

TURBAN AND CROWN: AN ESSAY IN ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

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[precis]

In this essay I draw together material from textual and visual sources bearing on the significance of headgear — the turban in particular — from early Islamic times up to and including the Ottoman period, with one or two sallies into the present. First, I survey the significance of crown and turban in early Islam, drawing mainly on textual materials and bringing in visual materials as these become abundant in the thirteenth and following centuries. Second, I develop the idea that, since the presence of headgear — predominantly the turban as the token of male dignity — is the norm in Islamic painting, its absence always cries out for an explanation. The survey of bareheadedness resolves itself into twenty-two categories, which are illustrated here. Third, I focus on the Ottomans, where a wealth of iconographic materials is juxtaposed to rich textual sources. With regard to headgear, as in many other respects, the Ottomans may be considered the culmination of trends that can be traced back to the beginnings of Islamic civilization.

INTRODUCTION

In this essay I have drawn together material from textual and visual sources bearing on the significance of headgear — the turban in particular — from early Islamic times up to and including the Ottoman period, with one or two sallies into the present. Since my main focus is the turban, I have largely ignored women's headgear.

The theoretical underpinning for such a broad survey, if any is demanded, is provided by Marshall Hodgson in Chapter VII of Book Three of his *The Venture of Islam*, entitled “Cultural Patterning in Islamdom and the Occident” (Hodgson 1974, 329-68). Regarding historical periodization, Klaus Kreiser has provided the useful category of “the age of the wound turban” (Kreiser 2005, 448). While Kreiser himself applied this only to Turkey before 1828, when the turban ceded ground to the fez, we may extend it back to the beginning of Islam and forward — in many places, though not in Turkey — to the present day.

This essay, while using texts, relies heavily on images and may be considered an iconographic survey. (Nearly all the reproductions here are details of larger images.) It is in three parts:

- Part 1 surveys the significance of crown and turban in early Islam, drawing mainly on textual materials, with much reliance on secondary sources, and bringing in visual materials as these become abundant in the thirteenth and following centuries. One major source for images has been the Cambridge Shahnama Project website:

<http://www.ames.cam.ac.uk/shah/>

Part 1 also includes some general hypotheses about the significance of headgear, or the lack thereof, in Islamic and Christian painting. While the survey extends to Safavid and later times, Ottoman materials are largely omitted here as being the subject of Part 3.

- Part 2 develops the idea that, since the presence of headgear — predominantly the turban as the token of male dignity — is the norm in Islamic painting, its absence always cries out for an explanation. The survey of bareheadedness resolves itself into twenty-two categories, all of which are illustrated here. This is a typology, in which different countries and periods are

conflated. While unhistorical, it may nevertheless have heuristic value, and is justified by Hodgson's notion of "cultural patterning in Islamdom" mentioned above.

- Part 3 is devoted to the Ottomans, where a wealth of iconographic materials is juxtaposed to rich textual sources, especially Naima and Evliya Çelebi. With regard to headgear, as in many other respects, the Ottomans may be considered the culmination of trends that can be traced back to the beginnings of Islamic civilization.

ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library, London
BM	British Museum, London
BN	Bibliothèque National, Paris http://expositions.bnf.fr/islam/
CBL	Chester Beatty Library, Dublin
David	David Collection, Copenhagen http://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/materials
"Demotte"	The "Demotte" <i>Shahnama</i> / The Great Mongol <i>Shahnama</i> (c. 1335)
EI2	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i> , 2 nd edition
Freer	Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington D.C. http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/edan/default.cfm
<i>Haft Awrang</i>	Jami, <i>Haft Awrang</i> , 1556-65 Mashhad (Freer)
Ist Un	İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Morgan	The Morgan Library and Museum, New York http://www.themorgan.org/collection/treasures-of-islamic-manuscript-painting
NYPL	New York Public Library http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/search/index?&keywords=tarjumah-i-Shâhnâmah
Princeton	Princeton University Library http://library.princeton.edu/projects/islamic/index.html
"Tahmasp"	The "Houghton" <i>Shahnama</i> / The Great Safavid <i>Shahnama</i> / The <i>Shahnama</i> of Shah Tahmasp (c. 1530) http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search?ft=shahnama+tahmasp
TIEM	Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul
TSM	Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Walters	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore http://thedigitalwalters.org/01_ACCESS_WALTERS_MANUSCRIPTS.html

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- | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| I and II | Bağdat 304 |
| III and IV | Bağdat 305 |
| V | Bağdat 307 |
| VI | Revan 1457 |
| VII and VIII | Bağdat 308 |
| IX and X | "Y" = Bağdat 306 (IX), İÜTY 5973 (X) |
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PART 1: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TURBAN AND CROWN IN ISLAM

Early Islam inherited the crown from the Persians and the turban from the Arabs. The crown retained its pre-Islamic associations, as in *Kitāb al-Tāj* (“Book of the Crown”), a collection of Sassanian royal traditions attributed to the 3rd/9th-century litterateur al-Jahiz. The turban, because of its association with the Prophet, took on a religious signification.

Demotion of crown and elevation of turban is characteristic of the hadith literature. “Turbans are the crowns of the Arabs” is the most famous of the hadiths expressing this attitude. Or the Prophet tells the Muslims: “Wear turbans and thus be different from the religious communities (*umam*) that came before you.” Also: “Turbans are a mark of Islam,” and “The turban divides the believers from the unbelievers.”¹

The Prophet is particularly associated with the turban, and there is a good deal of lore about his turban, with hadiths of various tendencies. M. J. Kister, who has surveyed this material, concludes his study by noting (p. 245) that every ideological conflict — between Muslims and infidels, Sunna and Shi‘a, Umayyads and Abbasids, Muslims and the *ahl al-dhimma* — are reflected in the contradictory traditions about the turban.²



Left: 1388 Shiraz (David Collection 20/2008 <http://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/dynasties/il-khanids/art/20-2008>); middle: *Mi‘rājnāma*, 1436 Herat (BN Supplément turc 190 17r) — Muhammad wears turban (note loop below the chin, typical of Arab turbans), Gabriel and Buraq wear crown; right: *Divan* of Anvari, 1588 India (MMA) — Pharaoh wears crown and Moses wears Arab turban.

In Islamic lore, Adam in Paradise wore a crown, in the manner of a Persian king; but on his expulsion, Gabriel wound a turban round his head.³ Adam loses his kingdom; but the loss of dignity, signified by bareheadedness, is compensated by the turban.

¹ These hadiths are cited after W. Björkman, art. “Tulband” in *EI2*. For fuller discussion see Kister 2000.

² Kister 2000, 245.

³ Kister 2000, 230.



Adam being worshipped by the angels: Adam has a crown; angels have crown, topknot or feathered headdress; Satan has a special kind of turban. Left: second half of 16th century, Iran (Louvre MAO175); right: from the dispersed *Fālnama*, c. 1560 Qazvin (Freer S19896.254) [Farhad 2009 #12]

It is hard to know to what extent early Muslim rulers actually wore crowns. According to W. Björkman:

Islam knows no regular royal crown or coronation in our sense as a symbol of regal power. When we find mention of crowns, the reference is to foreign rulers like those of the old Persian Great Kings, of Christian rulers, etc. ... Only in the case of the so-called *tādj al-khalīfa* do we seem at first sight to have a Muslim ruler's crown. This crown of the caliph, which is included among the insignia (*ālāt al-mulūkiyya*) of sovereignty, is not found till the 'Abbāsid period, and it has been suggested that this dynasty imitated the Persian tradition in deliberate contrast to the early caliphs and Umayyads (Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 453). The caliph wore this *tādj* on ceremonial occasions (*mawākib*).⁴

The *tāj* of the Fatimid caliph, on the other hand, "was not a proper crown but a turban richly studded with gems."⁵

In Spain, meanwhile, crowns were delegitimized as royal emblems because of their association with Christian kings:

"He has gone Christian," the troops exclaim in ... indignation in a story of how the son of the conqueror of Spain was persuaded by his Visigothic wife to wear a crown. ... A century after an Arab had been killed in Spain for putting on a crown, understood as a sign that he had gone Christian, the 'Abbāsid caliphs were bestowing crowns on favourite

⁴ Art. "Tādj" in *EI2*. Cf. Darling 2013, 238, n. 20: "The Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik was said to have rejected poetry written for him that contained crown imagery (I. Goldziher, "Islamisme et Parsisme," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 43, 1902: 6), although his coins portrayed him wearing a crown (Tyan, *Institutions*, 1:490)."

⁵ *Ibid.*; for a fuller description, see Sanders 1994, 25; Stillman 2000, 54.

members of their Khurāsānī troops in Iraq without anyone accusing them of having gone Zoroastrian.⁶

The Abbasid practice was contrary, as we just saw, to the attitude of the Umayyads. To be sure, the winged crown, which was the Sasanian royal emblem, appears on early coinage, also as a decorative element in mosaics of the Dome of the Rock. But it soon went out of fashion. And in coins of the Standing Caliph type, “the typical Byzantine group portrait is replaced by a standing personage with a *kufiyah* or Arab headgear instead of a crown.”⁷

In Abbasid times, the so-called “robe of honor” (*khil‘a*) included a crown and sword; in Buyid times also, or instead, a turban.⁸ Regarding the caliph’s gifts to the Ghaznavid Sultan Mas‘ud in the year 424/1033, Baihaqi writes:

They brought forward the turban and sword, and the Sultan declared, ‘This turban which I am about to put on with my hand must be wound on by the Supporter of Religion (*Nāṣir-i Dīn*).’ He put it on his head after the crown....⁹

This presumably means that he removed the crown and put on the turban. Apparently the Buyid, Ghaznavid and Seljuk sultans wore crowns, at least on ceremonial occasions, following the practice of the earlier Abbasid caliphs. We can imagine a royal diadem such as we see sultans wearing in the illustrated Rashid al-Din manuscripts of the 8th/14th century, where the crowned figure is often accompanied by a vizier or other personage wearing a turban.



Left: Sultan II-Arslan b. Atsiz with shaikh and courtiers; right: Sultan Sanjar with poet and courtier, *Collection of Divans* 1314 Tabriz (BL IO Isl 132 1v)

There is evidence to suggest that for the Iranians after the Arab conquest, the turban took on some of the associations of royal glory (*khvarnah*, *farr*) that originally attached to the crown. Consider the following verse by Suzani-i Samarqandi (d. 1174):

Āftāb-i ḥusravān-rā sāya-i dastār-i ū *Chatr-i firūzīst faṭḥ u nuṣrat andar pīš u pas*
The shadow of his turban is to kingly sunshine / A parasol of victory, while [its] front and back herald
victory and triumph.¹⁰

⁶ Crone 2004, 46, 153.

⁷ Grabar 1973, 94 and fig. 18.

⁸ Sourdell 2001, 138, 140.

⁹ Bosworth 1973, 54.

The balancing of turban against crown goes back a long time in the pictorial tradition. The celebrated 1237 *Maqāmāt* (BN Arabe 5847) has a double frontispiece depicting a ruler and vizier opposite one another.



1237 *Maqāmāt*, frontispiece (right: fol. 1b, left: fol. 2a)

14th cent. tapestry roundel (David col)

In describing these scenes, Robert Hillenbrand writes that the figure opposite the ruler “wears a turban of a type standard for private citizens.... The ruler, by contrast, sports a black fur hat of imposing proportions.... Whether this kind of hat ... was a distinctively Turkish emblem of authority, or whether on the contrary it derived from Abbasid prototypes, is unclear.”¹¹ Anna Contadini identifies the headgear in question as a *sharbūsh* and characterizes the two figure types as “ruler-prince” and “scholar-prince” respectively.¹²

In the frontispiece of the 1334 *Maqāmāt* the ruler wears an elaborate turban, but the angels hovering above him wear crowns. More commonly, the ruler wears a crown while his viziers and secretaries wear turbans (cf. the Rashid al-Din illustrations above, where the king’s other courtiers wear Mongol headgear; also the tapestry roundel from the same period).



¹⁰ Soudavar 2003, 15. The verse is cited after Dekhoda, *Loghatnāmeḥ*, VII, 9517.

¹¹ Hillenbrand 2007,;

¹² Contadini 2011, 126-28, 72-75.

Left: 1334 *Maqāmāt*, frontispiece (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek A.F.9 1r) [Ettinghausen 1977, 148; Stillman 2000, pl. 22]; right: Nushirvan dictates letter to Khaqan, c. 1335 “Demotte” (CBL)

Hundreds of Persian and Turkish miniatures show a crowned king accompanied by a turbaned vizier or other personage,¹³ often mounted on a horse and mule respectively. Here are three examples from the 1620 *Terceme-i Şehname* (NYPL Spencer Turk. ms. 1):



Iskandar and vizier, fol. 409r



Iskandar and Khizr, fol. 439v



Nushirvan and Buzurjmihir, fol. 502r

This motif, or cliché, seems to have been borrowed into European painting, where it is not uncommon.



Alexander and his vizier confront Diogenes in a barrel, 15th cent. French (Harvard, Houghton MS Typ 207)

*

The Persian painters expertly captured the significance of the crown for the royal tradition, particularly in episodes of the *Shāhnāma* where the crown figures as an obsession. Thus battles can be battles for the crown.

¹³ Note the delightful scene of King Shāhpūr and his Vizier Dastūr kissing the hand and foot of a bareheaded hermit, 1476, *Mihr va Mushtari* (Walters W. 627, 17b) <http://poetryprayer.thewalters.org/w627/> — see Part 2, #18.



Left: Giv snatches Tazhav's crown in battle, 1586 Qazvin (BL Add. 27302 184a); right: Bahram saves the crown, 17th cent.? (Philadelphia, Free Library, Lewis O.5 133r)

When Bahram Gur has to battle lions in order to get the throne, he says: "Let us bring the ivory throne of the King of Kings and set the crown upon it..."¹⁴ The crown is the prize, which the hero king claims.



Bahram Gur fighting the lions to get the throne. Left: 1614 Astarabad (BL IO 3265); right: c. 1605 Isfahan (CBL Per 271 50b) — an unusual example of this scene: Bahram Gur has snatched the crown from the throne and is fighting off the lions with one hand; a turbaned figure in the right margin balances the scene.



¹⁴ Firdawsi 2004, 229.

Left: Bahram Gur fighting the lions to get the throne, c. 1600 (Firdausi Library, Dushanbe #1677) — the only one of 78 examples of this scene to substitute a turban [from notes on the Shahnama Project website: There is a turban on the throne instead of a crown, which a lion tries to steal.] — another lion rushes on Bahman, who has his own turban on his head; middle: Bahram Gur places newly-won crown over his turban, Nizami, *Khamsa*, 1595 India (BL Or 12208 184v); right: c. 1580 *Fālnama* (TSM H1702 24b) [Farhad 2009, fig. 9.7]

This motif — the crown on the throne — was picked up by the illustrators of the Omen Books (*Fālnama*) with an original touch: a princely Safavid *tāj* — actually an elaborate turban wound around an elongated red baton (the *tāj-i haydarī*) with plume added — side by side with the traditional Persian crown. The *Fālnama* exhibit catalogue offers two different explanations: first, “a representation of two crowns on a throne ... probably symbolizing earthly and heavenly authority;” second, “Turban and the Crown.”¹⁵ The first seems closer to the mark, although I would say that both crowns symbolize earthly authority.¹⁶ The artist apparently wished to illustrate the omen, which mentions “crown and throne” (*tāj u takht*), and simply added a *tāj-i haydarī* alongside the traditional *tāj*.

In Safavid painting generally — for example, in the Shahnama of Shah Tahmasp (also known as the Great Safavid Shahnama, or the “Houghton” Shahnama) — the Iranian kings and princes are depicted either with the traditional crown or with the *tāj-i haydarī*, their retinue exclusively with the *tāj-i haydarī*, non-Iranian kings exclusively with the traditional crown.



Left: Feast of Sadeh, “Tahmasp” 22v (MMA 1970.301.2); right: Caesar captive before Shapur, “Tahmasp” 543r (MMA 1970.301.60)

¹⁵ Farhad 2009, 56, 256 (also fig. 9.7: “Turban and Crown”).

