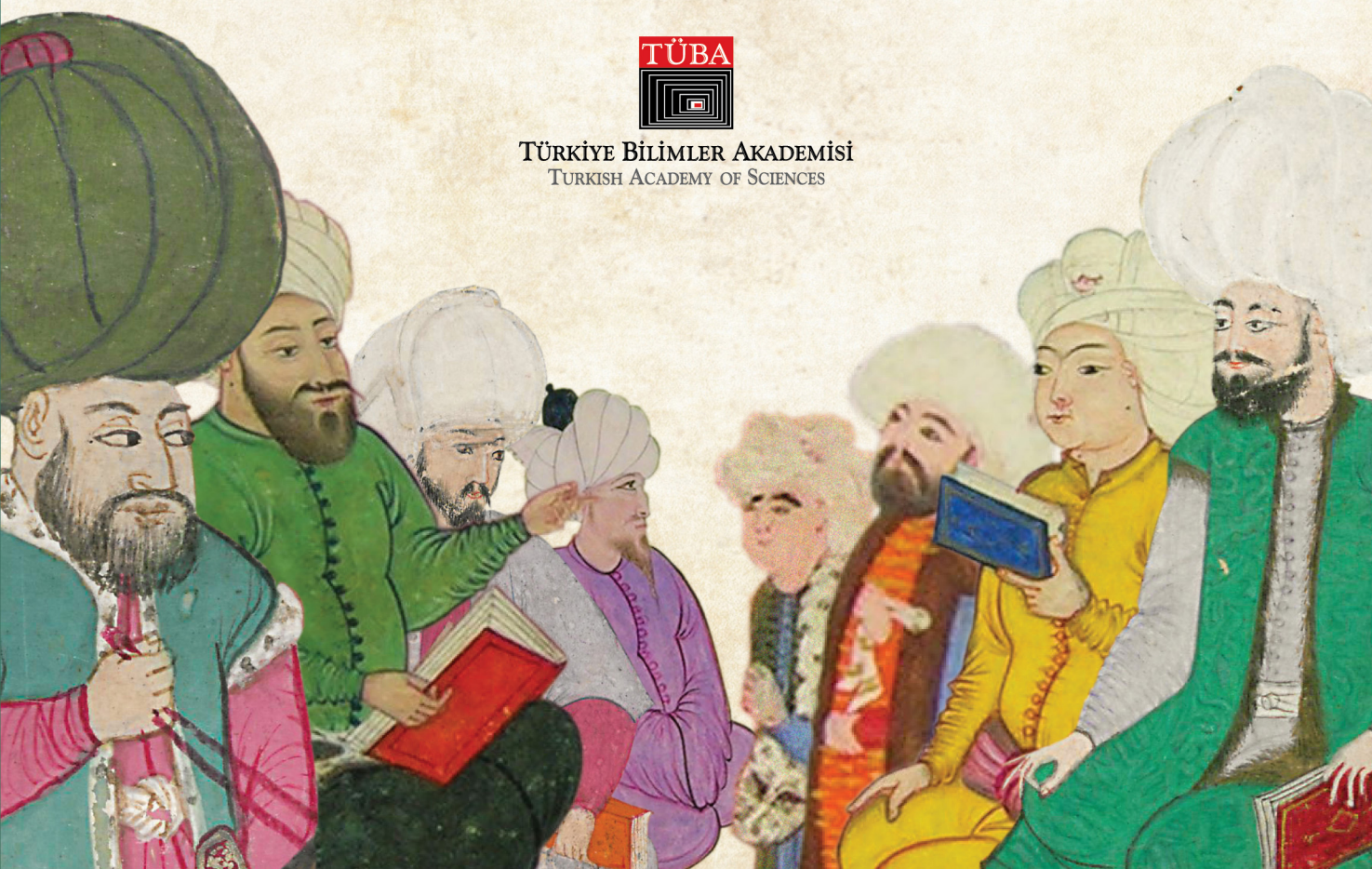
CLOTHING NORM AND ATTIRES OF THE OTTOMAN İLMİYE CLASS

MURAT ÇELİK

TÜBA
Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi
Turkish Academy of Sciences





TÜRKİYE BİLİMLER AKADEMİSİ
TURKISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

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Murat Çelik

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Clothing Norm and Attires of the Ottoman İlmiye Class

Student, Qadi, Mufti, Müderris, Naqib al-Ashraf, Qadiasker, Sheikh al-Islam

CLASSIC PERIOD IN GENERAL TERMS

MURAT ÇELİK

Translated By
Salim Korkmaz

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Forewords

Rebuilding society, both physically and spiritually, is only feasible with the help of well-trained and well-educated individuals. The quality of the cadres that breed this workforce is directly proportionate to the strength of this power. Indeed, studies in the literature show a connection between a country's growth and its educational attainment. Indeed, history teaches us that intellectuals lay the foundations of the civilizations our predecessors built and that we have inherited. The Ottomans have been one of the most notable representations of this culture throughout history.

One of the reasons the Ottomans were able to exist for such a long period of time was the significance they placed on science and the individuals who worked in it. From the time of their creation until they were forced to flee, the Ottomans held intellectuals and scientists in high regard. Scholars, on the other hand, have long held a prominent place in society. Aside from that, intellectuals played an important role in the regulation of social and economic interactions.

Aside from All civilizations' contributions to our current level of development, the Ottomans, whose contributions to science and culture are an important element of the Turco-Islamic legacy, had a tremendous effect

on this wellspring of culture. While the Ottoman intellectual tradition had an impact on its time period and later eras, it provides us with a basis for making judgments for deciding current educational policies. As analyzed in this book, the many degrees and ranks of scholars were distinguished by their dress in Ottoman society. The intellectuals might be differentiated from one another by the subtle distinctions in their clothing styles and colors. This is a reflection of the significance placed on social and cultural standards by philosophers throughout history. One of our main priorities at the Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA) is to ensure that our valuable scientific heritage is passed on to future generations. It is important to approach education and scientific history from a multifaceted and cross-disciplinary perspective in this respect.

Many books have been written about Ottoman science and education history, but there aren't many that focus on the actual lives of Ottoman scholars. The book *"Clothing Norm and Attires of the Ottoman İlmiye Class"* will hopefully provide a fresh look at Ottoman educational history in this context.

This is the occasion on which I would want to express my appreciation to everyone who has contributed to the publishing of this book, notably Murat Çelik, the book's author.

Prof. Dr. Muzaffer Şeker
TÜBA President

Preface

The expression 'perfect is the enemy of good' more or less describes this book in your hands. So, it claims to be neither perfect, nor good. Its most important aim is to open a new window and start a new discussion on a field that has almost never been tackled, by introducing a new understanding to it, with an education history perspective. Thus, the hope that a different perspective on the Ottoman higher education can be established will have been flourished.

Despite the fact that studies on the Ottomans have attracted global attention in the last half century, it is saddening that the Ottoman education history has not gotten its share in this interest. In fact, one can argue that the Ottoman education history is the key to understand the Ottoman social structure. In this regard, understanding the order constructed by this structure cannot be deemed possible without understanding the Ottoman education history. Surely, addressing the Ottoman history with a chronological approach aiming at elucidation, built upon documents, or within a political framework is important as well; it can also be deemed important that a trend is observed towards micro subjects in studies. However, understanding the intellectual history which contains the presumptions of

the founding elements of the Ottoman mindset, and the education which produces its founding qualities, may be more important than anything else.

One cannot claim that higher education historiography, which has commenced in Europe in the 1950s, has established itself in the Ottoman historiography, with all its rules and traditions, and that it corresponds to an independent discipline. Indeed, the level that the European higher education historiography has attained has not only expanded the sub-domains of study, but also enriched it. For instance, issue of clothing in the European higher education institutions is one of the aforementioned fields. Today, academic attires, which are the ceremonial attractions in universities, are still interesting. Because gowns, caps, colors on attires and other details that complement this scene, are a continuation of hundreds of years of tradition. One should note that a tradition that is similar to what the European higher education has developed and sustained is also possible for the Ottoman medreses. Because clothing regulations established after the Nizamiye Medreses was extended to the Ottomans and the Ottomans strictly preserved this tradition until the end of the 19th century. This preservation, indeed, is not a simple and superficial one. Despite the fact that the military, social and bureaucratic reforms that the Ottomans made in the 18th and 19th centuries penetrated into the state and social structure and altered traditions, it is interesting that the ilmiye class maintained its attires, at least as a visual entity. This is closely related to the fact that it is the founding intellectual element of the Ottoman higher education, as stated above.

Those who founded and built the Ottoman mentality is the Ottoman ulema and the ilmiye class, which is its institutional structure. Despite the fact that ulema, which constitutes the Ottoman ilmiye class within the askerî class is divided into different sub-classes, the center they are affiliated is the Ottoman medrese. In this regard, the Ottoman medreses are the center of the Ottoman ilmiye class and its intellectual mentality; therefore, it has its own tradition, customs, and clothing form. And attires make the Ottoman ilmiye visible within the state with all its elements and reiterate its status. The clothing regulations and differences of the Ottoman ilmiye

class manifest itself strongly from studentship, which is the lowest level, to the office of the sheikh al-Islam, the highest post. Differences and status regulations are made distinct through the design and colors of attires as well. Thus, they are rendered easily distinguishable in the society.

With this study, covering the attires belonging to the Ottoman ilmiye class, it is aimed to provide contribution to three fields. Firstly, it is aimed to unfold the clothing norms of the Ottoman ilmiye class, and hence to establish a theoretical base. Surely, the clothing norm of the Ottoman ilmiye class has a philosophical background and reason. The design of this theoretical plan and reason is discussed in this study. Another target is to classify attires belonging to the Ottoman ilmiye class, to serve as a source for future studies. With this classification effort, the ilmiye attires will be sorted out and thus, the attires will be inter-related. The third and the last aim is to pave the way for establishment of the Ottoman ilmiye class attires as a sub-discipline in the Ottoman higher education studies. Because a sub-discipline that will serve as a source for comparative studies can be established as such.

One should admit that two fields are missing in attaining concrete outputs of the study. It was first conceived to extract the patterns of the dress forms studied. In fact, it was desired to stitch the attires and shoes as per these patterns. However, lack of time and financing rendered realization of these two goals impossible.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Turkish Academy of Sciences, and particularly its President, Prof. Dr. Muzaffer Şeker, for their valuable con- tributions in preparing this publication.

Lastly, friends and or seniors, whose names are secluded herein, should be remembered with reverence for not having refrained to support and generously contributing to this work.

Effort is on us…

Murat Çelik
02 April 2021, Çınarcık

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Murat Çelik was born in 1972 in Yalova. He completed primary and secondary school in Çınarcık. He graduated from Çınarcık Füruzan Kınal High School and received his undergraduate degree from Marmara University, Faculty of Science and Letters, Records and Archives Management Department. He earned his master's degree with his thesis on "Information Society" at the same university. He received his doctorate degree with a thesis entitled "A Comparison of the Ottoman Madrasas and the European Universities: 1450-1600" from Uludağ University. He is still a faculty member at Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University Humanities and Social Sciences Faculty. He continues his studies in the fields of Ottoman and European history, history of education and data management. Some of his works are: "The Mobility in the Ottoman Higher Education-I: 'Cerr' as a Madrasa Student's Activity," *Bülent Ecevit Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 8 (2), 2021, 517- 537, "A Comparison of Katib Çelebi and Edward Bernard's Education, Works and Mental Backgrounds," *Ulum*, 3 (2), 2020, 297-313, *Osmanlı Medreseleri ve Avrupa Üniversiteleri: 1450-1650*, İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2019.

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FIGURE 1. **Feast of the Müderrises; 3rd Day of the Feast**

Seyyid Vehbi Hüseyin bin Abdullah, *Surname-i Vehbi*, TSMK, 3. Ahmet Kütüphanesi 3594, 73b.

Extended Summary

As it is known, clothes are one of the important symbols in the concretization of official duties. In other words, clothing and appearance can be considered along with other components. When European universities have agreed that the dress code is considered as relevant historical data, relevant literature has been produced. However, the Ottoman ilmiye class developed a dress norm in the classes itself as well as classes such as sheikh al-Islam, qadi, and müderris. But, unfortunately, the dressing arrangements of the Ottoman ilmiye class have not been studied yet. Therefore, the aim of this study is to make a general classification about the dress code of the Ottoman ilmiye class and to start a discussion based on this classification. The study consists of three main chapters. In the first chapter anthropological and sociological foundations of clothing and attire will be discussed and a connection will be established with the Ottoman establishment. In the second part it will be focused on the historical background that the Ottoman ilmiye class has adopted the norms of dresses and emphasizes its legitimacy. In the third and the last chapter, the information about the dressing types of the Ottoman ilmiye class and the clothing of the individual units will be connected to each other.

There is no doubt that the clothing style of the ulema in general, and the medrese in particular, are matters of the Ottoman educational history. However, unfolding this topic is not easy in two respects. One of the reasons for this is, that there are not sufficient clothes collections in good shape that have reached today. Although these examples of clothing which can be found in museums, neither belong to much older time periods, nor do they refer to the ulema style. Also, those clothes only belong to members of the palace. Therefore, it is not possible to create a literature on concrete and primary clothing sources.

Therefore, classifying those clothes has to be done based on archive documents and transcriptions in chronicles, narratives in scripts, orders in the law, miniatures given in manuscripts, and engravings and illustrations depicted by foreign painters and writers.

The Ottoman ulema members, as well as in terms of morals as in terms of shape probably tried to resemble the Prophet Muhammad which would not be difficult to guess. In this respect the Prophet Muhammad's life is exemplary in every way, and this example was also recommended to Muslims. In any case, the ulema tried to make this example visible within its style in terms of both behavior and shape.

In this respect, it is not difficult to guess that the dressing norm of the Ottoman ilmiye class did not appear spontaneously. As in many other areas, there is a tradition in the clothing of the ulema class. The bureaucratic structures followed this concept when Muslims started to establish their state. The bureaucratic order probably brought along a certain institutionalization. The first states established by Muslims, e.g., by the Umayyads and Abbasids, brought the bureaucratic order to a certain maturity and transferred this culture to the states which were visible to them. The Seljuks, the most important establishment in the region, are the founders of the Ottomans. Therefore, the continuation of the social and cultural order as in the state tradition was passed on to the Ottomans as a model from the first states.

During the time of Orhan Gazi, the ulema was dressed in white, palace servants were dressed in red, the administrational and scribal were dressed

in yellow and others in black. However, after Yıldırım Bayezid, soldiers started to use white whereas red was becoming more and more the color of the sultanate.

It is not possible to conclude if the attires worn by the Ottoman ulema were clearly separated into official and private attires due to the lack of available information. Therefore, it is not realistic to make a clear distinction between the types of clothes of the Ottoman ulema from some information. However, in order to provide some ideas, some classifications can be madeat least according to the function of their clothes. Keeping in mind that the Ottoman ulema were generally concerned about the dressing of the people, it will be easier to address this issue which is both theoretical and practical. Because while trying to understand ulema clothes and establishing a relationship with each other, it will be useful to follow a classification. Within this framework, it is reasonable to classify the clothes of the Ottoman ulema under the titles of headdress, under garments, outwear and shoes, as follows:

i. Headdress: *Sarık* [turban], *kavuk* [quilted turban], *terlik* [cap], *takke* [skullcap], *örf* [ceremonial high turban] and other clothing items the ulema was wearing on his head generally created certain styles of tradition among the population.

ii. Under Garments; Outfits worn on the outfit, it means *iç donu* [internal frost], *don* [frost/underpants], *gömlek* [shirt], *cepken* [vest], *entari* [dress], *kamis* [tunic], *kuşak* [belt], *şal* [shawl], *çakşır* [trouser] and the like in different qualities and quantities.

iii. Outwear: Clothing worn on under garments. It can be more than one piece and were sometimes preferred during ceremonial times. *Biniş* [formal overcoat], *kürk* [fur], *ferace* [abaya, loose full-length overcoat], *kaftan* [caftan, ceremonial robe], *kebe* [felt], *aba* [coarse wool cloth], *maşlah* and *cübbe* [jubbah] are the main ones.

iv. Shoe: *Pabuç* [shoe], *edik* [sandal], *mest* [under-shoes] and so on formed the ulema's footwear.

Firstly, this book will deal with the topic of the headdress which was also an important issue for the askerî class [bureaucratic/administrative class] and not only for the Ottoman ulema. It serves the purpose of protection within the climatic conditions as well as that of a marker in terms of social position and title. As mentioned above, the title itself is a symbol of hierarchy, so it may vary in color and form. In the Ottoman society, everyone used a title from the lowest to the highest. When the title is connected to a clothing or an accessory, it can be considered separately for both its material and its facts. From this perspective, the headdress is primarily composed of takke, terlik, *tepelik* [small turban] and the like, as well as those parts of the turban that were – sometimes, not always, depending on the occasion - hanging down onto shoulders. Cap or quilted turban made of woven fabric or hammered felt was used as the base, followed by the addition of turban and *taylasan*. It is called the sarık, which is a long textile wrapped around the quilted turban and is thin, thick, or embroidered.

