cap encircled by lambskin, of which the wool is worn with the curl either short or long, black, grey, or white, to suit the taste of the wearer. The caftan, or coat, fits tightly at the waist, but the flowing skirts descend nearly to the ankles, and the sleeves and the waist are loosely clasped by buttons and corded loops of gold thread and silk, while the same material decorates the coat with figured patterns. Across the breast on each side is a row of silver-topped cartridge-cases..."[47]

In theory, they received each year four uniforms, one of European cloth, the second of Persian manufacture and two in thin cotton, one more than the ordinary army private. In practice, outside the capital the ordinary soldier was a sorry sight:

> "Articles of private clothing fill the gaps left by the inadequate or absent official garb. The ordinary uniform for regiments of the line is a tunic of coarse blue serge, with a brown leather belt, trousers of the same, and a shako of black lambskin with a brass badge in front; but it is rare to find a soldier who possesses the entire equipment. Theoretically, every private is supposed to receive two suits of cotton, one suit of cloth, and two pairs of boots per annum; whilst, every two years, when the regiment is disbanded, he is entitled to a bonus of six months' pay to help him home. The former he seldom receives; the

latter never. I have seen soldiers in many parts of the world, but rarely have I seen such creditable specimens of manhood so woefully attired, or so dismally furnished."[48]

One uniform remained un-Europeanised in the 19th century, that of the shatirs (fig.84). Brydges noted in the first decade of the century, these men were dressed in yellow broadcloth trimmed with silver, carrying silver batons and with feathers in the head-dress, but by the end of the century the main dress colour was red:

"... Royal footmen, whose grotesque costumes border on the ridiculous... are indeed a fitting accompaniment to the Royal horses with their magenta [hennaed] tails and spots, for they wear red coats with ballet-dancer skirts and green facings, green knee-breeches, white stockings, and tall stiff erections resembling a fool's cap on the head, topped by crests suggestive of nothing but a cock's comb."[49]

By 1910 both red and also green were recorded as the main colour of the uniform with the head-dress decorated with peacock feathers or, according to Feuvrier, white, red and green pompoms.[50]

The shah took to wearing military uniforms on state occasions, relegating the long, ample robes and the close-fitting qabā' to the glass cabinets of the royal treasury. Muḥammad Shah (1834-48) was the first to adopt a more European style of dress as seen in the royal portraits. In blue, red or black, the tunic (fig.105) was cut like an European military or frock coat with a central front fastening, single or double breasted with button-holes (not loops) on the left and full skirts to the knee. The high collar and deep sleeve cuffs were heavily worked with gold thread which on some coats was continued down the front and around

the hem. Another more informal royal tunic with gathered skirt panels, and a narrow double-breasted front edged in braid with a soft shoulder line was worn occasionally.[51] Decorative and jewelled armlets, epaulettes on padded shoulders, sash and belt completed the coat, unless a short jacket of Kashmir/Kirman patterned fabric with elbow-length, fur-trimmed sleeves was worn, in which case the heavy epaulettes were removed. Stitched gloves were worn or carried. The trousers were tailored in the European manner often white, cream or black to judge from the official portraits.[52]

Gradually the European influence in clothing became more apparent but the process was slower than in the Ottoman capital, probably because the number of European residents in Iran was smaller, and very few Iranians were sent aboard to study.[53] Tehran was markedly less cosmopolitan than Istanbul. The official change to Europeanized dress for government servants was announced before the shah's visit to the European capitals in April 1873, with the former Minister of Justice and the Prime Minister, Mirza Ḥusain Khan introducing the reform.[54]

The kulāh was replaced by a fez-like head-gear and the frock-coat (sardari) (fig.106) styled like the 'stambouline' in similar sombre colours was the required dress. The full skirt of the sardari was considered decent unlike the British short jacket:

> "The Persian abominate our round jackets, so commonly worn in India, deeming that these abridged garments involve an indelicate exposure of the person."[55]

Some forty years later, Curzon, remarking on the fullness of the sardari noted:

> "The Persians... would appear to estimate rank by the extent to which the hinder part of the body is

enveloped, if one may judge from the voluminous skirts that are worn by H.M. the Shah."[56]

The visual effect was very low-keyed in comparison with the gaily patterned robes earlier in the century. However, the fashion-conscious carefully selected the colour of the a.khaliq and of the sardari. If a purple sardari was worn, it was usual for a yellow a.khaliq to be selected; a brown one complimented by a red a.khaliq, grey with light blue.[57] Court officials however were required to follow the dictate of Nasir al-Din Shah (d.1896), buttoning the sardari to the neck. There was a dash of colour across the chests of the notables who wore the sash of blue and green which carried the offical jewelled decoration in recognition of their rank.[58]

THE ʿULAMĀ AND ITS REACTION

Relations between the ʿulamā and the Qajar dynasty were unsatisfactory from the start, as demonstrated by a certain Isfahani mulla laundering his clothes (a traditional purification rite) immediately after meeting the first Qajar ruler. On the other hand, the shah's deliberate act of taking the Safavid sword at his investiture, symbolising the acceptance of the Shiʿi faith as the state doctrine, and in later years involving the ʿulamā in the coronation ceremony, did something to silver the Qajar image.[59] The religious group visually disassociated itself from the regime by rejecting European-styled garments and the Qajar kulāh, and retaining the turban.[60]

"From its colour we may draw the conclusion as to his being a descendant of the Prophet (if greenish-black or bluish-black) or to his having performed the pilgrimage to Mecca (if cream-coloured with pale yellow embroidery, -- ʿimāma-i shakari i.e. 'sugar-coloured turban'). A dazzlingly white huge

> turban carefully wound points to a representative of the higher clergy (mujtahid). A green turban shows that its wearer, though a sayyid, is not a Persian... Bound crosswise above the forehead it shows that the wearer is a Sunni."[61]

Their robes, the kamar-chin and jubba, were long to the ankle and ample in cut. The preferred styling in the early 1820s consisted of a diagonal cross-over panel, buttoning or tying on the right hipbone and kept in place by the shal-i kamar around the waist, the colour echoing that of the turban.[62] Completing the ensemble was the light but warm ᶜabā', preferably woven from the fine under-hair of the goat.[63]

Opposition to foreign intervention in Iranian affairs found a voice in the ᶜulamā anxious to safeguard Islam and its believers from Christian infiltration. European dress was the mark of the non-Muslim, so for a Iranian - as for Turkish - Muslim to don clothing associated with non-Muslims, was considered by the ᶜulamā a public rejection of Islam. Therefore the military reforms of ᶜAbbās Mirza (d.1833) did not escape criticism:

> "They say, 'This man [ᶜAbbās Mirza] is a Christian, and wishes to make us Christians. It is for this reason that he gives currency to the customs of the Christians, and causes us to wear their dress.'"[64]

Outside the court and military circles, few were taking to European fashions in the mid-19th century:

> " A new fashion in dress was introduced by the late shah [Muḥammad Shah d.1848], and is followed by most of the royal family, but by few if any others. This is the nezam or uniform, consisting of a frockcoat, close-fitting trousers, a shirt with a collar, and a handerchief or stock -- all in European style. The Persian cap and cloak are worn

> in addition to this. The people here [in Shiraz] abominate all innovations, particularly European; and Prince Feerooz Mirza, the only man in Sheerauz who wears this attire, is privately pronounced to be a fuzool (a tomfool) and a maskhera (buffoon) for adopting it."[65]

Hostile public opinion simmered especially during the government of Mashi al-Dawla, against these men who

> "... attached no importance to the sunna of the Prophet and encouraged servitors, government servants and other classes... to ape Europeans and to resemble them... Four nights each month they held a reception and called these gatherings 'soirees'; all classes, Muslim and infidel, came to those gatherings... In those gatherings coming and going, standing and sitting had to be in the European manner. One had to sit bare-headed and wear boots..."[66]

In Tabriz the leader of the ᶜulamā was strong enough to force the exile of the governor Amir Nizam in 1886 for encouraging the heir-apparent to wear such clothing.[67] By that time the impact of European fashions on women's clothing was becoming apparent and so a matter of growing concern to the ᶜulamā; this will be discussed below.

FASHIONABLE DRESS OF 19th CENTURY LADIES

In public the all-enveloping veil concealed everything but the height of the urban female.[68] In south-west Persia dark blue was the preferred colour as in neighbouring Arab lands, but in the northern provinces plain white or red, or checkered blue, or red and blue, or red and green colours were popular for the chādur. Light-weight silks, cottons and muslins decorated with stripes or floral sprays were popular for prayer chādurs; in colder weather, heavier fabrics

were worn. Generally the ornamental selvedge pattern was carefully retained to identify each chādur when folded and stored. By the beginning of the 20th century much darker colours were in vogue with black favourite in the towns. Made of one, two or even three lengths, joined horizontally selvedge to selvedge (fig. 107 left), the chādur was kept the veil in place by

> "A tape or strap... sewn half-way down the front of each side, so making a long loop which is put over the head..."[69]

But the veil was not always untailored length. Much work went into the preparation of the chādur namaz (fig.107 right) or the prayer chādur worn in the house and occasionally outdoors:

> "A woman's measurement is taken from the front of her forehead over her head to within an inch or two of the ground at the back. This measurement is taken as the radius of a half-circle, and the chadar, which is half-a-circle in shape, is cut accordingly. The result is that the chadar hangs evenly all round, fitting snugly at the top and being full at the bottom; it has no kind of fastening. A bead or small button, or even a knot of thread, is sewn on the middle of the selvedge, so marking the piece which is to be directly above the nose. The circular edge may be left raw, or it may be hemmed... It is amusing to see the cutting out of a chadar. It is, of course, done on the floor, and while the first width is a single length, the second, and if for a tall woman the third, may have several joins."[70]

Until the end of the 19th century, the face was concealed behind a rū-band or, occasionally mentioned, a burqa[c], a face-veil of cotton with two holes at eye-level. The rū-band was made from cambric cotton approximately 18"(46cm) wide and 4'6"(1.37m) long. At

eye-level a middle section about 4"(10cm) wide of fine drawn-threadwork provided a lattice through which the wearer could see. Such embroidery, rū-band-duzi was executed by the ladies of the house-hold or sent out to the bazaar. In the latter case, the length of material would be weighed accurately and on completion re-weighed; payment was then calculated on the difference:

> "This is remarkably fine work... A great many threads are drawn, and the women very much prefer to work in silk on cambric... With this work it is not so easy to calculate the price as with qulab-duzi. Threads are taken out, and often the weight of fine silk used would be almost negligible."[71]

The rū-band was worn outside the chādur, fastened at the back of the head by an ornamental clasp or brooch, often the only means of identifying the wearer. Around the turn of the century, this was discarded in favour of the pichah:

> "This is made of black horsehair; the patterns, which are finely woven, are varied and pretty, but they can be distinguished only are close quarters. These horsehair shield are about nine inches square [22.5cm]; they are bound at the top with a piece of ribbon, and have ribbon strings, sometimes coloured, with which they are tied round the head. They are worn under the chadar, not over it as the white veils are. A pechee is much cooler and more comfortable to wear, and is becoming the recognized fashion for those who can afford it."[72]

But as the pichah covered only part of the face, the innovation did not at first meet with governmental approval, and those wearing it were sometimes punished.[73]

Little else was visible save the feet, often with henna painting on the soles and toes. Within the house, white Kashmir/Kirman patterned socks covered

these designs. Outdoors high-heeled shoes were worn, styled like the men's footwear and made of green leather, although by the end of the century many other colours were worn. The outdoor shoes with upturned toes and backless (fig.108) were difficult to walk in and it was generally assumed by Europeans in Iran, that such shoes were deliberately designed to restrict the mobility of the female sex[74] with the iron-tipped heels meaning no woman could silently slip away.[75]

The costume of Qajar ladies was basically simple; a chemise pirahan and zir-jamah (pantaloons) were essential. The latter in the early 1820s were extremely voluminous, fastened by a drawstring at the waist, rather than the Ottoman habit of wearing the shalvar low on the hips. Made of velvet, silk or cotton, the zir-jamah were tucked into cloth leggings or 'stocking-boots' (chaqshūr) for outdoor wear (fig.108) so that "Their legs appear literally to be tied up in two sacks."[76] However, within the andarun, the trousers fell freely to the ankle. An idea of the ampleness of these trousers or divided skirts is conveyed by Binning who likened them to "a couple of petticoats tacked together"[77], and Lady Sheil noted:

> "These Persian trousers are always... very wide, each leg being, when the means of the wearer allow it, wider than the skirt of a gown, so that they have the effect of an exceedingly ample petticoat; and as crinolines are unknown, the elegantes wear ten and eleven pairs of trousers, one over the other in order to make up for the want of the above invention."[78]

It is sometimes difficult to ascertain from the paintings whether zir-jamahs or ample skirts are depicted. On both the wide hems were usually delineated by a wide patterned border, frequently echoing the design of the waist-band, composed of a

series of narrow contrasting bands, often terminating with a multi-coloured diagonally-striped edging. The love of pearls is demonstrated by their frequent use on these bands (fig.109), as well as elsewhere on the dress and body.

Coming a little way over the waist was the chemise, made in a thin,revealing material with long, loose sleeves. It was the fashion to have one or two lengthy slits down the front from the base of the throat to the waist (fig.108) with patterned edging caught here and there with richly jewelled brooches or buttons. This attire shocked the European ladies

> "but then the Persian lady is equally shocked by the decollete of our women, which she considers the badge of impropriety. The more liberal-minded Persian men think it charming, but often inquire of their men friends at the Legations why they permit thin or old women to show their necks [shoulders] and arms. It is curious how the standard of modesty differs in various parts of the world. The attitude of the Venus of Medici in the Uffizi at Florence would be unintelligible to the Mussulman woman, whose first thought would be to cover her face."[79]

Not only were the breasts visible, but also the tiny tattoos or painted areas round the throat and the navel (fig.108), usually in the form of a radiating design.

Sometimes a 'brassiere' was worn over the pirahan but this never became a widespread fashion, and its origin is unclear. It appears there were two varieties, one employing circular cups and the other, triangular shapes, both heavily embroidered and fastened around the body with a pearl back-string.[80]

Over the revealing chemise a close-fitting jacket reaching to the hips, variously called chapkan or kūrdī, was usually worn open. Often made of a mono-

chrome velvet or figured or striped fabric, the cut was simple,[81] with main panel widths for front and back, augmented with a series of inserts at the side. The sleeves were long and close-fitting often with underarm slits, rather than gusset additions. Buttons and loops from the wrist up ensured a close fit when fastened, with the extended part-cuff in the form of a tongue, triangle, or curve falling over the back of the hand. The jacket had a V-shaped neckline with the central fastening from the breasts to the waist. Jewelled armlets were worn and ornate pearl and jewelled embroidery embellished the cuffs, front edges, hem and shoulders of the jacket. Either a knotted Kashmir/ Kirman patterned scarf with the ends hanging gracefully, or a heavy jewelled belt accentuated the waist of the wearer.