¹⁶ However, in a roughly contemporary depiction of the angels revering Adam (TSM H1226 8b), Adam is seated on a similar hexagonal throne “wearing both a crown and a fiery nimbus.... To Adam’s right another angel is bringing a crown. The representation of the first crown (with the fiery nimbus) in an image in which Adam is bestowed with two crowns suggests that the first crown, the one that he is already wearing, represents his spiritual authority, while the crown that is being brought to him by an angel indicates his political authority” (Eryılmaz 2013, 103 and fig. 6.3). Eryılmaz draws a parallel to the text of the Ottoman *Anbiyanama* in which God first adorns Adam’s head with “the Crown of Salvation” and then with “the Crown of Magnanimity” (*ibid.*, 106-07). [Cf. very similar depiction in TSM B249, in Milstein et. al. 1999, fig. 27.]



Left: Garsivaz brings gifts to Siyavush, “Tahmasp” 171v (Tehran, Museum of Contemporary Art) [Thompson & Canby, ed. 2003, fig. 4.11]; middle: Story of Haftvad and the Worm, “Tahmasp” 521v (Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection M. 199); right: woodman, *Haft Awrang* 253a



Safavid *tāj* in two mss. of Nava’i, *Divan*. Left: TSM R804 2a; right: TSM H895 65b

Sometimes (as with “Tahmasp” 22v, see illustration above) the *tāj-i haydarī* is depicted merely as an elongated red baton, without the turban wound around it. (To me this has an inelegant look, something like a plunger, but I don’t think the Safavids felt that way about it.) It often is worn by servants and workmen, rather than by royalty (as with “Tahmasp” 521v, see illustration above).¹⁷

¹⁷ Worn by subaltern: early 16th cent., Thompson & Canby, ed. 2003, fig. 4.1; c. 1525, Lukonine and Ivanov 1996, #172; c. 1525-30, “Tahmasp” 383b [referred to by Jon Thompson in Thompson & Canby, ed. 2003, 309: “The lowest grade of servants: grooms, sumpters, runners and footmen are often portrayed wearing the *tāj* without a turban cloth as, for example, the runner with his axe in figure 4.16 (top centre)... Other courtiers and attendants wear a cloth wrapped round the *tāj*.”], 521v; 1549, hunting scene, Thompson & Canby, ed. 2003, fig. 4.26 a (worn by man on camel playing musical instrument) and 4.26 b (worn by one of the hunters); c. 1550, Soudavar 1992 #70c. Worn by dervish: Robert Skelton in Hillenbrand ed. 2000, 256, illust. 8. On significance of Qizilbash headgear, cf. Soudavar 1992 #56b. For more on the Safavid *tāj*, see Floor 1999, 277-89. For the Ottoman attitude toward the Safavid *tāj* see below, Part 3.

But even in this bare state it could retain its regal associations, as a startling image of the queen of Waqwaq goes to show:



Left: Queen of Waqwaq, ‘*Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt*, 1540 Shiraz (NYPL Spencer Pers ms. 49 76r) [Schmitz 1992, pl. IV]; middle: Queen of Waqwaq, right: Naked Men of Ramni, ‘*Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt*, 17th cent. (Harvard Hollis 012114377 82r, 81v http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUAM:PDS_1972_3_1_mets)

According to the text here illustrated, Qazwini relates from Musa b. Mubarak al-Sayrafi: “I arrived in this island and went before the queen. She was seated on a throne, naked, a crown on her head....” Artists usually depicted this as the traditional type of crown.¹⁸ The naked men of the island of Ramni, also in the China Sea, may wear a kind of crown as well.

Regarding the Mughal “portrait” of Shah Tahmasp in the Victoria and Albert Museum, it is unclear whether the bare white *tāj-i haydarī* is based on imagination or had a Safavid prototype. As for the Mughals themselves, in the mid-sixteenth century the emperor Humayun adopted a Sufi-inspired headgear known as *tāj-i ‘izzat*, apparently in response to the Safavid *tāj-i haydarī*; it was given up by Akbar.¹⁹



¹⁸ E.g., 15th cent. Shiraz: Bernus Taylor 2001, #40; 1632 Isfahan: Robinson 1980, #1197.

¹⁹ Parodi et. al. 2010; Parodi and Wannell 2011.

Left: Shah Tahmasp, by Sahifa Banu, c. 1600 (V&A); right: Humayun and his courtiers, 1546 (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Libr. Pict. A117 15a)

I don't know if Firdausi mentions that queens wear crowns too, but the *Shahnama* illustrators often depict them with one. As with kings, they carefully stow their crowns when bathing (see Part 2, # 6).



Left: Darab receives the crown from Homyay, c. 1590 Qazvin (BL Add 27257); Right: Rustam drags Sudaba from her throne, 1616 Shiraz (NYPL Spencer Pers. ms. 3)



Left: princess bathing, 1494 Herat (BL Or 6810); right: Shirin bathing, 1524 Herat (MMA)

At least twice in the *Shahnama* Firdausi writes of the king abdicating, which involves removing the crown from his own head and placing it on that of his successor. In depicting this scene, the Safavid artists also show an attendant with a turban, either handing it to the king to replace the crown, or holding it in readiness to replace it.



Left: Kay Khusrau crowns Lührasp, 17th cent. Isfahan (Tehran, Golestan 2239); right: The dying Bahram crowns Shapur, 1616 Shiraz (NYPL Spencer Pers. ms. 3 432v) [Schmitz 1992, pl. VII]

On the other hand, the crowning of a shah may entail exchanging crown for turban.



Left: Darab crowned, *Darabnama*, 1589 Shiraz (PECK/princeton, 278v); right: Darab crowned, *Darabnama*, c. 1580 India (BL Or 4615 119v)

In the pictorial tradition the positive association of the crown with royalty extended to Adam in paradise, as we have seen, and also to angels. In early Islam angels wore turbans, whether white, red, yellow or black.²⁰ Among the hadiths that circulated were: “You shall wear the turbans, as they are the characteristic features (*sīmā*) of the angels...;” and: “When the Prophet ascended to Heaven he saw the majority of the angels wearing turbans.”²¹ While the illustrators usually depicted angels with crowns, the notion that they wore turbans was not entirely forgotten.

²⁰ See Kister 2000, 230-32.

²¹ Kister 2000, 243, 234.



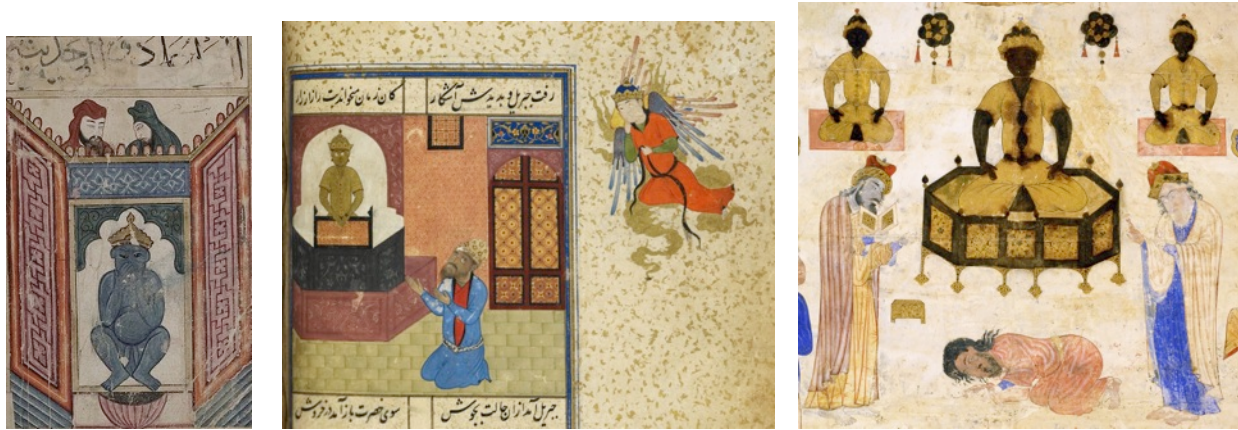
Recording angels in the 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt. Left: 1280 Iraq (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek C. arab. 464, 36r) [Ettinghausen 1977, p. 138]; right: 17th century (Harvard Hollis 012114377, 51r http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUAM:PDS_1972_3_1_mets)



Left: Bowing angels, 1553 Turkish, Süruri, *Acaibü'l-mahlukat* (BL Add. 7894 59b); middle: Israfil, c. 1370 Iraq (Freer 54.51) [Ettinghausen 1977, 178]; right: Israfil, 17th century (Harvard Hollis 012114377 46r)

Idols too are depicted wearing crowns, perhaps to signify the lofty status attributed to them by their worshippers; perhaps to associate them with kings and pharaohs to whom, in Islam, one ought not to bow down. In one scene depicting a story in *Attar's Conference of the Birds*, the idolator seems caught between venerating the crowned idol and hearkening to the crowned

angel.²² In any case, the crown must carry negative associations when depicted on an idol, as in the sinister idol-worshipping scene in the dispersed *Falnama*.²³



Left: Idol, *Kitab al-Bulhan*, c. 1400 (Oxford, Bodl. Or. 133 37b); middle: Gabriel and the idolator, ‘Attar, *Mantiq al-Tayr*, c. 1490 (BL Add. 7735 75b); right: Idolworshippers, *Falnama*, c. 1560 Qazvin (David) [Farhad 2009, #37]

On the other hand, to the generally positive associations of the turban we have the counter-example of Satan, as we have seen above depicted in the same work.²⁴ It is probably safe to say that the idol’s crown and Satan’s turban both represent falseness and leading astray.

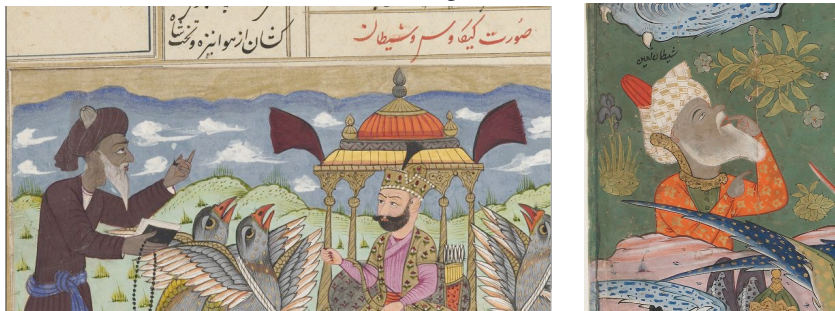
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For Europeans generally, the turban signified anything vaguely Saracen or Turkish, or otherwise outlandish. Giotto depicts the Egyptian sultan wearing a turban surmounted by a crown — “a

²² For the story, see ‘Attar 1984, 88-89.

²³ Other examples: ‘Attar, *Mantiq al-Tair*, c. 1490-1500 (BL Add. 7735 75b) [Barbara Brend in Hillenbrand ed. 2000, 49, ill. 16]; *Athar al-Muzaffar* (St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Dorn 456 124a) [Karin Rührdanz in Hillenbrand ed. 2000, 213, illust. 9].

²⁴ Again in “People of the Cave” from the dispersed *Falnama*, c. 1560 Qazvin (MMA 35.64.3) [Farhad 2009 #42: “... a crowned figure on an elegant white horse ... probably represents Daqyanos, who is led by Satan.... Surprisingly, Satan is the only figure in the composition who wears a typical Safavid headgear, characterized by a tall, ribbed baton.”] Cf. (left) Satan Instructs Kai Kavus, 1718-21 Kashmir (Harvard Pers 78 104r) and (right) in “Adam and Eve in Paradise” from the dispersed *Falnama*, c. 1560 Qazvin (Freer S1986.251):



In early Islam, “Satan’s turban” (*imāmatu l-shayṭān*) was one not fastened under the chin — a fashion prohibited by the Prophet to believers, although later scholars were confronted with the problem of reconciling this with hadiths urging believers to let the ends of the turban hang loose (see Kister 2000, 227). [“Iblīs was sent down from Heaven wearing a turban which did not descend below his chin, he was one-eyed, and wore a sandal on one of his feet” (al-Tha‘labī 2002, 69).]

fantastic creation but appropriate from an Italian perspective.”²⁵ In Dürer’s depiction of a “Turkish” family, the woman also wears a man’s turban!



Left: St Francis and the Sultan, Giotto, c. 1310-26; middle: Moorish trader, Venice 13th cent.; right: A Turkish Family, Dürer, 1497

The Venetians, who had close relations with Arab merchants and other Orientals, tended to render turbans much more realistically, if often with great exuberance.²⁶



Left: *Baptism of the Selenites*, Carpaccio, 1507; right: *David and Uriah*, Rembrandt, 1665 (The Hermitage)

An artist like Rembrandt can depict turbaned figures with great dignity. More commonly, the turban marks the “other” in the European imagination, an object of scorn or ridicule. When Othello commits suicide, after killing Desdemona, he asserts his fidelity to Christianity and to Venice, saying:

And say besides, that in Aleppo once,
Where a malignant and a turban'd Turk
Beat a Venetian and traduc'd the state,

²⁵ Mack 2002, 150.

²⁶ See Julian Raby 1982. For the influence of Ottoman headgear on European fashion, see Jirousek 2004, especially 244-47 (I have not seen her earlier Jirousek 1995).

I took by the throat the circumcised dog,
And smote him thus.

Shakespeare puts side by side, as markers of the despised Turkish foe, wearing a turban and being circumcised. As a visual example, we may take the title page from Baudier's *Histoire générale de la religion des Turcs* (Paris, 1626). In the carnal Muslim heaven, the beturbaned men embrace houris (in the bathhouse below they keep their turbans on even when stripped naked), while in the proper Christian heaven the bareheaded worshippers adore the bareheaded Trinity.



*

Here I would like to offer some general points of comparison between Islamic and Christian iconography with regard to headgear. (I use “Christian” rather than “Western” or “European” because I believe that Byzantine and Armenian painting follows the same conventions in this

regard as European; while the term “Islamic” embraces Arab, Persian, Turkish or Ottoman, and Indian or Mughal painting.)

One feature the two traditions share is the association of the crown with royalty. This is ubiquitous in both groups and has roots in the ancient Near East, particularly Iran. Helmets for warriors are another shared headgear.



Left: Coronation of Charles VI, Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques de France* c. 1375-80 (BN Fr. 2813 3v); middle: Coronation of Ogodei in 1229, early 14th cent. Tabriz (?) (Diez Album?); right: A group of men, Shaikhzada, *Diwan of Hāfiẓ*, c. 1526 Tabriz (Harvard, Fogg 77r)

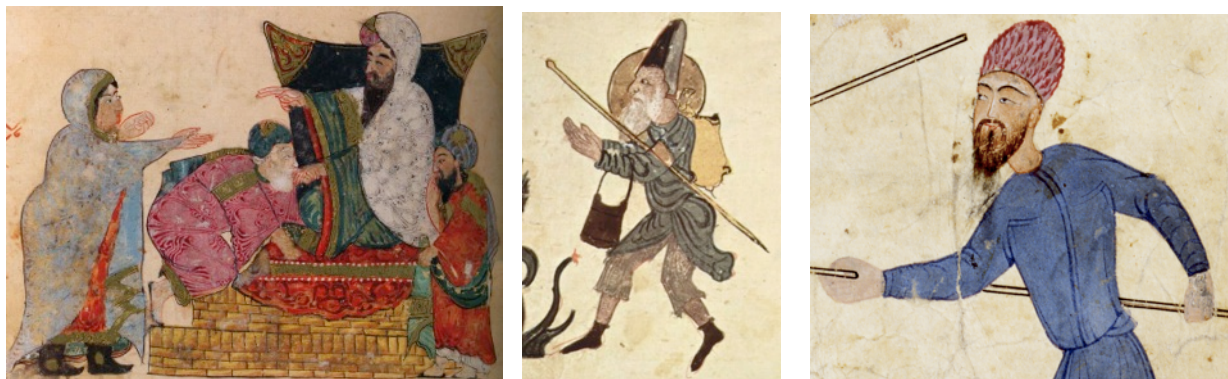
Another common feature is the variety of headgear signifying various social types. In Christendom, ecclesiastics like bishops (as above), cardinals and popes have distinctive headgear; also Venetian doges; Jews; etc. In Islam, Mongol courtiers and officials sport a distinctive feather headdress (as above);²⁷ dervishes often have the cone-shaped *qalansuwa* (= Turkish *börk*) while qadis have a head shawl,²⁸ the Mamluks had some distinctive types of headgear, including a red or violet fur hat known as *zamt*;²⁹ fashions in headgear multiplied under the Safavids, especially in the reign of Shah ‘Abbas;³⁰ etc.

²⁷ For a discussion of the Mongol feather headdress see Blair 2005, 46.