Another element of the clothing of the Ottoman ilmiye is the kaftans which are worn as robes or on the robes. Obviously, in the field of clothing practices of the Ottoman scholars, there is some confusion about both its kind and name. So much so that it is not surprising that very often the biniş, the kaftan and the *hil'at* [honor robe], in terms of extra clothing to put on top of the robe, are being confused with each other.

To evaluate in general terms, it can be stated that the ulema's outwear is a robe. The fact that the robe has a useful size and quality suggests that it can be easily used in in school, the fatwa, or the court. Therefore, the robes can be considered in the form of casual clothing. However, besides the ceremony outfit, the kaftans are produced in various forms for the representation of the sultan's favorite or loyal items. In any case, the sequence to be followed in successive tops is a cübbe > biniş > ferace > kaftan.

Underneath the robe, an under garment in form of a *mintan* [shirt] is worn. Although there are different types, usually the style is that there are buttons up until the waist and thus it is to be put on from the bottom. They have long sleeves and are narrowed by cuffs around the wrists. This sort

of garment that extends to the feet was decorated with buttons all the way down to the feet or just only around the waist area. In general, in terms of easier dressing up, they put a shawl on the waist part or a belt with a waist wrap to be worn with a robe depending on the weather season.

The fourth and last element that complements the clothing are the shoes. It seems shoes have been given different names in accordance to their design. Examples are *sahtiyan* [saffian], pabuç [shoe], *iç edik* [inner sandal], *mest-i pabuç* [under-shoes], *uzun konçlu çizme* [long cropped shoes], *kısa konçlu bot* [short-cropped shoes], *terlik* [slippers], *çedik* [sandal] and *başmak* [shoes] As a foot-garment the black colored başmak was used as an open-toed garment and looked like a *yemeni* [sandal]. Due to its solid back it was not possible to be used as a slipper.



FIGURE 2. **Sultan Mehmed II, Molla Zeyrek, Hocazade, Seyyid Ali and Mahmud Paşa**
Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine 1263, 90b.

Abbreviations

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a	A side
b	B side
cm	Centimeter
d.	Date of death
e.g.	Exempli gratia
ed.	Edition/Editor
Ed.	Editor
et. al.	And others
fol.	Folio
Inv.	Inventory
İÜK	İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi
n.d.	No date
n.p.	No publisher
No	Number
Nr	Number
r.	Recto
TSMK	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi
trans.	Translated
v.	Verso



FIGURE 3. **Poetry Assembly**

Hatifi, *Hüsrev ü Şirin*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. 69.27, 1v.

Introduction

From a social perspective, clothing has other rationales than simply physical need to cover. Because clothing lies at the heart of determining position, class and group relations, along with physical conditions.[1] Therefore, as far as clothing is concerned, it is its abstract, rather than concrete existence, and the social mechanisms it affects that comes to mind. The fact that clothing assumed an anthropological status with its economic and social content, among many others, is because of these aforementioned mechanisms. Under the quality of clothing as such an important factor lies its possession of two inherent values, namely moral and political.[2] Surely, when considered together with its extensions such as accessories, clothing occupies the intellect with its symbolic, structural, and semiotic depth, in that it is a form of transfer or show of power.[3]

1 Quentin Bell, *Of Human Finery* (London: Hogarth Press, 1947), 9.

2 Elisabeth Wilson ve Amy de la Haye, "Introduction," in *Defining Dress: Dress and Object, Meaning and Identity*, ed. Elisabeth Wilson and Amy de la Haye, (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 2.

3 Karen Tranberg Hansen, "The World in Dress: Anthropological Perspectives on Clothing, Fashion, and Culture," *Annual Review of Anthropology* I, 33 (2004): 370.

In fact, at a distance, one can claim, that there are identities built upon clothing. Because any classification, which is applied for practical reasons, rather than as an academic conception, will only be able to assert itself through clothing. Significant studies have been made in this field, and a valuable literature has been created in which relationship between clothing and society is manifested.[4]

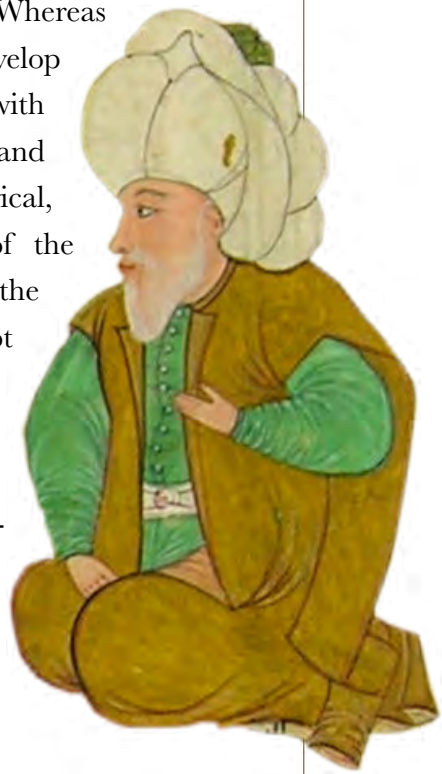
The area in which clothing is the most visible or is used as an instrument is surely education and its intellectual structure. One can claim that classification, as one if its basic components, finds a ground of implementation in this very field of education. However, the ground where this classification finds a foothold is the status that gender, age, and business roles assume in social differentiation and stratification. In the final analysis, one can claim that clothing and its ability to classify are skillfully designed instruments of the social hierarchy.[5] Therefore, its institutional effects, as well as social effects should not be ruled out. Because institutional organization can be ensured through the individual, and individual control can be ensured through the institutional arrangement as such.[6]

4 For some studies, see: Nathan Joseph and Nicholas Alex, "The Uniform: A Sociological Perspective," *American Journal of Sociology* LXXVII, 4, (1972): 719-730. L. Brickman, "The Social Power of A Uniform," *Journal Social Psychology* IV, (1974): 47-61. Barbara Hunt Conner et. al. "Person and Costume: Effects on the Formation of First Impression," *Home Economics Research Journal* IV, 1 (1975): 32-41. Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (New York: Random House, 1981). Paul Fussell, *Class: A Guide Through the American Status System* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1983). Nathan Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communication Through Clothing* (New York: Greenwoods Press, 1986). Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher, *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1992). Anna B. Eicher, "The Anthropology of Dress," *Dress* 27, (2000): 59-70. Anna Brydon and Sandra Niessen, *Consuming Faxhion: Adorning the Transnational Body* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1998). Linda B. Arthur (ed.), *Religion Dress and Body* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1999).

5 Hilda Kuper, "Costume and Identity," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* XV, 3 (1973): 350, 353.

6 Linda B. Arthur, "Introduction: Dress and the Social Control of the Body," in *Religion, Dress and the Body*, ed. Linda B. Arthur (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000), 3.

Based on the statement above, one should point out that, the conjunction where clothing and education meet is the place where institutional organization and individual control is ensured. Indeed, in addition to the fact that clothing has a regulating function, that education leads to social stratification has caused social relations to transform clothing into a concrete instrument. In this regard, a close examination of clothing and education has become a necessity. Besides, one should remember that the 20th century was a period of time when the history of education, particularly higher education has developed. In this framework, interest in the history of university which initially started in Europe, has influenced other intellectual circles, and has created a very rich literature until the present day. The literature in question has covered curricula and functioning of higher education, as well as its financial aspects. Dress and clothing regulations utilized in university education constitute a significant part of these subjects covered. Besides, if it is to be compared to the rich literature in Europe, it can be stated that studies on the Ottoman higher education is not that extensive. Surely, clothing section of the Ottoman education history has not been addressed sufficiently and thoroughly, in this framework. Whereas the Ottoman medrese history studies would be expected to develop in clothing studies as well, as an important part of it, along with the books read, biographies of lecturers, medrese architecture and the like. Because, while it is possible to talk about the pedagogical, historical, sociological, and anthropological backgrounds of the clothing of the ilmiye [scholarly] class, which was a product of the Ottoman medreses, it is interesting to note that this field has not developed. Therefore, it is obvious that starting to discuss their clothing will pave the way for understanding the Ottoman ilmiye class. Because one cannot deny the fact that clothing has a meaning load in the social sense, on the basis of the particular case of the Ottoman ilmiye. Indeed, both the social and institutional regulations of clothing, and the fact that it creates value and structure within the organization are quite



important.[7] Both veins in a sense, present a kind of institutional openness and clarity. In other words, clothing actually brings the values, carried with the modes of operation while the aforementioned regulations were being made, to a legal platform.

In the final analysis, written and non-written codes of the society was generated in the Ottoman society, as in all cultures and societies. Among these codes, the ones related to clothing take the lead. In time, different clothing codes for different layers of the society has emerged. Such codes have taken shape within the framework of the positions of the individuals, professional groups or social classes, the way they interact and do engage with the others. For instance, cübbes were first embraced by the members of the ilmiye class predominantly, and then it became the distinguishing character of the groups that compose of the ilmiye. The detail not to be missed here is that clothing of the ilmiye constructs a peculiar identity, with its colors, materials and forms. The triple infrastructure has, in a way, shaped the corporate identity of ilmiye. Thus, an unwritten order, and more importantly, a very valuable symbolic language was invented, with the colors and materials used.[8]

In the backdrop of differentiation of the ilmiye through a dress lies a curious Ottoman order mechanism. Because it is quite striking that the persons who were subject to the clothing regulation constituted the 'askerî class' [bureaucratic class]. Indeed, the case of the bureaucratic class, as separate from the members of the ilmiye, lies at the center of understanding the clothing norm. Because clothing, qualifying as a dress or a uniform involves differentiating servants of the sultan from the reaya [subjects]. At a distance, ensuring such a distinction through regulations on clothing can be considered as a quite practical course of conduct. Therefore, the

7 Anat Rafaeli and Michael G. Pratt, "Tailored Meanings: On the Meaning and Impact of Organizational Dress," *The Academy of Management Reviews* XVIII, 1 (1993): 33.

8 Rafaeli, "Tailored Meanings: On the Meaning and Impact of Organizational Dress," 35.

bureaucratic class definition is quite important at this point. What is the bureaucratic class? With the words of Barkan, the definition of askerî class is, "*The actual soldiers who are in active duty and their children, wives and freed slaves, as well as all kinds of paid officers and servants who were appointed by means of a warrant of the sultan as well as retired soldiers, lecturers, imams, muazzins and waqf caretakers, some privileged individuals who were granted a deed of exemption from the sultans that they are released from taxes, and classes which are exempt from service-based extra taxes, such as salt sellers, sharefarmers and miners.*"[9] Apart from this definition, the fact that ilmiye members were also members of the askerî class, even though it was not like the other sections, entitled them to have their lot in the clothing regulations. In this regard, ilmiye members were members of the askerî class and they had an exceptional position as the loyal subjects of the sultan, and legalizers of his decisions. This privileged position was reinforced with clothes and led to a visual identification or classification. Indeed, as noted by Pakalın, *"this word, literally translated as belonging to scholarship, means, as a technical term, those who are in the clothing which is preferred by the ulema. Just like this kind of attires were called "ilmiye clothing", those who get dressed in this fashion were called "ilmiye members" and the higher ranks of this membership was called "ilmiye dignitaries". Although those like imams and preachers without medrese educationwho prefer this clothing were not deemed to be members of ilmiye, those who were appointed as officers in the state offices and put on a turban on their head and wore a cübbe were deemed ilmiye members."*[10] Therefore, it is extremely realistic and pragmatic Ottoman practice that, as in other education traditions, ulema, as an bureaucratic class, had their peculiar clothing, that this clothing had a natural functioning which ensures that medrese people are differentiated from the subjects.



9 Ömer Barkan, "Edirne Askerî Kassamı'na Ait Tereke Defterleri: (1545-1659)," *Belgeler* III, 5-6 (1966): 4.

10 Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 2,* 3rd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1983), 52-53.



FIGURE 4. **Mehmed II [the Conqueror] Up Before of His Teacher Molla Gürani**
Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine 1263, 66b.

Source Problem

There is no doubt that attires of the ulema in general, and particularly those of the medrese attendants, is a subject of the education history. However, shedding light on this issue does not seem to be easy, for two [2] reasons. The leading reason is the fact that no sufficiently qualified attire collections of those periods have made it to the present days. Despite the fact that some examples of dresses and attires exist in some museum collections, they neither belong to the ulema nor are from the latest periods. Indeed, examples from the clothing history in the museum collections are composed of those belonging to the royal circles. Therefore, creating a literature through tangible and primary sources of attires does not seem to be possible. On the other hand, publications on the clothing history of the Ottomans are based mostly on what is left from the royal circles. As examples of the clothes of the non-royal circles, particularly of the commons are limited, studies on this area remained limited. Apart from the clothing examples that could make into the present, information on the aforementioned elements were mostly derived through interpretation of descriptions.[1]

[1] Ökkeş Hakan Çetin, "On Yedinci Yüzyıl Kıyafet Albümlerinde Osmanlı Erkek Giyim-Kuşamı," *The Journal of Academic Social Sciences Studies* 53, II (2016): 260.

That clothes were not recorded in the Ottoman clothing customs, made classification of clothes impossible. As clothes of persons who passed away were almost never kept, it was not possible for any collections to make it into the present. Among the clothes mentioned above, as the usage of clothes such as entari, kaftan, mintan or dolama, for instance is not known precisely, information on such clothes remains unclear as well.[2] The second reason is the lack of written or drawn sources to tackle the issue. Therefore, one can claim that the deficiencies in both areas are the obstacles of establishment of a literature and publications. Thus, the relevant field can be claimed to be deficient, insufficient, and inexact. For this reason, any initiative to be taken for this field, in which no evidence exist, must be limited to assumptions.

Another problem that is evident in understanding the issue is that how the clothes belonging to the ilmiye class would be used is not known, in the form of a set of rules, with all the sizes, colors, stitches and the like, together with the limitations of areas of use, place and time. Yes, some clothing regulations may be found in the Mühimme Defterleri [State Affairs Registry/Mühimme Registers] or kanunnames [codex]. However, they can only reflect what is general, and far from possessing clarity. Therefore, resources through which the information on the clothes belonging to the Ottoman ulema or ilmiye would be assessed are limited and constrained.

Classification that can be made for the clothes are dependent on the narratives in the archive documents and chronicles, descriptions in the collections of biographies, orders in the codes, miniatures in the manuscripts and engravings and paintings as depicted by foreign painters and authors. In this regard, creating a connection between the aforementioned sources and clothes, particularly those in the miniatures, constitutes a speculative action in itself. However, speculative as they may be, these assessments must be seen as valuable, as assumptions. Otherwise, providing clear and

[2] Lale Görünür and Semra Ögel, "Osmanlı Kaftanları ile Entarilerinin Farkları ve Kullanılışları," *İTÜ Dergisi/b-Sosyal Bilimler* III, 1 (2006): 64.

concise definitions and measures regarding the clothes of the ilmiye class is almost impossible. After all, sources on the clothes worn by the Ottoman ilmiye, can be subjected to the following classification:

ARCHIVE DOCUMENTS

Firstly, documents in the Ottoman Archives and the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives can be considered as primary sources. Besides, inheritance records must be seen as important sources as well, in that they contain the inheritance left by the ulema, and quite precious information. Indeed, clothing preferences of the ulema, names of fabrics, colors, clothing types and data on many other areas can be found in these records. In this regard, qadi registries contain unique examples.[3]

Besides, the Mühimme Defterleri, in which decisions taken in the Divan-ı hümayun, also contains valuable information regarding clothing regulations, among the important sources in the Ottoman Archives. In particular, importance of the Mühimme Defterleri is unquestionable, in terms of pursuing the clothing regulations for the subjects, in social life. Indeed, it can be learnt from the provisions in the Mühimme Defterleri that rebels would wear clothes of the 'suhtes' that is, students, during the Celali Rebellions [15th-16th centuries].

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[3] For some studies, see: Ömer Barkan, "Edirne Askerî Kassamı'na Ait Tereke Defterleri (1545-1659)," *Belgeler* III, 5-6 (1966): 1-479. İsmail E. Erünsal, "Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinin Arşiv Kaynakları IV: Lami'i Çelebi'nin Terekesi," *Journal of Turkish Studies-Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* XIV (1990): 179-194. Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı İdare, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihiyle İlgili Belgeler Bursa Kadı Sicillerinden Seçmeler: Köy Sicil ve Terekeleri," *Belgeler* XV, 19 (1993): 23-167. Said Özer, *Askeri Kassama Ait 17. Asır İstanbul Tereke Defterleri (Sosyo-Ekonomik Tahlil)* (İstanbul: OSAV, 1995). Saadet Maydaer, "XVII. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Emekli Bir Kadı: Baldırzade Oğlu Derviş Mehmed Efendi ve Serveti," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* XVII, 2 (2008): 569-592. Jülide Akyüz, "Osmanlı Ulemasından Üç Efendi'nin Terekeleri," *Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi* X, 36 (2008):188-200. Coşkun Yılmaz, "Şânizâde Mehmed Atâullah Efendi'nin Terekesi," *Nuran Yıldırım Armağan Kitabı: Tıp Tarihinin Peşinde Bir Ömür* (İstanbul: Beşikçizade Tıp ve İnsani Bilimler Merkezi, 2016), 97-113.