Occasionally another jacket form (fig.109) is represented with a deeply cut neck totally revealing the breasts, the two front sides being caught by an ornamental fastening below the breasts and again at the waist. The ovoid-shaped sleeves were attached at one edge to the main garment structure, but then left open to form a cape-like arrangement. Again the fabric was heavily worked, with pendant ties also embroidered attached to both sides of the open sleeves. In some illustrations another functional sleeve in the normal fashion was attached under the 'cape'.

The hennaeing of the feet and the tattooing or body painting of the upper torso has been noted above. In the first half of the 19th century henna was also applied to the hands, particularly the palm and fingers (fig.108). With tattoos, lamp black, indigo or vermilion was rubbed into the needle puncture, but increasingly by the mid-century patterns incorporating floral motifs, birds and the sun, moon and stars were painted on the body. In the upper classes tattooing

was restricted to dots between the eyebrows, or on the chin, with beauty marks and spangles applied on the throat pulse and the cheekbones (fig. 109). As in earlier centuries, the whiteness of the female skin was considered a mark of beauty:

> "The skin of the face and neck is whitened with Chinese white, bismuth, white lead, pipe clay or common chalk; the cheeks are heavily rouged, and decorated with spangles worn as patches as were once worn in Europe; the lips are brightly painted with a vermilion lip salve... The more paint a Persian woman applies, the more she is supposed to honour her guests or husband."[82]

The shape and the size of the eyes were emphasized by the addition of surmah or kohl on upper and lower lids, also used to extend the eyebrows to the centre. However, perhaps echoing European ladies, the Persian lady of fashion in the 1900s preferred a more natural look. Writing in the first decade of the 20th century, de Lorey and Sladen noted:

> "... a few years ago cosmetics went out of fashion, and the beauties of the harems lathered their face with common soap and left it to dry, in order to make their skin shine as if it had been varnished. It is acknowledged that many 'a full moon' did glitter more brilliantly; but the obvious inconveniences of the practice soon put it out of court, and the eternal cosmetics resumed their vogue."[83]

But tattooing and painted designs never regained their earlier popularity among the fashionable ladies.

The hair was dyed blueish-black or auburn with henna. Worn long, it was frequently supplemented with artificial hair to form numerous long plaits down the back. The Zand fashion of a central parting with short front hair forming a fringe or deep curls on the forehead was continued as were the short side tresses

curling about the ears. Occasionally this side hair was kept long, pommaded and then rolled to form a heavy bang at the shoulders. The hair was generally decorated with jewels. Rows of pearls and circlets of precious and semi-precious stones were secured with or without a tiny skull-cap placed asymmetrically on the head, while a jewelled band (fig.109) reached from one ear-lobe to the other in a deep curve under the chin, and highly decorative feathered aigrettes (jīgha) in the shape of the butah gave added height.

The reports of the European observers indicate that by the 1850s it was considered fashionable and correct in company to wear a head-scarf or charqad, perhaps indicating the growing influence of the ᶜulamā in political and public life. This was a large square of material (fig.110), silk or 'kashmir' if money allowed, folded diagonally into two and usually stiffened, and pinned or caught under the chin. With a small kerchief underneath as protection against the hair oils and cosmetics, the charqad was worn well forward so emphasizing the shape of the face:

> " Perhaps the reason why the Persian woman surrounds her face with the white cloud of gauze called chargat is that she may more exactly recall the circle of the moon on the fourteenth night. The chargat ought to frame the face in a circle as perfect as possible, showing the hair on the forehad like two raven's wings."[84]

To the European, the effect bordered on the ridiculous to see the hair scrupulously covered while the breasts were revealed by the transparent and slashed pirahan. But that was not all. A fashion taken up in the second half of the 19th century was the cause of great embarrassment and ribaldry among Europeans in Iran; this was the vogue for the short skirt or tuman, instead of the zir-jamah. Rumour had

it that this fashion was one of the results of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shah's visit to Europe in 1873:

> "The greatest change took place when Nasr-ed-din returned in a wild state of excitement from his first journey to Europe, where the filmy skirts of the ballet-girls had produced a formidable effect upon his Oriental mind. In consequence, he bought a quantity of ballet-girl costumes, and on his arrival in Teheran had all his harem dressed like operatic fairies... Instead of petticoats, the Persian woman wears two or three skirts... one over the other; the lowest underskirt is made of very highly starched cotton, to create undulations and bouffants. The top skirt, of the same shape, is made of the material to match the bodice. The skirts have no waistband, but are tied on with cords so loosely that the skirt slips down and shows the stomach; both skirts are so short that even then they barely reach the knees. Latterly the best-dressed woman in the Imperial harem have, on the advice of the very clever representative of Worth et Cie. in Teheran, taken to the silk tights worn by our ballet-girls."[85]

The average length of these skirts was indeed short, about 12" (30cm) with a hem width of about 8 yards (7.4m) (fig.110).

The more conservative members of Qajar society also disapproved, one such arguing that only two classes of women wore such 'European' affectations:

> "those who can afford to lose their decency, and those who do not even know that they have no decency to lose."[86]

However after the shah's 1873 tour, interest in European fashions grew. The wives and daughters of foreign nationals were subject to close inspection when they visited the houses of Iranian ladies. It became

fashionable to wear one's house chādur as a chādur-kamari (fig.111) or "English dress", that is with a belt around the waist. The upper portion was dropped down to form a skirt, revealing fitted bodice.[87] By the 1920s Parisian dress-makers were firmly established in Tehran, working for the ladies, Persian and otherwise. As mentioned above a representative of Worth et Cie. was honoured with business from the royal andarun. Whether the publication of Danish, a weekly newspaper in Tehran in 1910, exclusively for Persian ladies, had articles on fashion has not been ascertained, but European ladies were often asked to lend their latest models to their Iranian women friends in order for copying.

Occasionally basic misunderstandings of garment function arose:

> "... a middle-aged woman will be wearing a one-piece frock made for a child of ten or twelve; it may be only just below her knees, and she will still wear her long, tight-fitting black or white trousers and her muslin chacat [charqad]. She wears it, too, with such an air of grandeur and importance, feeling thst she is dressed as a Farangi. An Englishman told me that he saw a Persian woman in the Lal-i-zar, the chief shopping street in Teheran, 'wearing corsets outside her ordinary garments'."[88]

THE ISSUE OF VEILING

Linked with this interest in European fashion, there was growing opposition in Tehran during the 1910s and 1920s to the veiling of women.[89] In the mid-1840s Iran had already seen a lady of society deliberately discard her veil publicly; Qurrat al-Ayn, daughter of a Qazwini mullah and wife of a leading mujtahid, in her early thirties removed hers on her

conversion to Baha'ism, which in its preaching for sexual equality, called for the abolition of the veil.[90]

The issue was already occupying the minds of intellectuals and reformists who were pushing for female education. Feminine beauty was no longer enough to appeal to the young radical male; his mind had to be attracted by what he heard as well as by what he saw. And it was considered that education of women would inevitably lead to a demand for unveiling:

> "O lift thy veil, my beautiful sweetheart,
> So that thy countenance may increase my dignity.
> Whenever thy veil is mentioned the rival laughs,
> But sobs choke my throat. I long to see thee free in the community. Upon thy soul I have no other desire except this."[91]

However, the average Muslim male saw the veil as protecting the wearer, and her religious faith and that of her children. One of the most influential statesman of Iran in the 1870s, responsible for the clothing reform regulations concerning civil servants, Mirza Husain Khan voiced his anxieties:

> "When a woman learns French, studies literature, and acquires a knowledge of manners, it would no longer be possible to keep her in veil. Once Muslim women participate in public unveiled, a great injury will be done to Islam. And nothing will remain of Islam."[92]

There were some government moves to improve the social status of women. In 1906 an Education Act theoretically made education for <u>both</u> sexes compulsory up to the 6th grade; in fact this law was never enforced, nor encouraged until the 1930s, under Riza Shah. For in 1906 a demonstration of unveiled Tehrani women shouting "The constitution has given us freedom" had aroused such public hostility that the consti-

tutionalists reacted by announcing that the women demonstrators were prostitutes, hired to discredit the reform movement.[93]

Arguably the next important event concerning veiling was the storming of the Parliament in 1908. Some three hundred Tehrani women decided to act against the rumoured acquiescence of the Majlis to Russian interventionist demands:

> "They were clad in their plain black robes with the white nets of their veils dropped over their faces ... Straight to the Medjlis they went, and, gathered there, demanded of the President that he admit them all... they confronted him, and lest he and his colleagues should doubt their meaning, these cloistered Persian mothers, wives, and daughters exhibited threateningly their revolvers, tore aside their veils, and confessed their decision to kill their own husbands and sons, and leave behind their own dead bodies if the Deputies wavered in their duty to uphold the liberty and the dignity of the Persian people and nation."[94]

However, this act of tearing away the veils must be seen as the traditionally-accepted gesture of extreme distress rather than a call for female emancipation.

By the mid-1920s, with Riẓa Shah in control, the atmosphere was increasingly charged over the issue. A famous female singer gave a public performance unveiled. This probably had no major consequence because, despite a large popular following, such female entertainers were socially disreputable. But no doubt she appeared unveiled not on a whim, but because she was conscious of the sentiments among the fashionable elite. This included such people as Siddiqah Dawlatabadi, founder of a women's weekly journal in 1918 and Saray Khanum who had recently returned from Russia where she had been seen in public without a

rū-band or pichah.[95]

The ᶜulamā was vocal in its opposition. In 1926, a book published by Hajji Shaykh Yūsuf of Najaf and Gilan put forward the traditional arguments that the discarding of the veil would inevitably result in social disorder, disharmony and depravity:

> "When women without the veil mingle with men, the favorable attention of the latter will be drawn only to beautiful women and charming young girls. Naturally unattractive women would be considered undesirable, and this would result in their being cut off from society and companionship. This would mean, on the one hand, a decrease in population and, on the other, since men are not always able to procure beautiful wives, that their attention would be drawn to handsome children. Therefore if one looks at this question from the standpoint of reason and justice, he will see that the veil prevents corruption."[96]

Riẓa Shah ordered his government to inch forward. Official announcements were made in 1926 approving the walking on public thoroughfares of married couples side-by-side, and the attendance of wives at public social gatherings and ministerial receptions. The female relatives of Riẓa Shah played their part as well. At Nau Ruz 1928, on a visit to the holy shrine at Qum, south of Tehran, the queen dressed in a light-coloured chādur, not the customary black, and exposed part of her face to the intense disapproval of the guardians of the shrine. Learning that a guardian had remonstrated with her, Riẓa Shah travelled to Qum, entered the building in boots -- itself a grave insult -- and personally set about the individual with his baton.[97]

By the summer of 1928, there was an air of expectancy in the capital:

" The prospective unveiling of women became the talk of the town... Repeatedly we heard that at the approaching New Year [March 21st 1929] there would be a universal unveiling.

" Then came the revolution in Afghanistan [January 1929], of peculiar interest to the Persians not only because the Afghans are next-door neighbors but because of the recent visit of Ameer [Amir Amanallah] to Persia,[98] on his return to Europe. Progressive Persians had been following his reforms with keen attention. But now all were emphatically agreed that the Ameer went too fast... Talk of the general unveiling was dropped, and up to the present [January 1930] has not been resumed. That emancipation will take place in the not far distant future no one seems to doubt, but the eager anticipation had faded away. When the unveiling does come, it will not be compulsory, and doubtless many of the older generation will never change their costume."[99]

The writer, Miss Boyce, had another six years to wait. Riẓa Shah learnt from the Afghan episode and decided the hostile demonstrations in Tabriz over veiling proved the time was not yet right. Instead he turned to male clothing reforms but continually advocated increased social intercourse between the sexes. Theatres and cinemas in the capital were opened to women with separate seating arrangements, while on public transport in Tehran women were expected to sit anywhere.[100]

Over the next five years fashionable society in the capital increasingly discarded the chādur and young girls were not being introduced to it at puberty:

" If most Tehran women still wear the veil, they make little attempt to keep their features concealed behind it. They rejoice in chaddurs as

> short as the modern skirts underneath them; they glory in flesh-coloured hose and high-heeled slippers. At least fifty per cent. of the women and girls of the better class in the capital have bobbed hair, while the shortened peche reveals the fact that powder and lip-stick are as popular here as in other countries."[101]

In 1934, co-inciding with the admission of female students to Tehran University, women teachers and students were allowed and then ordered to attend without the chādur and pichah. Schoolgirls were to wear grey overalls of European styling while the female teachers had to appear in blue uniforms with hats, or face dismissal.[102] Rumours grew that legislation concerning female clothing would accompany any reform of male dress. In the event, the official announcement of early June 1935 detailing changes in male dress (discussed below) did not include the expected ban on veils. Even so, the new stipulations were enough to kindle public discontent, acknowledged in the telegram sent by the British Consul-General on 13th July, reporting the serious riot in Mashhad:

> "Ostensible cause of the outbreak recent order to wear European hats but real reason long oppression of lower classes and universal condemnation of the existing regime."[103]

By the end of the next day, 400 to 500 lay dead, machine-gunned by the shah's forces and 800 people had been arrested. It has been suggested that this firm action freed the shah to push forward the next stage in his clothing reform policy.[104] The Tehran press described anti-veiling hostility as anti-social and promoted with full reports and photographs such events as female athletic games, Girl Scouts meetings, etc..[105] By the end of July 1935, women in Tehran had to appear unveiled before police to obtain renewnal

of their identification documents. Tehran buzzed with speculation that soon all females under forty would be ordered to discard the chādur.[106] Officers and cadets were warned officially against walking with veiled ladies along the main avenues of the capital and such women were stopped from entering cinemas and cafes. It has been estimated that during 1935, out of a population of 300,000 (male and female) in Tehran, some 4000 women had discarded the chādur.[107]

The royal ladies were then used to force the issue. The queen and two of the princesses appeared in public without chādur for the first time on 8th January 1936, when they accompanied the shah to the annual prize-giving ceremony at the Normal School in Tehran. This was no spontaneous gesture, for the security forces had hustled away any veiled women on the procession route before the royal carriage passed. Special measures then were taken by the Tehran municipal authority to prevent bazaar profiteering on European-styled hats and coats. Maximum prices were laid down for certain tailored articles, based on the cost of labour, thus for instance while a first-class dress-shop might charge 120 rials to cover the labour costs of making a lady's coat, a second-class establishment was permitted to charge a maximum of 80 rials.[108] In the press, prominence was given to advice on the correct social behaviour expected with the changes in clothing:

> "In these days of the progress of women, it is well for us to give some instruction in the social etiquette of women, and hints on conduct at both public and private assemblies. Women on entering public meetings must on no account remove their hats. They are not compelled to take off their coats and gloves. Umbrellas of course are an exception and should not be brought into the room... Those who have the habit of putting their

handkerchiefs, cigarette cases or other articles in their breasts or up their sleeves must quit and use their bags for such things... To take fruit or sweets with gloves on is forbidden."[109]

Pressure increased on government officials and their wives. The British Consul-General in Tabriz reported at the end of January that officials there faced suspension if their wives refused to attend functions unveiled.[110] Lack of money to buy the new wardrobe was no excuse. The central administration made advances of one month's salary, repayable over six months to purchase the new clothing. The climax came on 1st February 1936 with the edict forbidding the wearing of the chādur.[111] Staff of the Ministry of Finance faced dismissal if their wives were seen wearing it, while in other ministries monthly salaries were paid only if the wives reported to the office wearing a hat. Doctors were forbidden to admit veiled women into the hospitals and public health clinics, nor were such women allowed to enter the public baths. Bus and taxi drivers were liable to heavy fines if they took veiled women as passengers. At the other end of the social scale the Kanun-i Banuan, social club for ladies, with the Crown Princess as patron, refused admittance to ladies wearing chādurs.[112] Within days orders for ladies' ready-to-wear clothing including hats to the value of 500,000 rials had been placed with French and German businesses by the Tehran bazaar. £ 25,000 was made available to assist poorer women to buy clothes. The law remained on the statute books until the Second World War when, according to General Arfa, then Chief of Staff of the Tehran Defence Forces, the occupying powers made the wearing of the chādur optional and many working and middle-class women reverted to using it but without the rū-band or pichah.[113]

REFORMS IN MEN'S CLOTHING

Since the 1870s, the wearing of sardaris had filtered down from court circles, although the long ample robes and Kashmere/Kirman turbans were worn at the court celebrations of Nau Ruz, as were apparently the traditional red galoshes. Even at the coronation of Riza Khan in 1925, these robes were still in evidence (fig.103), but he soon decided that his plans for national modernization had to be accompanied by visible signs of the new order:

> "It was his belief that one of the most effective ways to eliminate outmoded ways of life and thought was to promote uniformity throughout the country... He remarked,'...I am determined to have all Iranians wearing the same clothes, since when the Shirazis, Tabrizis, and all others no longer wear different costumes there will be no reason for difference among them.'"[114]

At the end of December 1928, the Uniform Dress Law was passed. The text ran as follows:

> " Article I. All Iranian subjects who are not required to wear special clothing in conformity with service in the government shall wear uniform clothing within the country; and all government employees whether civil or judicial shall, when on government duty, wear civil or juridicial clothing, as officially prescribed, and at other times they shall wear the uniform attire.
>
> " Article II. The following eight classes are exempt from the prescriptions of this law:
>
> 1. The mujtahids in possession of licenses furnished by high religious authorities, and engaged in spiritual matters.
>
> 2. Sunni muftis who should possess licenses from two recognized religious authorities of the Sunni sect.