²⁸ Stillman 2000, 51: “The high *qalansuwa* and the black *taylasan* and *tarha* head shawl came to be part of the qadi’s uniform. Around the eleventh century, the *qalansuwa* was replaced by the ‘imama [turban – R.D.] as the judge’s headdress. Although the black *taylasan* remained part of the judicial outfit, it could be replaced by another shawl, the *tarha* which also came in white; 71-72: The high, miter-like *qalansuwa*, which under the Umayyads had been a symbol of royalty, and under the Abbasids was fashionable in Iraq and Iran, became in the later Middle ages, the common head covering of dervishes. Abu Zayd, the trickster hero of al-Hariri’s *Maqamat*, is frequently depicted in the mss. wearing a *qalansuwa*....” [= pl. 26: On his head is a *qalansuwa tawila* cut to curve around the side of the face and extending down the back of the neck].

²⁹ See Fuess 2008.

³⁰ See Schmitz 1984; Canby 2009, #51, #85.



Left: man and woman before qadi, 1237 *Maqāmāt*, painted by Wasiti (BN Arabe 5847 25a); middle: Abu Zayd leaves al-Harith, 1222 *Maqāmāt* (BN Arabe 3929 69r); right: Mamluk training with lance, with *zamṭ*, c. 1500 (David 19/2001).



Left: Beggar, *Haft Awrang* 179b; left middle: Executioner, Shapur cuts nose and ears of king of Rum, *Shahnama*, 1548 (CBL); right middle: Mongol prince and consort, *Mu'nis al-ahrār fī daqā'iq al-ash'ār*, 1341 (Sabah Collection LNS 9 MS) [Comaroff ed. 2006, fig. 261]; right: Peri, 16th cent. Turkish



Left: Qarachaghay Khan and Alpan Big wearing distinctive turban introduced by Shah 'Abbas, c. 1620 Isfahan (Walters W691) [Canby 2009 #51]; middle: horseman and man with a large turban, two sketches by Riza 'Abbasi (Freer F1953.50a-b); right: man with flowers in his turban (BN Arabe 6075 9r)

Outweighing these similarities is one fundamental difference: While in Islamic painting wearing headgear is the norm, as we have seen, the opposite is true of Christian painting where bareheadedness is the norm. Christ, to begin with, is never depicted with a headcover — unless we include the crown of thorns in that category (and of course he sometimes wears a crown in

scenes of Christ in Majesty and Coronation of the Virgin). The same is true for his disciples and other personages that appear in religious art. Only his adversaries — Jews, Romans, etc. — are often depicted with various outlandish headgear (including turbans) to match their grotesque physiognomies.³¹ With that exception, and including the crowned kings and mitred bishops, the majority of male figures in Christian art are bareheaded.



Left: Ecce Homo, Bosch, 1475-80; Right: Christ Appears to the Apostles, Toros Roslin (?), 1268 (Freer MS)

*

³¹ Analogously, in some traditions of Islamic painting the tormentors of the prophets have western headgear. Thus, in a *Hadikat es-Su'ada* c. 1600 Baghdad (BN Supplément turc 1088 17r) Abraham in the fire is properly beturbaned while Nimrod and his henchmen sport European-style headgear. On the other hand, in a Safavid version of the lamentation over the dead body of Christ, c. 1600 (Freer F1953.61), while Christ is bareheaded, his disciples display a range of Iranian-style headgear.



ADDENDUM

In European culture the turban is often an object of ridicule — as in some Rossini operas, for example. In our own day the “malignant” associations have been revived, as in one of the Danish cartoons a few years ago, and the even cruder cartoons of Charlie Hebdo that suddenly got so much attention in January, 2015.

In much of the Islamic world the turban marks a cleric, and there is an assumption of inviolability. This partially explains the violent reaction in 2006 against the Danish cartoon depicting a turban-bomb.



It also explains the negative reaction to the turban-bomber who blew himself up in a Kandahar mosque.

The New York Times, July 14, 2011 (“Turban-Hidden Bomb Is Detonated at Service For Karzai’s Brother” By TAIMOOR SHAH, ALISSA J. RUBIN and JACK HEALY):

A suicide bomber detonated explosives hidden under his turban on Thursday after entering a mosque here where hundreds of people had gathered to pay respects to President Hamid Karzai’s half brother, who was assassinated on Tuesday....

The Taliban neither accepted nor denied responsibility for the mosque attack, raising suspicions that they were behind it, but were uncomfortable that it had occurred in a place of worship....

The bomber might have entered the mosque with the clergymen, taking advantage of the cover that they provided because imams are not searched, said Haji Mohammed Ehsan, a provincial council member who was near the blast.

The chief of intelligence for Kandahar, Gen. Mohammed Naim Momin, condemned the attack and said it violated the Pashtun legal code known as Pashtunwali.

“We respect those people who wear turbans and did not check the turban as a sign of respect, but he betrayed this respect and hid explosives in his turban,” he said.

The New York Times, October 7, 2011 (“The Turban, Defiled by Suicide Bombers, Has Biblical and Emotional Roots” By FARZANEH MILANI)

LAST month in Kabul, a man posing as a Taliban peace emissary managed to pass checkpoints, iron gates, and security guards with explosives tucked away in the folds of his turban, on his way to meet former President Burhanuddin Rabbani in his home.

Mr. Rabbani, head of the High Peace Council in Afghanistan, offered his guest a welcoming hug and unsuspectingly triggered the deadly bomb. Similarly, in July, the mayor of Kandahar, Ghulam Haider Hamidi, and a few days earlier, a top religious leader in southern Afghanistan, were assassinated by bombs concealed in turbans. The latter detonated in a mosque.

It is as though life is imitating art and these terrorists are acting out the Danish cartoons that prompted violent, sometimes deadly riots in more than a dozen Islamic countries in 2006. At the heart of the violent fury was an offensive representation of the turban. Some of the 12 controversial cartoons conjoined the turban with the sword, or with its modern counterpart, the bomb. This was identified by Anders Fogh Rasmussen, then the Danish prime minister, as his country’s worst international crisis since World War II.

The turban, like the veil, predates Islam. Never mentioned in the Koran, it appears more than 20 times in the Old Testament as a symbol of prophecy among the Israelites. “He set the turban on his head, and on the turban, in front, he set the golden plate, the holy crown, as Yahweh commanded

Moses” (Leviticus 8:9).

Putting on the turban, however, evolved into a synonym for conversion to Islam. It became the signal vestment of the Prophet Muhammad, who is frequently quoted in the hadith literature as saying, “My community shall not fall away so long as they wear the turban.”

For centuries, Muslims identified this headgear as a symbol of honor, dignity, piety and distinction. According to a number of authoritative Islamic narratives, all major religious figures, beginning with Adam, were turbaned. So were the angels. Islamic painting abounds in depictions of prophets, kings, and political dignitaries whose crowns of hair are fully covered....



Mikhail Galustov for The New York Times

From left: Kefayatullah, 35, of Samangan Province; Hajji Rahim Dad, 50, of Ghor Province; Amir Hussein, 45, of Bamian Province; and Hamidullah, 45, of Paktia Province.

The New York Times, October 5, 2011 (“Afghan Symbol of Identity Is Subject to Search” By ALISSA J. RUBIN)

KABUL, Afghanistan — Straight-backed, his bearing almost regal, Malik Niaz, 82, entered the Afghan president’s compound this month, proudly wearing his best turban: a silk one from Turkestan in the north of the country, gray and black and white, its long tail draped gracefully over his shoulder

He watched in disbelief as the guard asked the elder ahead of him to remove his turban and lay it on the table. Mr. Niaz, who had journeyed more than eight hours on rugged roads, shuddered.

“That made us so embarrassed, and it made me so sad,” he said. “I felt dishonored when the guard said,” he hesitated, as if even recalling the words made him upset, “ ‘undo your turban.’ ”

“I had wanted to see the president,” he added, “but after that search, I thought it would have been better if I had not come.”

The turban-searching rule at President Hamid Karzai’s presidential palace has been rigorously enforced since the assassination of the head of Afghanistan’s peace process, Burhanuddin Rabbani, who was killed by a bomb hidden in the attacker’s turban. It was the third such killing in four months, leading youths in Kabul to coin the word “Turbanator” and American soldiers to invent the new acronym TBIED, for turban-borne improvised explosive device.

The other two instances were the killing in July of Kandahar’s senior cleric as he prayed in a mosque, and a few weeks later the killing of Kandahar’s mayor.

The searches are deeply disturbing for most Afghan men, as the turban here at once signifies one’s religious faith and is a national dress — not to mention being something of a fashion statement.

Turbans are worn across the Muslim world because the Prophet Muhammad was believed to have worn one, and they are especially favored by imams and mullahs. In Afghanistan, which is a deeply pious country, usage is broader, with dozens of styles and colors. There are ones made of synthetics from Pakistan that cost about \$20, silk ones from Herat that cost twice as much and ones made of more luxuriant silks from the north of Afghanistan that cost still more.

The people of southeastern Afghanistan wind the cloth large and loose so it looks as if the whole structure might topple off; Kabul residents prefer a smaller, tighter look. Those in eastern Afghanistan tuck the last bit of cloth so it sticks up out of the turban like a cockscomb, known as a “shimla,” and its size has something to do, loosely, with a person’s view of his own standing. The Taliban were known for wearing turbans made of a very soft cotton that had especially long tails and were either black or white; the former signifies that the wearer’s family members are descendants of Muhammad.

However, most turbans in Afghanistan now — and in the pre-Taliban era — are subtle grays and charcoals, deep olive greens, lighter soft greens and browns.

“I have four or five turbans,” said Hajji Mohammad Zaman Ahmadi, a 57-year-old Kabul resident who was in a bazaar to buy a white skullcap for wearing at home but had his turban on for the workday. He had just gotten a miniature turban for his 2-year-old nephew, he said.

“It is made out of the softest of our country’s wool,” he said.

Mr. Ahmadi, like Mr. Niaz, believes that bombers who use their turbans to hide explosives are committing an offense not just against Islam, but against the nation. They are trying to “defame the Afghan turbans and chase the Afghans from their ancient traditions and try to scare them into not wearing their turbans,” he said.

On the back streets of Kabul’s central bazaar, where the turbans are sold neatly folded, thin as a pamphlet and wrapped in torn pages from old glossy magazines, many turban wearers are so angry about the situation that they blame the Americans. Before their arrival, intrusive searches were unknown.

“My father, my grandfather, my great-grandfather, my prophet wore a turban, and that’s why I wear it,” said an older man, looking irritable at the question, adding: “Who brought these turban bombers and turban searchers? You did,” he said angrily, referring to Westerners, which many Afghans feel are agents of the decline of the society.

Many clerics take a more contemplative view. Faith transcends costume, and a man can pray in any outfit as long as the prayer comes from the heart, but it is an honor to God to dress properly, said Abdul Raouf Nafee, the mullah at the Herati mosque in central Kabul. As an example, he talked about butchers: “Even if their clothes are dirty with blood, they can pray and God will accept their prayers, but it’s kind of disrespectful. God likes beauty and organization, but he will accept your prayers,” Mr. Nafee said.

Sitting on a floor cushion as he read the Koran early one morning in a small room just off his mosque’s prayer hall, Mr. Nafee wore a simple white cap. His turban was neatly prepared and waiting on a couch for the midday prayer when he would don it. A man of both poetry and pragmatism, he views the turban as a link between the holy life and people’s physical needs.

The turban, like the traditional blanket or shawl worn by men and the chador worn by women, is practical as well as religious and cultural, he said. “You are covered to keep off the dust — and now the pollution,” he said. “If you are cold, you can wrap it around you for warmth, you can sit on it, you can use it to tie an animal, a sheep or a goat, and you can use the turban’s cap to carry water.”

There is also a darker view of turban attacks: that the bombers were so distraught that their turbans’ holiness no longer mattered, and that they were forced to use any means available to take revenge on the Americans.

“Is it wrong to respond to the killings of the civilians that you do with your drones, that shoot from the air and do not even have pilots?” asked Hajji Ahmad Farid, a mullah and a conservative member of Parliament from an insurgent-dominated area of Kapisa Province, near Kabul. “Think about why a man blows himself up: Some foreign soldiers go to his house and accuse him and tie his hands and dishonor him and search his wife and his daughters, and this poor man is just watching and can do nothing.

“When a man has lost his dignity, he does not care about his shawl or his turban.”

PART 2: BAREHEADEDNESS

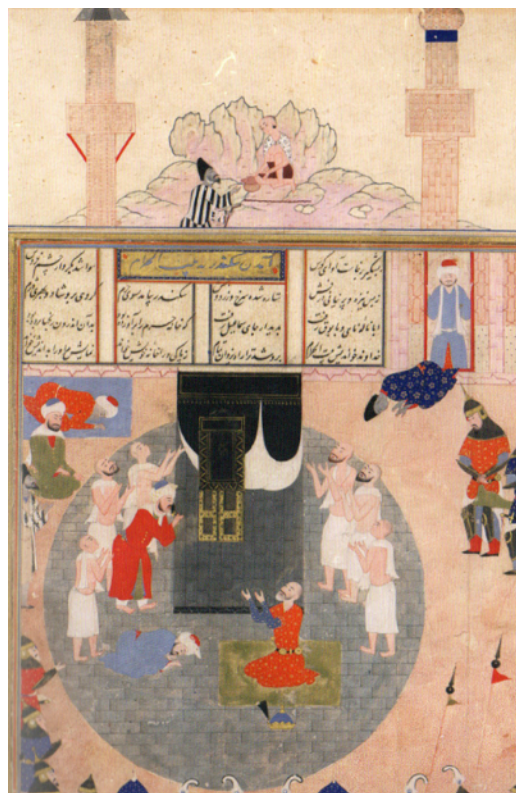
Eventually in Islam the turban came to be an emblem of dignity (*waqār*).³² In the early days of Islam, men would remove their turbans in the heat of the summer, but for later generations, this was unthinkable. Wearing a turban, or at least some headgear, was the norm; absence of headgear signified loss of control, loss of freedom, even loss of life. Only the *muhrim* — the hajj pilgrim in a state of purity wearing the shroud-like *iḥrām* — is forbidden the turban or other headgear. Even Alexander had to remove his crown when visiting the Ka‘ba — at least according to many of the Persian illustrators. In one such illustration (Khalili msS 771) the artist plays the bareheaded Alexander against the lovesick Majnun (on whom see #18 below).³³



Iskandar at the Ka‘ba. Left: c. 1590 Shiraz (BL IO 3540 381r); right: 1589 (PECK/Princeton)

³² “Wear the turban and you will grow in forbearance and dignity. When my community abandons the turban it abandons its honor (*‘izz*) and its dignity (*waqār*)” (cited in Kister 2000, 223, n. 22). According to Marshall Hodgson (1974, 338), “the mark of the matured Muslim has ever again been seen to be his human dignity.”

³³ Cf. Simpson 2010. Simpson reproduces the image as figure 4, without the marginal illustration at the top. In her discussion (p. 145), Simpson does not identify the figure as Majnun but rather as a “mendicant.” In some illustrations Iskandar retains his crown when visiting the Ka‘ba, e.g. TSM H1496 433v, *Shahnama* of Firdausi, dated 1464; TSM H1507 368r, *Shahnama* of Firdausi, dated 1482; TSM H760 304b, *Khamsa* of Nizami, dated 1534 [Çağman and Tanındı 1986 #122] (thanks to Lale Uluç for this information).



Left: *Khamsa* of Nizami, 1446-47 (TSM H786 239v); right: (Khalili msS 771) [Porter 2012, fig. 89]

Otherwise wearing headgear is *de rigueur*. The new attitude is expressed by the Maliki jurist Ibn al-Ḥajj (d. 737/1366):

It is reported from Mālik (may God have mercy on him) that they used to wear the turban until the ascension of the Pleiades, i.e. until the beginning of the great heat, when they removed it. Whoever did such a thing nowadays would be considered a great innovator (i.e. heretic) in religion. They would reject his witness and impugn his truth (*yaqa' ūna fī ḥaqqihi*) on the grounds that he has become one of the confounded (*al-mūlahīn*) and that he lacks manliness (*al-muruwwa*) for having committed such a thing. So the practice of the ancients (*al-salaf*) has become a peremptory argument against the truth (*jurḥa fī ḥaqq*) of one who follows them. This, according to them, is the contrary of one who attends a musical session (*samā'*) and dances and his turban falls off. Such a person has indulged in a practice of madmen (*majānīn*), but he has not completely lost manliness and dignity (*al-muruwwa wa'l-ḥashma*). They do not lower their opinion of him (*lā yusqitūnahu*) and may even attribute uprightness (*al-khayr wa'l-ṣalāḥ*) to him and believe in him because of that — we are God's and to Him we return!³⁴

The loss of one's turban during *samā'* became a cliché, signifying the rapture of mystical oneness with the divine. Hence the ambivalence in Ibn al-Ḥajj's formulation: the ecstatic loses his dignity but maintains his uprightness.