Books and documents covering the expenditures and financial records, which were kept to follow up gifts and their production, constitute the archive documents that include another form of valuable information. Indeed, preference of 'hil'ats' such as kaftan, by the Ottoman court as a form of control created a sector. Records of phases of the gifts bestowed for various reasons, from the time they were produced until they were bestowed, as well as their manufacturing costs can be deemed valuable in this regard. Because the clothes bestowed to the ulema as gifts, the places they came from, and of course, descriptions and names of these clothes are all recorded in these sources.

MANUSCRIPTS

Another group of sources through which clothes of the Ottoman ilmiye is composed of the miniatures found in the written or copied manuscripts. Manuscripts are of importance for two [2] reasons. The first one is that the miniatures in them contain descriptions that can be called realistic, though relatively, of the ulema clothes. And the second one is that they contain portrayals of clothes, within the information provided on the lives of ulema. Therefore, collections of biographies constitute the primary sources to be appealed in this regard.[4] Collections of biographies, which provide vivid examples and almost up-to-date information for the relevant periods, introduce poets, based on their life stories, and gives examples from their poems. In this framework, clothing customs can be traces as well, though rarely, among some information regarding the private lives



[4] Mustafa İsen, *Künhü'l-ahbâr'ın Tezkire Kısmı* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1994). Mustafa İsen, *Sehî Bey Tezikresi: Heşt-Behişt* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1998). Abdüllatif Çelebi, Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-şu'arâ ve Tabsıratü'n-nuzamâ: (İnceleme-Metin)*, ed. Rıdvan Canım (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 2000). Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin*, ed. Filiz Kılıç (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010).

of poets. Yet, there is a, relatively, conceptual use regarding clothes, among such valuable sources.

There are valuable miniatures in some manuscripts written by the authors for their own narratives, apart from their field of research, as well. Such miniatures are found in the manuscripts presented to the royal court. Said miniatures manifest themselves in the form of descriptions of persons, portrayals of the cities in the campaign routes or depictions of military activities, depending on their subject matters. Therefore, manuscripts, designed and illustrated by muralists can also be deemed quite valuable in terms of the ulema depictions that they contain, for various occasions.[5]

Manuscripts containing ulema clothes can be divided into two [2] categories as well. The first category is biography books, and it contains ulema or 'şemail' [general appearances] depictions. And the second category is composed of chronological manuscripts presented to the sultan. Indeed, miniatures depicting campaigns, weddings, and other activities, belonging to the ilmiye members in mass compositions are interesting.[6] In this frame-

[5] *Şemail-i Âl-i Osman*. TSMK, 3. Ahmet Kütüphanesi 3592. Seyyid Vehbi Hüseyin bin Abdullah, *Surname-i Vehbi*. TSMK, 3. Ahmet Kütüphanesi 3593. Seyyid Vehbi Hüseyin bin Abdullah, *Surname-i Vehbi*. TSMK, 3. Ahmet Kütüphanesi 3594. Seyyid Lokman bin Hüseyin el-Urmevi, *Şehname-i Selim Han*. TSMK, 3. Ahmet Kütüphanesi 3595. Mehmed bin Abdülgani bin Emirşah, *Diwan-ı Nadiri.* TSMK, Hazine 889. Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*. TSMK, Hazine 1263. Feridun Ahmed Bey, *Nüzhetü'l-esrari'l-ahbar der Sefer-i Sigetvar*. TSMK, Hazine 1339. *Surname-i Hümayun*. TSMK, Hazine 1344. Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Nusretname*. TSMK, Hazine 1365. Meali Mir Seyyid Ali bin Muzaffer et-Tusi, *Hünkarname*. TSMK, Hazine 1417. *Şahname*. TSMK, Hazine 1485. *Süleymanname*. TSMK, Hazine 1517. *Hünername*. TSMK, Hazine 1523. *Hünername*. TSMK, Hazine 1524. *Kiyafetü'l-insaniye fi Şemaili'l-Osmaniye*. TSMK, Hazine 1563. Nisari, *Şehname-i Sultan Mehmed*. TSMK, Hazine 1609. Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Künhü'l-ahbar*. TSMK, Revan 1293. Âşık Çelebi, *Meşairü'ş-şuara*. Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri 772. Seyyid Lokman bin Hüseyin el-Urmevi. *Şehinşahname*, İÜK. F.1404.

[6] Mecdi Mehmed Efendi, *Hadaiku'ş-şakaik*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989). Nevizade Atai, *Hadaiku'l-hakaik fi Tekmileti'ş-şakaik*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989). Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi, *Vekayiü'l-fudala*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989). Fındıklılı İsmet Efendi, *Tekmiletü'ş-şakaik fî Hakk-ı ehli'l-hakaik*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989).

work, Western manuscripts constitute another interesting manuscript source in which Ottoman ilmiye members are portrayed.[7]

FOREIGN SOURCES

Foreign sources refer to the works which contain pictures or engravings. All along, voyages towards the lands ruled by the Ottomans, or the works published by painters within the resident embassy delegations or those who had never been to these lands, but drew pictures based on narratives, contain important depictions regarding the ulema attires. One can argue that these sources, though not direct sources, are valuable for validating the forms of clothes in sources. Despite the fact that original copies of these sources can be accessed,[8] some other sources were published.[9]

7 For some Western manuscripts, see: Lambert de Vos, *Türkisches Kostümbuchs*. Bremen State and University Library, msor 009. Heinrich Hendrowski, *Bilderaus dem türkischen Volksleben*. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626. *An Ottoman Album*. Oxford University Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. Or. 430. *Türkisches Manierenbuch*. Kassel University Library, 4° Ms. Hist. 31. *Rålambska Dräktboken,* Kungliga biblioteket, Cod.Rål. 8:o nr 10. Peter Mundy. *A briefe relation of the Turckes, their kings, Emperors, or Grandsigneurs, their conquests, religion, customes, habbits, etc.* British Museum, 1974,0617,0.13. *The Habits of the Grand Signor's Court*. British Museum, 1928,0323,0.46. Raynal, *Figures Naturelles de Turquie*. 1688. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, IFN-8455919.

8 For some prominent works, see: Luigi da Zara Bassano, *Costumi et I Modi Particolaridella Vitae de' Turchi* (Roma: [n.p.], 1545). Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Moeurs et coustumesturcs des sinés d'aprèsnature en 1533* ([Antwerp]: [n.p.], 1553). Nicolas de Nicolay, *Der erstttheil der Schiffart un draisz in die Türckey und gegen Orient* (Nürnberg: [n.p.], 1572). Hans Weigel, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum tam virorum quam foeminarum sigulari arte depicti*, (Nuremberg: [n.p.], 1577). Abraham De Bruyn, *Habitus variorum orbis gentium. Habitz de nations estranges* ([Coloniae]: [Caspar Rütz], 1581). Cesare Vecellio, *Degli habiti antichi, et moderni di diverse parti del mondo, libridve* (Venetia: Presso Damian Zenaro, 1590). Pietro Bertelli, *Vite degli'imperatori de Turchicon le loroeffiggieintalgiate in Rame* (Vicenza: [Appresso Giorgio Greco], 1599).

9 Franz Taeschner, *Stambuler Hof und Volksleben ein Turkisches Miniaturenalbumaus dem 17. Jahrhundert* (Hannover: Heinz Lafaire, 1925). MajdaTadeusz, "The Ralamb'ın Türk Kıyafetleri Albümü," *Alay-ı Hümayun İsveç Elçisi Ralamb'ın İstanbul Ziyareti ve Resimleri*

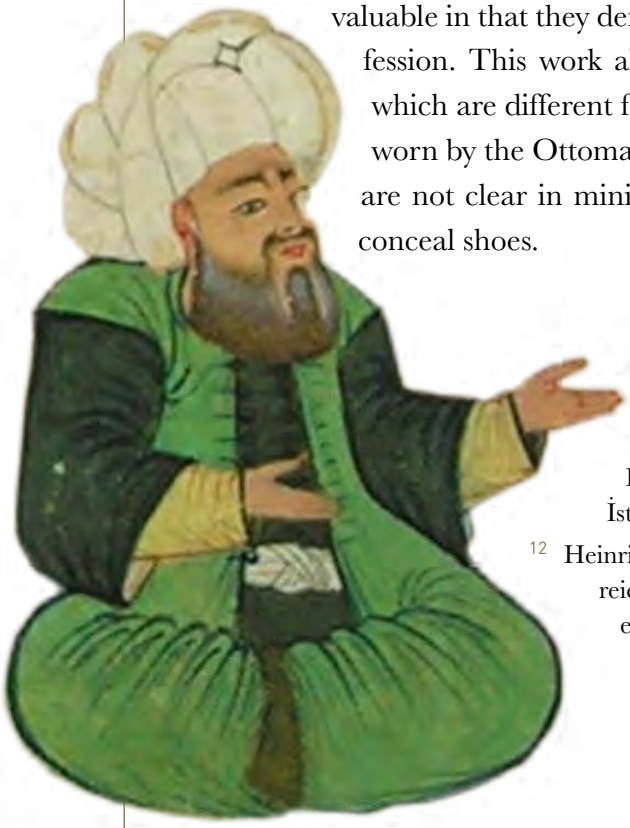
Ottoman miniatures recorded events as a form of books of art, and enriched chronicling with visuals, while the Western sources pursued a more documentary path. The Ottoman political structure was annotated with perspective, clothing, and color facilities in miniatures. When it comes to the Western sources, the main source of paintings is the impregnable curiosity towards the East and the accompanying desire to learn and the notion to know virtually anything. Of course, the paintings which are the subject of the study must be seen as products of learning. The Ottomans, while describing the society they lived in, within the framework of what they know about the art of painting and the techniques they applied, they were already witnesses of what they were drawing. However, the Western sources acquired such information through diplomatic missions or through getting inspired from such sources or narrations. Similarities in the lines and postures in the ulema drawings particularly after the 17th century must be a result of this. Indeed, such drawings look almost identical.[10] Curiosity of Europe towards the Ottomans, as a land of glory was sustained with intensive publications and documentation. The visuals which were initially

1657–1658, trans. Ali Özdamar (İstanbul: KitapYayınevi, 2003), 196–265. Nermin Sinemoğlu, "Onyedinci Yüzyıl İlk Çeyreğine Tarihlenen Bir Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümü," *Aslanapa Armağanı* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 1996), 169-182. Günsel Renda, "17. Yüzyıldan Bir Grup Kıyafet Albümü," *17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kültür ve Sanatı, 19–20 Mart 1998 Sempozyum Bildirileri* (İstanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği, 1998), 153-178. Kudret Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler* (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2019).

[10] Jean Baptiste Vanmour, *De Eerste Schooldag*, Rijksmuseum, SK-A-2005. Jean Baptiste Vanmour, *De Kazasker*, Rijksmuseum, SK-A-2022. Georges Jacques Gatine, *Costumes Orientaux Inédits, Dessinés d'Après Nature en 1796, 1797, 1798, 1802 et 1808, Gravés à l'eau-forte: Avec des Explications* (Paris: [n.p.], 1813). Octavien Dalvimart and William Alexander, *The Costume of Turkey* (London: William Miller, 1804). Jean (Giovanni) Brindesi, *Elbise-i Atîka: Elbice-i Atika: (Musée des Anciens Costumes Turcs de Constantinople): Osmanlı Kıyafetleri*, ed. H. Ahmet Arslantürk and M. Mert Sunar (İstanbul: Metamorfoz Yayıncılık, 2013). Arif Mehmed Paşa, *Mecmua-i Tesavir-i Osmaniye: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Makamlar ve Kıyafetler* (İstanbul: Galatasaray Holding, 1999). For the chronological and cultural background of this condition, see: Charlotte Jirousek and Sara Catterall, *Ottoman Dress and Design in the West: A Visual History of Cultural Exchange* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019), Section 3 and 4.

created based on secondhand information, started to take form with the testimonies of individuals, as well as the painting artists in the Ottoman lands, domiciled within the scope of embassies. However, when the visuals with the Ottomans as the subject matter are reviewed, one would notice that there were some repetitions in time. It can be claimed that this indicates some kind of copying. In fact, for the persons, drawings and motives in question, even the posture and clothing details are repeated.[11]

In addition to the information above, 'Bilderaus dem türkischen Volksleben' [I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626] can also be given particularly as an example of foreign works, for its content. Probably the most realistic sketches in terms of the details of the clothes used by the ulema in the Ottoman period are found in the work titled I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626, which was commissioned by Bartolomeo von Pezzen, the ambassador of Holy Roman Empire [962-1806] to İstanbul.[12] Indeed, the paintings, which are assumed to have been made by Heinrich Hendrowski, though not certainly, constitute an important source for understanding the Ottoman world of clothing. All the details in the paintings can be deemed valuable in that they demonstrate differences in both religion and profession. This work also paves the way for producing assumptions which are different from miniatures, in terms of the types of shoes worn by the Ottoman ulema. This is because the patterns and cuts are not clear in miniatures, and clothes spread in a way that they conceal shoes.



[11] For more examples and considerations on similarities, see: Nurdan Küçükhasköylü, "Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümleri (1770-1810)" (PhD Dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2010).

[12] Heinrich Hendrowski, *Bilder aus dem türkischen Volksleben*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, I Turchi. Codex. Vindobonensis 8626. For printed version, see: Alberto Arbasinoand Franz Unterkircher, *I Turchi: Codex: Vindobonensis 8626* (Parma: Franco Maria Ricci, 1971).

STUDIES

The last item to be appealed to for the clothes of the Ottoman ulema is the studies, which can be considered as secondary sources. These works are, in general terms, works created based on the aforementioned sources. However, it seems rather less likely to encounter works targeting 15th and 16th centuries, when written sources were relatively scarcer. Therefore, it can be claimed that most of the works belong to the late periods when visual and material elements became more abundant. Yet, the first publication on the historical roots of the clothing norm of the ilmiye, though indirectly, must be Ahmet Çelebi's work, titled 'İslam Eğitim-Öğretim Tarihinde Müderrislerin Kıyafetleri' [Clothes of the Lecturers in the Islamic Education History].[13] A literature of the studies on the Ottoman clothing has been created, though relatively and indirectly.[14] Within this literature,

[13] Ahmet Çelebi, "İslâm Eğitim-Öğretim Târihinde Müderrislerin Kıyafetleri," [trans.] Ali Yardım, *Fikir ve Sanatta Hareket* 6, 113 (1976): 42-45.

[14] For some studies, see: Tahsin Öz, *Türk Kumaş ve Kadifeleri* (İstanbul: Ekonomi ve Ticaret Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1946). Emin Cenkmen, *Osmanlı Sarayı ve Kiyafetleri* (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1948). Süheyl Ünver, *Geçmiş Yüzyıllarda Kiyafet Resimlerimiz* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1958). Ananiasz A. Zajaczkowski, "Les Costumes Turcs d'apres un album de la collectionpolonaise," In *Atti del Secondo CongressoInternazionale di Arte Turca. Venezia, 26–29 settembre 1963*, ed. A. Bambaci (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Turcologia, 1965), 289–93. Reşat Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim, Kuşam ve Süsleme Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Sümerbank, 1967). Hilde Kurz and Otto Kurz, "The Turkish Dresses in the Costume-book of Rubens," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* XXIII, (1972): 275-290. Nurettin Sevin, *Onüç Asırlık Kıyafet Tarihine Bir Bakış* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Basımevi, 1973). Jennifer Scarce, "Turkish Fashion in Transition," *Costume* 14, (1980): 18-29. Marianna Yerasimos and Ali Özdamar, "16. Yüzyıl Batı Kostüm Kitaplarında Türk ve Doğu Figürleri," *TTOK Belleteni* 74, (1986): 20-23. Önder Küçükerman, *Türk Giyim Sanayinin Tarihi Kaynakları* (İstanbul: GSD Dış Ticaret, 1996). Önder Küçükerman, "Türk Giyim Tasarımının Tarihi Kaynakları," *Kültür ve Sanat* 38, (1997): 74–80. Charlotte Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Latter Ottoman Empire," in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire: 1550-1922: An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000): 201-242. İzzet Kumbaracılar, *Serpuşlar* (İstanbul: Turing Otomobil Kurumu Yayınları, 2003). Suraiya Faroqhi and Christopher K. Neumann (Ed.), *Ottoman Costumes From Textile to Identity* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2004). Leslie

masters theses are quite interesting.[15]

Marie Schick, "The Place of the Dress in Pre-modern Costume Albumes," in *Ottoman Costumes: Form Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christopher K. Neumann (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2004), 93-101. Christopher K. Neumann, "How did A Vizier Dress in Eighteen Century?," *Ottoman Costumes: Frorm Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christopher K. Neumann (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2004), 181-217. Lale Görünür and Semra Öğel, "Osmanlı Kaftanları ile Entarilerinin Farkları ve Kullanılışları," *İTÜ Dergisi/b-Sosyal Bilimler* III, 1 (2006): 59–68. Bronwen Wilson. "Foggie diverse di vestire de' Turchi: Turkish Costume Illustration and Cultural Translation," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37, 1 (2007): 97-139. Halil İnalcık, *Türkiye Tekstil Tarihi Üzerine Araştırmalar* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş BankasıYayınları. 2008). Nejdet İşli, *Ottoman Headgears* (İstanbul: Nadir Kitap, 2009). Emine Koca, "18. ve 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Erkek Modası," *Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti Akademik AraştırmalarDergisi*, 7 (2009): 63-81. Charlotte Jirousek, "Historical Survey of Textiles and Dress in Turkey," in *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Central and Southwest Asia: 5*, ed. Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood (New York: Berg Publishers, 2010), 113-120. Nancy Micklewirght, "Ottoman Dress," in *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Central and Southwest Asia: 5*, ed. Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood (New York: Berg Publishers, 2010), 126-133. Charlotte Jirousek, "The Kaftan and Its Origins," in *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Central and Southwest Asia: 5*, ed. Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood (New York: Berg Publishers, 2010), 134-138. Hülya Tezcan, "Royal Dress Preserved at the Topkapi Museum," in *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Central and Southwest Asia: 5,* ed. Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood (New York: Berg Publishers, 2010), 139-147. F. Dilek Himam, "16. Yüzyılda Giysi Tarihi Yazımı Üzerine: Giysilerde Doğu-Batı Etkileşimi ve Güç," *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 29, (2013): 91-116. Charlotte Colding Smith, "'Depicted with Extraordinary Skill': Ottoman Dress in Sixteenth-Century German Printed Costume Books," *Textile History* 44, 1 (2013): 25-50. Patricia L. Baker, "Islamic Honorific Garments," *Costume* 25, 1 (2013): 25-35. Ehdab Hüsni Celal, *el-İmammetü'l-Osmaniyye fi Türkiyya ve Mısr fi Dav'i't-Tuhafi't-Tatbikiyye ve Tesaviri'l-Mahtutat* (Kahire: Darü'l-Afaki'l-Arabiyye, 2016). Gwendolyn Gollaço, "Dressing a City's Demeanour: Ottoman Costume Albums and the Portrayal of Urban Identity in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Textile History* 48, 2 (2017): 248-267. Charlotte A. Jirousek and Sara Catterall, *Ottoman Dress and Design in the West: A Visiual History of Cultural Exchange* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019). Yılmaz Faraşoğlu, "Osmanlılarda Erkek Modası," in *4. Uluslararası Bilimsel Araştırmalar Kongresi (14-17 Şubat 2019/Yalova) (UBAK): Tam Bildiri Metin Kitabı 3: Sosyal Bilimler,* ed. Behsat Karaca, Emel İslamoğlu, Esra Kirik (Yalova: UBAK, 2019), 83-98.