3. Religious authorities in villages and districts who have passed a specified examination.
4. The leaders of prayers who are in charge of the mihrab of a mosque.
5. Preachers of the religious traditions relating to the Prophet, after their knowledge has been certified by two mujtahids.
6. Students of ilm al-fiqh or usul al-fiqh, or the canon law, who are able to pass an examination in their field of study.
7. Teachers of the Muslim law and theology.
8. Non-Muslim clerics living in Iran.

" Article III. Residents of towns who are deliquent in the observance will be subject to a fine of from one to five tomans or from one to seven days' imprisonment, and in cases where they do not live in towns they will be liable to imprisonment of from one to seven days by virtue of a sentence by a court. The funds which accrue as a result of the fines collected in any given locality in conformity with this article shall be used by the municipality for the purchase of uniform clothing for the poor of the locality.

" Article IV. This law shall be effective in the towns and districts from March 21, 1929, and in other places as soon as it is practicable but not later than March 21, 1930. The government is charged with the formulation of regulations and with the execution of this law."[115]

The exact meaning of 'uniform dress' was left undefined but it was understood that western trousers, jacket, shirts, etc. constituted the uniform along with the kulāh-i pahlavi (fig.112) introduced by Riẓa Shah;[116] 'pahlavi' being the dynastic name adopted by the shah. Those Muslims exempt from the dress law were to wear with the long robe, the white turban, or black if

sayyids. Some jurists did adopt Western clothes, such as notaries in order to take advantage of a law of March 1932 which laid down that all property transactions were to be dealt with exclusively by secular courts and lawyers.

The ground had been prepared. British observers reported that for about eighteen months at the weekly receptions, the shah had been consistently advocating European-styled clothes:

> " Only on Sunday last [2 Sept. 1928] he received a deputation of merchants who had previously been canvassed to wear European frock coats and Pahlavi caps instead of their 'sardaries' and merchants' turbans... the Shah was enormously pleased and made them a little speech about uniformity in dress and manners, which, he said, would lead to uniformity in life and politics, and would finally weld Persia into one uniform whole."[117]

The actual form of the Pahlavi kulāh was not exactly revolutionary, except it possessed a peaked brim. It was this that caused the problem. The ʿulamā objected that the peak prevented the ritual prostration at prayer but in practice the worshipper coped by turning the peak to the back for prayer. However,

> "To many of them the kulah and the short coat is not merely unbecoming but it is actually tainted with heresy..."[118]

Public discontent smouldered so at first the law was not strictly enforced, but from the winter of 1928 that changed. Those wishing to leave the city centres on business or pleasure were issued with the necessary passes, only if they were wearing the new Pahlavi headwear. There were serious flare-ups in Shiraz, Tabriz, Huwaia and among the Kurdish people in south-west Azerbaijan.[119] Of course these disturbances were not

only occasioned by the Dress Law but its provisions did form an important bone of contention. By the end of May, the Qashqā'i's open revolt seriously threatened Shiraz, and the mediation proposals offered by the tribal confederation show the antipathy felt towards the new dress regulations. Besides the release of its imprisoned chief and exemption from military conscription, the Qashqā'i demanded permission to dress in traditional fashion and bear arms.[120] Shortly after, the government wishing to curb the Kurdish uprising offered peace on very similar terms.[121] Also bearing in mind the nearness of Muharram and Safar, months of particular religious significance, the central administration, hoping to douse any demonstrations planned by the ʿulamā, allowed a certain laxness in the regulations for eight weeks.[122]

Riẓa Shah was determined that his government officials should be recognised as equal to their foreign counterparts and realised that the adoption of European sartorial standards was an immediate if superficial way of achieving this. He was heard to note with approval the morning dress of his Minister of Foreign Affairs:

> "You look like one of them and their equal and not like a subordinate."[123]

He insisted all civil servants' garments were made of domestically produced fabric, and at the 1930 anniversary of his coronation, he himself appeared in military uniform made of Persian cloth. By the mid-1930s official dress for public receptions and the like was increasingly based on the morning coat and top hat, but Riẓa Shah still had not committed himself publicly about the controversial hat question, a nettle that Mustafa Kemal had firmly grasped in 1925. In the spring of 1934 he dismissed the idea of adopting the European brimmed hat, stating that the peaked Pahlavi

kulāh introduced by himself five years earlier served the purpose of a national form of head-covering. He then left by road on his first official visit to Turkey.[124] Perhaps discussions with Mustafa Kemal crystallized his thinking; from Turkey came the royal order that European dress was de rigeur for court ceremonial from then on, and that workmen were to wear the brimmed hat.[125] The abolition of the kulāh-i pahlavi was announced in the Iranian Parliament on 6th June 1935. The British ambassador Knatchbull-Hugessen reported to the Foreign Office:

> " ARTICLES of clothing have in recent years become more and more typical of political movements. In Europe the shirt is an essential item in many modern creeds. In Asia the hat has played a no less conspicious part. The birth pangs of the regenerate Turkey will for ever be associated with the bowler hat. In Persia renaissance has equally had its hat, if not its head, and for better or for worse the Pahlavi hat has sheltered the awakening consciousness of those who more often than not forget to call themselves Iranians. But the Pahlavi hat has rested uneasily on its wearers' heads... it has never been popular... Like so many of the world's glories, the Pahlavi hat has passed away."[126]

The announcement was followed in July by a law which formally introduced the European-styled flat brimmed hat. The ʿulamā opposed the law on the grounds that the ṣalat (performance of prayer) would be rendered impossible, while government officials appealed to national pride, arguing that such head-gear had been customary in Sasanian times. The shah publicly stated:

> "The new hat has nothing to do with religion, but it does have something to do with nationality. Previously those who wore it thought that this

head-gear conferred on them superiority over those who were not wearing it. We do not want those others to think that they are superior to us because of a minor difference in head covering."[127]

There were rumours of disturbances in Tabriz and other centres, but the police moved quickly. Meanwhile the provincial governors were puzzling over what hat was to be worn when; when was it raised and when kept on the head ? The Ministry of the Interior supplied the answers in the Itala[c] at No. 2527 of 15 Tir/7 July 1935:

"Whereas it is necessary at such a time when the change of hat is taking place and the international hat adopted to observe the customs with which it is used, therefore, the following articles are announced:

1. The colonial helmet which will be exclusively in white and grey colour is used only during the summer days and until the sunset.
2. The variety of straw hats (Panama) are also used during the summer.
3. The variety of felt hats, kepies, etcetera, can be used day and night during the whole season, except at official occasions (which will be determined in regulations).
4. At the time of entering the room the hat must be taken off. For observing full honour, the hat must, of course, be placed outside the room, and at other occasions it can be held in the hand.
5. At times of meetings in the streets and public thoroughfares, as a mark of honour the smaller person (both as to position and age) must first take off his hat and then put it on after the same manner has been observed by the other party (i.e. after the other party has taken off his hat).

6. At instances when several persons are gathered together at a point or are passing by, in case another person meets them having acquaintance with one of the party, all the others must as a mark of honour take off their hats when an exchange of greetings is taking place between the two..."[128]

And in the November 5 issue of Kushash (13 Abanmah 1314) the following circular was published:

" Top hats (Cylinders) are of three different kinds each being for use on special occasions. As it is possible that some official may get himself one of the three kinds without any discrimination and use it on wrong occasions this circular is being issued:

1. Glossy top-hat in black with nap (like velvets which have a long nap) can be used on all occasions. This is a hat that officials must invariably get and use on official occasions with morning coat (jaquette).

2. Black mat top hat made of satin which can collapse into the shape of a book is especially used with evening dress (frock) and can never be used during day time.

3. Top hat of 'kaki' colour (? grey or faun) is special to: horse-races, manoeuvres, garden-parties and, in other words, to open air ceremonies or occasions. Obtaining of the top-hats described under items 1,2 and 3 is optional.

Persons who desire to take part in occasions of ceremonial reception of a grand personage arriving (Estaqbal) and in 'salaams' must get themselves the top-hats coming under item 1 which are to be used with morning coat (jaquette)."[129]

To ease the financial burden, minor governmental officials were granted one month's extra salary to cover the expense. In Tehran it was comparatively easy

for the civil servants to comply but such items of dress were not to hand in the provinces and some officials resorted to ingenious invention, such as five gallon gasoline tins painted black.[130]

As mentioned above, the proclamation of the Dress Reform Law of 1935 was not greeted with national acclaim. Ayatollah Qumī and other Shī'i leaders conducted a public campaign in defence of traditionalism and conventional concepts of morality, as demonstrated in traditional clothing. Whitehall wondered whether public opposition would bring down the shah, as had been the case in neighbouring Afghanistan, or if the shah would emerge as another Mustafa Kemal.[131]

The answer came in July in Mashhad. The arrest of the conservative theologian and preacher, Bahlul on the 10th July caused more crowds to congregate in the shrine area. A regiment entered the shrine on the 14th and opened fire. Open opposition was extinguished, and as described above, the way was open for clothing reforms for women.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1. Aidin p.521.
2. Ker Porter vol.I p.325.
3. Fraser Narrative n.p.216.
4. Brydges Dynasty p.cxxx; Brydges Account vol.I p.383. For early 20th century pearl diving in the Gulf, see Issawi Iran p.313-6.
5. Malcolm as in Sykes p.51.
6. Keppel p.242.
7. Stuart p.185.
8. Binning vol.I p.246. Stuart p.185 mentions slits under the arms replacing gussets.
9. Ibid. p.246-7. 10 qirans equalled 1 tuman; see Issawi Iran p.387-8 for the metallic and monetary values.
10. Ouseley vol.I p.301.
11. Ibid. vol.II p.13-4, 56. See also Waring p.60 and Morier Adventures p.408.
12. Aubin p.135-6. For the variety in height, shape and method of wearing the kulāh in court circles, see Piemontese fig.40 and p.291-2 for identification of the courtiers.
13. Curzon vol.I p.104; Bakhash p.82; Drouville vol.II p.7; Feuvrier p.118-9. See Brydges Account vol.I p.101-3 for the story behind the restriction and the edict of January 1809.
14. Curzon vol.I p.446; Perkins p.209, 283; Wilson p.101-2, 254; see also Sheil p.251-2 for Mirza Taqi Khan.
15. Fraser Narrative p.198-9. For a different view, see Brydges Account vol.I p.377-80.
16. Sheil p.151.
17. Aubin p.135.
18. It had been the custom for other important officials, such as the Finance Minister to wear long red qabā's; Stuart p.203; Serena p.118, and p. 235 & 237 for description of Foreign Affairs Minister in the last quarter of the 19th century wearing a red robe. Waring p.59 notes that in the early Qajar period merchants were not allowed to wear scarlet or crimson cloth.
19. FO 60/256 paper 27.
20. Brydges Account vol.I n.p.427.
21. Wills p.321.
22. Binning vol.I p.246.
23. Protocol signed 22nd February 1828; Hertslet p.132
24. Stuart p.174; Sheil p.155; see also Ousley vol.II p.10-11, p.223; Lycklama p.357; Wright English p.39.
25. Benjamin p.196-7; Arfa p.53.
26. Wills p.321.

27. Ibid.; Binning vol.I p.246.
28. Ousley vol.II n.30 p.223.
29. This accounts for the difficulty in dating some garments with motifs and patterns similar to those of late Safavid textiles, although their shape and cut bear no resemblance to Safavid styles, e.g. Spink item 39 and Sotheby's item 639 which I would argue on tailoring grounds are late 18th/19th century.
30. Wills p.318-9; see also Aubin p.139.
31. Arfa p.55-6. See Piemontese for reproduction of a 1862 photographic album.
32. Morier Adventures p.106-7.
33. Wills p.318; "double-breasted" refers to a cross-over front panel, not the European style.
34. Both Agha Muḥammad Khan and Fatḥ ʿAlī Shah were keen to demonstrate links with the Safavid and earlier dynasties, and dis-associate the Qajar house from the previous Afshar regime. At his investiture, Agha Muḥammad for instance refused to wear the crown of Nādir Shah, but accepted the Safavid sword, symbolising the re-establishment of the Shīʿi faith as the state religion of Iran.
35. Wills p.321.
36. Adams p.178.
37. Morier Adventures p.609.
38. Wills p.321.
39. Brydges Account illustration facing p.99. See also "Abbās Mirza" EIr.
40. Ker Porter vol.I p.333; see also Curzon vol.I p.603 for description of zamburakchis; Sheil illustration facing p.185, and p.384.
41. Ker Porter vol.II p.587; Shoberl vol.I p.219; Curzon vol.I p.577. Lindsay also obtained royal permission to insist on the removal of beards; he left Iran in 1821.
42. Stuart p.187.
43. Algar p.78.
44. Curzon vol.I p.584, 593 and illustration facing.
45. Feridun Adamiyat as in Issawi Iran p.295.
46. Curzon vol.I p.588, 595; Kazemzadeh p.354.
47. Benjamin p.11; see also Piemontese fig.58.
48. Curzon vol.I p.599; see also Piemontese p.298.
49. Bird Bishop vol.I p.192.
50. Sykes p.57; Feuvrier p.48.
51. Piemontese fig.39.
52. Bird Bishop vol.I p.202; Lycklama vol.II p.359; Mounsey p.165.
53. In 1825 there were 25 British nationals in Iran, and by 1914 the total of European residents numbered a few hundred. Two Iranians

went to study in England in 1811; four years later there were five more. By 1918 some 500 were studying abroad; Issawi Iran p.23.