³⁴ *Al-Madkhal* (Cairo 1348/1929), 141-2.



Left: Sufis dancing, Rumi, *Masnavi*, c. 1530 (Freer S1986.35) [Glenn 1988 # 47]; right: *Majalis al-Ushshaq*, c. 1590 Shiraz (BL)



Left: Sa'di and Rumi, 1527 Shiraz (Walters W617 306a); middle: Sufis dancing, *Diwan of Hāfiẓ*, 1512 (Walters W628 49b); right: Sufis dancing, detail, *Diwan of Hāfiẓ*, c. 1490 (MMA 17.81.4) [cover of Bashir 2011]

For the Persian poet Ḥāfiẓ, and for many Persian painters, drunkenness as well may entail the loss of one's turban:

Şūfi-i sarḫwaš azīn dast ki kaj kard kulāh Bi du jā-m-i digar āšufta šawad dastāraš
 Because of the hand that put the drunken Sufi's cap awry / With two more cups of wine his
 turban will be aflutter.

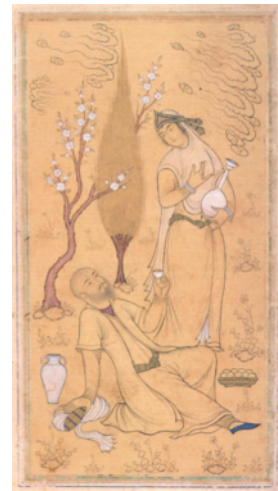
Az īn afyūn ki sāqī dar may afkand Ḥarīfānrā na sar mānad na dastār
 Because the sákí laced the wine with opium / The companions lost their heads and turbans.³⁵

³⁵Translation of this verse: Gray 1995, 114.

The painter Shaykhzāda, illustrating a Ḥāfīz manuscript, portrays the rapture of a man listening to a preacher in the mosque through the unraveling of his turban.



Left: *Diwan* of Ḥāfīz, c. 1526 Tabriz (Harvard, Fogg 77r); right: “Hulagu” drinking, 16th cent. Qazvin (BM) [cf. “Ozbak Warlord” Soudavar 1992 # 91]



Left: drunken youth, c. 1600 (BN Arabe 6074 15r); middle: early 17th cent. (Freer F1940.18; Atil 1978, # 17 – “The figure leaning over the large jar is in a drunken stupor; his turban has fallen to the ground, its folds undone and dangling from his neck. He holds an unidentifiable object which looks like an animal’s tail” – perhaps meant to be the handle of the jar; but by its shape, position and context it is strongly suggestive of his penis); right: 16th cent. (Museum of Ethnology, Rotterdam; *Dreaming of Paradise*, # 173)



Left: Qadi of Hamadan, Sa‘di, *Gulistan*, c. 1645 India (Freer F1998.5.74); middle: a drunken scene, *Hamzanama*, c. 1570 India (BM 1948-10-9-065) [Seyller 2002 # 84]; right: “Serhos, a drunkard,” Mundy Album, 1618 Turkey (BM)

Drunkenness was an occupational hazard for Muslim rulers for whom, in the Persian tradition, drinking was an expected occupation, as much as hunting, going to war, and administering justice. Timurid rulers were especially given to drink. In a famous passage in the *Baburnama* Babur writes:

On Tuesday (8 March 1519). . . having ridden out for an excursion at the mid-day prayer, we boarded a boat and drank araq. . . . We got off, full of drink, at bed-time prayer and, mounting at the river’s bank with torches in our hands, and leaning over our horses now to one side, now to the other, we came back to camp at one loose-rein gallop! I must have been very drunk, for when they told me next day that we had galloped loose-rein into camp, carrying torches, I could not recall it at all. I do recall vomiting a good deal after I reached my tent.³⁶

The Mughal artist who depicted this scene (in an unfinished folio) was as unabashed as Babur himself in describing it; but he was careful to show Babur’s turban intact, even though the head was leaning over precariously, perhaps so as not to impugn the majesty of the Mughals’ Timurid ancestor.



Left: Drunken Babur returns to the camp, *Baburnama*, 1589 India (Freer S1986.231); right: tavern scene, Amir Khusrau, *Khamsa*, 1597 India (Walters W624 208b).

*

In Islamic painting the vast majority of figures have headcovers, predominantly turbans. That can be considered the default position, while bareheadedness is the marked position. In other words, if we find a figure with bare head, we should seek a reason for it. Broadly speaking, bareheadedness signifies a loss or a reduction of dignity or self-control. Often the artists are at pains to depict the disposition of the headgear when it is not on the figure’s head. We find the following categories of bareheaded individuals (note that we have already discussed the

³⁶ Translation revised after that of Annette S. Beveridge (1922), 387-88.

categories of *muḥrim* pilgrims and of men intoxicated by drink and by listening to music or to preaching):

1. Children



Father and son. Left: from the 1620 *Terceme-i Şehname* (NYPL Spencer Turk. ms. 1 386v); right: from “The Judgment of Solomon” by Shaykh ‘Abbasi, 1664 Isfahan (David 162/2006)

2. Adam



Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise. Left: Fuzuli, *Hadikat es-su'ada*, c. 1600 Baghdad (BN Supplément turc 1088 9v); right: *Falnama*, c. 1610 Istanbul (TSM H1703 7b)

3. Brahmins (and other Indians), Idolworshippers, Sorcerors



Hariri, *Maqamat*, 1237 (BN Arabe 5847 119r, 122v), Maqama 39 (Oman). Left: Boat on Persian Gulf: the captain and his crew are Indians; right: Birth scene (detail): scene is on an island in the Indian Ocean (ruler therefore Indian?)



Left: Indians at Nushirvan's court, *Shahnama*, 1330 Shiraz (TSM 311); middle left: idolators, *Falnama*, c. 1550 (David); middle right: Turanians use sorcery, *Shahnama*, 1438 India? (BL Or 1403); right: Ruhham subdues Bazur the Turanian wizard, *Shahnama*, 1451 Yazd (TIEM 1945)

4. Wild men



Left: People living in the trees, 'Ajaib Tusi, 1388 Baghdad (BN Supplément persan 332 195v); right: two images from Mehmed al-Fenârî, *Ferâset-nâme*, late 16th cent. (BN Supplément turc 1055 16r [left], 15r [right] — the dog-headed men wear proper turbans, while the Scythian fighting Alexander the Great is depicted as wild. [Note *Ramayana* scenes, c. 1595 (Pal 1993 #83a-b) where the monkey-god Hanuman sports a crown and his monkey followers are all carefully and properly beturbaned.]

5. Workmen



Left: farmers, 1199, *Kitab-i Diryaq* (BN 2664 22r); middle: Rostam views Suhrab's tomb, from the 1620 *Terceme-i Şehname* (NYPL Spencer Turk. ms. 1,) — note that the workmen have placed their outer garments on the wall with their turbans on top; right: Candlestick makers, *Surname*, 1582 (TSM H1344 159r).

6. Wrestlers and bathers, who have stripped bare; Khidr and Ilyas bathing in the Water of Life



Left: Wrestlers, *Majalis al-Ushshaq*, c. 1560 Shiraz (BL); right: Bath scene, *Haft Awrang* 59a – note the princely turban carefully stowed in the center of the dressing room.



Left: Salman in pool, *Falname* (TSM H1703 19b); middle: Bather, *Kitab al-Bulhan*, c. 1400 (Oxford, Bodl. Or. 133 35b); right: Clothing stowed in bath, 1583 Shiraz (Doha ms 639)



Left: Swimmer in Tigris, 1468 Anthology (BL Add. 16561 60a); right: Khidr and Ilyas bathing in the Water of Life, *Khamsa* of Nava'i, 16th cent. (Walters W663) [Cf. *Khamsa* of Jami, 1531 (Trinity College, Cambridge): the two prophets have carefully stowed their garments, surmounted by their *tāj-i haydarī*, in the foreground of the picture; Binyon et. al. 1933, pl. XC-A. 139 (a)]

7. Captives, men being robbed and men about to be executed³⁷



Left: Execution of al-Hallaj, Biruni, 1307 (Edinburgh); middle: Execution of Afrasiyab, *Shahnama*, 1330 Shiraz (TSM 311); right: Iraj killed by Salm and Tur, *Shahnama*, c. 1610 (BN Supplément persan 490 18r)



Left: Men being robbed, Sa'di, [1567 Bukhara] c. 1605 India (BL Or 5302 103r); middle: Execution of Afrasiyab, *Shahnama*, 1614 Isfahan (BL Add 16761); right: Zahhak bound on mount Damavand, *Shahnama*, 17th cent. (Tehran, Golestan)

³⁷ To this category we may assimilate the unusual scene of Joseph being ill-treated by his brothers, c. 1550 Deccan? (Losty 1986 #7).



Left: execution of Siyavush, 1616 India (BL Add 5600); middle: execution of a sultan, c. 1600 Baghdad *Tarjuma-i Thawāqib-i manāqib* (Morgan M.466 21v); right: Mordecai hangs sons of Haman, c. 1680 Isfahan, *Ardashirnama* fol. 93 (Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Or. Qu) — this Jewish ms. perfectly preserves the Islamic Persian conventions regarding headgear.



Left: Execution of Jalal al-Din Firuzshah, *Jami' al-Tawarikh*, c. 1310 Tabriz, fol. 267a [Blair 1995,]; right: Imam of Baghdad brought as prisoner before the caliph on a charge of heresy, *Ta'rikhi-Alfi*, 1594 India (Freer F1931.26)

Removing headgear from subjugated individuals is still a sign of their humiliation.³⁸

³⁸ Cf. Anonymous, "Iran: The Revenge" (*The New York Review* Nov. 5, 2009) p. 15: "When [Mohammad-Ali] Abtahi was arrested few hours after the election results were announced, he was a cheerful and portly mullah. The emaciated defendant who appeared in court on August 1 had been stripped not only of his turban and robes, but also of his dignity."



New York Times 6-28-08: Taliban militants prepared on Friday to execute two men in Bajur, having accused them of helping the United States to carry out a missile strike. One of the men was decapitated.

8. Men dying



Left: Iskandar and dying Dara, 1602 India (MMA); right: Iskandar and dying Dara, 17th cent. India (Tehran RAM) [N.B.: In most depictions of this scene Dara retains his crown]

9. Men praying

Removing one's headgear to pray (spontaneous prayer or *du'ā*, not ritual prayer or *ṣalāt* / *namāz*) seems to have been an Iranian practice; cf. Firdawsi 1998, 191: "On the eighth day Kay Kavus removed the Kayanid crown from his head and stood in prayer.... Then he returned to his troops and placed his war helmet on his head...."; Firdawsi 2004, 422: "Then Khosrow dismounted from his ivory-colored horse, removed the precious crown from his head, and turned lamenting toward the sun. His heart was filled with hopes of God's grace, and he said, 'Bright Lord of Justice....' And then he went aside to pray...."



Left: Adam praying with Cain and Abel, 1558 Istanbul, *Enbiyaname* 24b (taken from Atil 1986, fig. 23); middle left: Khwaja 'Abdallah Ansari preaching, *Majalis al-'Ushshaq*, c. 1590 (BL I.O. Islamic 1138 48v) [Hillenbrand 1977 # 190, p. 83: "It is not clear whether he is preaching or praying. The raised hands

naturally suggest prayer, but the fact that each person has removed his turban, the open-air setting and the presence of children indicate that some Sufi ritual is being enacted and that this is not an orthodox religious service.”]; middle right: Kay Kavus praying, *Shahnama*, 1605 Isfahan (Berlin); right: Isfandiyar escapes from a snow storm, *Shahnama*, 1614 Isfahan (BL Add 16761 283r)

10. Men (and women!) mourning



Left: Funeral of Isfandiyar, c. 1335 “Demotte” (MMA); middle: Mourning for Timur, *Zafarnama*, 1436; right: Funeral of Isfandiyar, *Shahnama*, 1518 Tabriz (Rylands Pers 910)



Left: Mourning for Iskandar, *Haft Awrang* 298a; right: Head of Iraj, *Shahnama*, 1669 (MMA)

11. Men sleeping or fainting



Left: Sleeping guards, Mihr Hurmuzd murders Khusrau Parviz, “Tahmasp” 742v (MMA 1970.301.75); middle: Zahhak is told his fate “Tahmasp” 29v (MMA 1970.301.4); right: Man sleeping, Sa’di, *Gulistan* (Tehran, Golestan 1593)



Left: Yusuf and Zulaykha consummate their marriage, c. 1585 Shiraz (BL Or. 4122 155b) [Seghers 1978, p. 170; Uluç 2006, pl. 248] — the sleeping guard has his turban on the floor next to him; the guard beside him is winding his as though just awakened; the prophet Joseph retains his flaming turban even while making love (cf. category 19 below); right: The Thief in the Bedroom, *Kalila va Dimna*, c. 1370 Herat (Ist Un F1422 24a) [O’Kane 2003, pl. 4-5 (pp. 100-01)]

It was customary before going to bed to pile one’s outer garments nearby with the turban on top, suggesting that it was the last item to be removed and the first to be put on when getting up.

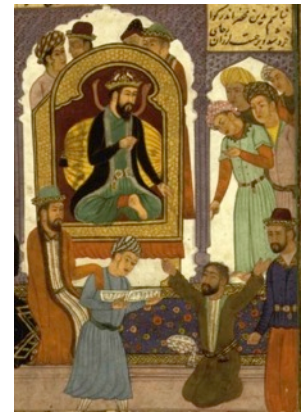
12. Men submitting or abasing themselves



Submission of commoners before royalty. Left: Anushirvan receives the delegation from Gilan, *Shahnama*, c. 1590 Qazvin (BL Add. 27257); right: Mahmud of Ghazni orders Ayaz to cut off half his locks, *Jami, Haft Awrang*, 1565 Shiraz (Morgan M.467 85v)



Submission with sword and crown held in hands. Left: Khusraw before Hurmuzd, Nizami, *Khamsa*, 1494 Herat (BL Or. 6810 37v); right: Najmaddin Kubra, *Majalis al-‘Ushshaq*, c. 1590 (BL I.O. Islamic 1138 74v)



Left: submission with sword in mouth, Khusraw before Hurmuzd, Nizami, *Khamsa*, c. 1585 (Morgan ms M.470 85v–86r); middle: Khusraw before Hurmuzd, Nizami, *Khamsa*, 17th cent. (Walters W612 40b); right: Zahhak hears Kava's complaint, *Shahnama*, 1616 India (BL Add 5600 18v)

13. Men fallen or trampled or buffeted or drowning



Left: Old lover knocked off roof, *Haft Awrang* 162a; middle: Camel and puritan, Sa'di, *Gulistan*, 1486 Herat [Soudavar 1992, # 36b]; right: Ibn Salam falls, Nizami, *Khamsa*, 1584 Shiraz (University of Pennsylvania NEP33 210a)



Left: men trampled by elephant, 17th cent. Isfahan, *Shahnama* (Tehran, Golestan Palace Libr. 2239) [Golestan 2000, pl. 74] – note that the turbans have come unwound (influence of India?); middle: man

trampled by elephant, c. 1625 Isfahan (David); right: men buffeted by a sandstorm, *Baburnama*, c. 1590 India (BL Or 3714 7r)



Left: Man mauled by a leopard, c. 1600 Turkey, Ali Çelebi, *Hümayunname* (TSM Revan 843,); middle: drowning man with floating turban cloth, Nava'i, *Lisan al-Tayr*, 1553 Bukhara (BN Supplément turc 996 33r); right: The Qayşar falling from his elephant, *Darabnama*, c. 1580 India (BL Or 4615 115v) — note that the fallen helmet is shown with the unwound turban inside.