15 Emine Akşare, "Osmanlı Devrinde Halk ve Askeri Kıyafetlerin Tetkiki"

One can claim that clothing solutions of the Ottoman court residents and the governing elites in general attract attention in the Ottoman clothing studies. In this regard, no work or assessment on the Ottoman ilmiye has been encountered. A great majority of the works were aiming at the court and its circles, and not studies made within the framework of sociological and professional formations. Indeed, the studies in question took shape as a museum inventory study either on the basis of materials or products. It can be claimed that some of the Ottoman ilmiye class members are mentioned in some of those valuable works, either as a separate chapter or a reference. Several works should be shortly mentioned here as examples: For instance, the documentary publication by Ömer Lütfü Barkan in the Belgeler journal in 1979, though it did not aim at clothing, can provide a wider perspective towards the clothing of the court. 'Melbusat' that is, the clothing materials bought for the court members, and the 'inamat' [bonuses/blessings] bestowed by the court must be deemed valuable, to give an idea.[16]

On the other hand, the clothing styles of sheikh al-Islam and qadiasker , which Nureddin Sevin indirectly exemplifies in his study among the 16th century ilmiye class members do not seem to be in accordance with the tradition. According to Sevin, based on a depiction in Süleymanname, it is claimed that the sheikh al-Islam's head bore a laced buttoned robe, along



(Undergraduate Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, [n.d]. SemahatArtuç, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kıyafetler" (Undergraduate Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1956). Erol Güngör, "16. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kıyafetleri" (Undergraduate Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1971). Emin Ergün, "Onyedinci Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kıyafetleri" (Undergraduate Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1974). Hamide Dolanmaz, "Osmanlı Cemiyetinde Elbise Nizamları Hakkında Bir Araştırma (XVI-XVII. Yüzyıl)" (Undergraduate Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1974). Şevki Kaygusuz, "On Sekizinci Yüz Yıl Osmanlı Kıyafetleri" (Undergraduate Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1976). Zeki Tekin, "Teşrifatda Giydirilen Hil'atlar" (Undergraduate Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1982).

16 Ömer Lütfü Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına Ait Muhasebe Defterleri," *Belgeler* IX, 13 (1979): 1-380.



FIGURE 5. **Two Students Wearing Tiraz and Turban**

Kitabü'l-Haşaiş [De Materia Medica], TSMK, 3. Ahmet Kütüphanesi, 2127, 2a.



FIGURE 6. **Teacher Giving Lecture**

Kitabü'l-Haşaiş [De Materia Medica], TSMK, 3. Ahmet Kütüphanesi, 2127, 1b.

with Selimi turban.[17] Indeed, despite the fact that he has other accurate explanations, it is interesting to note that he had propositions against the traditional ilmiye clothing style, asserting the possibility of inserting a dip pen inside the belt in qadiasker's clothes.[18] Despite the fact that he proceeds from the 17th century examples, Ökkeş Hakan Çetin's general but qualitatively detailed analyses on clothes are interesting.[19] Another interesting work on the Ottoman clothes, particularly head dresses was written as a student's assignment in 2012. This short and well-organized study points out how the Ottoman hierarchy is organized through clothes and colors.[20]

17 For an example, see: Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler*, 100.

18 Nureddin Sevin, *On Üç Asırlık Türk Kıyâfet Târihine Bir Bakış* (İstanbul: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Kültür Yayınları, 1973), 78-79.

19 Çetin, "On Yedinci Yüzyıl Kıyafet Albümlerinde Osmanlı Erkek Giyim-Kuşamı," 259-264.

20 Connor H. Richardson, "The Coverings of an Empire: An Examination of Ottoman Headgear from 1500 to 1829," *Gettysburgh College Student Publications*. 104. Accessed on 09 April 2019. https://cupola.gettysburg.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=&httpsredir=1&article=1182&context=student_scholarship

Historical Background

It should not be hard to presume that the ilmiye members were trying to resemble the Prophet Muhammad not only morally, but also in terms of formal conditions. Indeed, the Prophet Muhammad's life was taken as a model in all forms, and such modeling was recommended to the Muslims as well. İlmiye tried to embody such modeling in both their behaviors and forms, under all conditions. Therefore, one should understand the clothing norms of the ilmiye in this framework. As per the sources, there is no cloth which was particularly commended or recommended by the Prophet Muhammad. Yet, hil'at is considered as the burdah that the Prophet Muhammad gave as present.[1] Likewise, it is stated in sources that he preferred loose and large clothes, also called as 'djellabah' for their comfort. Yet, it is stated that the Prophet Muhammad wore a dress called Şam [Damascus] or Rum [Anatolia] cübbe during the Expedition of Tabuk [630]. Because it is known that he wore cübbes made of cotton or wool; in fact, it is also stated that he wore such a tight cübbe that he was unable fold his sleeves, in Buhari [scholar of hadith] [d. 870] and Müslim [scholar of hadith] [d.

1 Patricia L. Baker, "Islamic Honorific Garments," *Costume* 25, 1 (2013): 25.



FIGURE 7. **Akıncı [Raider] and His Family**
Albrecht Dürer, *The Turkish Family*,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. 19.73.97.

875]. Besides, it should be stated here that the main issue for the Ottoman ilmiye was that the Prophet Muhammad liked the white color and recommended the sahaba to dress in white, as well.[2] Indeed, as it will be seen in the examples below, it gradually became the dominant color in the clothes of the Ottoman ilmiye.

In this regard, it should not be hard to assume that the clothing norm of the Ottoman ilmiye class emerged spontaneously. Like in many other fields, one can speak of the existence of an inherited tradition in the clothing of the ulema class. With Muslims starting to establish their states, bureaucratic structures have followed this order. And bureaucratic order must have brought along institutionalization. As the first stated founded by Muslims, the Umayyads [661-750] and the Abbasids [750-1258] have brought the bureaucratic order to a certain level of maturity and transferred this culture to the states that have subsequently become visible. The Seljuks [1040-1308] as the most important establishment of the region, are the founders of the Ottomans. Therefore, as in the state tradition, the social and cultural order have been transmitted to the Ottomans as a succession for the Umayyads,

2 Cengiz Kallek, "Cübbe (Fıkıh)," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* VIII (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1993), 103.

one cannot speak of a regulation directly aiming at ilmiye clothes However, as the capital was moved from Medine [Medina al-Munawara] to Şam [Damascus] with the Umayyads takeover, a series of changes occurred in the bureaucratic state order as well. The non-Muslim clothing regulations, which were implemented in the Ottomans as well, had its first bureaucratic foundations laid in the Umayyad period. While the bureaucracy was being established, hierarchies were created, the hierarchies in the court and daily life was made visible with clothing norms. For this purpose, ateliers which produce tiraz were established in the court.[3]

Surely, clothing norm had a peculiar character. Indeed, this quality can be related to an identity linked to the work definition. In the final analysis, it should be remembered that the examiner quality of the dress is used to indicate the work itself. This should be construed as an indicator of both the quality and the quantity of the work itself. As an example, Qadi Shurayh [d.699?], qadi of Kufe [Kufa] reportedly handled cases in masjid during normal times, and when it is a religious festival or when there is adverse weather conditions, he handled them at home. What is particularly interesting here is that Qadi Shurayh reportedly wore a 'special cloak' and a white turban, when he was handling the cases.[4] Thus, a connection between the work done and the 'kisve'[kiswah] was established since the earliest periods, and a special attention was paid to ensure that this is the case.

The Abbasids, who came to power after the Umayyads, continued the bureaucratic order in Bağdat [Baghdad], and redesigned the social classes and the bureaucratic structure through clothes. Unlike in the Umayyads, ilmiye members existed as a bureaucratic class in the Abbasids, and the ulema was included in the bureaucratic governing elites. Iranian traditions became visible in clothing, and black color became one of the symbols

3 Madeleine Pelner Cosman and Linda G. Jones, *Handbook to Life in the Medieval World* (New York: Facts on File, 2008), 848.

4 Şükrü Özen, "Kâdî Şureyh," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XXIV (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001), 121.

of the Abbasids.[5] Although the Abbasids rule came to an end in 1258, black color continued to be used in clothes by the Sunni religious ulema even after this date as it demonstrates the strength and hegemony of the administration, as advised by Nizamulmulk [d. 1092].[6]

In terms of clothing, development of clothes as a complementary element of the existing conditions is a testimony of institutionalization, as mentioned several times above. For example, it can be claimed that one of the first examples of the clothing rules that can be observed since the first the first practices was codified during the Abbasid Caliph Mu'tazid [d. 902] period. Indeed, it is known that legal cases were heard by qadis in mosques, at least in his term, but he abolished this practice. In this framework, however, it has been revealed that qadis were required to wear a black cloak and a long headdress wrapped with a black turban, while they were performing their official duties, during the Mu'tazid period. Likewise, it is reported that Abbasid qadis would wear a black cloak and wrapped around black turbans around their heads during the hearings and that they also wore a black headdress which is not clearly specified.[7]

The result to be deducted out of the aforementioned two practices is that the Abbasid sultan made some changes both in practice and formal requirements when it came to state affairs. Indeed, the fact that qadis were required to wear a distinctive dress during the hearings with this preference can be deemed important.[8] Indeed, along with this information, it is learnt that the Umayyad and Abbasid era ilmiye members wore a shirt-like dress called kamis, a long dress with a slit on the front. This kamis can be deemed as a form of underwear, given that kaba and aba would be worn

5 Ulrich Marzolph and Richard van Leeuwen, *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia: 1* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 526.

6 Patricia L. Baker, *Islamic Textile* (London: British Museum, 1995), 50.

7 Hakkı Dursun Yıldız, "Abbâsiler," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* I (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988), 40.

8 Yıldız, "Abbâsiler," 40.

as an outwear. It is known that the kamis were produced out of different fabrics at that time, to make it suitable for winter and summer.[9]

Despite the fact that the lines above stated that a clothing norm was developed, one can argue that, in general, Muslims did not take particular care of the differences in clothing, so that the education notion did not privilege any group or community. Nevertheless, we have some information that Abu Yusuf [d. 798] among the Imamayn introduced a clothing regulation to distinguish the ulema from the public, at least through their clothes. For example, sources reveal that a headdress called daniyye, known as a long headdress, which ceased to exist towards the 14th century was worn by qadis until Caliph Mustain-Billah [d. 866], and that it was a peculiar headdress for qadis.[10] The turban, also called as imame, is known to have been placed down to the upper ears, and at times, down to the cheeks during the Abbasids era.[11] Unlike what is understood today, in the Abbasids, taylasan, which is a headdress that covers the head and spread over the shoulders and the back, was worn by qadis and the faqihs, experts of religion. Indeed, it is narrated that Abu Yusuf made it obligatory for qadis to wear taylasan. Despite the fact that taylasan was a symbol of qadis and faqihs, it is understood that ordinary people wore it as well.[12] One can claim that Iranian clothes may have an influence on the fact that taylasan was seen as an ulema attire especially among the Abbasid qadis and faqihs.[13] According to the said regula-



9 Metin Yılmaz, "Emevive Abbasi Dönemi Resmi Kıyafetleri," *Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* XXVI, 26-27 (2008): 248.

10 Muhammad Manazir Ahsan, "Social Life Under The Abbasids" (PhD Dissertation, University of London, 1973), 56 and 87.

11 Ahsan, "Social Life Under The Abbasids," 57.

12 Ahsan, "Social Life Under The Abbasids," 71.

13 Yedida Kalfon Stilman, *Arab Dress: A Short History: From the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 71.

tion, black turban and taylasan became or made a tradition for the ulema. Probably, after this practice, similar clothes became the medrese members' clothes in various geographies where Muslims lived, though with some minor alterations.[14]

It would not be surprising to see that clothing was used as a determinant element in hierarchy and institutionalization in the Seljuks, which became the established power of the Middle East after the Abbasids. The Nizamiye Medreses, the first examples of the medrese institution [first medrese d. 1067] should be remembered in this regard. Becauseit is understood that the lecturers appointed to the Nizamiye Medreses, for example, would receive a black cloak, turban and scarf, as a sign of their duty, and for them to use them while performing their duties. Thus, the lecturers appointed to the Nizamiye Medreses would be required to wear a black cloak, and they would receive a turban and a scarf as a gift.[15] According to another source, the lecturer would receive a dress, consisting of a 'navy-blue 'tarha' and a black 'uhba', upon the approval of the appointment by the caliph, as a symbolic sign of the appointment.[16] It should be also remembered that, when a lecturer appointed to the medrese resigns, he would be obliged to return to the clothes presented to him.[17]

Since the earlier periods, clothing norm corresponded to a hierarchy or order. One can understand from the regulations on the clothes of the couriers of the sultans that clothing norm is taken seriously in court hierarchy,

14 Ahmed Çelebi, *İslamda Eğitim-Öğretim Tarihi*, trans. Ali Yardım (İstanbul: DamlaYayınevi, [n.d.]), 279; Nebi Bozkurt, "Müderris," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XXXI (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2006), 467.

15 İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 3rd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 163.

16 M. Asad Talas, *Nizamiye Medresesi ve İslâm'da Eğitim-Öğretim*, trans. Sadık Cihan (Samsun: Etüt Yayınları, 2000), 48.

17 Abdülkerim Özaydın, "Nizâmiye Medreseleri," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XXXIII (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2007), 189. Ali Mazaheri, *Ortaçağda Müslümanların Yaşayışları*, trans. Bahriye Üçok (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1973), 166.

as in many other areas during the Seljuks era. That courtiers in the Seljuks wore a top dress called 'mubettana' along with a cloak with open front, can be considered as a sign of what has been said above.[18]

According to Abu Muhammad al-Makrizi [d. 1442], another example was that ceremonial dresses called hil'at would be worn in the Mamelukes, [1250-1517] who ruled concurrently with the Ottomans, and they were granted as a prize. Among those who received these hil'ats, which were peculiar to ceremonies, were bureaucrats, active soldiers as well as the ulema.[19] In this regard, it is understood that clothing with a social justification found its place in the Ottoman order as well. Therefore, along with the religious approach, it is not surprising that clothing found an area of implementation in the social plane as well. All along, clothing meant a regulation in social structure in the Ottomans, as in the other cases. Because, since the earliest periods, such regulations are encountered. conversion of the headdresses of the soldiers from red to white by Alaeddin Bey [d. 1331], son of Osman Gazi's [d. 1326] can be cited as one of the earliest examples of a clothing norm.[20] Yet, the first important official regulation regarding the Ottoman ilmiye is the hierarchy of ulema and the relevant clothing norms found in the Kanunname-i Âl-i Osman [Law Code of the House of Osman], compiled by Mehmed II [the Conqueror] [d. 1481].