54. Nashat p.155.
55. Binning vol.I p.153.
56. Curzon vol.I p.54-5.
57. Sparroy p.108.
58. Aubin p.135, 139.
59. For a description of the 1914 coronation of Ahmad Shah, see Arfa p.55-7.
60. Binning vol.I p.247.
61. Bogdanov p.293. Feuvrier p.119 states Shi^{c}i sayyids wore blue turbans; see also Perkins p.152, Sparroy p.18 & 87.
62. Ker Porter vol.I p.467; Bogdanov p.295.
63. Wulff p.177; "^{c}Abā'" EIr.
64. Algar p.78.
65. Binning vol.I p.249.
66. Author of 'Abrat-i Nazarin quoted by Bakhash p.112.
67. Algar p.181.
68. Ker Porter vol.II p.5 noted that in the village of Imamzada Isma^{c}il near Shiraz inhabited by a community of sayyids, the womenfolk were permitted to appear in public unveiled.
69. Colliver Rice p.161.
70. Ibid. p.160-1; see also Tual p.102-4.
71. Colliver Rice p.220.
72. Ibid. p.164.
73. Bogdanov p.296.
74. Lorey & Sladen p.109.
75. Colliver Rice p.165.
76. Waring p.63.
77. Binning vol.II p.394.
78. Sheil p.132.
79. Lorey & Sladen p.108-9.
80. Scarce Persian.
81. See Falk pl. 7 & 22.
82. Morier Adventures p.615-6.
83. Lorey & Sladen p.105.
84. Ibid. p.106.
85. Ibid. p.108-9. See also Colliver Rice p.159; Sykes p.198; Feuvrier p.143; Bird Bishop vol.I p.216; Landor vol.I p.211-2; Wills p.324.
86. Sparroy p.228.
87. Sykes p.198; Landor vol.I p.212-3; see also Tuay p.105-6.
88. Colliver Rice p.162-3.
89. Castagne p.178-9.
90. Philipp p.296.
91. Lahuti as in Philipp p.305.
92. Letter to Mirza Sa^{c}īd Khan dated 2 Zihajjeh 1286/6 March 1870, quoted by Nashat p.146.

93. Philipp p.301-2.
94. Shuster p.188.
95. On her return from Paris Dawlatabadi was appointed by the shah as a School Inspector, and in 1937 became the head of the Ladies' Centre; Bagley p.49. Saray Khanum officially represented Iran at the Philadelphia International Trade Fair in 1926. For details of another public performance in which female singers appeared in European evening dress, see Woodsmall p.82.
96. Pittman p.209.
97. Lenczowski p.97.
98. His queen Suraya had appeared unveiled in Tehran during this visit.
99. Boyce p.265-6; see also Castagne p.181 ff.
100. Parr to Lord Cushendun, 7 Sept. 1928, FO371/13071 E.4672/4672/34.
101. Boyce p.267.
102. Lenczowski p.97; Arfa p.291; Arasteh p.185.
103. FO 371/18997 E.4863/1935.
104. Arfa p.255.
105. Woodsmall p.43-4; see also FO 371/20048 E.476/405/34.
106. FO 371/18992 E.4628/608/34.
107. Avery p.291; Woodsmall p.47.
108. Woodsmall p.44.
109. FO 371/20048 E.476/405/34 p.80, translation from Satarah-i Jahan 20 January 1936.
110. Ibid. E.994/405/34 dated 7 Feb. 1936.
111. Tual p.96 gives the date as 8 Jan.1936 and Bagley p.47 as 7 Jan. 1937.
112. Woodsmall p.357.
113. Wilber p.174; Arfa p.255-6; Lenczowski p.97-8; Arasteh p.183-5. In 1949 Ayatullah Burungirdi issued a fatva forbidding unveiled women to shop in bazaars; Savory Religion p.206.
114. Wilber p.232-3.
115. Ibid. n.9 p.138-9; see also FO 371/13781 E.353/95/34.
116. Bourke-Burrowes p.46.
117. FO 371/13071 E.4672/4672/34.
118. FO 371/13781 E.1406/95/34 Mashhad enclosure.
119. Ibid. E.353/95/34, E.1658/95/34.
120. Ibid. E.2670/95/34, E.2814/95/34.
121. Ibid. E.3351/95/34.
122. Ibid. E.3556/95/34.
123. Wilber p.233. British diplomats in Tehran were in agreement; see FO 371/18992 E.404/608/34.
124. Wilber p.160. For an anecdote regarding the difficulties of dressing correctly, faced by the entourage, see Arfa p.244.
125. Wilber p.160 suggests the Turkish visit

galvanized Riza Shah into acting on the veil; see The Times 21st June 1935; FO 391/20048 E.1565/405/34.

126. FO 371/18992 E.4041/608/34.
127. Wilber p.166.
128. FO 371/18992 p.51-2.
129. Ibid. p.55.
130. Wilber p.178-9. See also FO 391/20048 E.2325/405/34.
131. FO 371/18992 E.4628/608/34 minutes.

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A HISTORY OF ISLAMIC COURT DRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Patricia Lesley Baker

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Faculty of Arts), 1986
School of Oriental & African Studies
University of London.

KEY TO ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

AIEO	Annales de l'institut des études orientales.
BCIETA	Bulletin de liaison Centre international d'étude des textiles anciens.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies.
CAJ	Central Asiatic Journal.
CHI	Cambridge History of Iran, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968-.
EI[1]	Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leiden & London, Brill & Luzac, 1913.
EI[2]	Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition, Leiden & London, Brill & Luzac, 1960-.
EIr	Encyclopaedia Iranica, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982-.
FO	Foreign Office papers, Public Records Office, London.
ICCI	Individualism & conformity in Classical Islam, ed. A Bayani & S Vryonis Jr., 5th Giorgio Levi Della Vida Biennal conference, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1975.
IER	Irene Emery Roundtable on museum textiles, Washington, Textile Museum.
IFAOC	Institut français d'Archaeologie orientale du Caire.
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.
JESHO	Journal of the Economic & Social History of the Orient.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland.
KO	Kunst des Orients.
MEJ	Middle East Journal.
PIAC	Permanent international Altaistic conference,
RCASJ	Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society.
REI	Revue des études islamiques.
RHC	Reçueil des historiens des Croisades, Academie des inscriptions et belles lettres.
SPA	A survey of Persian Art, ed. AU Pope & P Ackerman, London & New York, Asia Institute, Oxford University Press, 1964-5.
STH	Studies in Textile History in memory of Harold B Burham, ed. V Gervers, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.
TMJ	Textile Museum Journal.
ZMDG	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morganlandischen Gesellschaft.

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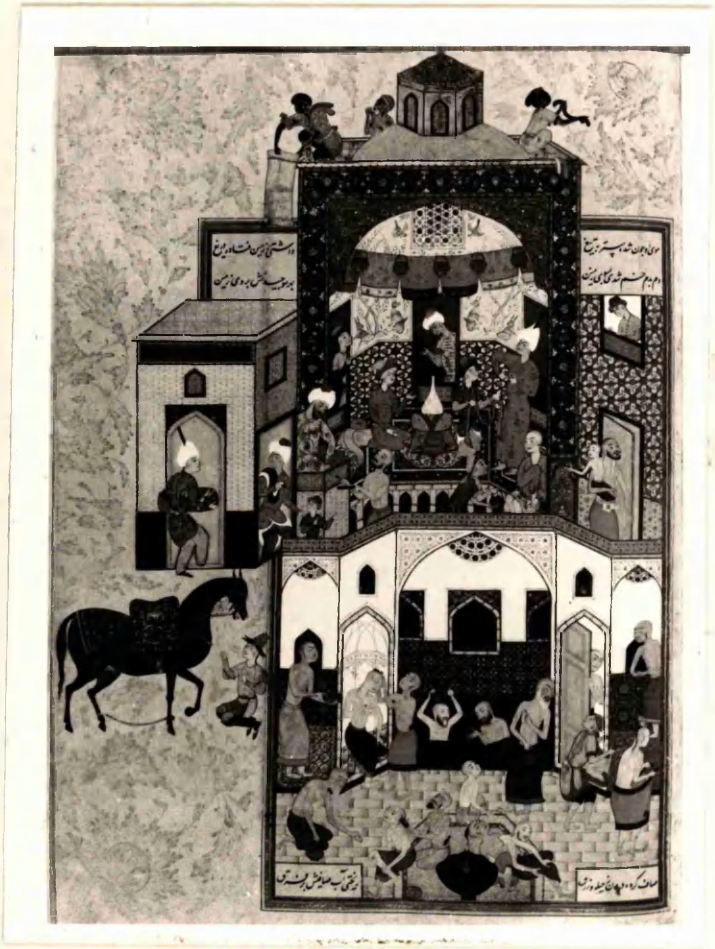
ILLUSTRATIONS

1. "Ṣūfī in the Ḥammām", Haft Awrang 1556-65, ms. 46.12 fol.59r, Freer Gallery, Washington.

2. Male iḥrām dress, "Iḥrām" EI^2, pl.xxi.



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TAQ-i-BOSTAN, DETAIL OF ROCK RELIEF
Boar hunt, royal entourage

7. Caliphal figure, Khirbat al-Mafjar, Sourdel-Thomine & Spuler, pl.58.

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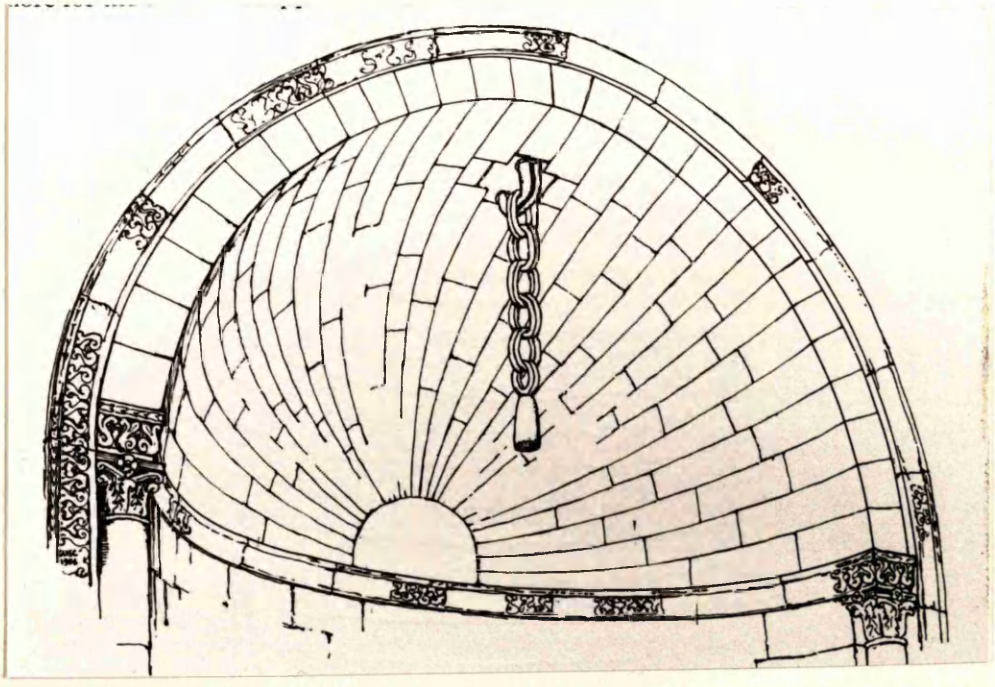

9. Coin of ʿAbd al-Malik, 694-7, Sourdel-Thomine & Spuler, pl.73 a & b.

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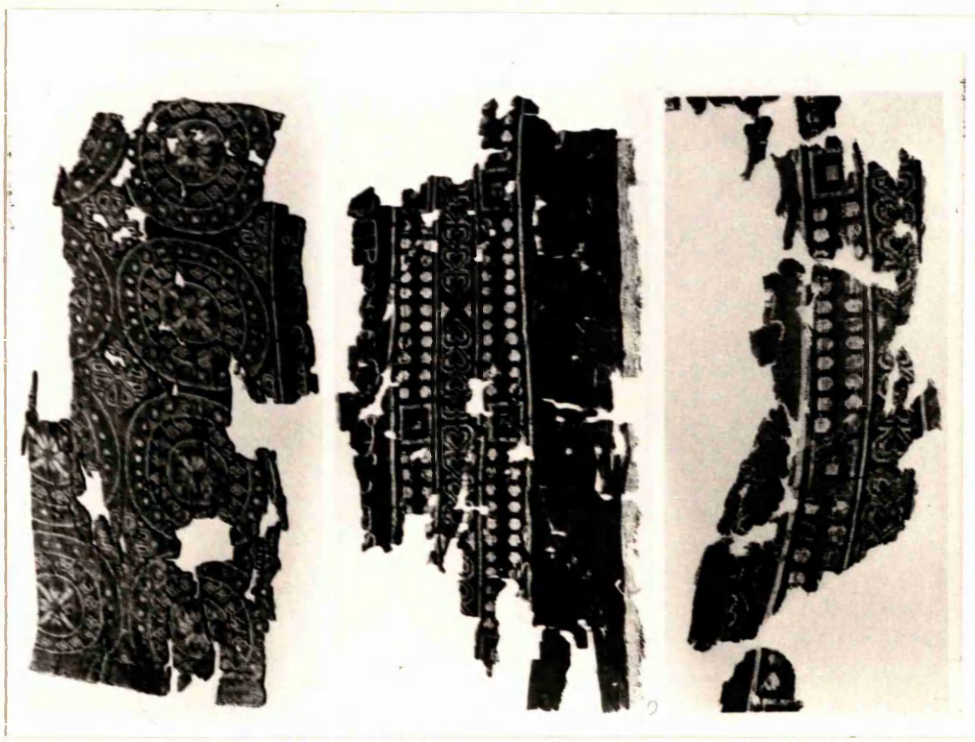