Left: Sultan's courtier falls from horse, c. 1600 Baghdad, *Tarjuma-i Thawāqib-i manāqib* (Morgan M.466 14r); right: 'Umar knocks down a footsoldier, *Hamzanama*, c. 1570 India (MMA 23.264.2) [Seyller 2002, #55]

14. Men fighting



Left: 1628 India (CBL In 22 72a [Wright 2008, # 19: “The two fighting figures, along with a third party who holds the ferryman’s turban...”]; right: *Darabnama*, c. 1580 India (BL Or. 4615 38r) [Cf. Prince Hamid thrashes Mahval, *Hamzanama*, Seyller 2002 # 77]

15. Men defeated in battle



Left: Rostam lifts Afrasiyab by the belt, *Shahnama*, 16th cent. Qazvin (Geneva) [N.b.: In most depictions of this scene Afrasiyab retains his crown on his head]; middle: “Tahmasp” 745v (MMA 1970.301.76) [N.b.: Both cap and helmet have fallen]; right: Battle scene, Mustafa Ali, *Nusretname*, 1582 Istanbul (BL)



Left: The topsy-turvy of battle, *Baburnama*, 1593 India (Walters W596 5b); right: Ayyars free Sa’id Farrukh-Nizhad from prison, *Hamzanama* (Brooklyn Museum)

16. Boys dancing, playing and being chastised



Left: Dancing boys, *Haft Awrang* 100b; middle: Youths before a ruler at his court, c. 1600 Shiraz (Walters W688a); right: Boys clowning, c. 1605 Istanbul, *Divan-i Nadiri* (TSM H889 8b)



Pupil being chastised. Left: Sa‘di, *Gulistan*, 1486 Herat [Soudavar 1992, # 36c]; right: Hilali, *Shah va Darvish*, 1540 Bukhara (Morgan M.531 12v–13r)

[<http://www.themorgan.org/collections/works/islamic/manuscript.asp?page=94>: The headmaster is about to strike a student, who catches his turban.]

17. Men undergoing medical treatment



1465 Turkish, *Cerrahiyyetul Haniyye* (Istanbul, Millet Library)

18. Men in love / lovesick (or crazed with love, like Majnun); holy men, hermits



Left: Majnun and the animals, Nizami, c. 1505 (BL I.O.387 182a); right: Majnun and father, Amir Khusrau, *Khamsa*, 1597 India (Walters W624 100b)

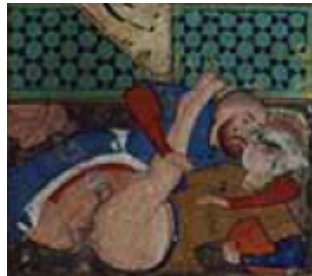


Left: The maiden Gulandam and a man in love with her, *Khavarannama*, c. 1480 Turkman (Sadraddin Aga Collection Ir.M. 13) [Canby 1998, fig. 11]; middle: King and vizier visit hermit, *Mihr u Mushtari*, 1476 (Walters W627 17b) — Turban and crown bear homage to bareheadedness; right: Shaikh San'an and the Christian girl, 'Attar, *Mantiq al-Tayr*, c. 1400 Tabriz? (David 34/2006) [Folsach 2007, #13] — his dignified beturbaned disciples plead with their erstwhile shaikh to give up his shameful love for the Madonna-like Christian girl; the crestfallen Shaikh San'an is wearing a threadbare headcover, apparently corresponding to the "infidel cap" (*kulah-i gabraiki*) mentioned later in the text, so he is not exactly bareheaded.

19. Men making love



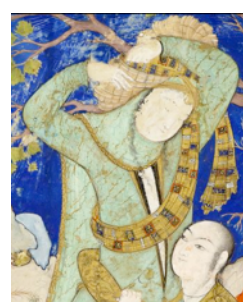
Left: Tahmina visits Rustam's chamber, *Shahnama*, 1451 Yazd (TIEM 1945 78v); middle: Khusrau and Shirin; right: Tahmina visits Rustam's chamber, *Shahnama*, 18th cent. India (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale III.G.68bis 123v). Keeping crowns on the head in this kind of scene is unusual; more typically the prince carefully stows his crown and outer garments nearby, though he may keep his cap.



Left: Khusrau and Shirin, *Khamsa* of Nizami, c. 1550 Shiraz (BL Add. 27260 99v) — the king has removed his traditional crown and carefully stowed it next to the bed, but he has kept on his *tāj-i haydarī*; right: Brothel scene, Jami, *Haft Aurang*, c. 1575 (TSM H751 22r)

Other examples: c. 1560 Shiraz (David 94/2006) [Folsach 2007, #47] — turban kept on head; 1580 Shiraz (TSM H1475) [Uluç 2006, fig. 22] — crown kept on head; 1585 Shiraz (TSM A3559) [Uluç 2006, fig. 297] — crown carefully stowed.

20. Men relaxing



Left: Safavid album painting by Aqa Riza (BN Arabe 6074); middle: Youth with falcon (Morgan); right: Woman holding lover's turban, c. 1630 (Morgan)

[<http://www.themorgan.org/collections/works/islamic/manuscript.asp?page=68>: The woman ... is married, as is indicated by the triangular diadem with an oval flange that hangs over her forehead. She

playfully holds her young husband's large turban above his head, its golden sash cascading over her arm and body.]



Left: "Pilgrim" 1598 Riza (Freer): "The pilgrim has removed his outsized turban and raised his arm to scratch the nape of his neck or pick a nit...." (Canby 1996a, p. 56; image on p. 58, cat. 26); right: Picnic scene (Boston)



Safavid types, from an Istanbul album (TSM H2155: 045, 049, 050, 054): Youth reading; Youth rolling up sleeve; Youth with large turban; Dervish with flower basket



Two scenes of merrymaking, Ahmed I Album, c. 1610 Istanbul (TSM B408 23a). Left: upper image; right: lower image. [Fetvacı 2010, 43: The lower image ... depicts what might be interpreted as the illicit side of love. Here we find four men in various states of drunkenness in the countryside. One is seated on the ground, kneeling, but his head has fallen forward and he is probably passed out. Another is splayed out on the ground in full dress, except that his turban has fallen off his head. This figure provides a link with the upper image, since in that entertainment scene too are two figures who have taken off their

turbans. But theirs are neatly placed in front of them, the right way up, and furthermore, the small cap that serves as the base of the turban is still on their heads. Theirs is controlled relaxation, but in the image below, things have gotten out of control.]

*

What do children, captives, mourners, workmen, bathers, idol worshippers, madmen, dervishes, drunkards, lovers, patients, etc. have in common? A humbled social status; a falling off from the ideal, which is the mature, sober, autonomous and self-contained Muslim man; and a vulnerability. The artists' attitude seems to be one of sympathy rather than contempt. (Only idol worshippers seem unrelievedly sinister.)

The sympathetic attitude toward turbanlessness is expressed in the following anecdotes from the Persian literary classics. Both these stories also involve animals — a dog and a cat — that are at the extreme of vulnerability and humble status within society. Sa'di in Tale 27 of the *Bustān* (completed in 655/1257) relates:

Someone found a thirsty dog in the desert
He found but the last breath of life in him
This man of pleasing morals made his hat into a bucket
He fastened it with his turban, using it as a rope
He got ready to help and extended his arm
He gave water for a while to the exhausted dog.³⁹

³⁹ Translation of Melikian-Chirvani 2000, 160. Cf. fig. 7 for illustration (1565 Bukhara). A collection might be made of anecdotes about using one's turban for a utilitarian purpose. In the 16th-century Ottoman Book of the Dispeller of Grievs (*Kitāb dāfi' al-gumūm wa rāfi' al-humūm*) there is a story about a qadi who experiences difficulty committing bestiality with a mule from behind, so he mounts the mule, loosens his turban and wraps it around the mule's middle, then lowers himself into position from above and gets stuck in the course of the act; Deli Birader, *Kitab-ı Dāfi'ü'l-gumūm Gamları defeden kitap* (Ankara, 2007), 140-41. Cf. Patnaik 1985, 151: "Courtly turbans consisted of yards of fabric, often more than twenty feet long, which were wound into astonishing shapes and decorated with jeweled aigrettes, pendants, or a crownlike ornament called the *sarpej*. The style of a turban identified a person's region and, more importantly, his prestige and power. Apart from indicating grandeur and origin the turban had its practical uses. On a journey the turban protected the traveler from the scorching rays of the sun, serving as a shield against sand or dust. At night it became an agreeable pillow for his head. The thirsty traveler tied a water vessel to one end of his turban: the vast length of cloth enabled him to lower the vessel into deep wells. In combat a turban cushioned the head from fatal blows. A warrior bound his injuries with strips torn from his turban or disguised himself by using the end of his turban to mask his face. The ultimate gesture of humiliation for a defeated warrior was the act of laying his turban at the feet of his victor."



A Kind Man Who Found a Thirsty Dog in the Desert, Sa'di, *Bustān*. Left: Sa'di, *Kulliyāt*, 1566 Shiraz (BL Add 24944 37a); right: Sa'di, *Kulliyāt*, c. 1600 India (Zurich, Museum Rietberg, Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan [Goswamy & Fischer 1987, 177]

‘Attar (d. 613/1221), in the *Ilāhīnāma*, tells the story of Shaikh Gurgani’s pampered and well behaved cat who one day snatched some meat from the pan and was severely punished by the servant. Questioned by the shaikh, the cat explained that it had three kittens to feed and was also pregnant with a fourth. The shaikh found the cat’s behavior excusable and ordered the servant to ask its pardon. “The servant took the turban off his head and stood before the cat, asking its pardon.”⁴⁰

The *Ilāhīnāma* was never illustrated, so far as we know, but we can imagine an artist’s sympathetic rendering of the servant humbling himself before the cat, turban in hand.

⁴⁰ ‘Attar 1976, 60.

*

ADDENDUM

Two scenes from Hariri, *Maqamat*, 1237 (BN Arabe 5847).



Left: fol. 33r, Maqama # 12 (Damascus). The eloquent trickster Abu Zayd of Saruj is usually depicted with a turban, nowhere more proudly than in the Anah tavern scene, where he is being rebuked by the moralistic narrator, al-Harith ibn Hammam.

Right: fol. 95r, Maqama # 31 (Ramla). Abu Zayd preaching to the hajj caravan at Juhfa. In Amina Shah's paraphrase: "We alighted, each from our own beast, making ready for donning the pilgrims' robe, wishing each other joy in arriving so near to our desire. But no sooner had we made our animals kneel in the place, and laid down the saddlebags, than there came among us down from the mountains a person, bare of skin [i.e., stripped bare], who cried.... The pilgrims hastened to hear what it was that he had to say, and he ascended one of the earth-mounds so that they might hear better." (Shah 1981, 139-40) This is the sole Maqama in which Abu Zayd's pose of piety seems genuine, since he slips away from the crowd without demanding a payment for his eloquence.



One of Abu Zayd's listeners offers him a turban to cover his nakedness, Hariri, *Maqamat*, 1222 (BN Arabe 3929 54v)

PART 3: TURBANS AND OTTOMANS

Headgear in general, and the turban in particular, is a marker of one's identity, of one's social position and of one's dignity as a Muslim man. Just as the crown, by metonymy, stands for the king, so the turban (and other headgear) stands for and represents the person, even or especially after death. In the *Shahnama*, the Sasanian king Kisra Nushin-Ravan (or Nushirvan) gives his last testament, including these words:

When I have left this great world, build me a tomb like a palace.... Construct an ivory couch and place it there, and over it suspend my crown....⁴¹

In the illustrated Rashid al-Din manuscripts of the 8th/14th century we see the turban placed next to the bier on a separate table.⁴² (The Mongols had a similar practice with their feather headdress, judging by this depiction of the funeral of Arghun.) Eventually it was common to display the deceased man's turban atop his funeral bier or catafalque; also atop his cenotaph after burial, as seen in 16th century and later Ottoman examples.⁴³



Left: Funeral of Arghun, c. 1430 Herat (BN Supplément persan 1113 206v); middle: Funeral of Khusrau, Nizami, *Khamsa*, c. 1505 Iran (BL I.O.387 132a); right: Tomb of the Seljuk sultans, *Sefername-i Çerkes Aga* c. 1600 (BN)

⁴¹ Firdawsi 2004, 351.

⁴² Rice 1976, pl. 64.

⁴³ Several examples in Eldem 2005, 49, 85, 87, 92, 111, 183; Vatin & Veinstein 2003, pl. 9-12.



Left: Funeral procession of Sultan Süleyman, Lokman, *Tarih-i Sultan Süleyman* (CBL 413 115v); middle: Funeral of Jalāl Al-Dīn Rūmī, *Tarjuma-i Thawāqib-i manāqib*, c. 1590 Baghdad (Morgan M.466 124r); right: Funeral of Firdausi, *Terceme-i Şehname*, 1620 (NYPL Spencer Turk. ms. 1 584v)

Headgear began to appear on Ottoman gravestones in the fifteenth century and by the eighteenth it was de rigeur to show a dead man's *tarikāt* affiliation by the turban type on his gravestone.⁴⁴



Burma sarıklı kavuk



Marsigli turban types

In life as in death, the Ottomans paid extraordinary attention to their headgear, turbans especially, sometimes to the point of obsession.⁴⁵ Treatises were written on the subject, such as the *Risāle-i Tāciyye* of Müstakimzade Süleyman Sadeddin (d. 1788) on the various types of Dervish headwear.⁴⁶ The University Library of Bologna possesses an unusual “costume album” entirely devoted to illustrating various types of turbans and other headgear.⁴⁷ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli also catalogued turban types as part of his survey of Ottoman military matters.⁴⁸ And Paul Rycaut has an illustration of the *mücevveze*, about which he states: “All officers in the *Divan* wear a strange sort of dress upon their heads called in *Turkish Mugevezee*, which for the most lively description, is here delineated before you.” The illustration is labelled: A. Turbant.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Cf. Eldem 2005, 126; Laqueur 1982, 80-92; Işın 1999, 259-66.

⁴⁵ Cf. Anetshofer & Karateke 2001, 1: “In der osmanischen Gesellschaft dienten durch Form und Farbe unterschiedene Kopfbedeckungen als Symbole für religiöse Zugehörigkeit, ethnische Herkunft, Rang, Status und Beruf.”

⁴⁶ See Anetshofer & Karateke 2001.

⁴⁷ *Catalogo dei turbanti* Ms. 3359. See Pistoso 2003, 316-18; Machaeva 2003.

⁴⁸ Marsigli 1732, vol. 1, pls. 2-3. See Zygulski 1992, 105-17; Scott 2001, 19-27 and front end papers.

⁴⁹ Rycaut 1668, 45.

The Ottoman elite, beginning with the sultan, took the size and the type of their turbans as indicators of their status. Süleyman I also commissioned an elaborate “crown” fashioned in Venice, but images of him wearing it were for European consumption.⁵⁰ Otherwise, his turban was the surest sign of his magnificence.



Portraits of Süleyman I. Left: Nigârî, c. 1560-65 (TSM H2134 8r) [*The Sultan's Portrait* #24]; center: Melchior Lorck, 1559; right: Hans Eworth 1549 [*The Sultan's Portrait* #19]

The headdress makers (*külahdüz*) of the Ottoman court were adept at making all styles of turbans among other headgear.⁵¹ From the seventeenth century the palace staff included an official whose particular duty was to dress the sultan's turbans. Rycaut mentions the “Tulbentar Aga or he who makes the Grand Signors Turbant.”⁵² He is an invariable figure in the costume albums, variously designated as *Dülbend Oğlanı*, *Dülbend Ağası*, or *Sarıkçıbaşı*.⁵³



Left: *Dülbend Oğlanı*, *Costumes Turcs*, c. 1650 (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, No. BOZ 165); middle left: *Sarıkçıbaşı*, 18th cent. (SOAS UOL120672); middle right: *Sarıkçıbaşı*, *Fenerci Album*, 1811 [*Osmanlı Kıyafetleri* #33]; right: *Dülbend Ağası* (BN od 6).

⁵⁰ See *The Sultan's Portrait* #15. The “crown” is actually a helmet with four attached jewelled crowns and topped by a magnificent aigrette; see Necipoglu 1993), 163-94; also Eryılmaz 2013, 121-22. Earlier, Gentile Bellini had depicted the turbaned Sultan Mehmed II accompanied by symbolic crowns (*The Sultan's Portrait* 2000, # 1, 4). For home consumption the sultans are only depicted with turbans.

⁵¹ Yaman 2012, 96-97.

⁵² Rycaut 1668, 28

⁵³ Other examples: *Tülbentoglanı*, c. 1650, *Deniz Müzesi albümü ve Berlin albümü* (Renda 1998, fig. 7-8); *Tulbent Agasi ou porte-turban*: *Costumes turcs de la Cour et de la ville de Constantinople en 1720* (BN) [*Topkapı á Versailles* #64].