On the other hand, it does not seem possible to draw a connection between the clothing regulations for the Ottoman ilmiye, and the Prophet Muhammad's sunnah. Indeed, one should contemplate on the historical tradition behind the clothing allowances paid to the students in medreses, or the cloak and turban gifts presented to the lecturer. Of course, one

18 Nebi Bozkurt, "Nedim," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XXXII (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2006), 510.

19 Baker, "Islamic Honorific Garments," 27.

20 Mehmet İpşirli, "Kıyafet (Osmanlı Dönemi)," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XXV (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2002), 510.

can assume that the tradition initiated with the Nizamiye Medreses, as well as the bureaucratic approach and the prevalent clothing notion of the era lies behind this approach. Along with these foundations, another issue to be thought over is that the Prophet Muhammad's sunnah changed over time and found a wide area of implementation in the Ottoman ilmiye. It will not be hard to draw a connection between the Prophet Muhammad's bestowing his coat to Ka'b bin Zuhayr [d. 645?] who wrote the 'Banet Suad' eulogy to him, and the clothing tradition in the Ottoman ilmiye. Indeed, the interpretation of giving clothes as a gift, to mean a form of affirmation and approval reinforces this idea.

As another discussion, in the Ottoman period, clothing donations were among the donations made to the Muslim converts.[21] Countless registers regarding such donations were found among the waqf documents.[22] Because, cloaks contained various symbols and meanings in many ways, in terms of the era. For example, in Sufism, giving a cloak meant that the person who receives the cloak was a vicegerent to the person who gives. If a sheikh bestowed a cloak to a follower, it must be interpreted as that he was chosen as a vicegerent. To pose an example to such a practice, giving Alaeddin-i Halveti [d. 1462/1463?] a cloak can possibly be understood in this context. Such a practice should not have been limited to Sufism, in the Ottoman praxis. Because the Ottoman ulema not only pursued fiqh, but also engaged in Sufism, which was the informal education form, and it was not surprising that they transferred some of its practices into the operation of the ulema. In fact, as will be indicated below, the presentation of a cloak for those 'who passed the ruus test' was, surely, a continuation of this tradition.

[21] For the provisions on paying for the clothes of the newly converted Muslim women, men, and children, see: Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: C.ML. 28/1320. C.ML ADL. 29/1727. AE.SMMD.IV. 45/5145. AE.SMMD.IV. 47/5334.

[22] İrvin Cemil Schick, "Tebdil-i Kıyafet, İrtidad ve İhtida," *Acta Turcica* IV, 2-1 (2012), 42.

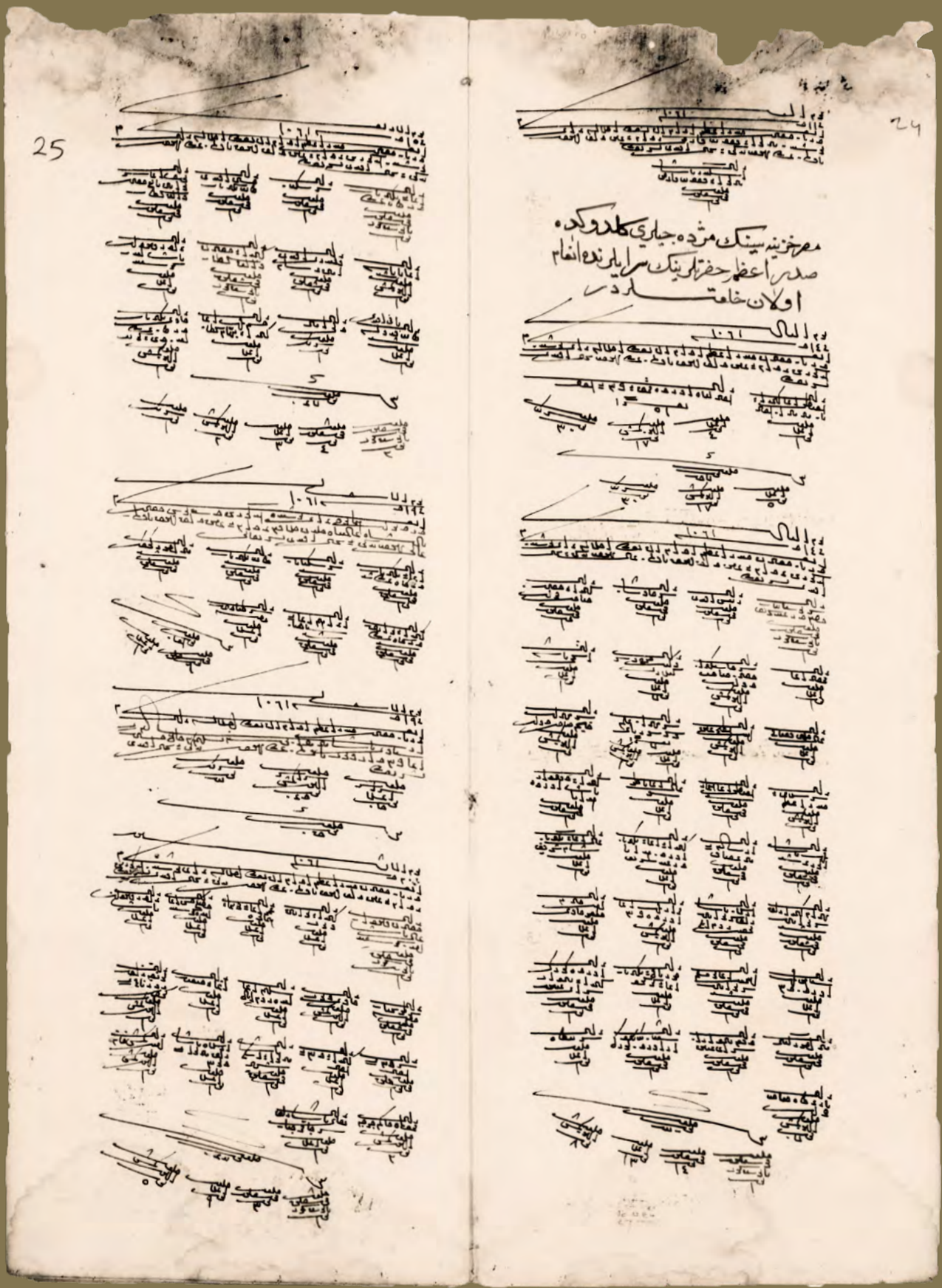
Clothing and Affiliation

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Of course, depiction of how one is dressed up is important. Thus, one may consider how clothing is formulated.[1] In this framework, clothing of a typical man in the Ottomans may be depicted as follows: "*In the Ottomans, men would wear a collarless shirt over long pants that extend over the ankles, red or purple trousers, which is a type of shalwar, made of thin fabric, tied around the waist with a waistband, extending over the ankles, called "çakşır", and a tight-arm dress over the inner shirt, extending over the ankles [cübbe, biniş].*"[2] Indeed, it is understood that regulations on the clothes of the subjects were frequently and carefully observed. To pose an example, practices in Bursa are noteworthy. In the 16th century municipal laws in Bursa, It is known that some rules were introduced about the sizes and production of an ferace-like dress, worn by

1 For muslin, kavuk, pants, shirt, zıbın, vest, çintiyan, çakşır, kaftan, kürdiye, yapınca, sade, dolama, kapama, çuha, belt, uçkur, worn by men in Bursa, and the ownership ratio of the askerî class, see: Eminegül Karababa, "Origins of a Consumer Culture in an Early Modern Context: Ottoman Bursa" (PhD Dissertation, Bilkent University, 2006), 147-148; 189-198.

2 Zeki Tez, *Tekstil ve Giyim Kuşam Sanatının Kültürel Tarihi* (İstanbul: Doruk, 2009), 243. Charlotte Jirousek, "Ottoman Influences in Western Dress," in *Ottoman Costumes: Frorm Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christopher K. Neumann (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2004), 232-233.



DOCUMENT 1. **1650 Dated Book Record on the Hil'ats, Dresses and İnamat [Bonuses] Bestowed by the Divan**

Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: D.TŞF.d. 26020.

men and women alike.[3] All in all, such regulations are neither odd nor uncommon for the Ottoman society. Because the Ottomans could easily implement regulations through clothing, which had practical results on them. Indeed, even if it seems different today, they were able to regulate the basic rules of social life within the conditions of their era, through the clothing codes, in a flexible manner. Regulations had quality aspects as well, as in the regulations on beliefs, along with the quantity aspects, in terms of the aforementioned official planning. The regulations for the clothing of the belief groups living within the Ottoman society can be cited as an example of such regulations.[4] In this framework, archive documents state that there were some complaints on clothing, such as; "…*they offend [us] acting against the old customs*…"[5] A decree sent to the qadi of Edirne can be cited as another example for this matter. As understood from the decree, Christians and Jews wore silk robe, shoes made of fine broadcloth and saffian, and a thin muslin; and it was requested that this practice should be banned. In another decree sent to the qadi of İstanbul, Christians and Jews wore fine broadcloth and thin muslin like Muslims; robes made of satin and kutnu fabric, like the cavalrymen and other classes, as well as edik, başmak and çakşır, and it was requested that this practice should be banned as well.[6] Indeed, according to a decree sent to the qadi of İstanbul and the janissary chief in 1580, Jews and Christians wore turban, instead of hats, and that this should be banned.[7]

3 Hülya Tezcan, "Ferace," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XII (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995), 349.

4 Yavuz Ercan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Gayrimüslimlerin Giyim, Mesken ve Davranış Hukuku," *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, 1 (1990): 117-125.

5 *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri: (975-976/1567-1569): II* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1999), 7-8. [Hüküm [decree] Nr: 1989.]

6 *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri: (975-976/1567-1569): III*, 42. 1270. hüküm. 395, 1966. hüküm.

7 Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: A.{DVNSMHM.d. 39/525.

Besides the regulations stated above, clothing regulations of non-Muslims was mentioned in the 1730 dated order, and a former imperial order was revisited, and it was reminded that the non-Muslims and Jews living in around İstanbul should not wear "…*yellow mest shoes, red calpac and other banned dresses*…"[8] Indeed, regulations on clothing norm had been in effect and continuously reminded since the founding of the Ottoman State.

One of the most visible elements of the sequence in the Ottomans, from the sultan as the highest level, and the bureaucratic class, which are his servants, is clothes. According to some researchers, quality and quantity based detailed regulations on clothing is a form of social contract.[9] As Mustafa Âlî of Gelibolu [Gallipoli] [d. 1600] pointed out, sultans and their families, state administrators which are composed of viziers and amirs, the elites and the soldiers, and the occupational groups that constitute the society must wear distinctive clothes. Sultans must use dresses with golden cords, made of silk and heavy fabrics like velvet, whereas viziers and amirs -must wear dresses made of satin and kemha, and the other classes w-must wear dresses made of fabrics that are appropriate for themselves.[10] All in all, the issue of clothes was always deemed important in the Ottoman order.[11] In this regard, clothing is a physical and symbolic element of the contract within the social and state order. The practical implementation of clothes manifested itself in all spheres of life, while the theoretical background was related to the study of cloth and study of perception. As Mustafa Âlî

8 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Bab Mahkemesi 150 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1102/M. 1691)* 65 (İstanbul: Kültür A. Ş. 2019), 261. [Hüküm Nr: 245; Original Page Nr: 53a]

9 Fatma Koç and Emine Koca, "Osmanlı Kanunlarında Giyim-Kuşam Yasakları," *Türk-İslam Medeniyeti Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 10 (2010): 34.

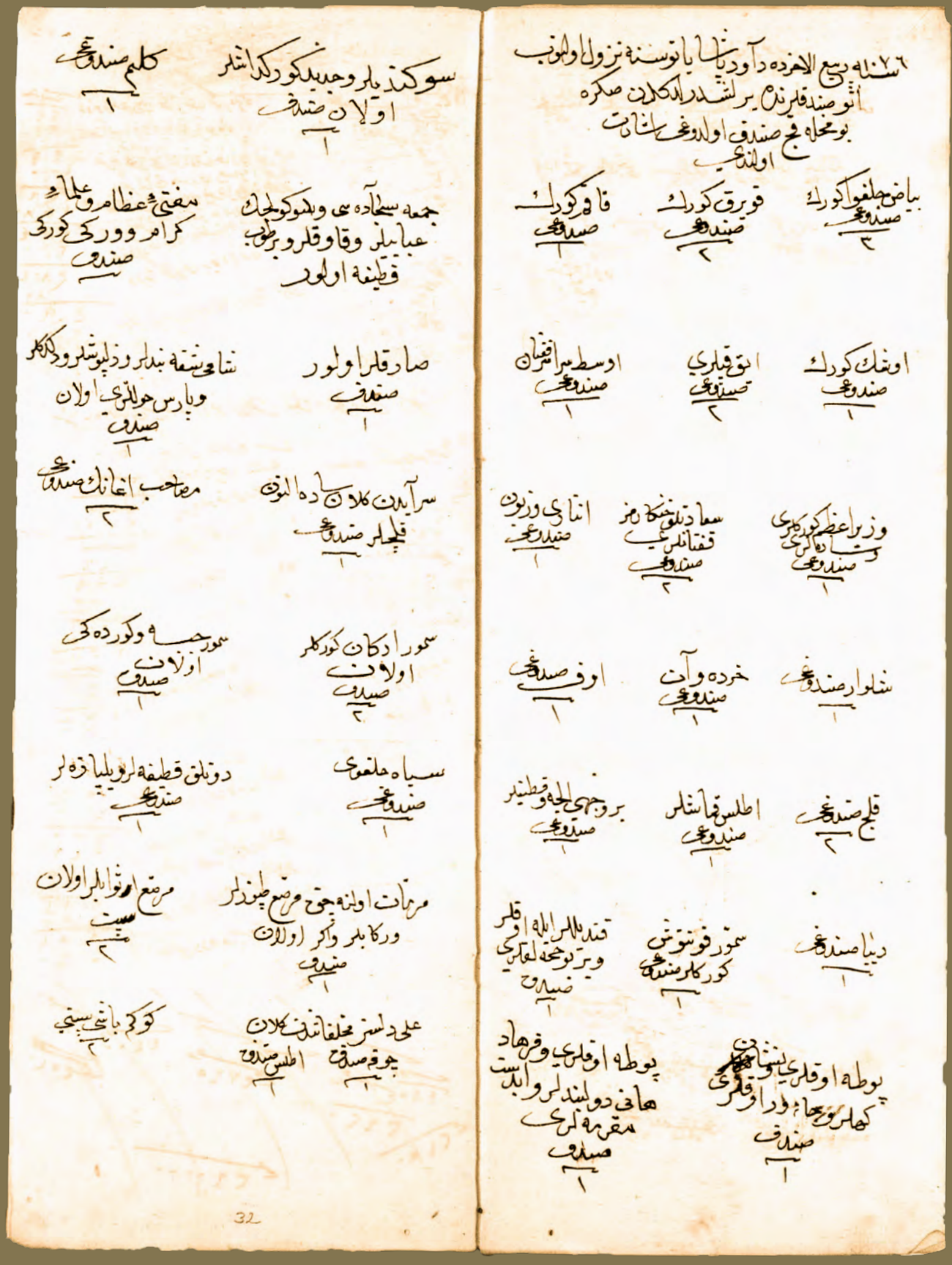
10 Mehmet Şeker, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî ve Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis fi-Kavâ'idi'l-Mecâlis* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1997), 112-114; 370-371.

11 For the 16th and 17th century Ottoman clothing regulations, see: Hamide Dolanmaz, "Osmanlı Cemiyetinde Elbise Nizamları Hakkında Bir Araştırma (XVI-XVII. Yüzyıl)" (Undergraduate Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1974).



FIGURE 8. **Ulema During a Parade**

Seyyid Vehbi Hüseyin bin Abdullah, *Surname-i Vehbi*, TSMK, 3. Ahmet Kütüphanesi 3594, 3a.



DOCUMENT 2. **1650 Dated Book Record on the Hil'ats, Dresses and İnamat Bestowed by the Divan**

Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: D.TŞF.d. 26020.

of Gelibolu pointed out, taking the right decisions is only through study of clothes and study of perception and both studies found their areas of use since the Sultan Mehmet II era.[12]

The clothes described in the beginning of this subject are an ordinary person's clothes. Of course, these clothing styles may vary and differentiate in accordance with affiliations. Surely, the internal organization of the Ottoman bureaucratic order was the determinant factor in this variation and differentiation. The basic classes in the Ottoman bureaucratic order, which became took root more visibly after Sultan Mehmed II era were 'ilmiye', 'seyfiye' and 'kalemiye' and as understood from sources, these three [3] basic bureaucratic classes had their own peculiar clothes, identified by their members. In the backdrop of such differentiation must lie the purpose of defining classes and controlling the bureaucratic and social classes. Indeed, Ottomans had successful attempts in establishing a hierarchy, based on what is visible, like its contemporaries. Because, as previously mentioned in appropriate contexts, hierarchy has a role of displaying the political, moral, social, and economic divisions, which cannot be underestimated. The claim that Süleyman the Magnificent [d. 1566] reinforced his control over his servants through clothing regulations is not an extraordinary approach.[13] It is known that Ottoman sultans distributed gratuities to the askerî classes, who are his 'servants', when they ascend to the throne. Some of these gratuities, particularly for those soldiers who were on active duty, were in cash, while we see some kinds of non-cash, that is, in-kind gratuities paid to the askerî class members who took administrative positions. For instance, Selim II [d. 1574] distributed gratuities to soldiers during his enthronement ceremony in Belgrade, and the scope of gratuity receivers was extended to cover the grand vizier, sheikh al-Islam and the external müderrises of

[12] Şeker, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî ve Mevâi'dü'n-Nefâis fi-Kavâ'idi'l-Mecâlis*, 231-232; 273; 396.