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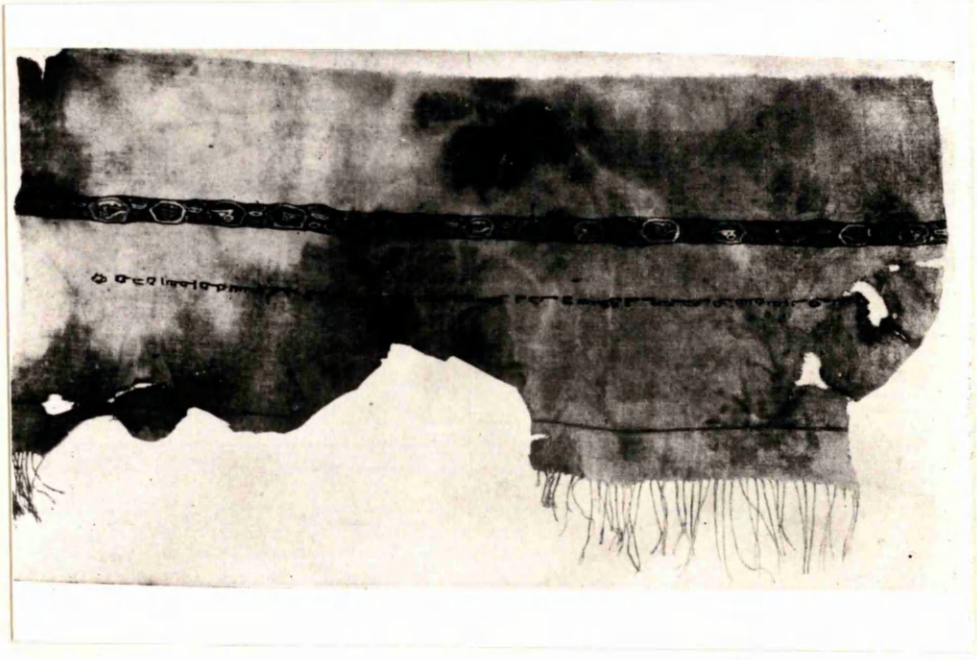


13. Detail of 'Victory' mural, Qusayr Amra, Almagro, pl.V b.

14. Detail of the 'Musicans' mural, Qusayr Amra, Almagro, pl.VI b.

15. Yemeni ikat, 9-10th century, inv. no. 31.963; 34.115, Cleveland Museum.

16. Diagram of Moshtshevaya Balka robe structure, Jeroussalimskaja, fig.17.

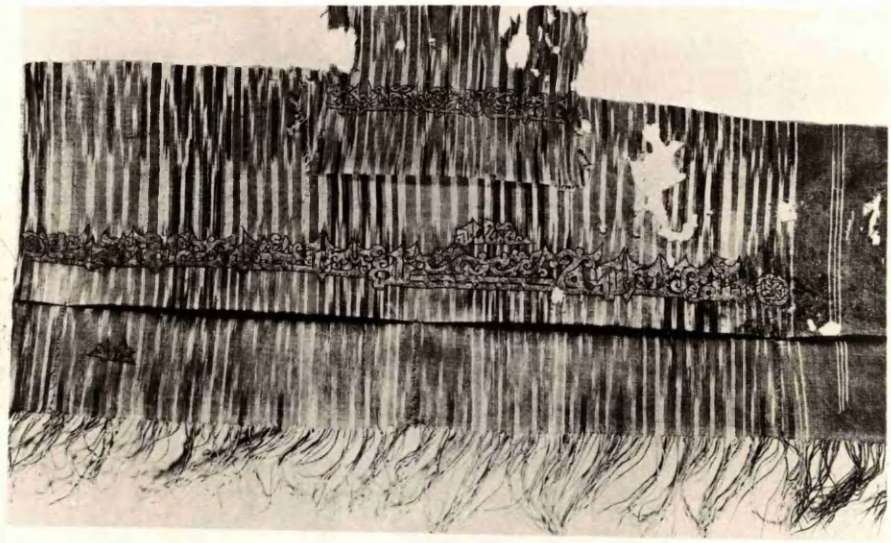
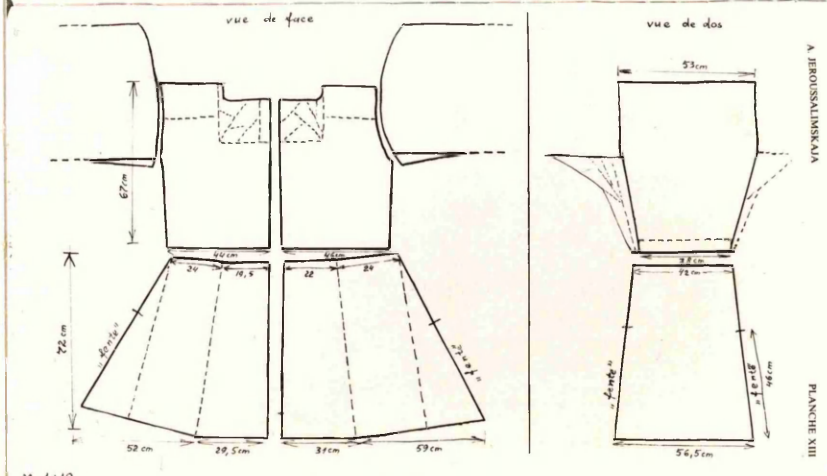


Figure 92 — (31.063 and 24.115)



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17. Moshtshevaya Balka robe, Jeroussalimskaja, fig.15.

18. "Before the qadī" Maqāmāt al-Harīrī, 634/1237, Arabe ms.5847 fol.114, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

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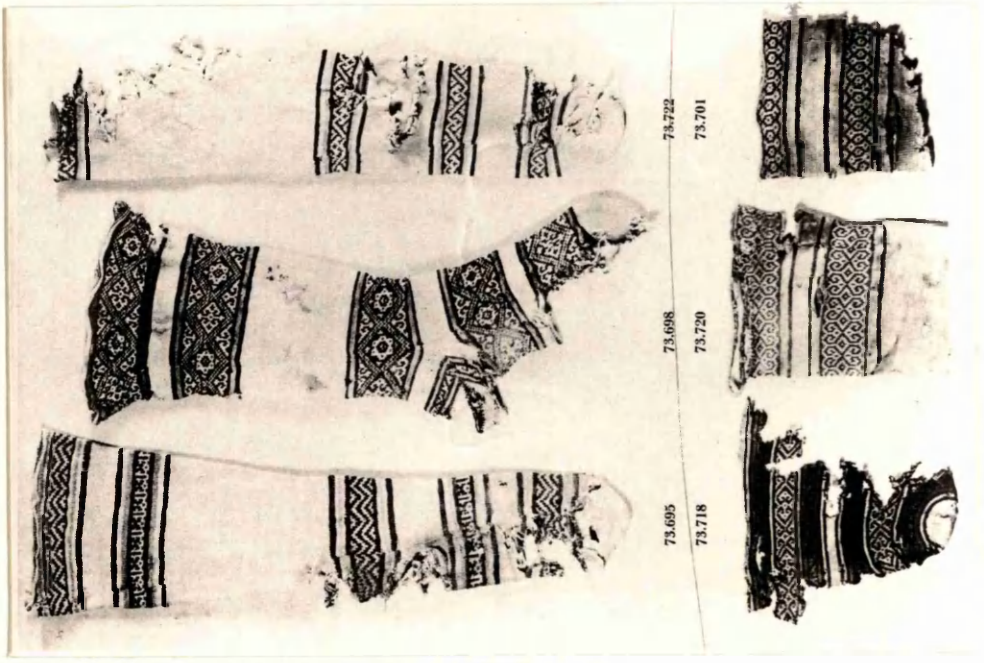
Fig. 15. — Cafetan de Mochtchevaja Balka (on y voit les «fentes»).

19. Diagram of Lashkar-i Bazar mural, Schlumberger Laskari, pl.123.

20. Jawrab, inv. nos. 73.695; 73.698; 73.722, Textile Museum, Washington, Bellinger, pl.I.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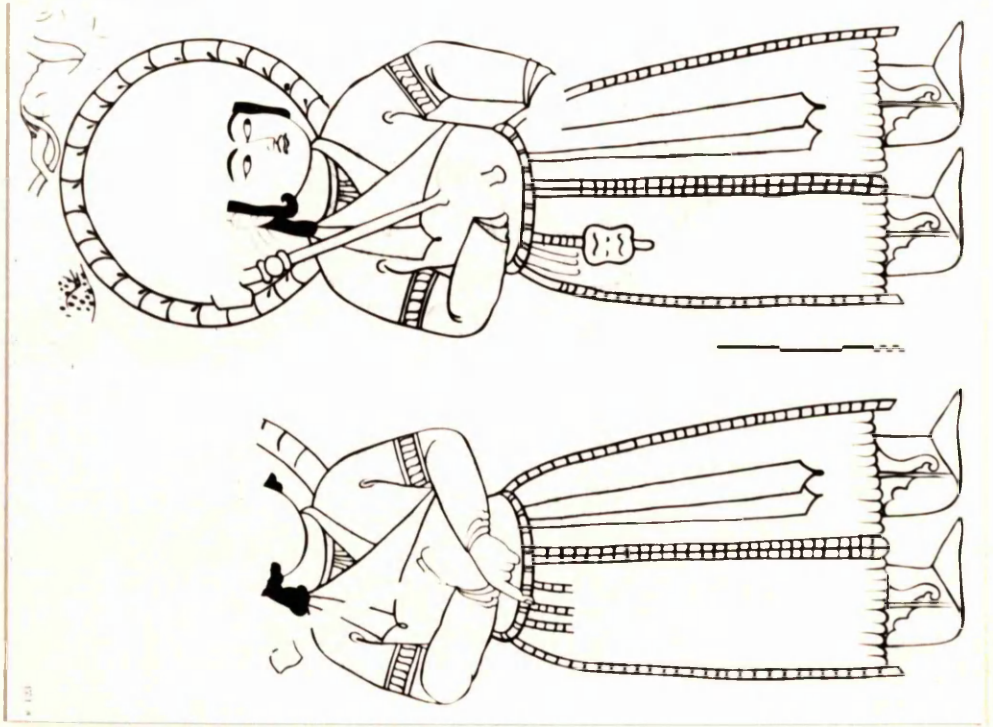
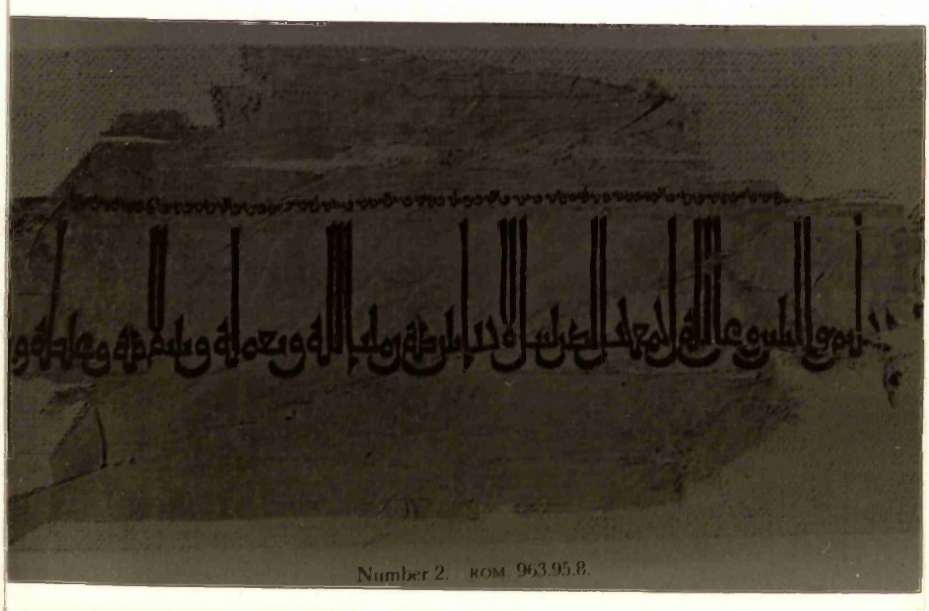


21. 'Two dancers' mural c.836-9, Jawsaq al-Khaqani, Samarra, Sourdel-Thomine & Spuler, colour pl.xxiii.

22. Fragment of Egyptian lustre bowl, 11-12th century, Keir collection no.93, Grube, p.145.

23. "Mahmūd of Ghazna donning khil^{c}a", Jāmi^{c} al-Ṭawārīkh 1306, Edinburgh University Library, "Khil^{c}a" EI^{2}, pl.I.

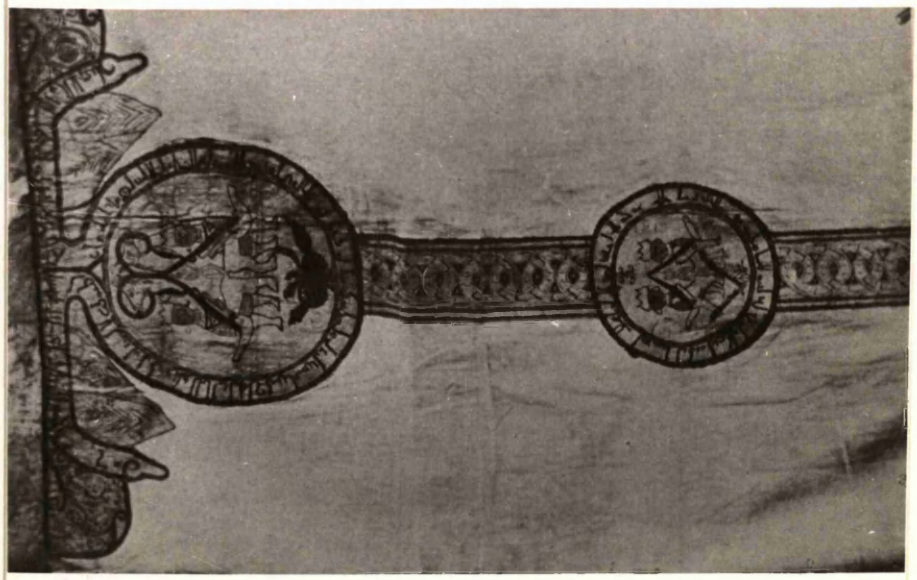
24. Cotton and silk tirāz, late 10th century Iraq or Persia, inv. no 963.95.8, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Golombek & Gervers, p.95.



Number 2. ROM. 963.95.8.

25. 'The veil of St. Anne', 1096-7, Talbot Rice, p.96.

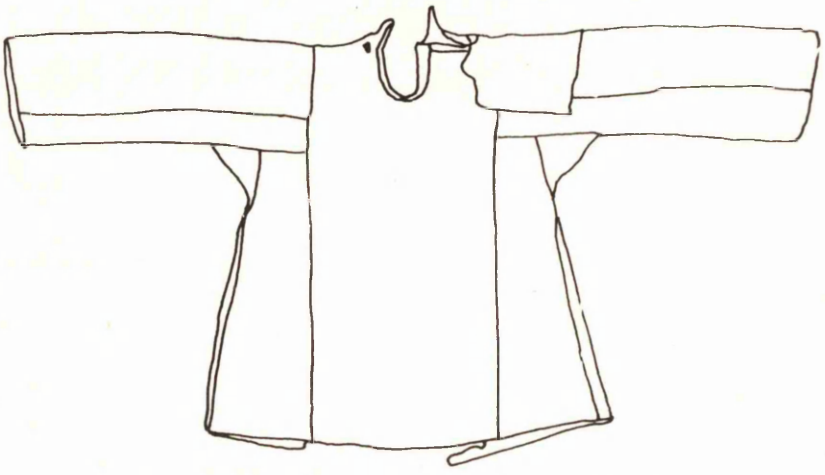
26. Linen tirāz, mid 12th century Egypt, inv. no. 961.107.3, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Golombek & Gervers, p.118.