A ceremony that took place on Fridays, when the sultan made a procession to one of the imperial mosques of Istanbul for the noon prayer, was known as *sarık alayı* or “procession of the turban.” A half hour before the sultan’s arrival, two pages carrying imperial turbans (*destar-i hümayun*) would parade through the streets on horseback, inclining them to the left and right and greeting the onlookers.⁵⁴

Naima reports that after the death of Murad IV in 1640, the new sultan, Ibrahim, entered the throne room (*taht odası*) and took out the famous turban that the caliph ‘Umar had wound with his own hands and that had been stored there. He bared his head and put on the turban of ‘Umar, then raised his hands in prayer and said: “Praise be to God, O Lord, that you have deemed a weak slave like me worthy of this position.”⁵⁵ Later sultans, upon assuming the throne, donned a different grand turban, preserved in the treasury (*iç hazine*), called *yûsufî* and attributed to the prophet Joseph.⁵⁶

Their turbans continued to represent the sultans even after their demise.⁵⁷ The seventeenth century traveler Evliya Çelebi, describing the tombs of the early Ottoman sultans in Bursa, writes extravagantly about their elaborate turbans, which required special knowledge and expertise to wind properly. The skill was a kind of state secret, passed on from sultan to sultan. Mehmed II the Conqueror adopted a new style, the *örf-i izâfet*. The present style, he informs us, is the *selîmî* turban invented by Selim II — also known as Conqueror, since he conquered Egypt.⁵⁸ Some decades later, when Evliya goes to Egypt and visits the treasures of the Mamluk Sultan Gavri in Alexandria, including the turban of the prophet Joseph preserved in a jeweled casket, he seems to get confused. The Mamluk turban style, he says, was originally the *yûsufî* (named after the prophet Joseph), but then they invented the *selîmî* turban. So the Mamluks are associated with the *yûsufî* and *selîmî* types, while Mehmed II the Conqueror and his father Bayezid II the Saint wore the type known as *molla örfü*. But in Alexandria they found the *kallâvî* type, named after the Mamluk sultan Kalavun.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Cf. Crane 1991, 223.

⁵⁵ Naima 1281-83 III, 452 [cf. İpşirli, ed. 2007, II, 942]: *ve hazret-i Ömer radiyallahu anhun kendi mübârek elleriyle sardıkları meşhur olan imâmeleri ki ile'l-ân teberriken dururdu, getürdüler mübârek başın açıp imâmeyi giydi ve giyerken el kaldırıp “El-hamdü lillah yâ Rab ki bencileyin abd-i za’îfi bu makâma lâyık gördün” dediler.* See discussion of this passage in Vatin & Veinstein 2003, 292.

⁵⁶ Silahdâr 1928, II, 297, 573; after Vatin & Veinstein 2003, 293-4.

⁵⁷ Vatin & Veinstein 2003, 416-17.

⁵⁸ *Seyahatname*, II, 237a-b: *Bu bâlâda tahrîr olunan Osmâncık'dan berü altı aded pâdişâhlar cümle evlâd [u] ensâblarıyla Bursa'da medfûnlardır kim taht-ı evveldir. Ve bu altı aded pâdişâhların başlarında birer gûne destârları vardır kim aslâ diller ile ta'bîr ü tavsîf olunmaz, görmeğe muhtâc zıh zıh ve yiv yiv, burma burma bir gûne destâr-ı diyâr-ı Mâhân'dır kim görmeğe muhtâcdır. Bu destârları sarmağa niçe kimesne ta'lim edüp etmeğe kâdir olamayup destârî vazîfesine mutasarrıf olamadular. Tâ Âl-i Selçukiyyan'dan berü silsile ile birer âdeme münhasır bir kâr-ı ibret-nümâdır. Aslâ bir kimseye göstermezler, biri fevt oldukda oğlu destârî olur, du'âya mazhar olmuş kimesnelerdir. Bu destâr Ebü'l-feth pederinde kalup Ebü'l-feth örf-i izâfet sarardı, tâ fâtîh-i {Mısır} Selîm'e gelince. Fâtîh Selîm, Mısır'ı feth ettiği gibi Selîmî destâr sardı. Hâlâ tâc-ı Âl-i Osmân, Selîmî destâr-ı Muhammedî'dir, unkurâzu'd-devrân mü'ebbed olup bozulmaya. Hakkâ ki latîf devlet-i Osmâniyân destârıdır.*

⁵⁹ *Seyahatname*, X, 56a: *Andan bizzât Hazret-i Yûsuf'un destâr-ı şerîflerin teberriken mübârek başlarına geyüp yine sandûka-i mücevheri içre hıfz ederler. ... Sonra Yûsufî destâra göre destâr sarup zamân-ı hilâfetlerinde Yûsufî sarîğile gezerlerdi. Sonra Selîmî destâr icâd etdiler. Anıniçün Selîmî derler. Zîrâ Ebü'l-feth ve babası Bâyezîd-i Velî mollâ örfü geyerlerdi. Kendiler Yûsufî ve Selîmî geyerlerdi. Ammâ bu hazîne-i İskenderiyye'de kallâvî sarık buldular. Meğer Sultân Kalavân'dan kalmak ile kallâvî derler imiş.*

The Venetians too associated the Mamluks and later the Ottomans with grand turbans.⁶⁰



Anonymous Venetian, *The Reception of the Ambassadors in Damascus*, 1511 (Louvre)

Carpaccio depicts St. Stephen's audience, as well as his executioners, as Ottomans, "recognizable by their bulbous turbans, which are wrapped around a *taj* or ribbed red cap."⁶¹



Carpaccio. Left: *Sermon of St. Stephen*, 1514 (Louvre); right: *Stoning of St. Stephen*, 1520 (Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie)

The huge Ottoman turban was the subject of caricature in both east and west. One famous sixteenth century European image was that of "the Mufti and the monster," belonging to a group of twenty miniatures of Ottoman figures by the Florentine artist Jacopo Ligozzi dating to about 1580. According to Rosalind Mack, the figure of the Mufti

is the only one in the group with a profile head, which belongs to the tradition of exaggerated Oriental stereotypes. Though the Ottoman mufti and other Muslim dignitaries reportedly wore larger-than-normal turbans about this time, the one on

⁶⁰ See examples in Part 1. On a more popular level, see Wilson 2003, especially fig. 19, Nicolò Nelli, "Turkish Pride," 1572, a caricatured figure with an immense turban that metamorphoses into the face of the devil when viewed upside down.

⁶¹ Carboni 2007, ad #31, p. 27.

Ligozzi's figure is enormous, and he is paired with an awesome "Monster," who wields a horrific cudgel and a huge key. The contrast with the Christian pope could not be more obvious. Vecello's caption, however, describes this personage straightforwardly in keeping with the factual tone of the book: "The Mufti, who administers and manages all spiritual matters and is supreme over religious Turks, always dresses in watered green mohair." Nonetheless, the scowling visage beneath the huge turban perpetuates the sinister image of Islam.⁶²

Among the Ottomans themselves, it was the figure of Nasreddin Hoca who most aptly conveyed the comical aspects of the huge turban. Incidentally, one can compare the figure of Mulla Du-piyazah among the Mughals.⁶³



Left: The Mufti and the Monster, Jacopo Ligozzi, c. 1580; middle: Nasreddin Hoca on a donkey (TSM H2142 24r); right: Mulla Du-piyazah (Princeton, Islamic Manuscripts, Garrett no. 102G 45a)

The Ottoman grandees, secular as well as religious, were very serious about their headgear. Ceremonial occasions called for the grandest style of turban — either the *mücevveze*, mentioned above, or the similarly impressive *selîmî*, *kallâvî* or *hürtâvî*.⁶⁴

⁶² Mack 2002, 169.

⁶³ http://diglib.princeton.edu/view?_xq=pageturner&_start=1&_doc=%2Fmets%2Fislamic.102g.mets.xml&_index=90&_inset=1

"Darvishes made fun of the large turbans worn by many members of the olama, saying: 'the larger the turban, the less brains under it' " (Floor 1999, 222). In the *1001 Nights* "The story is told that one of the hangers-on at a mosque could neither read nor write but used to make his living by trickery. One day, it occurred to him to open a school and teach children to read. He collected and hung up slates and sheets of paper with writing on them, put on a huge turban and sat at the school door. The passers-by, looking at the turban and at the slates and the papers, thought that he must be a good teacher and so they brought him their children..." (*Arabian Nights* 2008, II, 219-20).

⁶⁴ For these and other Ottoman headgear see Karateke 2007, 176-79.



Portraits of grandees. Left: Prince Selim (later Selim II) practicing archery, Nigârî, c. 1561 (TSM H2134 3r) [*The Sultan's Portrait* #30]; middle: Procession, 1730, *Surname-i Vehbi*, fol. 164b; right: c. 1650 (Aga Khan Museum)

Mustafa Âlî, writing in 1599, castigates those officials who flout protocol:

Some unashamed ones of the officers (*chaush*) and *müteferriqas* known as the men of the *divan* (*ehl-i divan*) have the brazenness of refusing to place their ceremonial turbans (*müjevveze*) on their heads. They go to the *divan* without wearing that royal garb as proper people should do. They themselves walk in front wearing the *qallavi* turban, and they let a wretched Arab or an uncouth son of a *Tat* [Arab or Copt?] carry the ceremonial turban after them as if they did not want to burden their “delicate” clumsy selves with a heavy load. Only when they reach the gate of the *divan-khane* they put them on their heads, whereas they can see that the *qul* [recte *qol*] *aghası* [the commander of the Janissary corps], the Sanjaksbegs, and the *defterdars*, who are higher than they, do come to the *divan* wearing the ceremonial turban. In spite of that they neither realize the lack of manners they are showing, nor do they renounce their temerity and come with the ceremonial turban. ...

[T]hat infamous individual called Thirty Fiver [nickname given to an ignorant bureaucrat] as well as some other chancery officials of the scribe class have their ceremonial turbans (*müjevveze*) carried behind them when they proceed from their houses to the *Divan* while they themselves wear *perishani* turbans, whereas the finance directors who are their superiors and refuge put on their *müjevveze* and [thus] go to the *divan*. Consequently, the scribes, in their wish to rest, are counteracting their chiefs, they soil their honor and prestige and in a way show impudent behavior.⁶⁵

Putting on the *müjevveze* or *selîmî* signified authority; removing it signified demotion. Examples from Naima:⁶⁶

- III, 173 [II, 759] (governor of Rumeli eyalet [Sofya]) *dahi ihyâ-i rusûm-ı vezâret ve tensîk-i mehâmm-ı kanûn-ı devlet husûslarında şedd-i nitâk edüp müjevveze ve sorguç ile divânlar edüp...*

⁶⁵ Mustafa Âlî 1975, 53, 65. For more of his strictures on the protocol of turban wearing, see Mustafa Âlî 2003, Index s.v. “turban.” In his treatise on Cairo, the fastidious author also has a satirical description of the grandees and mollahs who begin to take off their clothes when they are about to indulge in a feast: “I saw that one after the other they were tucking up sleeves, taking off their mighty turbans, and getting unburdened” (*destâr-ı büzürgi indürüb sebükbâr oldılar*); Mustafa Âlî 1975, 50, 128.

⁶⁶ Citations below are to Naima 1281-83 [cf. İpşirli, ed. 2007].

- III, 182 [II, 765] (reaction to rebellious janissaries in Aleppo) *Sadr-ı a'zam selimî giyip kendi dîvâna çıktı.*
- III, 224 [II, 792] (Murad IV, ceremonial dress) *kemâl-i azamet ü ihtîşâm ile mülebbes mücevvezelerinde cıgalı sorguç ...*
- III, 272 [II, 824] (Murad IV after Revan success, procession entering Istanbul) *yalnız [Kaymakam] Bayram Paşa mücevveze giyip sâ'ir vükelâ vü vüzerâya tenbih-i hümâyûn olmakla cümlesi tagyîr-i ziy edip hartâvi destarlar ekseri reng-âmîz şal ve harîrden ser-bendler sarınıp ...*
- III, 400 [II, 908] (arrival of governor of Bosnia in Sarajevo) *resm-i Osmânî üzre alay ve mücevveze ile Saray'a girip*
- V, 219 [III, 1401] (Sadrazam Gürcü Mehmed Paşa removed from office) *oturup mücevvezeyi çıkarıp destârını getirdiler, giydi.*

The grandees liked to have their grand turbans represent them after their demise as well.

Examples from Naima:

- III, 229 [II, 795] (preparation for burial of Abaza Mehmed Pasha) *gasl u tekfîn ve tabuta mücevveze vaz' olunup*
- VI, 98 [IV, 1617] (execution of İpşir Paşa: after his head was cut off and planted on a stick on the roof of the palace latrines, in the evening the vizier sent a man for the head, which was reattached to the body, and he was given a proper burial the next day) *Hâlâ mücevvezeli seng-i mezârî meşhurdur....*

Examples from Evliya Çelebi:

- (shrine of Seyyid Ahmed-i Bedevi in Tanta) The green turban in the middle of this square catafalque, marking the place of his blessed head.⁶⁷
- (Behnisa, tomb of eş-Şeyh Seyyidî Muhammed Ebüllîf) This holy man was known as Ebüllîf (“father of palm fronds”) because he used to wrap his head with a turban made of palm fronds; this turban is intact in his noble tomb after so many centuries.⁶⁸

The grandiose turban, demanding respect from ordinary people, was a ready target for the rebellious. The historian Naima records the following incident in 1593: The *sipahis*, enraged at not getting their pay, demand the head of Başdefterdar Emir Paşa who happens to be a descendant of the prophet. They throw stones at all intermediaries sent to calm them. Eventually Emir Paşa himself, bowing to fate and perhaps hoping to win their respect, exchanges his elaborate bureaucratic turban (the *mücevveze*) for the simple green one of a *seyyid*, and decides to go before them in this humble guise; but he is turned back by the palace officials.⁶⁹ Similarly, in 1637, when the governor of Belgrad returns to the city to quell a disturbance, he slips into the city in disguise, consisting of a small turban.⁷⁰ Evliya Çelebi too, in a tight situation when confronting a mob, exchanges his turban for a tower's cap⁷¹ to avoid drawing attention to

⁶⁷ *Seyahatname*, X, Y285a: *mübârek ser-i sa'âdetleri alâmeti bu çâr-gûşe sandûkanın ortasındaki yeşil imâme destârî.*

⁶⁸ *Seyahatname*, X, Q345a: *Bu azîz başına hûrmâ lîfinden sarık sardıyıçün Ebüllîf deyü künye ile meşhûrdur; hâlâ kabr-i şerîfinde destârî niçe yüz yıldan berü durur.*

⁶⁹ Naima 1281-83 I, 78 [cf. İpşirli, ed. 2007 I, 59]: *mücevvezesini çıkarıp, başına yeşil sarık sarıp “Kazaya rıza” deyü önlerine varmağa karar verip çavuşân ve ehl-i Dîvân feryâd ü figân edip dönderdiler.*

⁷⁰ Naima 1281-83 III, 299 [cf. İpşirli, ed. 2007 II, 842]: *küçük destârıyla tebdîl-i sûret baġteten Belgrad'a gelip ...*

⁷¹ Towers or tow horse leaders (*yedekçi*) wore a simple white coned headgear (cf. *Seyahatname*, VII 54b: *beyâz külâhlî yedekçi halîfeler*), as also did stable boys (same passage: *beyâz külâhlî hâs âhûr halîfeleri*). It is perhaps the same as the one worn by grooms (*seyis*) depicted in the costume albums:

himself; and in the subsequent narrative, the meddlesome official he accompanies gets his courtier's turban knocked off and is pummelled to death.⁷²

Naima records another incident involving a *seyyid*'s turban in 1614: One of the reasons for having Grand Vizier Nasuh Pasha put to death is that while he was with the sultan in Edirne one of his officers, named Gabriel, (Cebrâ'il Ağa) took up quarters in the house of a *seyyid* and made advances on the *seyyid*'s wife. On Friday the *seyyid* proceeded to the mosque, where the sultan was in attendance for the noon prayer. He went into the middle of the mosque, removed his turban, and said: "My Padishah! You are the emperor of the Ottomans. What is this injustice, that a bunch of Kurds and Turks and suchlike rabble invade the city, give themselves names of the archangels of God, and commit oppression and corruption. I don't know whom I should complain about!" With that he threw his turban on the ground. The sultan was much perturbed by this event.⁷³



Left: Mundy Album, a Seyis, a groom, or horse-keeper, of the royal stables; right: Râlab Costume Book, Sultan's groom

⁷² *Seyahatname*, III, 103a31: *Hemân hakîr mutarraş olmağıla başımdan destmâlîm çıkarup bir yedekçi takyesi ve bir çuka dolama geyüp etek dermeyân Hüseyin Ağa ile bizim sarây kapusundan taşra çıkup gulâmımın bir serhaddîsini geyüp altına pala kılıcı kemerime bend edüp ... Hemân askerden biri Hüseyin Ağa'nın başından musâhib sarığın tûfeng ucuyula kakup düşürdü. Hemân Hüseyin Ağa Laz âdemi olmağıla lehce-i mahsûsasıyla "Bak a asılacağı! Ben pâdişâhın telhîscisi olam, iki pâdişâhın mâbeynlerin sulh [u] salâha kâdir olam, ben sizi islâh etmeğe gelem de benim başımdan sarığım düşürürsüz" deyü bir âdeme dest-dırâzlık edüp urunca gördüm ki âteş-i hâr hâşâk tutuşdu, hemân hakîr sâ'ir halk içinde kendümi pinhâne çeküp anı gördüm, "Bire vur gidiyi" oldu....* (trans. Dankoff 1991, 84-86: Now since I was already clean-shaven I just removed my turban and replaced it with a tower's cap. I also put on a woolen apron and, tucking up the skirt, went out the palace gate with Hüseyin Agha. There I put on one of my gulam's overcoats, beneath it attached a scimitar to my waistband, ... Suddenly one of the troops knocked off the courtier's turban from Hüseyin Agha's head with the butt of his musket. Hüseyin Agha, who was a Laz, upbraided the man in his peculiar dialect: "Look here, you gallows-bird. I am the Padishah's memorandum-writer. I make peace between Padishahs. I come here to pacify you and you knock the turban from my head!" When he began striking the man I realized that it was a spark to dry tinder. So I withdrew and concealed myself in the crowd. "Hey, shoot this pimp! Kill him! ...")