[13] Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* XXIX, 3 (1997): 406.

the Sahn-ı Seman. Selim II granted a alpaca cübbe to the ulema, along with the in cash.[14]

Hil'at wearing is, in fact, confirmation of being a member of the askerî class.[15] For example, there is a depiction of how hil'at is worn in 426th folio of 'Surname-i Hümayun'. According to this depiction, the hil'ats, which are understood to be thin, as they were placed on the shoulders, were worn by chiefs, during the circumcision ceremony of Şehzade Mehmed [d. 1603]. The janissaries are depicted while putting hil'at on the chiefs, over their armless cloaks, covered with çaprasts [diagonal]. Arms of hil'ats are so long that they almost touch the floor, and looking at their engravings, one can estimate that they were quite expensive.[16]

Since the early periods, the Ottomans adopted an approach to keep askerî class separate from other groups. Behind this adoption may lie the idea of differentiation among the subjects, and an operational classification between them. Particularly the 'Kanunname-i Âl-i Osman' enacted by Sultan Mehmed II, on the structuring of the state, is full of signs of this classification. Because, Sultan Mehmed II created the clothing codes as well, while he was establishing the bureaucratic foundation. With this initiative, Mehmed II put the order among and between the kalemiye, seyfiye and ilmiye classes to a hierarchy and a clothing sequence, while he formed them. 'Büyük and Küçük Odalar' [The Big and Small Chambers], inside the court, which is the education center of the seyfiye and the school called

[14] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları: 1 – Acemi Ocağı ve Yeniçeri Ocağı*, 3rd edition. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 341. Abdülkadir Özcan, "Cülûs," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* VIII (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1993), 112.

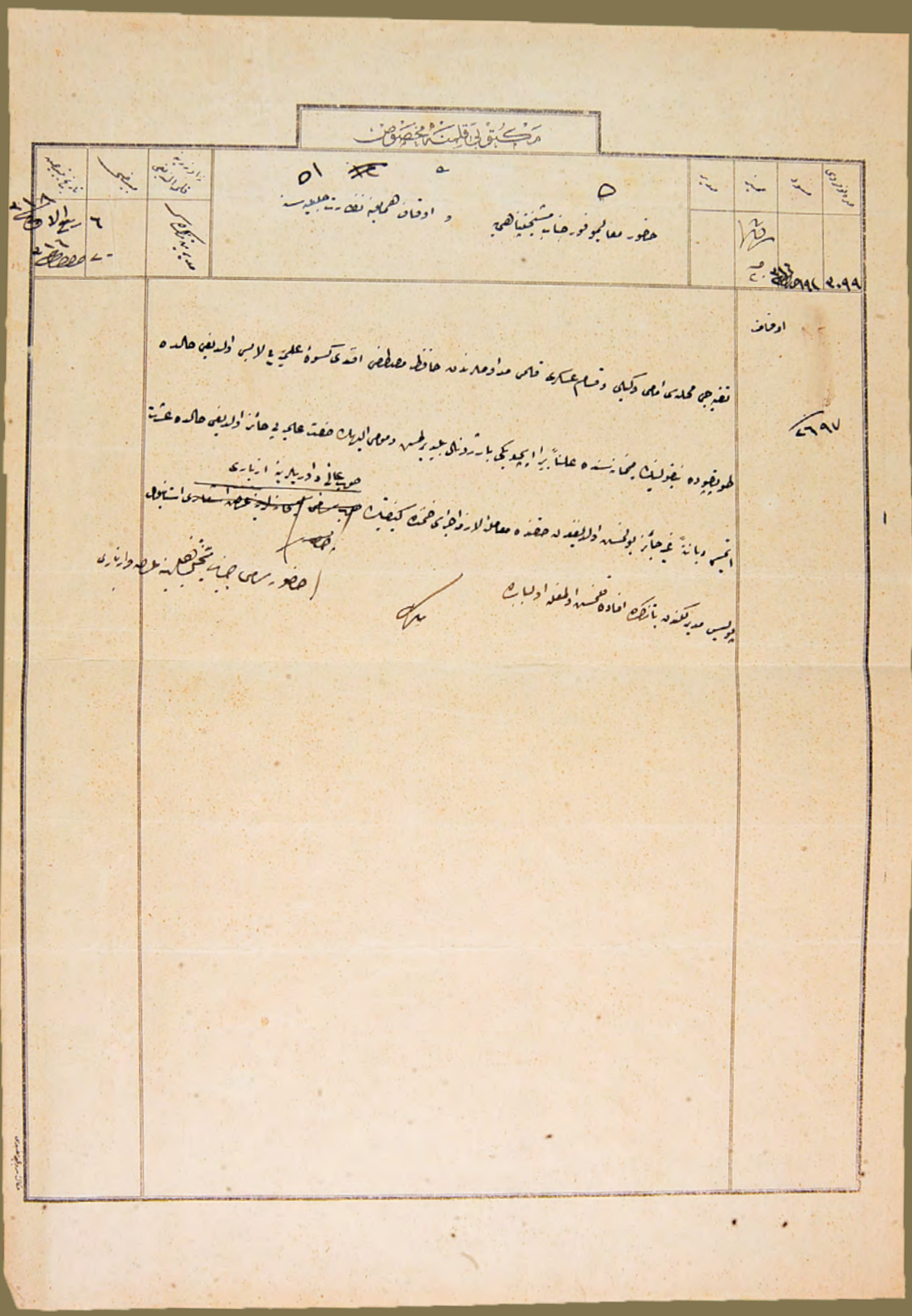
[15] Amanda Phillips, "Ottoman Hil'at: Between Commodity and Charisma," in *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*, ed. Marios Hadjianastasis (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015), 117. For the examples of detailed books showing the types and quantities of the hil'ats, granted by the Sultan, see: Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: AE.SSÜL.I. 2/46. İE.HLT. 1/2. KK.d. 664. KK.d. 682.

[16] *Surname-i Hümayun*, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 426a.



FIGURE 9. **Feast of Senior Qadis and Qadiaskers; 2nd Day of the Feast**

Seyyid Vehbi Hüseyin bin Abdullah, *Surname-i Vehbi*, TSMK, 3. Ahmet Kütüphanesi 3594, 66b.



DOCUMENT 3. **1900 Dated Book Record on Observation of Hafız Mustafa Efendi, Deputy İmam of Takyeci Neighborhood, and a Regular Attendant of Kassam-ı Askerî Kalemi, Drinking Beer with Ulema Dress**

Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: ZB. 350/78.

Enderun, are the first stages. People staying there would take basic courses, and they would be taught the requirements of the military art, along with language and religious education. It is known that these students would wear a kind of cübbe called dolama. Therefore, these students were called 'dolamalı' because of the clothes on them.[17] One can argue that similar regulations were in place for kalemiye and lower rang public servants as well. In the aforementioned regulations, colors of the clothes, along with their styles, could be important. Likewise, soup-makers can be given as an example of ordinary persons, if other officials' clothing is to be exemplified for comparison. For example, it would be appropriate to remember that soup-makers wore a cloak made of red broadcloth, a thin shirt, a shalwar tied around the waist with a shawl band, and yellow colored mest shoes to complement them.[18]

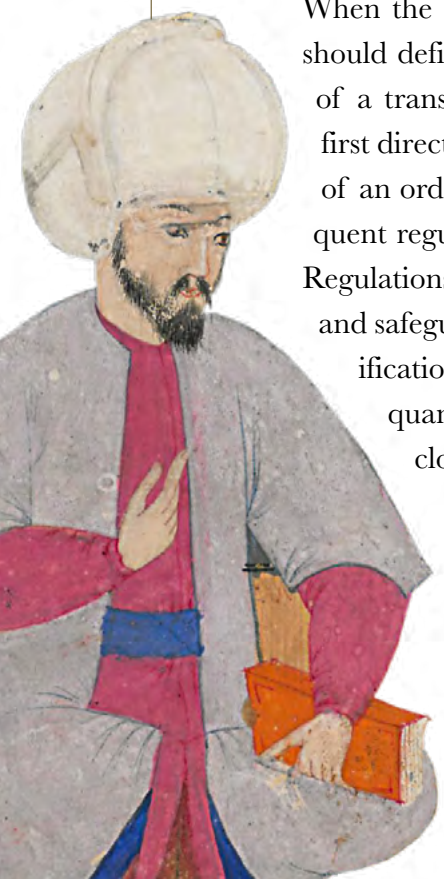
As pointed out above for various occasions, we should mention the abstract scope of clothing, along with its concrete effect. The abstract scope of clothing lies behind the fact that it makes it possible to realize the notion of class. Because it is understood that the practical benefits of imposing a similar clothing for similar groups or those performing similar jobs had been realized since the earliest periods. Therefore, one can claim that clothes gave a certain sense of affiliation to those who wear them. It will not be deemed necessary to explain that the notion of affiliation was visible through the clothes worn among the Ottoman ulema. One should state that, such regulations were probably more ardently implemented after Sultan Mehmed II. For example, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, one of the greatest scholars on the Ottoman history, gives information, when relevant, on the clothes of this group, though indirectly, in his valuable work on ilmiye. In a piece of such information, he makes a statement that, Ali Kuşçu [d. 1474] and Mahmud Paşa [d. 1474] "… who worked together during the structuring

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17 Mehmet İpşirli, "Enderun," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XI (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995), 186.

18 Abdülkadir Özcan, "Çorbacı," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* VIII (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1993), 370.

of education, was influential on "… *introducing new clothing and dress styles*…"[19] Though it is not very clear, the fact that this information is provided in the paragraph in which Ali Kuşçu is mentioned, gives the impression that the regulation was about the ilmiye class Indeed, given that Ali Kuşçu and Mahmud Paşa collectively prepared the curricula of the medreses; it would not be unnatural to assume that they introduced clothing regulations. Yet, while it can be claimed that listing the apparent and visible set of rules regarding regulations is not an easy task, it will be sensible to tackle the hierarchical regulation within the Kanunname of Sultan Mehmed II. It is not plausible that Sultan Mehmed II, who made many regulations after the conquest of İstanbul, would not make similar regulations on clothing in the medreses, in general, within a structure where he regulated even the epithets of ulema. Unfortunately, primary visual and written documents are not available today, on such regulations. All in all, this gap is attempted to be closed with clues derived from miniatures, as well as the information obtained through comparing these clues with secondary sources. Thus, it is obvious that this field needs to be developed and discussed.



When the regulations of the Ottomans on clothing is remembered, one should definitely refer to the clothing directories, as well. One can speak of a transformation from the regulations which can be deemed as the first directory, to the 19th century directories.[20] While clothes were a sign of an order and social contract in Kanunname-i Âl-i Osman, the subsequent regulations seen in Mühimme Defterleri are about characteristics. Regulations in this regard were mostly about the qualifications of fabrics and safeguarding customers. Yet, while such regulations were about qualifications as of the 16th century, they started to include measures on quantity, after the 19th century. Indeed, it is understood that the clothing styles, fabric types, who can wear what types and which

19 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 231.

20 For a well-organized evaluation on the clothing regulations, see: Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," 403-425.

colors of fabric was determined. Although regulations were made on different dates, directories in 1764-1765, as well as those in 1776 and 1803 can be particularly noted here. In these directories, who should wear what kinds of clothes was determined. As is understood, as wealth increased, some clothes which were suitable for clothing form started to be worn by those who were not entitled to, and therefore, those who wore them were warned by the highest authority. For instance, 'senior officers' furs with loose sleeves' were claimed to have been worn by çuhadars, Enderun chiefs and servants, along with viziers, grand viziers and ulema.[21]

It is understood that the state officials in the Ottomans pursued their sustained interest in clothing regulations. The 1802 dated decree on the clothing of state officials' and ordinary people's clothing, for preventing squandering and debauchery, can be cited as one of the warnings made in the first years of the 19th century. As can be understood from the decree, people and the state officials did not actually obey the clothing order that were in place. Therefore, the decree states that it was observed that people and public officials did not obey the clothing order and that it was caused by squandering and debauchery. Therefore, it was requested that"*…viziers, ulema, vizierate and whoever among the six senior officers chancellor [nişancı], three treasurers [defterdar] chief of the scribes [reis ül-küttab] and keeper of books [defter emini], lower than the office of the grand vizier, should not wear expensive fur coats in line with their respective ranks, whose official outer clothes as well as under clothes such as biniş, and cübbe and trimmed fur coats…"* and the rule that *"…prominent state officials and the public servants of the Ottoman State, and other officers, except for those who assume the office of the sheikh al-Islam, as well as viziers, qadiaskers and those at the rank of the vizierate, and the senior ulema, and the six senior officials should not wear sandallı biniş and cübbe…*" was introduced.[22]

21 Necdet Sakaoğlu, "Osmanlı Giyim Kuşamı ve Elbise-i Osmaniyye," *Tarih ve Toplum* 8, 47 (1987): 37-38. Erol Özbilgen, *Bütün Yönleriyle Osmanlı (Adab-ı Osmaniye)* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2004), 424.

22 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 97 Numaralı Sicil (H.1217-1225 / M. 1802-1810)* 83 (İstanbul: Kültür A. Ş. 2019), 89. [Hüküm Nr: 29; Original Text Nr: 9a]

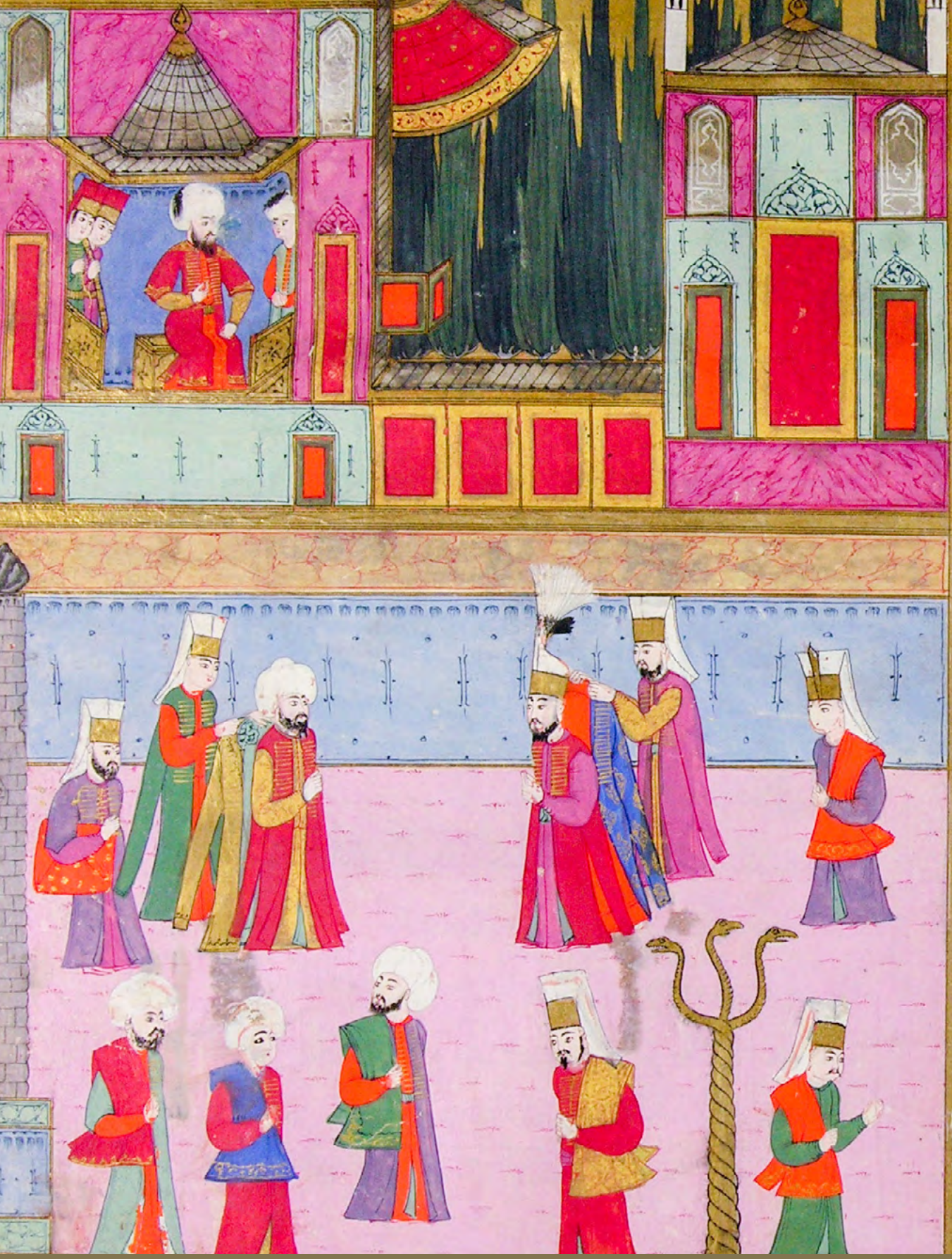




FIGURE 10. **The Janissaries Making Agas Wear Hil'at at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 426a.