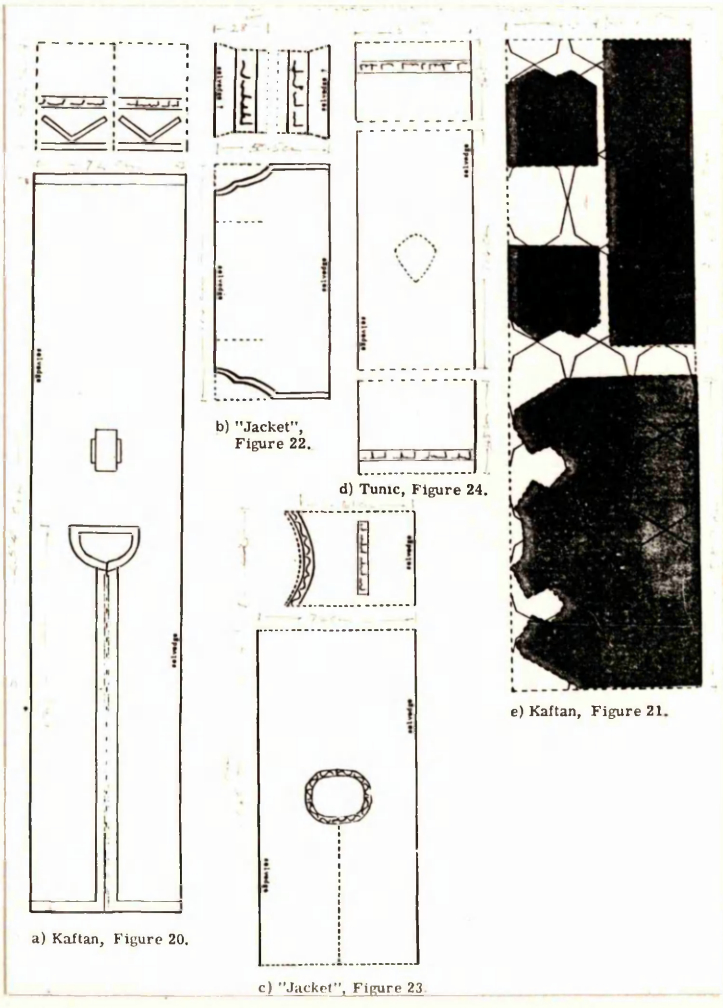


27. Diagram of (? Fatimid) child's tunic, Bardo Museum, Tunis, Fendri, dia. II.

28. Diagrams of 'Buyid' garments, Shepherd Medieval, p.112 fig.a-e.

1 Le vêtement vu de devant





a) Kaftan, Figure 20.

b) "Jacket", Figure 22.

c) "Jacket", Figure 23.

d) Tunic, Figure 24.

e) Kaftan, Figure 21.

29. Pattern of Gapoiapa silk, Jabal Adda, and of printed cotton, ? 15th century, inv. no. 23903 & 14816, Islamic Art Museum, Cairo, UAR Islamic, pl.46b.

30. Bronze seal stamp for silk, early 14th century, Christie's, item 765 p.127.

31. Donor figure, Qočo, Le Coq, pl.12.

32. Court scene, Kitāb al-Diryāq, ?mid 13th century, ms. AF 10. fol.1r, National Library, Vienna, Ettinghausen Arab, p.91.

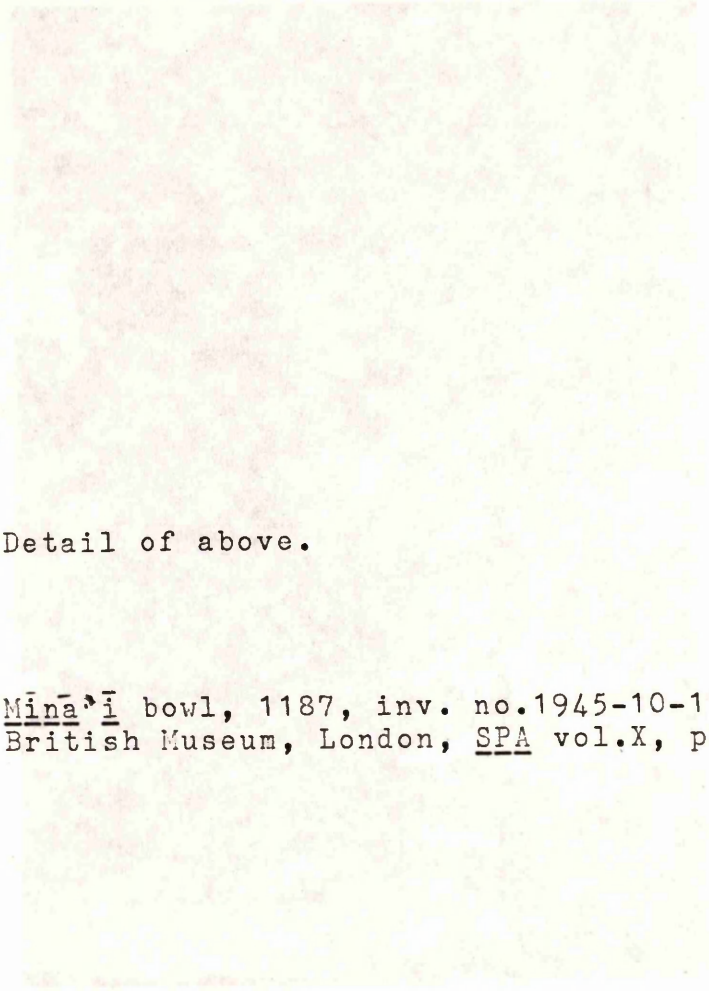
33. Kashan tile, late 13th/ early 14th century, inv. no. 1160.11, Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow, Maslenitsyna, p.26.

34. Seljuk tile from Kaykudabad Palace, Konya, Talbot Rice, p.182.

35. Stucco panel, ? 12th century Rayy, Pennsylvania Museum of Art, SPA vol.IX, pl.517.

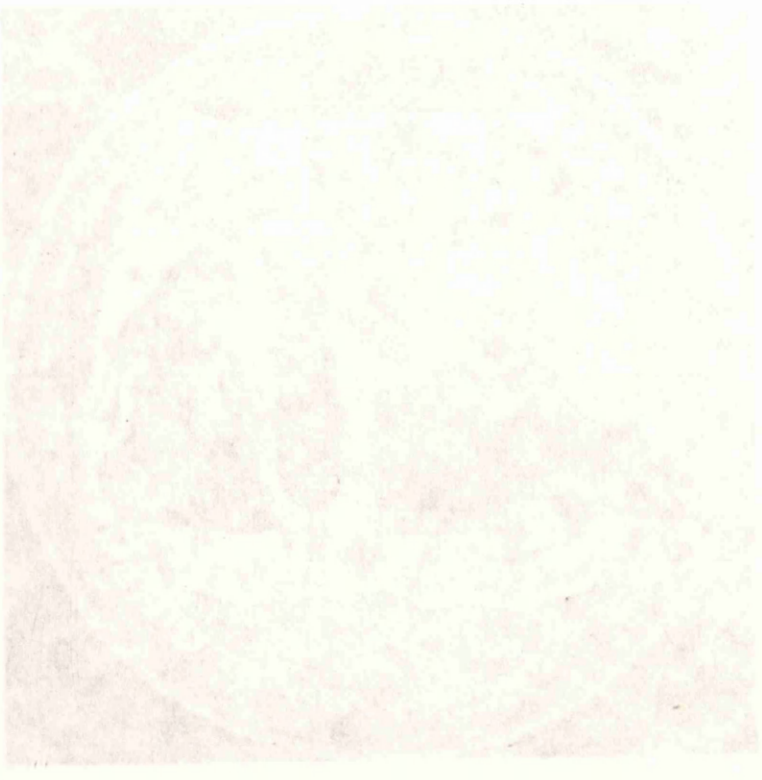
36. 'Enthronement scene', c. 1300, H. 2152 fol. 60b, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul, Ipsiroglu, pl.11 p.52.

PANEL OF STUCCO RELIEF REVETMENT



37. Detail of above.

38. Mīnā'ī bowl, 1187, inv. no.1945-10-17-261, British Museum, London, SPA vol.X, pl.688a.

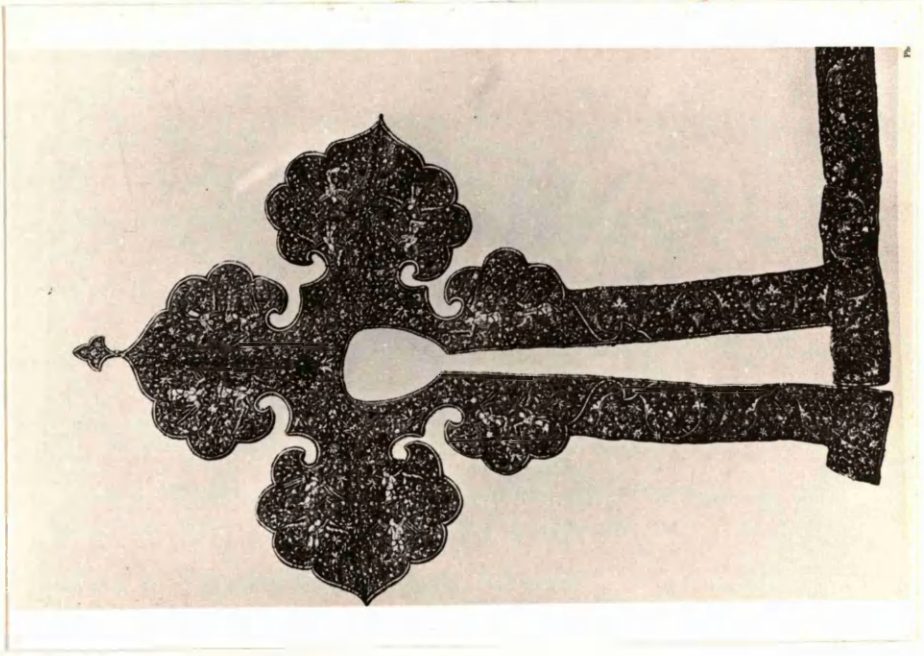


39. Tārīkh-i Jahān Gushā, 1290, Suppl. persan 205 fol.V, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ettinghausen Mongol, p.46.

40. Mongol court scene, 14th century, H. 2153 fol.148v, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul, Heibonsha, pl.VIII.

41. Maqāmāt al-Harīrī frontispiece, 1334 Egypt, AF 9 fol.1r, National Library, Vienna, Ettinghausen Arab, p.148.

42. Safavid 'cloud' collar, inv. no.24904, Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow, SPA vol.XII, p.1017.



43. "Humāy & Humāyūn" Khwājū Kirmānī 1396, Add 18113 fol. 40r, British Library, London.

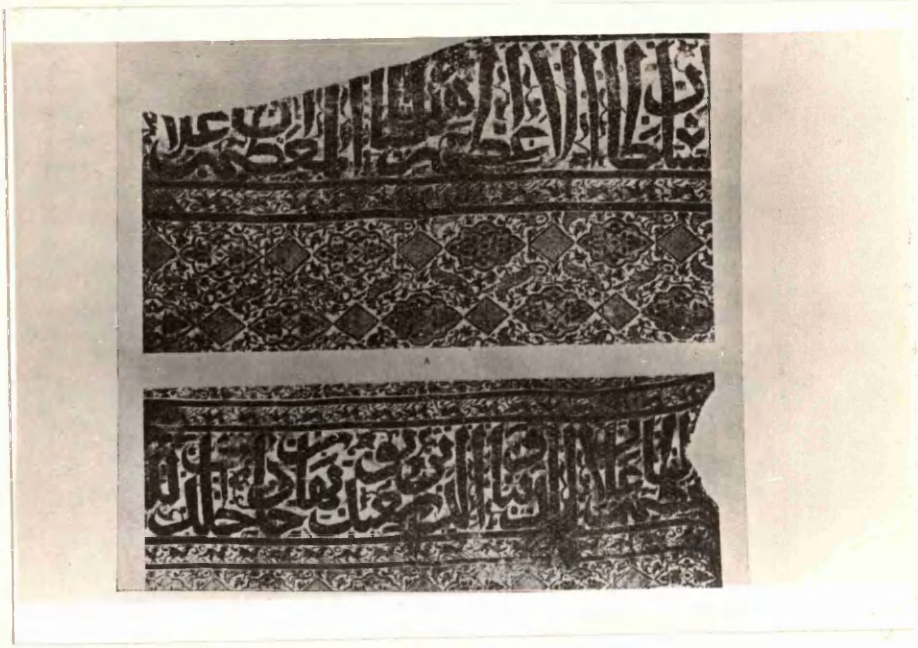
44. Pattern detail of Kaykubād silk, early 13th century, inv. no.23.475, Musée des tissus, Lyons, "Harīr" EI^2, pl.6d.

Plate 15. Humāy and Humāyūn from *Poems* by Khwāju Kirmāni, 1393 A.D., British Library, Add. 18113, 64ov.

Plate 14. A miniature painting representing a mystic landscape from Persia from an Anthology of Poetry of the 15th cent[illegible]

45. Abū Saʿīd (1316-35) fragment, Dom und Diozesan Museum, Vienna, Ettinghausen Ottoman, pl.5.

46. 'Marienkirche' silk, early 14th century, inv. no.75.258, Staatliche Museum, Berlin GDR, SPA vol.XII, pl.1000.



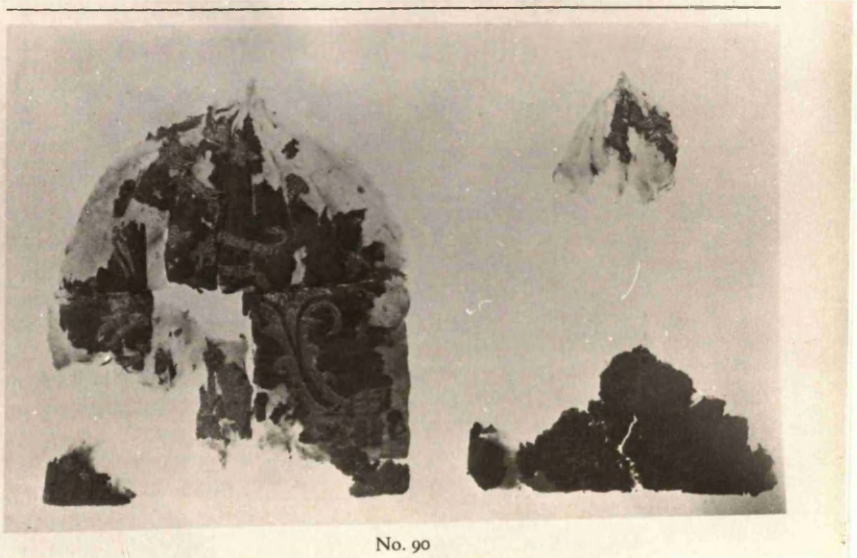
47. Diagram, detail of Baptistèrie St. Louis, 1290-1310, inv. no.5991, Louvre Museum, Paris, Rice Baptistèrie, fig.7.

48. ? Sarájūq, detail of mid-13th century tomb of Henry II of Silesia, Breslau, Yule Marco Polo p.494.