An analogous gesture during wartime is to disguise captives willing to serve as informants by dressing them in turbans so that their compatriots will not recognize them, as before the battle on the Raab (Battle of St. Gotthart), *Seyahatname*, VII 3b: *derhâl dil olan kâfirlerin başlarına elvân makdem sarıklar sarup birer dâne atlara bindirüp tebdil-i câme bunları kulağız edüp....*

After a violent incident in Cairo in 1712, "the *ashraf* considered it prudent to wear white turbans instead of green ones" (Winter 1992, 190).

⁷³ Naima 1281-83 I, 129-30 [cf. İpşirli, ed. 2007 II, 416]: *Cümle esbâbdandır ki, padişah ile Edirne'de iken Nasuh Paşa'nın agavâtundan Cebrâ'il Ağa nâm bir kimesne bir seyyidin menziline konmuş idi, avratına kâsd edip, Seyyid yevm-i cum'ada câmi'e varıp cümle cemâ'at-i Müslimîn ve padişah anda idi, câmi' ortasına varıp dülbendin çıkarıp "Padişahım! Padişah-ı Âl-i Osmânsın, nedir bu zulüm ki bir alay Ekrâd u Etrâk ve envâ'-ı eclâf şehre istîlâ edip Hak -celle ve alâ- hazretlerinin mukarreb meleklerinin isimlerini takıp envâ'-ı zulüm ü fesâd ederler. Bilmem Allâh azîmü'ş-şâna kimden şikâyet edeyin" deyip destârın yere urdu. Bu kaziyyeden padişah ... ziyâde müte'ellim olup ...*

The shocking gesture of throwing down one's turban in the middle of the mosque expresses the *seyyid's* anguish and frustration, due as much to the lack of respect for his noble birth as to the outrage done on his wife.⁷⁴

The *seyyids'* distinctive turban earned them respect and privilege. An inspector sent out in 1659 to some Anatolian provinces is instructed to seize the turbans of those false *seyyids* who cannot prove their lineage.⁷⁵ The right to wear the green turban was a privilege conferred on those who were descended from the Prophet along the paternal line only.⁷⁶

A frequent motif in reports about the downfall of Ottoman statesmen and other important personages, from sultans to muftis, is the removal of their turban, leaving them bareheaded and humiliated. The attitude is captured in Muhyî's hagiography of İbrâhîm-i Gülşenî, who in 1524 advised Ahmed Pasha not to revolt. "İbrâhîm-i Gülşenî had a fan in his hand and waved it. Just then Ahmed Pasha inclined his *mücevveze*. The fan struck it and the turban fell from his head. Ahmed Pasha retrieved it, put it on, and departed. All the dervishes interpreted the event as a sign that Ahmed Pasha would lose his head."⁷⁷



Left: Execution of Grand Vizier Kara Ahmed Pasha in 1555: Lokman, *Hünernâme*, 1587-88 (TSM H1524 177v); right: Bahrâm Chûbînâh is killed in Marv by Qulûn at the instigation of Kharrâd son of Barzîn, *Terceme-i Şehname*, 1620 (NYPL Spencer Turk. ms. 1 545r) [Cf. Schmitz 1992, 264: Bahram lies dying from a knife wound in front of his tent, surrounded by members of his entourage, one of whom

⁷⁴ According to a Venetian document of 1595, when the bailo wanted to reopen a bricked-up portal of the bailate in Galata, a group of "more than 2,000 Turks gathered from the streets and shops" and went to the divan shouting "come Muslims to defend the cause of the religion against a *Giaur*, who wants to overwhelm our houses," calling "Allah, Allah" and throwing their turbans to the ground (Dursteler 2006, 158). In *1001 Nights*, throwing down one's turban is simply one sign of extreme anguish; e.g., in Night 560, Sindbad's sixth voyage: "as we were sailing, the captain suddenly gave a great cry, threw down his turban, struck his face and plucked at his beard before collapsing in the centre of the ship, overcome by distress" (*Arabian Nights* 2008, II, 498-99). And note "Zahhak hears Kava's complaint" 1616 India (BL) — see Part 2, # 12.

More generally, in Turkish, the phrase *baş aç-* ("to bare the head"), whether alone or accompanied by such terms as *yalvar-* ("to plead"), expressed complaint over an injustice, etc. For documentation, see Develi 1997. There is a good example in *Seyahatname* II, 352a where an old man bares his head (*baş açup*) and curses the Ottoman grand vizier for his injustice; translated in Dankoff 2004, 107.

⁷⁵ Naima 1281-83 VI, 416 [cf. İpşirli, ed. 2007 III, 1837]: "... *Ve sâdâtü tafahhus edip nesebi sâbit olmayan müteseyyidlerin destârların alasin.*"

⁷⁶ Kılıç 2012, 131.

⁷⁷ Muhyî-yi Gülşenî 1982, 387-88: *Elinde bir mîrvaha vardı, salladı. Nâgâh Ahmed Paşa mücevvezesini egmiş idi, dokundu, dülbendi başından düşdü, alup giydi ve gitdi. Cümle dervîşân başı gitmesine 'alâmetdir, dediler.*

holds bahram's turban above his head. In the foreground the murderer, still holding his knife, is beaten by several men with sticks.]

The following incidents are all reported by Naima.

- On the capture and imprisonment of Sultan Osman II: He was wearing a white robe, and his head was bare, without even a skullcap. One of the sipahis took pity on him and dressed him in his own turban, which was rather dirty. They mounted him on a horse belonging to a person of low station.... Later they removed the old turban, leaving him bareheaded. He began to weep.... The chief keeper of the cranes (*turnacı başı*) took out the turban cloth he kept in his felt carpet (?) and gave it to him, saying, "It's clean, my padishah; use it to wrap your blessed head." At first he refused, but then took it and wrapped his head with it.⁷⁸
- On Grand Vizier Hezarpare Ahmed Pasha at the end of his rope: He took off his *hırtâvî* turban, gave it to Abdi Çelebi (his groom) and — considering that it was a case of want after plenty — told him to undo it and rewind it in the fashion of his own turban, which was *kafesî* (reticulate, with narrow folds). Abdi Çelebi unwound the Pasha's turban and rewound it in square fashion (? – *murabba'*).... At that time some sophisticates made up this quatrain: "When the vizier suffered straits / He was short of breath from the contraction of his chest (*sadr* – also means "vizierate") / He was left like a bird in a cage (*kafes*) / He unwound his turban and made it *kafesî*." ... Kara Ali (the executioner) removed his red cap and put it in his pocket, then snatched the vizier's turban from his head, put it on his own head ... (and put him to death).⁷⁹
- On the unpopular Mülakkab ("Nicknamed" – a euphemism for his nickname Oğlan Pezevengi "Boy-Pimp") Muslihüddin Efendi, who comes to the convocation of ulema in the hippodrome despite being warned not to: He came with his *örf ve izâfet* (ulema style turban), along with his ushers in their *mücevveze* turbans, mounted on his horse with pomp and circumstance and foolhardy arrogance.... Muslu Çelebi (one of the rabble-rousers), who was brave, snatched the man's *örf* and Mes'ud Efendi pounded his bare head with his fist.... Then one of the soldiers struck him on the head from behind with a knife. Another struck the lower part of his body with the butt of his musket. His head was split open in two places and blood was spurting out. The fellow

⁷⁸ II, 225, 227 [II, 487-89]: *Arkasına bir beyaz entari başı açık arakiyye bile yok idi. Bir sipahi esirgeyip kendi kirlice dülbendini giydirip bir alçak halli şahsın bârgîrine bindirdiler.... Sonra başından köhne destârı bırakıp baş açık bükâyâ başladı.... Turnacı başı keçesinde olan dülbend makramayı çıkarıp "Padişahım pakçedir, mübârek başımızı sarın" deyü verdi. Almak istemeyip sonra aldı sarındı.* For a slightly different version see Peçevi 1283, II, 385-87; and see Piterberg 2003, 27.

⁷⁹ IV, 313 [III, 1157]: *başından hırtâvî destârın çıkarıp Abdi Çelebi'ye verdi ve havr ba'de'l-kevr olmağın "Şu dülbendi çözüp kendi sarığın gibi kafesî sar" deyü buyurdu, ol dahi paşanın sarığın bozup murabba' sardı... Ol zaman ba'zı zurefâ bu kit'ayı söyleyip ...*

Uğradı çün sıkılcıma düstür

Tutulup zıyk-ı sadrdan nefesi

Kafes içinde kuş gibi kalıcak

Bozdu destârın eyledi kafesî

... Kara Ali kendi başında olan kırmızı fes takkeyi çıkarıp meyânına sokup, vezîrin destârını başından kapıp, kendi başına giyip ...

was still conscious.... He leapt about, bareheaded and stripped of his clothes. They split open the seat of his trousers and left him face down with his genitals exposed.⁸⁰

- On the arrest of Cinci Hoca: The vile chaushes began to pound his head and face. His turban fell from his head. His right eye was wounded from the pounding of fists. They dragged him outside, bareheaded. Mahmud Efendi's deputy, who happened to be there, took his own turban from his head and his own wool cloak from his back and dressed Cinci in them....⁸¹
- On Şeyhülislâm Ebû Sa'îd Efendi disciplining Es'ad Efendi: Es'ad balked and stood his ground. The Molla (Ebû Sa'îd) himself rose up, grabbed his collar, and began to pommel him about the head and eyes. His turban slid off his head, and he was so humiliated that ...⁸²
- On the execution of Şeyhülislam Hocasade Mesud Efendi: After killing him, having applied various tortures, they threw his body on a rubbish heap outside the city, with bare head and bare feet and a single shroud, as though he were a nefarious brigand. This was surely an ugly deed, contrary to what is pleasing to God and what the sultan commands. What is more, on the following day no one could find a turban to put over his bier. A poor Muslim of the Eşrefiyye order lent the turban that he was wearing — poetic justice for a wealthy man whose head had been turned by riches and pomp. It must be admitted that such torture and humiliation are unsuitable for anyone of the community (i.e., any Muslim), let alone someone at the rank of Şeyhülislam.⁸³

In somewhat lighter vein, but illustrating the same point, Evliya Çelebi recounts this anecdote in connection with the Koca Mahmud Pasha mosque in Sofia:

This mosque had a munificent imam named Şa'bân Efendi, an old man and one of the great saints. (One Friday,) in fact, as he was delivering the sermon from the *minber* and had come to the prayer “for the two munificent imams” (i.e., Abu Bakr and ‘Umar), he was overcome with sleep. In his snooze, his turban slipped from his head and rolled to the floor. “Get that turban (‘*imâme*) of the two imams!” he cried, awaking from his sleep. And he continued the sermon with the prayer “for the two blessed martyrs of Kâzımeyn”

⁸⁰ IV, 316-18 [III, 1159-60]: *mücevvelî muhızları ve ... yanına alıp örf ve izâfet ve tumturak ve mehâbet ve tamam-ı humk ve ru'ûnet ile sîvâr olup ... mezbur Muslu Çelebi cesur idi, hemen herifin örfün kakıp açık başına Mes'ud Efendi dahi yumruk ile urup ... leşkerden biri herifin ardından başına bir bıçak biri dahi tüfeng kunduşuyla altına urup, başı iki yerden yarılıp, kan sıçrayıp herif neye uğradığın bilip ... hemen başı açık uryân segirdip ... serâvîlinin ardın çâk edip yüzü koyu[n] mekşûfî'l-avre bıraktılar. Naima goes on to report that Cinci Hüseyin Efendi was saved from a similar fate by leaving his örf and his furpiece in the corner of the mosque and putting on a small turban and simple robe: *câmi'in bir köşesinde örf ve kürkünü bıraktırıp bir küçük sarık ve ferâce giydirip ...**

⁸¹ IV, 341 [III, 1175]: *erâzil-i çavuşân yumruk ile başına yüzüne girişip, başından destârı gidip, darb-ı muştadan dâde-i yümnâsı âsîb-zede olup, keşân keşân, başı uryân, taşra çıkardılar. Mahmud Efendi'nin kethüdâsı anda bulunmakla başından destârını, arkasından sofunu Cinci'ye giydirip ...*

⁸² V, 239 [III, 1414]: *Es'ad silkinip inâd etmeğin molla hazretleri binefsihi kalkıp, yakasına yapışıp, yumruk ile başına ve gözüne girişip, başından sarığı yuvarlanıp, bir mertebe rüsvây oldu ki ...*

⁸³ VI, 204 [IV, 1688]: *eziyyet-i gûn-â-gûn ile katl ettikten sonra kat'-ı tarîk eden eşirrâ vü eşkıyâ gibi cesedini ser ü pâ berehne yektâ kefen ile hâric-i şehirde mezbele-i mezellet üzre ilka etmek rızâ-i ilâhî ve ferman-ı padişâhîye muhâlîf vaz'-ı kabîh idiği mukarrerdir. Hattâ rûz-ı diğêr na'sı üzerine vaz' edecek dülbend bulunmayıp fukarâ-i eşrefiyyeden bir Müslüman başı üzerinde olan destarin i'âre ettiği servet ve ihtîşâma meftûn ashâb-ı yesâra i'tibâr olmağa sâlihdir. Rütbe-i meşihat-i islâmîyyede olanlara değil âhâd-ı ümmetten birine bu mertebe eziyyet ve ihanet nâ-revâ idiği ehl-i insâfa hüveydâdır.*

(i.e., Hasan and Husayn). Someone brought the imam's turban up to him; but as the poor man began to descend, he stumbled and fell off of the *minber*. The next day the imam no longer came to the mosque, but galloped off to the afterlife. *May God have mercy on him*. On that day in the mosque the entire congregation laughed at him and the preacher apparently — but God knows best — died of shame.⁸⁴

In a much longer narrative about the spiritual initiation of a certain Gulabi Agha, his adversaries, trying to make him drink wine, remove his turban and his furpiece, the marks of his elite status.⁸⁵ And in the hilarious description of the Kadızadeli Çelebis who come out to view the battle against Celali Gürcü Nebi in Üsküdar in 1648, one of the taunts they make to the fighting soldiers is: “Agha, your mount is a miller's jade, be careful not to make it leap with your spur or your turban will fall from your head!”⁸⁶ The anonymous author of the *Risale-i Garibe* (dated 1720) offers a fullsome curse upon his detractors, including: “May his horse's hoof slip in rainy weather while he is going through a crowded marketplace and may his turban fall off...”⁸⁷ In the *Hamse* of Atai there is a story of “a man embarrassed by his turban falling off to reveal his bald head. When he protests that his virtue is gone, Mansur replies that it was already gone when he previously lied about his miraculous three-day journey from Mecca to Nishapur.”