Although it did not target ilmiye class members, an 1822 dated directory reminds the rules of clothing of people and of the state officials in particular, and requires that rules are carefully observed. In another order sent to the qadi of İstanbul, it is stated that the conventional rules started to break down, and that people, as well as state officials invented new clothing norms for themselves, and they trespassed their limits. This order reads: "*The sultanate, and the exalted viziers and noble scholars who are members of the divan, and the state dignitaries, and the servants of the sultanate in general should not wear anything but the overcoat known as muvahhidi and the loose sleeved sable fur coats, when necessary. These and the public should not wear short and long cübbe and biniş, sable cuff and sable fur coat, and the exalted viziers and scholars, public servants and ordinary people should not wear stoat fur coat. Besides, none of viziers, scholars, officials, and public servants should wear clothes with fur in and out. Along with those who wear loose-sleeved ceremonial fur coats, no one should use Indian shawl on their heads and waists, except for those among the public, such as attendants and artisans. Even those with higher ranks among those who wear loose-sleeved ceremonial fur coats should not wear valuable shawls called 'fermayiş', other than coarse cloth and rızayi and shawl, just because they belong to the higher rank class. And no one from the state dignitaries should give expensive shawls and similar fancy things to others, as a gift. Henceforth, no one among them should give anyone expensive shawls or other inlaid things to others, as a gift. If he does, he should stand ready to be held accountable for it, and be reprimanded. Attendants and artisans and others in the public should nout use imitation shawl fabrics coming from foreign countries, as they were banned to use the Indian shawl, and headdresses coming from Bağdat [Baghdad], Selanik [Thessaloniki] and Kisrevan, depending on their means, as well as the Trablus [Tripoli] belt and Mağrip [Maghreb] shawl, along with entaris, kaftans and sandallı binişes and cübbe with wire or gold wire woound on silk, should not be worn by anyone, from ordinary persons to the grand vizier. The cübbe, biniş and other dresses that they traditionally wear [should not be] extravagantly loose and fancy*…"[23] It is understood that what is aimed with this decree was to prevent squandering caused by vanity, and

[23] *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 154 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1237-1246 / M. 1822-1831) 88 (İstanbul: Kültür A. Ş., 2019), 129. [Hüküm Nr: 5; Original Text Nr: 15b]



FIGURE 11. **Müderris Ahmed Karabağı with Muralists and Clerks**
Seyyid Lokman bin Hüseyin el-Urmevi, *Şehname-i Selim Han*, TSMK, 3. Ahmet Kütüphanesi 3595, 9a.

destruction of the clothing order among classes. İlmiye members seem to have worn loose sleeved ermine tops called 'muvahhidi' in 1822, like other askerî class members. This dress, and fur in particular, is understood to have been worn among the askerî class, as it represented differentiation and status. Indeed, the decree prescribes that those who do not belong to the military should not wear loose sleeved furs. The regulations were not limited to what was provided above, and spouses of officials were included in their scope in most cases. According to the Şemdanizade Chronicles, while the situation between 1764-1765 was explained, aforementioned

'Libas Nizamnamesi' [Dressing Directory] drew attention to the fact that women needed to dress up in accordance with the ranks of their husbands.[24]

The reasons behind why Sultan Mehmed II, the father of clothing regulations, took these decisions must be discussed. Yes, it is not easy to make clear cut statements on the historical roots of the Ottoman clothing regulations. That its roots go back to the preceding states, as in the case of Central Asia and the Seljuks, make it imperative to take heritage into consideration. Yet, it should be remembered that the Mawlawi-like clothes, which are understood to have been the Ottoman sultans for a long period of time, has a historical background. The sources inform us that, while Osman Gazi initially wore a red-colored cap, called "Börk-i Horasani", and wrapped around it a turban called Tatar-style, there was a clothing shift afterwards. In fact, it can be stated that, while some sultans introduced clothing regulations subsequently, the most significant differentiation took place with Süleyman Paşa [d. 1357?]. Because it is stated in sources that Süleyman Paşa wore the 'sikke', that is, the cap sent by Feridun Ulu Arif Çelebi [d. 1320], son of Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi [Mawlana Jalaladdin Rumi] [d.1273], and a loose sleeved ferace, coupled with a dress composed of tennure and belt, all his life, and that they were worn as a dress peculiar to the Ottoman sultans, until the Sultan Mehmed II era. Accordingly, the sikke must have been turned into takke, tennure into kaftan, coat into biniş and kontoş, and belt into 'kanun belt'.[25] When looked into the practices, these clothes, listed as symbols of Mawlawi order, can be claimed to represent the bravery of the members of fraternity, their conquest over the self, their knowledge and other positive tenets.[26] Thus, a similar sequence

[24] Koç and Koca, "Osmanlı Kanunlarında Giyim-Kuşam Yasakları," 39.

[25] Mehmed Zeki, "Serpuş," *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası* VIII-XI, 49-62 (1919-1921): 104.

[26] Ramazan Muslu, "Türk Tasavvuf Kültüründe Tarikat Kıyafetleri ve Sembolik Anlamları," *EKEV Akademi Dergisi* XII, 36 (2008): 44-45. For more information, see also, Ramazan Muslu, "İsmail Hakkı Bursevî'ye Göre "Libâs" Kavramı," in *Azîz Mahmud*

or moral priorities cannot be expected not to be observed in the ulema. In fact, it should be remembered that rules were introduced for seyfiye class. According to the law code introduced by Tevkii Abdurrahman Paşa, [Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa, d. 1692] there were signs that the 'ehl-i nass', along with deputies and viziers would wear separate clothes in ceremonies and daily lives.[27] Existence of clothing as an awarding and controlling instrument caused the Ottoman court to invest in this field. For instance, Molla Alaeddin Ali al-Tusi [d. 1482], having given a lecture in the presence of Sultan Mehmed II, was awarded by the sultan, and was granted a valuable hil'at.[28] It is known that a separate sewing house was present at the court for producing kaftan and similar dresses to be used as hil'at.[29] Another example is the use of cübbe, preferred as topcoats. In a Turkish encyclopedic source, cübbe is defined as "… *a type of long, loose dress without buttons, used as a topcoat*…"[30] As it was stated in the same publication, "*The Ottoman cübbes utilized a type of arm that are loose at the shoulders and becomes narrower towards the elbow and the loose sleeved arm type were used together*" and it is understood that "… *cashmere was used for winter and fabrics called alpaca and shali were used for summer*…"[31] However, cübbe should not be understood as a dress peculiar to the ilmiye members only. In fact, cübbe made of red



Hüdâyî Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildiriler Cilt II, ed. Hasan Kamil Yılmaz (İstanbul: Üsküdar Belediye Başkanlığı, 2006), 339-355.

27 "Osmanlı Kanunnameleri," *Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası* I, 3 (1331): 497-544. [Tevkii Abdurrahman Paşa Kanunnamesi].

28 Mecdi, *Hadaikü'ş-şakaik*, 118.

29 Bahattin Yaman, *Sarayın Terzileri: 1-18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Hassa Kıyafet Birimleri* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2018).

30 Sabahattin Türkoğlu, "Cübbe," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* VIII (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1993), 102.

31 Türkoğlu, "Cübbe," 103.


ز یکسو رصد خانه مختصر
نمودند نزدیکی آن مقر
در و پانزده اهل علم گزین
شدند از پی خدمت دین
پس انگه بتر صید مر یک ازان
بشد هیچ ما فاضل نکته دان



FIGURE 12. **Astronomers Making Observations at Istanbul Observatory**

Seyyid Lokman bin Hüseyin el-Urmevi, *Şehinşahname*, İÜK, F.1404, 56b-57a.

broadcloth is known to have been worn by soup-makers,[32] while another cübbe called dolama, turban made of creppe and shoes without laces and a back was worn by conscript boys.[33] During the Mehmed IV [d. 1693] era, the falconer, who was one of the most important servants of the sultan had cübbe among his daily clothes.[34]

Affiliations continued sometimes through clothes, and sometimes through colors. For example, despite the fact that they are not considered among the ilmiye, one should include physicians, chief surgeon and astrologers, who served the sultan as a class peculiar to the court and can also be deemed to be in the ilmiye class, for some aspects. As classes belonging to the court, these groups should have differences in their clothing as well. For example, it is stated that the chief physician "…*wore a white twisted turban over a yellow base, wrapped a three-wrap around robe inside, fitted a shawl belt around his waist, wore a loose biniş with red-black engraved collar and fur with loose openings, and yellow under shoes attached to this shalwar.* "[35] And it is stated that the physician who served in the court "… *wore an ordinary quilted turban, fitted a yellow loose robe belt inside, and a white, loose arm kaftan, blue shalwar and red kerchief as outwear.*"[36] For the chief surgeon, who was deemed to be among the aforementioned classes, a general framework is drawn with the following statements: "…*on his head, he wore sliced quilted turban filled with cotton, made of white turban. He would wear striped shirt inside, and fitted flower patterned cloth around his waist, and put on a black apron at his front. These aprons were used seldomly and particularly during winters. He would wear a loose red shalwar, a yellow kerchief, and at his back he would have a dark red biniş with slitted sleeve hems."*[37] As for the kehlal and the chief kehlal,

32 Özcan, "Çorbacı," 370.

33 Mücteba İlgürel, "Acemi Oğlanı," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* I (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1998), 325.

34 Abdülkadir Özcan, "Doğancı," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* IX (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1994), 488.

35 Cenkmen, *Osmanlı Sarayı ve Kiyafetleri*, 203.

36 Cenkmen, *Osmanlı Sarayı ve Kiyafetleri*, 203.

37 Cenkmen, *Osmanlı Sarayı ve Kiyafetleri,* 203.

"*…they would wear an ordinary green quilted turban on their heads, wrapped around a white turban, wear white shirt and loose sleeved kaftan, blue belt, blue shalwar and red kerchief…*"[38] And the chief astrologer would have a red tarboush on his head, and a long, pointed red headpiece over it. And inside, he wore a three-wrap around robe and fitted a belt around his waist. In fact he occasionally wore white or white biniş, in accordance with the season, along with a red loose shalwar and yellow kerchief.[39]

It is understood from sources that the ulema wore white, court servants were red, kalemiye members wore yellow and other persons wore black clothes during the Orhan Gazi era. However, after Yıldırım Bayezid [d. 1403] white was used as a symbol of soldiers, while red was used as a symbol of sultanate.[40] However, behind the reason why ulema preferred white lies the practices of the Prophet Muhammad, as noted above. Indeed, the Prophet Muhammad preferred white color and prescribed this color for his followers as well. In fact, as it will be seen, the white color gradually turned into the dominant color in the Ottoman ilmiye class clothes.[41] Indeed, in the Ottoman practice, white, which was the color of the ulema, was deemed to be a fortunate color, while dark colors like black and dark blue were deemed as unfortunate colors.[42] Another era in which the white color found another area of use is the Fatimid [910-1171] era. It is known that Muiz-lidinillah [d. 975], founder of the renowned al-Azhar complex is also known to have worn white clothes, and that this white cloth was acknowledged also as the caliphate cübbe.[43] On the other hand, it is claimed that the white color symbolized



38 Cenkmen, *Osmanlı Sarayı ve Kiyafetleri*, 204.

39 Cenkmen, *Osmanlı Sarayı ve Kiyafetleri*, 205.

40 Mehmed Zeki, "Serpuş," 107.

41 Kallek, "Cübbe (Fıkıh)," 103.

42 Görünür, "Osmanlı Kaftanları ile Entarilerinin Farkları ve Kullanılışları," 64.

43 Asri Çubukçu, "Muiz-lidinillâh," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XXXI (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2006), 97.

a sense of privilege.[44] Perhaps, it is for this symbolism that the sheikh al-Islams wore white clothes and a cübbe in the form of a ceremonial cloth, which was their peculiar outwear, called 'ferve-i beyza'.[45] Yet, color of the woodmeils that the lower rank ilmiye members as well as the medrese students used, which will be detailed further below, were reported to be mostly light brown, and occasionally leaden.[46] Although one cannot directly relate it to the 16th century, 19th century courses in the attendance of the sultan can be given as examples of color differentiation. In fact, it is understood that the courses in the attendance of the sultan in the latest period saw color differentiation in the cübbes presented to the participants. In this framework, it should be remembered that the 'mukarrir' [lecturer] would receive a black cübbe, while his addressee would have blue cübbes.[47]

It was ensured that the sayyids among the ilmiye class would also use a differentiating color, in the same manner. From this perspective, the Abbasids introduced a law for those who were descendants of Hasan and Hüseyin, children of Fatima, daughter of the Prophet Muhammad to wear green turban. However, it should be remembered that the sharifs wore green, and sayyids wore yellow turbans during the Ottoman era. Besides, it was deemed as law for those among this class number of which increased rapidly, and whose rights were approved, to wear their turbans all their lives, and therefore, when they committed an offense, they were punished after their turbans were removed.[48] As these rules, which were enacted during the Abbasid era, were forgotten in time, it was reinstated during

44 Mehmet İpşirli, "Kıyafet (Osmanlı Dönemi)," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XXVI (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2002), 511.

45 Mehmet İpşirli, "Şeyhülislam," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XXXIX (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2010), 94.

46 Süleyman Uludağ, "Abâ," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* I (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988), 5.

47 Türkoğlu, "Cübbe," 103.

48 Mustafa Öz, "Ali Evlâdı," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* II (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1989), 393.



FIGURE 13. **Among the Ottoman State Officials, Sheikh al-Islam at the Top Left and Naqib al-Ashraf at the Top Right**

Eski Osmanlı Devlet Ricali Kıyafetleri, İÜK, II. Abdülhamid Han Fotoğraf Albümleri NEKYBA90673/32.

the Mamelukes era that they wear green clothes. Sheikh al-Islams in the Ottomans would wear örf, which was a white quilted turban which was peculiar to the ulema.[49] Yet, it was deemed a custom for those who were sayyids, to wrap a green turban around.[50]

For Cesare Vecellio [d. 1601], as an outsider, the Turks already wore sea-green clothes.[51] Clothing surely served as an important symbol during the

[49] For a sample of örf, see: Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler*, 168.

[50] İpşirli, "Şeyhülislam," 94.

[51] Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300-1600* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002), 169

Ottoman era as well. Perhaps, it was used as an instrument of criticism particularly for this importance. In fact, we witness that even the ilmiye members made occasionally clothing-related critics through symbolic concepts. For instance, Askeri-i Edirnevi said,

> *They honored Turks with cübbes and turbans, the world turned towards ignorance and no dignity left for wisdom,*[52]

and he described that cübbe was seen as a class instrument. Aşki-i Kadim [d. after 1483?] as another poet, depicted his complaint in a solid manner with the following verses:

> *Crown and kaftan were a form for the public*
> *Shame on this dry fame, and on its cübbe and turban*[53]

Of course, Aşki-i Kadim is not alone in his complaints. Beyani of Rusçuk [Ruse] [d. 1597/1598], whom Ebussuud Efendi [d. 1574] commissioned to copy his exegesis, and apparently received education from high ranking müderrises, and served as a müderris and qadi himself wrote,

> *Oh my heart, come and*
> *Abandon the satin cloth of the royals*
> *As the public passes through the river of non-existence, undressed*[54]

and from these verses, it is understood that he may have been affected by hard episodes in life.

In addition to such criticism, clothes manifested themselves as an instrument for changing ideas. Because, despite the fact that this change was symbolic, it represented a change in the world of ideas. It is understood that Garibi was rich and wore colorful, expensive clothes, he started to wear old kaba and wool clothes to break up their selves.[55] When Nihani-i

52 Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-şu'arâ ve Tabsıratü'n-nuzamâ: (İnceleme-Metin)*, 392.

53 Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-şu'arâ ve Tabsıratü'n-nuzamâ: (İnceleme-Metin)*, 394.

54 İsen, *Künhü'l-ahbâr'ın Tezkire Kısmı*, 201.

55 Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-şu'arâ ve Tabsıratü'n-nuzamâ: (İnceleme-Metin)*, 409.