DRVSIANVS

49. Detail of "Reception of the Ambassadors", 15th or 16th century, no.1157, Louvre Museum, Paris, Raby, fig.38 p.56-7.

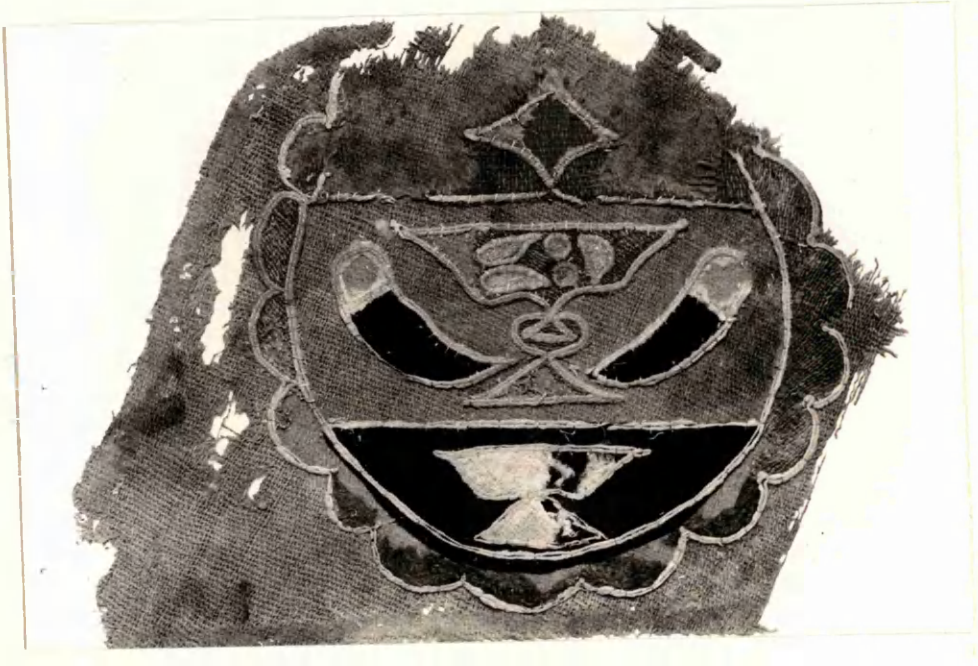
50. ? Kalawtā fragments, 14th-15th century Egypt, Keir collection, Spuhler, no.90 p.161.

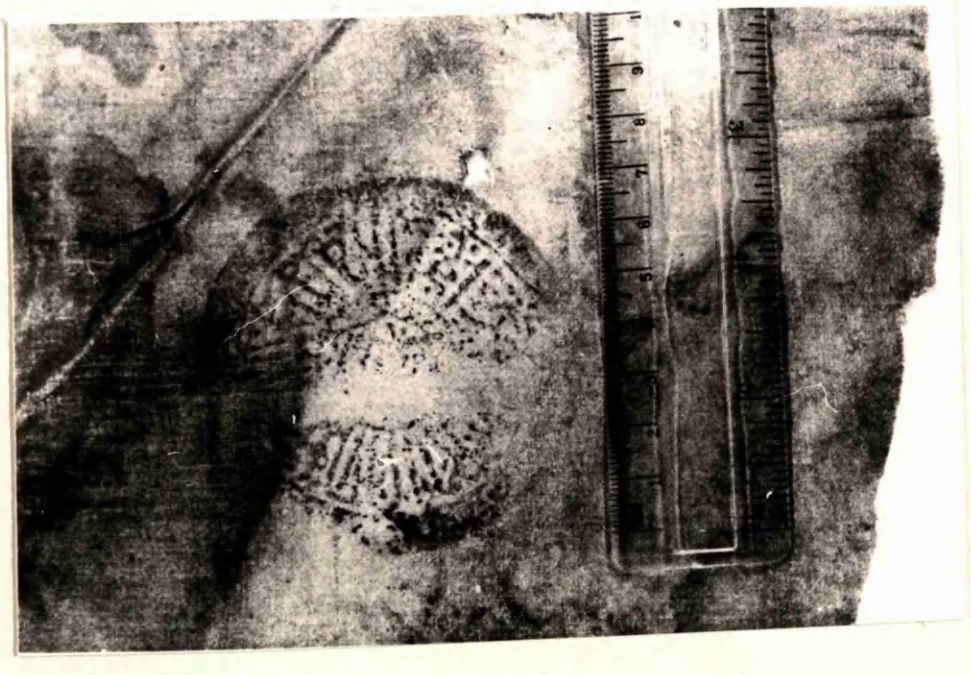


No. 90

51. Mamluk blazon (? of Qā'itbay), wool on wool, late 15th century, inv. no.1972.120.3, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Atil Renaissance, item 124.

52. Printed stamp on garment lining, ? late 15th century, Jabal Adda, inv. no.T 104, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.



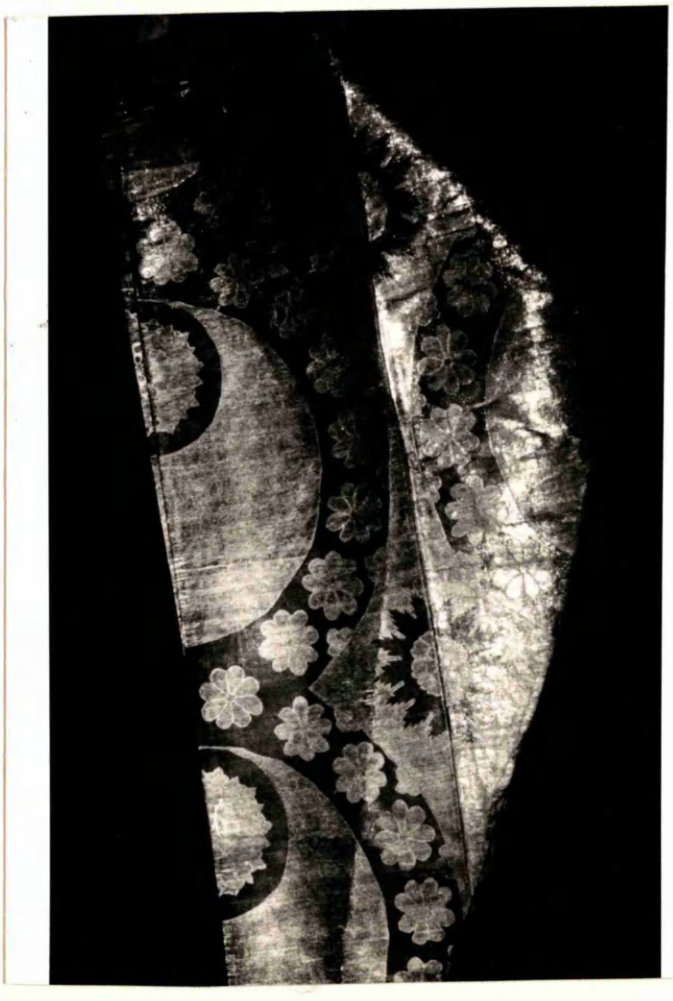


53. "Musical evening", Maqāmāt al-Harīrī, 1334 Egypt, AF 9 fol.42r, National Library, Vienna, Kultur, pl.25.

54. Robe attributed to Mehmed II (1444-6; 1451-81), inv. no.13/6-2/3228, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul.

55. Detail of Sur-nāme, c. 1582-3, H. 1344 fol.23r, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul.

56. Şalvar of 'seraser' fabric, attributed to Suleyman I (1520-66), inv. no.13/131-2/4414, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul.



57. Devşirme scene, Süleyman-nāme by Arifi, 1558, H. 1517 fol. 31b, Topkapi Saray, Istanbul, Atasoy & Çağman, pl.9.

58. Janissary keçe, Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, Jaeckel, fig.1.

کسی را که باشد دو فرزند و زن
همیشه بود از یکی بی نیاز
کنون شاه را در سر هر سه سال
چنین است فالی فرخنده فال

که سازد بهر لحظه از دو یکی
روانی کرد صاحبقران یکی
کند همسر او فرخنده یکی
ببرنوازش پی نیک یکی

گلهای سرخ و بنفشه‌ای لال
فراوان تر از بهر پیشکش نهال
ز گلگونه رنگ لاله داده دست
چو گل تنه به بر هم افتاده دست

وگر دو بگردد ولایت تمام
ستاند ز هر خانه یک غلام
چو لاله کلاهی نهد بر سرش
چو غنچه قبایی کند در برش

59. Külliyat Kātibi, c.1450-80, R. 989, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul, Kyuden, pl.134.

60. Detail of Belgrade attack, Hünernāme 1584 vol.1, H. 1523 fol.165a, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul, Fehér, pl.VI.

ختم قرآن به آئین چو ن خفت
ختم کن حق یاد یاد و حافظت

61. Sur-nāme, c.1582-3, H. 1344 fol.422, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul.

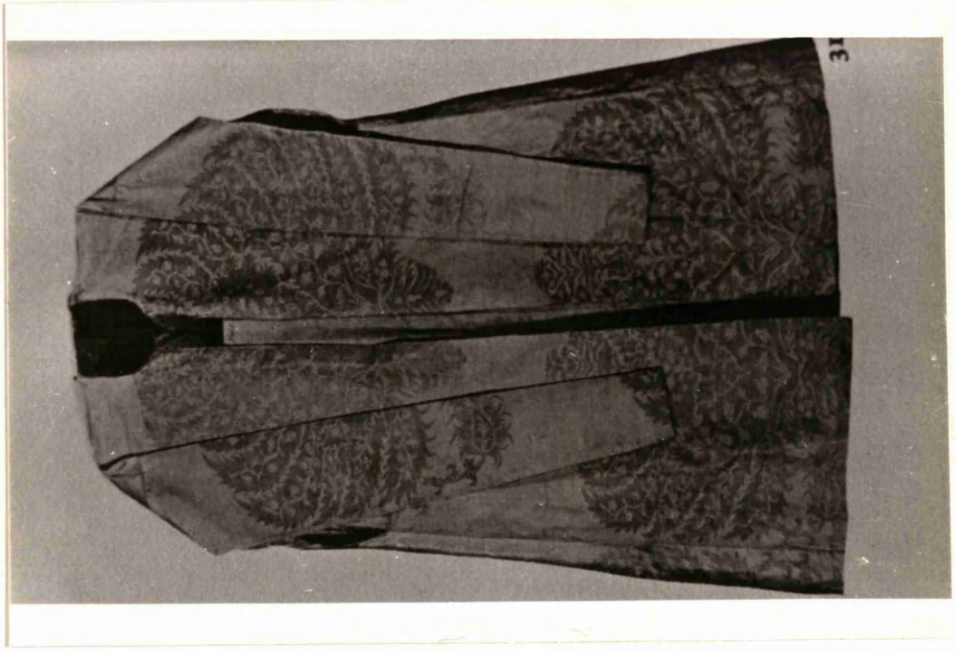
62. Sur-nāme-i Vehbi, c.1720, A. III 3593 fol.16, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul.

63. Ibid., fol. 21r.

64. Silahtar robe, inv. no.13/1888-2/465, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul.

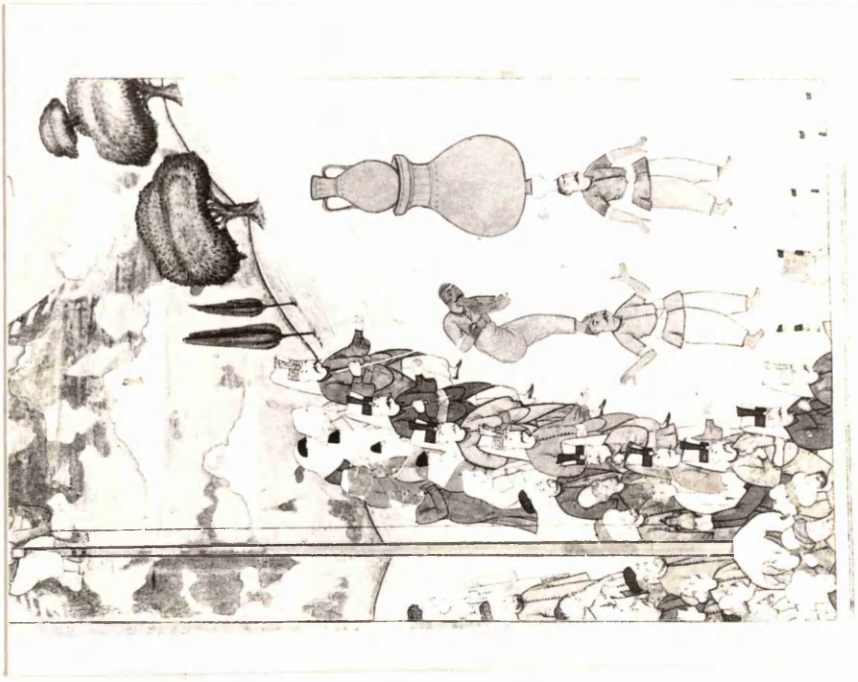
65. Sur-nāme-i Vehbi, c.1720, A. III 3593 fol.12 l, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul.

66. Hil'at robe, c.1760, inv. no.i-6894, Staatliche Museum, Berlin GDR, Hayward, no.31 p.86.



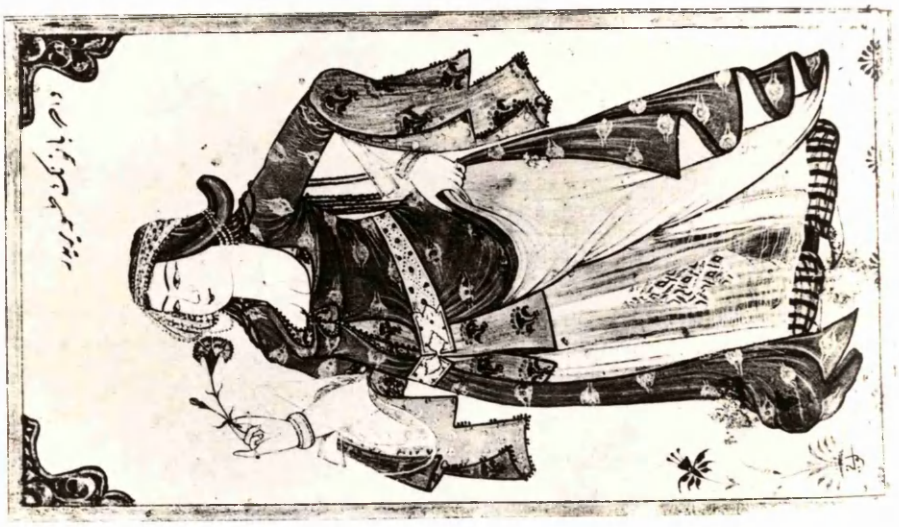
67. Turkish dancer c.1710 by De Ferriol, Osmanlı pl.54.

68. Detail of Sur-nāme-i Vehbi, co.1720, A. III 3593 fol.83 l, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul.



69. "Entertainment by the Göksu" Jean Preziosi, 19th century, Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul.

70. "Lady with a carnation" Levni, c.1720, H. 2164 fol.29, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul, Stchoukine Turque, pl.LXXXb.