Man shamed, *Divan of Atai*, 1721 (Walters W666 84a)

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Evliya Çelebi reveals his attitude toward the turban — and I think we can assume that it was a typical Ottoman attitude — while traveling in the Sudan. The simpleminded governor of Arbacı,

⁸⁴ *Seyahatname*, III, 139a24: *Kibâr-ı evliyâullahdan bir pîr-i fânî Şa'bân Efendi nâm bir imâm-ı hüâmü var. Hattâ minberde hutbe tilâvet ederken "ve ale'l-imâmeyni'l-hümâmeyn" mahalline geldükde nevm galebe ediüp bir nefir-i hâbda iken başından imâmesi minberden aşağı yuvarlanup hâbdan bîdâr olunca "Alıverin şu imâmeynin imâmesin" deyüp "Kâzımeyn'e's-sa'îdeyni'ş-şehîdeyn" deyü hutbeyi tilâvet ederken bir âdem imâmın imâmesin minbere çıkarup hatîbe verirken harîf-ü zarîf zarâfetle enemeyüp minberden aşağı tekerlenüp düşdü, ertesi gün imâm gayrı câmi'e gelmeyüp âhirete eşdi. Rahmettullahi aleyh. Ol gün câmi'de cümle cemâ'at hande-künân olup hemân hatîb Allahu a'lem hicâbından merhûm oldu.*

⁸⁵ *Seyahatname*, I, 38b: *Gülâbî Ağa'nın başından destârın, eyninden semmûr lepâçesin alup.*

⁸⁶ *Seyahatname*, III, 31b: *Ağa, altındaki değirman beygiridir, ökçe ile sakın sıçratma, başından sarığın düşer.*

⁸⁷ Develi, ed., 1998, 19: *kalabalık çarşu içinde giderken yağmurlu havada atının ayağı sürçüp başından sarığı düşüp ... And note similar parodic expressions elsewhere in this treatise, e.g., p. 31: sakalı olup da sarığından perçemin göstüren bayat buştlar; p. 36: başından sarığın kapdırup kim idiğini bilmeyüp; p. 37: saruğunu ensesinden aşağı döküp cihan sikime saruğun sarınanlar; p. 45: ve akındılı sarık satan dülbenciler.*

having had no previous experience with men of such white complexion, asks Evliya to undo his turban so he can see his head. Evliya replies:

The reason we have such long turbans is that we are those who struggle in God's path (or, those who engage in jihad). When we are martyred, we will be wrapped and buried in our turbans. It is a token of the Prophet and signifies Muhammedan honor and dignity. To undo a man's turban from his head is to undo his honor. It is now such a sign on our heads.⁸⁸

A similar colloquy is recorded by his Hungarian contemporary Jakab Nagy de Harsány in his *Colloquia Familiaria Turcico-Latina* of 1672:

—Why are you uncovering your head? Keep it covered. It is not the custom (to uncover it). No one uncovers his head in the presence of the sultan.
—But every country has its own customs.
—All well and good; but for Ottomans it is shameful (to uncover one's head).⁸⁹

In Tabriz, where Evliya traveled in official capacity, he noted many things where the Safavids differed from the Ottomans, some positive, some negative. About headgear he says:

The grandees wrap their heads with motley and red headbands and therefore are called *Kızılbaş* ("Red Heads"). Most people, however, wear white Muhammadan turbans in the Persian style. But they always have a pointed baton (*zurzuvile*) above their caps which they call *tâc* (*tâj*); that of the ulema is two spans long, that of the common people one span ... (? – indecipherable word).⁹⁰

The precise meaning of *zurzuvile* is unclear, since the word does not seem to be found in other sources. Evliya only uses it in relation to the Safavid *tâj*, once comparing its shape to a donkey's penis, and twice adding the adjective *kalaklı* which otherwise refers to a long nose.⁹¹ These disparaging terms undoubtedly reflect the prevalent Ottoman attitude toward this style. Naima writes about Magrav Bey, a Georgian emir who had gone over to the Ottomans and was made governor of Karaman, that he appointed one of his old followers — "a priest of oppression" (*keşîş-i mezâlim*) — as his deputy and sent him to Konya with a band of Aznavurs, most of

⁸⁸ *Seyahatname*, X, Y410b: *Bizim başımızda destârımız böyle dirâz olduğunun aslı biz mücâhidün fî-sebîlillâhız. Şehîd olduğumuzda bununla sarup defn ederler. Alâmet-i Muhammedîdir ve ırz [u] vakâr-ı Ahmedîdir. Bunu âdemîn başından bozan ırzın bozmaktır. Hâlâ başımızda böyle alâmetdir.*

⁸⁹ Hazai 1973, 34-35 [cf. Anetshofer & Karateke 2001, 4 and epigraph] (here in modern transcription):

- *Ne açarsın başın? Ört başın, zira adet değıldir. Padişah yanında dahi kimse başın açmaz.*

- *Her vilayetin başka adeti (töresi) vardır.*

- *Hoş, amma Osmanlıya ayıptır.*

⁹⁰ *Seyahatname*, II 300a: *A'yân-ı eşrâfi serlerine alaca ve kızıl serbend sardıklarından Kızılbaş derler. Ammâ çoğu Acemâne beyâz destâr-ı Muhammedî sararlar. Lâkin kavukları üzre sivri zurzuvileleri mukarrerdir, ana tâc derler. Ammâ ulemâların tâcı iki karışdan dirâzdır, avânın bir karış ...* — the last word looks like *mücevherkinidir* but is probably not *mücevher* meaning "jewelled"; perhaps it is to be read as *mücevveze gibidir* meaning "like the *mücevveze* (among us)."

⁹¹ *Seyahatname*, IV 310a29 (Hemedan) *zurzuvile kalaklı tâc*, 312b25 (Dergüzin) *başı zurzuvileli kîr-i har kalaklı*. See Dankoff 2008, 248, where the reading *ķulaķlı* should be changed to *ķalaķlı*; and these two citations should be added s.v. *ķalaķ*, p. 136.

whom wore Persian-style motley headbands; so “a band of Georgians who did not know Ottoman manners lorded it over the people.”⁹² The two sorts of headgear played a role in the religious and political rivalry of the Safavids and Ottomans over many decades.



Two scenes from Ahmed Feridun, *Nüzhëtü'l-Esrar der Sefer-i Zigetvar* 1568 (TSM H1339). Left: Selim II Receiving the Safavid envoy Shahquli (fol. 247b); right: Selim II receiving the Hapsburg envoy (fol. 178a). Europeans typically removed their hats out of politeness and deference, a gesture the Ottomans found very strange. [Hindi Mahmud, taken captive at the battle of Lepanto and moved to Rome, describes the crowning of Pope Gregory XIII in May of 1572 and says: “He motioned with his hand; they bared their heads, like dogs” (Hindi Mahmud 2013, 325: *Eli ile ider halka işâret / Başın açup olurlar mişl-i kelbân*).]

The 1582 *Surname* (completed in 1588) includes staged scenes where a Kızılbâş comes over to the Ottoman side. He removes his *tâc* (*tāj*) and hurls it to the ground, cursing the Shah. After instruction in the true faith, he is given a new suit of clothing and his head is wrapped in a proper turban. The illustration shows some clowns making mockery of the Safavid *tāj*.



Lokman, *Surname-i Hümayun* (TSM H1344 277a) [Atasoy 1997, 111]

According to Mustafa Âlî, in his account of the 1582 festivities, the sultan was so generous to the Persian contingent that some of them threw down their Safavid headgear (*depdi yire tâcın*) there and then, renounced being heretics and infidels (*rafz, kâfirlik* — i.e. Shiism), adopted the true faith (*İslâm, îmân* — i.e. Sunnism), and were rewarded with robes of honor and new clothing and

⁹² Naima 1281-83 III, 5 [cf. İpşirli, ed. 2007 II, 647]: *Kadîmî etbâ'ndan bir keşîş-i mezâlim kişiyi mütesellim edüp bir bölük Aznavur ile Konya'ya gönderdi. Ekseriyyâ etbâ'ı Acemâne alaca mendil sararlardı. Âdâb-ı Osmânî bilmez bir alay Gürciyan halka musallat olup...*

turbans (*hil'atlar, kisvet ü destâr*).⁹³ The 1584 presentation copy of Mustafa Âlî's *Nusretname* recording the campaigns of Lala Mustafa Pasha in Iran and Transcaucasia in the late 1570s has a miniature showing Sharaf Khan Bitlisi and his entourage removing their Kızılbaş turbans and replacing them with Ottoman ones as a token of submission.



Left: Sharaf Khan Bitlisi exchanging Safavid for Ottoman headgear, Mustafa Âlî, *Nusretname*, 1584 (TSM H1365 140b); middle: A Kızılbaş removes his *tâc* and converts to Sunnism, *Şehinşahname II* 1592 (TSM Bagdat 200 76a); right: A Safavid agent killed en route to the Hajj, *Şehname-i Selim Han* 1581 (TSM A3595 68a).



A young Christian accepts Islam in presence of Junayd Baghdadi, Jami, *Nefahatu'l-uns*, 1595 Baghdad (CBL 474 42r).

The exchange of headwear, which is here mainly a demonstration of political loyalty, can also have religious significance.⁹⁴ For the Ottomans, conversion to Islam involved donning a turban as opposed to various “infidel” headgear. Naima records an incident of an infidel “turning Turk” before a battle in 1601:

⁹³ Mustafa Âlî 1996, 249 (lines 2275-79) [= Arslan 2008, 575 (lines 2314-18)].

⁹⁴ Hindi Mahmud, in a gazel extolling his “Christian idol” (*sanem-i tersâ* – i.e., a boy [or a girl?] in Rome), says: “The beauty took off his hat and put on my turban, thus hinting that you had given up being an infidel” (Hindi Mahmud 2013, 338: *Şapkasını çıkardı güzel geydi şaruğım / Fehm oldu nâzûkâne küfrden ferâğatiûñ*).

“Take me inside,” he said, “I want to become a Muslim.” And he took off his hat. Ömer Ağa sent him to the Pasha. The Pasha saw that he had a jewelled *tâc* on his head.... The Pasha wrapped a gilded turban round his head and instructed him in the rudiments of the faith. He gathered the ghazis and said: “You see the condition of the infidels. Now let me see what deeds you do wearing this outfit. It is the day for manly deeds!”⁹⁵

Especially under Sultan Mehmed IV (reg. 1648-87), when converting Ottoman subjects was high on the imperial agenda, “[a] turban of white cloth served as a mark of religious affiliation” and prominent among the gifts distributed to new converts was “the obvious sign of conversion, the cloth and base of a white turban.”⁹⁶

The specific association of the turban with the Prophet Muhammad, noted in Part 1, is confirmed by Evliya Çelebi. The guild of turban makers in Istanbul, he states, numbers 100 shops and 500 individuals. Their patron saint is the Prophet Muhammad himself, who in his merchant days used to travel from Mecca to Bosra in Syria to sell turbans. He himself wore a white turban; later, when he let his locks grow long, he and Ali wore black turbans.⁹⁷ In his initiatory dream as traveler, Evliya noticed that the Prophet wore a white Arab-style turban (*şâş*) with twelve bands and a toothpick stuck in it.⁹⁸



Two depictions of the Prophet Muhammad in the *Siyer-i Nebi*, 1594. Left: (David); right: Khadija, commissioning Muhammad to go to Syria with her merchandize, presents him with a magnificent outfit and turban (vol. II, fol. 30: ... *geyürdi, görklü 'imâme başına sardı*) [Tanındı 1984, pl. 17]

Adding a feather or aigrette to the turban (or other headgear) — the usual terms are *tel*, *sorguç*, *çeleng* — was an element of Ottoman ceremonial and signified an enhancement of status.⁹⁹ An official marked out in such a way held his head higher than his peers. When the sultan upbraids Fazlı Pasha for fleeing during a campaign in 1658, among the things he blames him for is letting

⁹⁵ Naima 1281-83 I, 282 [cf. İpşirli, ed. 2007 I, 199]: *Karşularına bir kâfir beyi gelip “Beni içeri götürün, müslüman olmak isterim” deyü takyesin çıkardı. Ömer Ağa bunu paşaya gönderdi, paşa gördü ki başında mücevher taç var.... Paşa mezburaya bir mutallâ dülbent sarıp telkîn-i iman eyledi. Ve gazileri cem’ edip, “İşte küffârın hâli, bu kıyâfette göreyim sizi, erlik güniüdür” dedi.*

⁹⁶ Baer 2008, 198-99.

⁹⁷ *Seyahatname*, I, 92b: *Esnâf-ı dülbendciyân: Dükkân 100, neferât 500, bunlar dahi âmâde ubûr ederler. Pîrleri bizzât Hazret-i Resûl-i Ekrem'dir kim Mekke'den Busrâ şehrine sarık götürüp bey' edüp kendüleri beyâz destâr-ı Muhammedî sardılar, sonra geysûdâr olup Hazret-i Alî ile siyâh imâme sardılar.*

⁹⁸ *Seyahatname*, I, 7a: *Ve destâr-ı şerîfi on iki kolanlı beyâz şâş idi. ... Ve ser-i sa'âdetleri destârı üzre bir misvâk sokulmuş idi.*

⁹⁹ Zygulski 1992, 113.

his turban — “with its crane-feathered aigrette” — fall off. The implication is that the pasha’s treachery, itself deserving of death, was compounded by this sully of Ottoman dignity.¹⁰⁰

On a much more informal level, Ottomans liked to adorn their turbans with flowers. A sixteenth-century painting of a coffeehouse “... shows elegant urban folk with freshly cut flowers tucked in the folds of their turbans, playing backgammon and manqala....”¹⁰¹ Another, contemporary image illustrates the respect and prestige associated with turbans: among the furnishings in a grandee’s house is a niche housing, among other less prominent items such as books, a kind of tripod topped with an elaborate turban.



Left: reception of commanders, *Süleymanname* 17r; middle: coffeehouse (CBL, Album ms. 439 9r); right: The qadi of Hamadan, Sa‘di, *Gulistan*, 1565 (Freer F1949.2 110a)

A passage from Lane’s *Modern Egyptians*, while not strictly “Ottoman” since it relates to 19th-century Cairo, resonates with many of the themes of this chapter:

The ’Ulamà, and men of religion and letters in general, used to wear, as some do still, one [a turban] particularly wide and formal, called a “muḳleh.” The turban is much respected. In the houses of the more wealthy classes, there is usually a chair on which it is placed at night.... As an instance of the respect paid to the turban, one of my friends mentioned to me that an ’ālim being thrown off his donkey in a street of this city, his muḳleh fell off, and rolled along for several yards: whereupon the passengers ran after it, crying, “Lift up

¹⁰⁰ Naima 1281-83 VI, 330 [cf. İpşirli, ed. 2007 II, 1276]: “... *Ben seni adam sanırdım, meğer muhannes imişsin. ... Bre mel’ûn! Sen serdar olasın, utanmadan bir kayığa ipler bağlayıp başında turna telli sorguçun ile dülbendin kayığa binerken başından düşmüş....*”

¹⁰¹ Necipoğlu 1997, 43. Necipoğlu (pp. 37, 44) also cites the travelers Philippe Du Fresne-Canaye, 1573: “One can scarcely imagine how fond the Turks are of flowers, how they always hold them in their hands or [tuck them] into the folds of their turbans, treating them almost as a sacred thing” and Pierre Belon du Mans, 1546-49: “There are no people who take more delight in carrying pretty little flowers or who prize them more than do the Turks ... they carry them individually in the folds of their turbans....”

the crown of El-Islàm!” while the poor ’àlim, whom no one came to assist, called out in anger, “Lift up the *sheykh* of El-Islàm!”¹⁰²

Another, later Ottoman furnishing was an elaborately carved and decorated wall stand for one’s turban, known as *kavukluk*.



A *kavukluk* or turban stand, 18th century (Los Angeles County Museum of Art M.85.237.95)

In Turkey, the “age of the wound turban,” as it has been called — a period extending back to the beginning of Islam — eventually gave way to the “age of the fez” (1828-1925) and then the “age of the brimmed hat.”¹⁰³



Left: The qadi of Hamadan, Sa’di, *Gulistan*, 1565 (Freer F1949.2 110a); middle: Carpaccio, *Baptism of the Selenites*, 1507; right: *Divan* of Nedim

¹⁰² Lane 1908, 36. The “chair on which it is placed at night” was called *kursī al-’imāma* (described by Lane on p. 166: *kursee el-’emāmeḥ*).

¹⁰³ Kreiser 2005.