71. The 'Bayezid' fragment, Studenica monastery, Ettinghausen Ottoman, fig.4.

72. Sur-nāme, c.1582-3, H. 1344 fol.67, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul.

Fig. 4

73. "Costume of the new troops" c.1826, Macfarlane vol.II frontispiece.

74. Setre and fez, late 19th century, Koçu, p.205.

75. President Kemal Atatürk, Lewis Emergence pl.V.

76. "Revolution in dress and marriage", Linke, pl.xxvi facing p.215.

POSTER SHOWING THE OLD AND THE NEW DRESS.

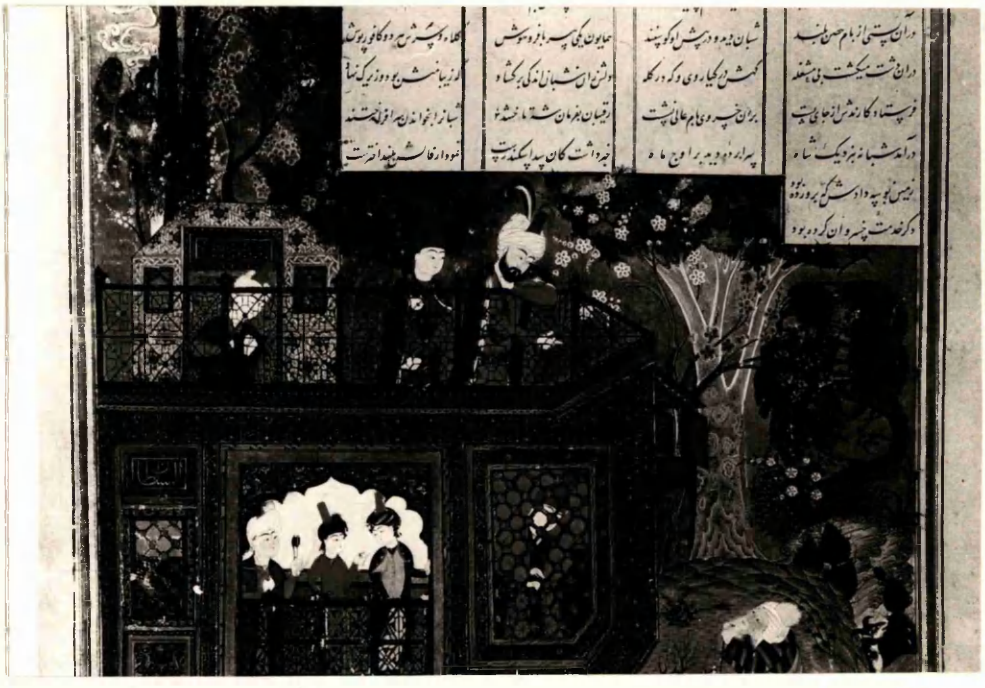
77. Ladies in Istanbul, 1907, Lewis Emergence, pl.vi.

78. The çarşaf, 1912, Tugay, fig.11a facing p.260.

Ladies in Sultan Ahmed Square, 1907 (from *L'Illustration*, reprinted in *Hayat*, 4 January 1957)

79. Detail of "Alexander the Great", H. 762, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul, Kyuden, pl.74.

80. "The celebration of 'Id" Dīwān of Hāfiz, c.1526-7, fol.86r, Fogg Museum, Boston, Welch Wonders, p.126.



81. Fragment of Safavid tāj, c.1511-2, Rabat-i Sharaf, Kiani, pl.16 p.20.

82. "Shāh Ismāʿīl leading his army" Ismāʿīl-nāmah, mid 17th century, Or.3248 fol. 55b, British Library, London, Stchoukine Shah, pl.LXVII.

۱۶ــ بسته مخصوص از فتیله های پنبه‌ای که روی آنها با پارچه بریشمی سرخ رنگ‌پوشیده شده وبیکدیگر متصل شده بودندحاوی یک نامه بزرگ (فرمان) و ۱۶ قطعه نامه کوچک بود .

83. "Shah ʿAbbās hunting" Shāh-nāmah, c.1590-5, Add. 27257 fol.559v, British Museum, London, Stchoukine Shah, pl.I.

84. Shatirs, late 19th century, Feuvrier p.47.

85. Safavid khil^{c}at in velvet, c.1586-1628, inv. no.3414, Livrustkammaren, Stockholm.

86. Detail of "Rustam before Kay Qubād" Houghton Shāh-nāmah, c.1525-35, fol.110v., Welch Wonders, p.73.

87. Safavid velvet robe, 1583, inv. no.13/2088-35/116, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul, Aga-Oglu, fig.11 p.16.

88. Detail of "Nightmare of Ẓuḥḥāk", Houghton Shāh-nāmah, c. 1525-35, fol.28v, Welch Wonders p.57.

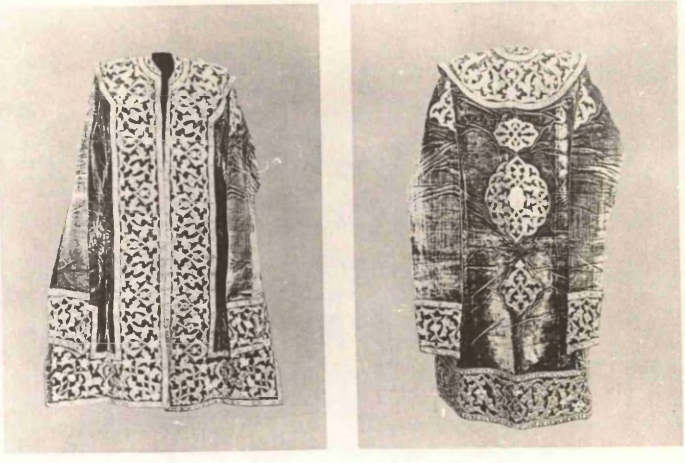


Figure 11. Coat of Velvet Embroidered with Gold and Silk Threads
Late sixteenth century. Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi, Istanbul

89. Lady in Persian dress, oil on canvas, c.1680, Colnaghi, no.137.

90. "Shāh and courtiers", second half of 17th century, Grek, pl.99.

91. "Reclining lady with dog", mid 17th century, 1930-4-12-02, British Museum, London, Stchoukine Shah pl.LXXIII.

92. "Lady with cat", early 17th century, Arabe 6075 fol.6, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Stchoukine Shah, pl.XXV.

93. "Balqīs reclining", late 16th century, 1948-12-11-08, British Museum, London, Stchoukine Shah, pl.XXVII.

94. Portrait of Nādir Shah, second quarter 18th century, IM 20-1919, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

95. Portrait said to be of Karīm Khan Zand, Or.4938 no.1, British Library, London, Perry frontispiece.

96. Zand prince, oil on canvas, 1793-4, formerly Amery collection, Falk, pl.I.

97. "Lovers with wine" oil on canvas, late 18th century, formerly Amery collection, Falk, pl.VII.

98. Safavid garment, 18th century, Textile Museum, Washington, SPA vol.XII, pl.1088b.

Lon. Ex. No. 319.8

B. Coat, compound cloth, brocaded, metal thread ground, Kāshān (?). Textile Museum of the District of Columbia. L. 3 ft. 4½ in. (105.1 cm.)

99. Fragment of 'Laylā & Majnūn' double-cloth silk, c.16th century, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, SPA vol.XII, pl.1033b.

100. Portrait of Mirza ʿAbd al-Vahhab, Tabriz 1862, Piemontese, pl.47.

101. Portrait of Fath ᶜAlī Shah, oil on canvas, 1813, formerly Amery collection, Falk, pl.XV.

102. Detail of copy of former Nigaristan Palace mural, Tehran 1816, Add. Or.1239-42, India Office Library, London, Robinson India, p.251.

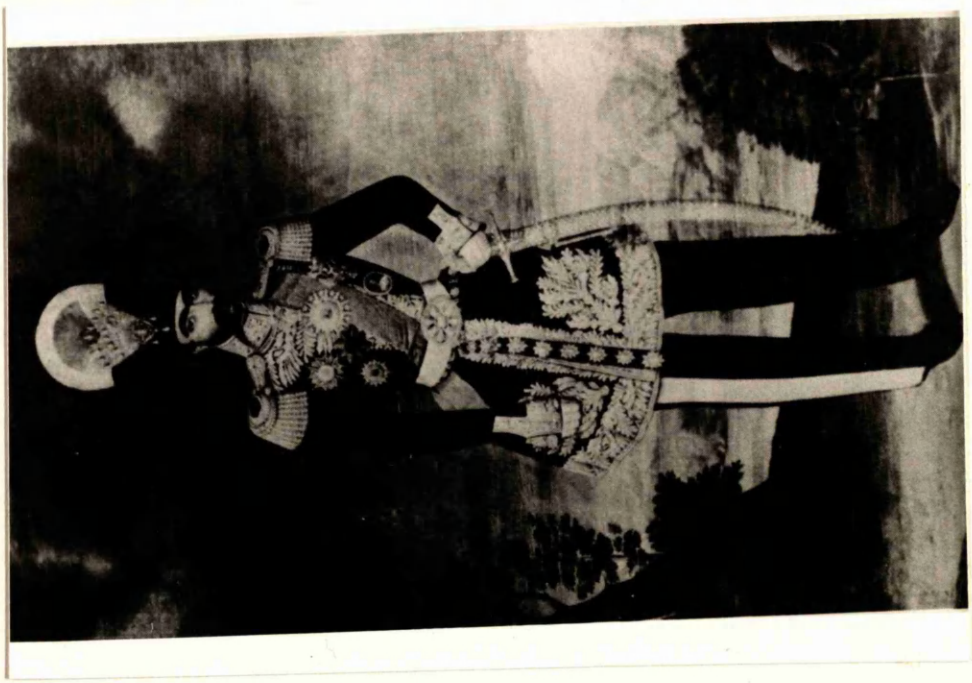
103. Riẓa Shah after his coronation, 1925, Wilber, facing p.242.

104. A 'cossack' captain, 1862, Piemontese, fig.58.

Riza Shah Pahlavi on the Marble Throne

105. Nāṣir al-Dīn Shah, c.1860, Robinson Portraits, fig.9.

106. Sardari worn by court photographer, Mirza Ahmad c.1870, Afshar, fig.6.



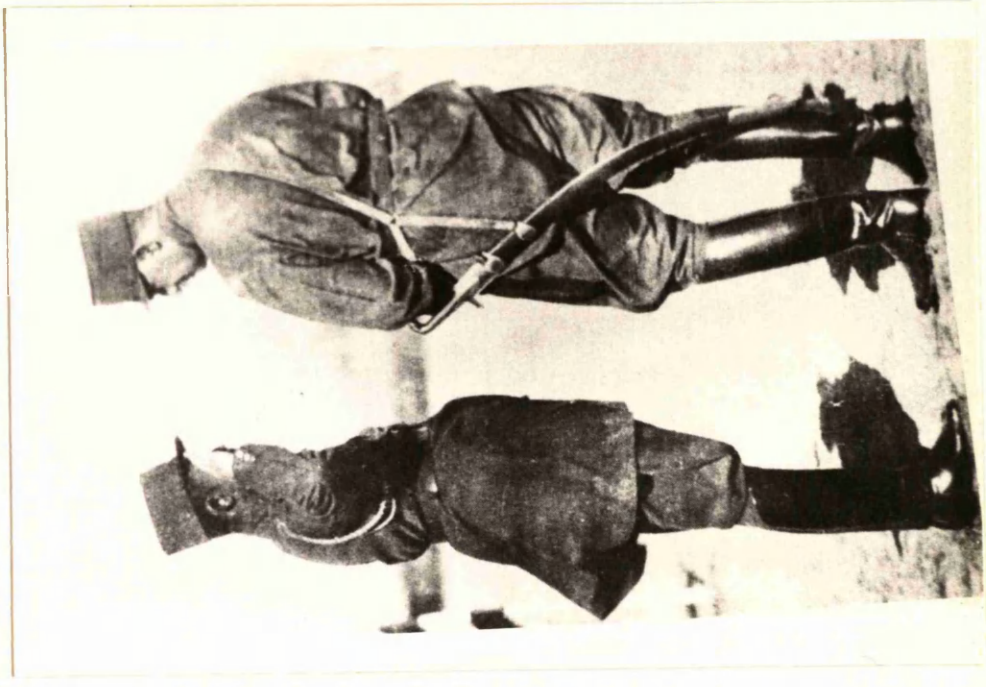
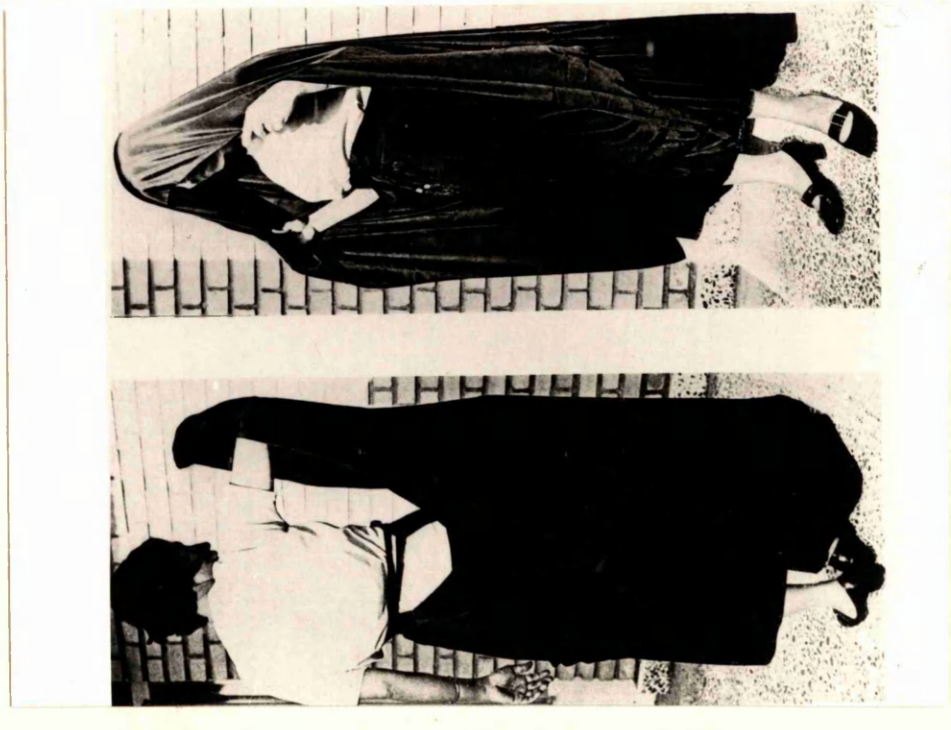
107. Two chādurs, early 20th century, Colliver Rice facing p.160.

108. Lady in outdoor dress, oil on canvas, early 19th century, formerly Amery collection, Falk, pl.XVII.

109. "Lady playing guitar", oil on canvas, 1816, formerly Amery collection, Falk, pl.XX.

110. "Ladies round a samovar", third quarter 19th century, P.56-1941, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

111. Chādur-kamari, 20th century, Tual, fig.3 p.103.

112. Riẓa Shāh in the kulah-i pahlavi, Wilber pl.28.

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