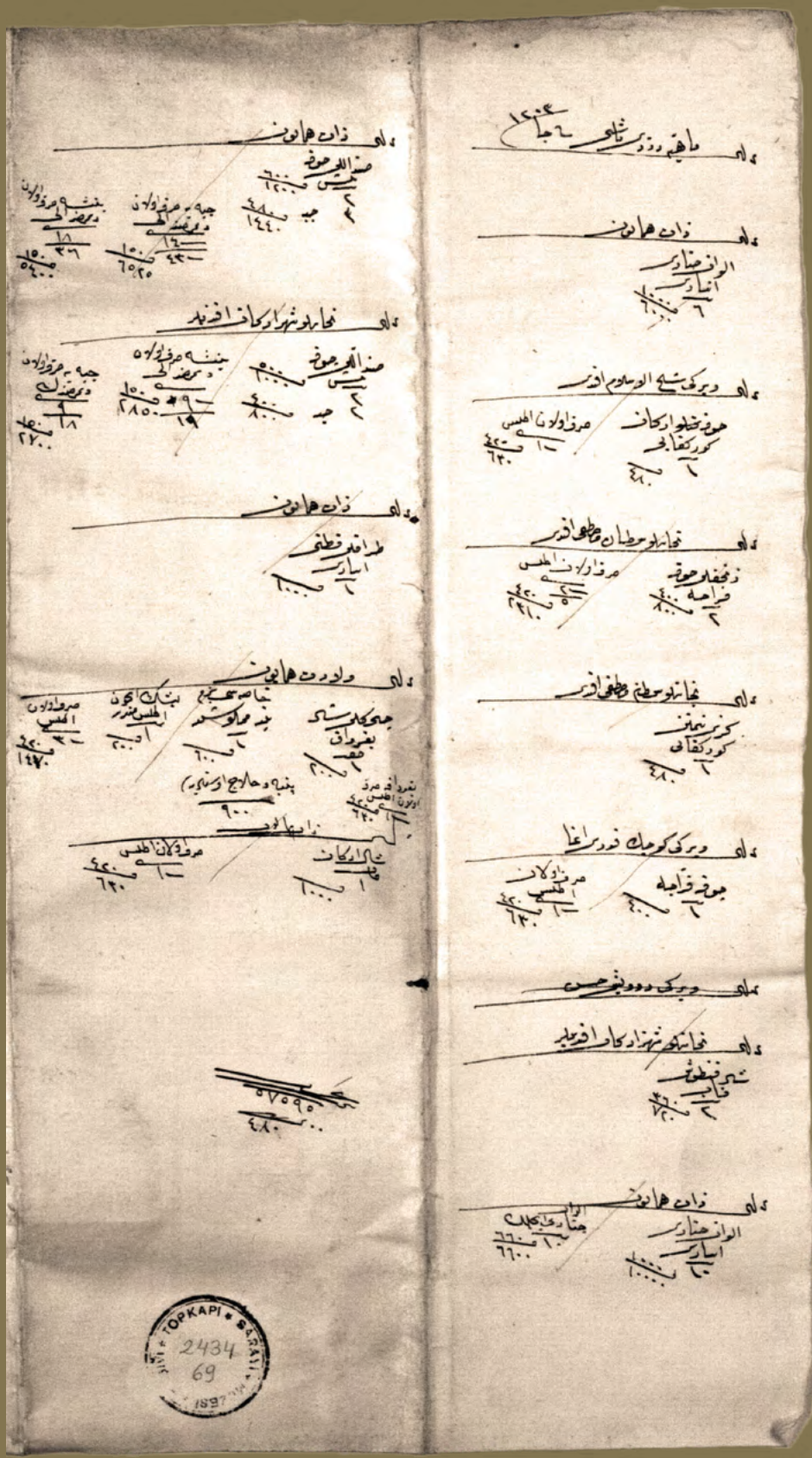
Kadı [d. after 1546] wanted to get into the sufi path, he changed clothes; and when he repented after a period he spent with contemplation, and renounced his ranks, this qadi also wore an old aba and kaba, and retired.[56] It is, understood that cübbe and destar became visible signs of ilmiye. In the renowned work of Aşık Çelebi [d. 1572] it is claimed that a poet called Usuli [d. 1538] abandoned cübbe and destar, while he was involved in scholarly efforts, and wore clothes of the dervishes, and furthermore he reportedly wore rag rug of the Melamis.[57] That is, changing clothes is synonymous to changing affiliation. Likewise, Süruri Çelebi [d. 1562], while he was among the müderrises of the Kasım Paşa Medrese '*he abandoned the örf of relation* and '*discharged destar*'.[58] A poet called Arifi [d. after 1564] behaved that way, and expressed switches in class, with a poetic language.[59]

56 Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-şu'arâ ve Tabsıratü'n-nuzamâ: (İnceleme-Metin)*, 544.

57 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 1*, ed. Filiz Kılıç (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010), 344.

58 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 2*, ed. Filiz Kılıç (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010), 964.

59 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 2*, 1031.



DOCUMENT 4. **1788 Dated Inventory and Accounting Book on the Entaris, Fur Covers, Feraces, Mintans, Kontoşes, Under Garments and Cübbes Made for the Sultan, Sheikh al-Islam, Şehzades [Princes] and Other Persons**

Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi: D. 2434.

Attires

Due to the lack of sufficient data, it is not possible to separate the clothes worn by the Ottoman ulema as daily and official. Therefore, it would not be realistic to develop an approach and make a clear distinction in accordance with the types of clothes of the Ottoman ulema, based on the available information. Yet, one can make a classification of clothes as per their function, to give an idea. When it comes to the clothing of persons in general, and of the Ottoman ulema in particular, setting forth what kind of a classification will be made will make tackling the issue easier. Such easing is both theoretical and practical. Because, while trying to understand the clothes of the ulema, and drawing connections between them, such classification makes drawing a general framework possible. In this framework, it is feasible to divide the clothes of the Ottoman ulema into four [4] headings, namely, headdresses, outwears, under clothes and shoes. As per this classification:

a. Headdress: Refers to the clothes that ilmiye class members wear on their heads, such as sarık, kavuk, terlik, takke, örf and the like.

b. Outwear: Clothes that are worn over the under clothes, may be more than one piece and sometimes preferred during ceremonies. Biniş,

fur, ferace, kaftan, kebe, aba, maşlah and cübbe are the main ones among them.[1]

c. Under Garments: They are the clothes worn under the outwear; iç donu [inner pant], don [pant], gömlek [shirt], cepken [vest], entari, kamis, kuşak [belt], şal [shawl], çakşır and the like, of various qualities and qualifications are among them.

d. Shoes: Pabuç, edik, mest and the like constitute footwear.[2]

HEADDRESS

The first element that comes to mind as far as the clothes of the Ottoman ulema, as well as the askerî [bureaucratic] class, is the headdress. Headdress is an instrument both for protection against climatic conditions, and manifesting the social position. As stated above, since the headdress itself is a symbol of hierarchy, it may vary in color and form. In the Ottoman society, everyone, from the lowest ranks to the highest, used a headdress. When considered as a dress or accessory, it may be evaluated separately both in terms of its material and elements. From this perspective, headdresses are composed primarily of börk, takke, terlik, tepelik and the like, which are worn over the head, as well as the turban wrapped around them, and the taylasan of the turban, which may occasionally spread over the shoulders.

It is also understood from state documents that börk, which are thought to have been a traditional headdress at the time, were used by the members of the ulema as well. The börk, on which a muslin would be wrapped in

1 Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri: Adat ve Merasim-i Kadime, Tabirat ve Muamelat-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye*, ed. Kazım Arısan, Duygu Arısan Günay (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1995), 226.

2 Fatma Koç and Emine Koca, "Geleneksel Giysi Tarzlarının Değişimi ve Türk Modasının Oluşumunda İstanbul," *7. Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Kongresi: Bildiriler IV: Türk ve Dünya Kültüründe İstanbul* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 2011), 2171. For a detailed classification on the variety of dresses, see: Zeynel Özlü, *XVIII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Gaziantep* (Gaziantep: [Gaziantep Büyükşehir Belediyesi], 2004).

the inheritance records of a müderris called Ali Efendi can be given as an example.[3] Indeed, this finding can be reinforced with the information found in the 'narh defteri' [price fixing book] of 1640. According to the narh defteri, börks are divided into two classes, namely those for the ulema and for the viziers. In fact, as the prices were listed under the 'börkçüyan' title, it reads "… *five-sheet red, quite fine börk that is peculiar to the ulema, örf, with the medium-turban börk, five red sheets*…"[4] and described the börk used by the ulema in terms of both color and style. According to the aforementioned information, börk must have been an inner headdress around which the ulema wrapped muslin. Because what örf referred to, was a turban which was peculiar to the ulema, and this had apparently two sizes, namely large and medium. Indeed, it is understood that, the börk of the ulema was of fine quality and sewn out of five [5] pieces, called five [5] 'yaprak' [sheet], and was in red color. In this regard, one can argue that the ulema would wrap the white muslin over the red börks.

Initially, it served as a terlik or kavuk, made of woven fabric or swingled felt, and subsequently turban and taylasan was added to it. The long muslin-shawl, which might be thin, thick, decorated or plain depending on the occasion, was called turban. The white muslin turban wrapped around a red velvet kavuk, found in the Ambras Castle collection in Innsbruck is in line with the aforementioned description.[5]



3 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Eyüb Mahkemesi (Havass-ı Refia) 74 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1072-1073 / M. 1661–1662)* 28 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2011), 198. [Hüküm Nr: 197; Original Text Nr: 42a]

4 Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri*, (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983), 140.

5 *Turban*, Schloss Ambras Innsbruk, WA 2818.

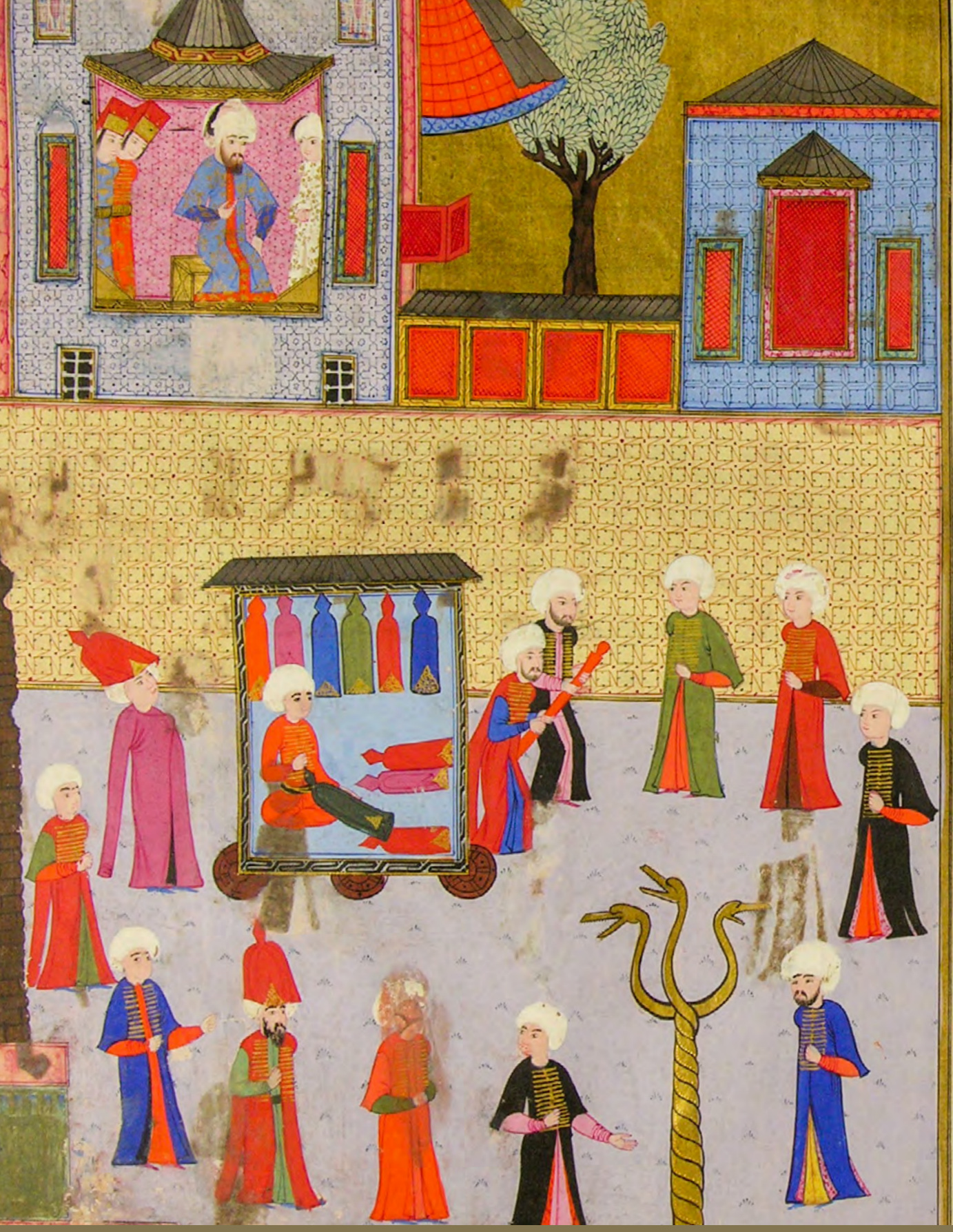




FIGURE 14. **Nemed Destar Makers in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 180b-181a.

The popularity of turban in the Ottoman daily life can be easily understood from the statements in the renowned Seyahatname [Book of Travel] of Evliya Çelebi [d. 1622]. According to Evliya Çelebi, "*The turban making artisans: Store 17, person 40, their master is Gabriel, who brought the crown of prophethood to the Prophet [later called as İmame-i Resul] Their store is adjacent to Kaya Sultan Palace, in front of Ayasofya Mosque [Hagia Sophia Mosque]. Most of them are mute turban makers. They make mücevveze, selimi, kallavi, perişani, kubad, katibi, and a'zami turbans for the divan members. However, all the turban makers in Karaman make Imam al-Azam tac [crown], örf-i destar-ı Nu'mani turbans. They look for customers each time, to make profit. And when they could not find customers, [they would make] turbans for coffins.*"[6] Indeed, the importance of this branch of profession for its era can be understood from the turban makers miniatures in which a page was allocated for them in the procession in the Surname-i Hümayun.[7]

Kavuk [quilted turban] which constitutes the main element of the headdress, particularly the headdress of the ulema is a Turkish word, and it means something that is empty. It was made of felt in almost all regions where Turks lived, and it is a type of headdress around which turban was wrapped, in accordance with the region. In the Ottomans, kavuk had various uses, and it assumed different names based on the type of use. These names included horasani, üsküf, yusufi, selimi, kallavi,[8] örf and mücevveze[9]. According to Hoca Sadeddin [d. 1599] üsküf was invented by Süleyman Paşa. It is understood from sources that these kavuks are sometimes called 'tac' [crown]. Molla Hüsrev's [d. 1480] use of the word can be cited as an example in this regard. In fact, Molla Hüsrev is known to have a crown around which a small turban was wrapped.[10]

6 Evliya Çelebi, *Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: İstanbul: 1. Volume 1-2. Kitap*, 5th ed. Yücel Dağlı and Ali Seyit Kahraman (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008), 611.

7 Nurhan Atasoy, *1582: Surname-i Hümayun: Düğün Kitabı* (İstanbul: Koç Bank, 1997), 90. *Surname-i Hümayun*, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 353a.

8 Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler*, 104.

9 For more examples, see: Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler*, 98, 104, 132.

10 Mecdi, *Hadaikü'ş-şakaik*, 135-139.

Yusufi, on the other hand, is another kind of kavuk which is narrow and sliced on the head side, and wrapped around muslin, except for the upper part. Yusufi has been a headdress, predominantly peculiar to the sultans. Likewise, selimi is a headdress similar to yusufi, and it is a kind of mücevveze, which is narrow at the bottom, and upper part is wider, 30 cm tall, and made of cardboard.[11] According to the Kanunname-i Âl-i Osman of Sultan Mehmed, "…*and having their servants wear mücevveze, is the way of viziers and qadiaskers and heads of treasury*…"[12] Accordingly, it is understood that the early period qadiaskers wore mücevveze. In fact, it should be remembered here that both the 'Birun' and 'Enderun' members wore selimi and mücevveze. The difference of mücevveze from selimi was that it had a red thing on it, like a tarboush. Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent further developed the headdress of his father Sultan Selim I [d. 1520], which was called selimi, and created slices over the capuche, and wrapped muslin around it, in a way that its tip is partly visible. He fitted a 'sorguç' at the front of this kavuk and called it yusufi.[13] And the type of headdress called 'kafesi' is another type of headdress which is made by filling one [1] okka of cotton or a little bit more into a kavuk made of broadcloth and wrapping muslin around in a cage format.[14]

Turban must be considered important in that it is one of the most visible official clothes. In most cases, it referred to a headdress which was made by wrapping 'ağabani', muslin, shawl or a similar fabric that is suitable for wrapping, around a kavuk, takke, tarboush, külah [capuche] or any headdress.[15] In the 1640 dated price fixing book, interesting details on the ka-

11 Nebi Bozkurt, "Kavuk," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XXV (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2002), 71.

12 Mehmed Zeki, "Serpuş," 108-109.

13 Mehmed Zeki, "Serpuş," 106.

14 Mehmed Zeki, "Serpuş," 107.

15 Nebi Bozkurt, "Sarık," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XXXVI (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009), 152.







FIGURE 15. **Takke Makers in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 215b-216a.

vuks worn by ulema. As prices vary based on the production technique and materials, one can anticipate that such details were present in the book. According to the document "*Quilted turban peculiar to the ulema, with woolen narrow top and thin borlu on the inside, with three hundred dirhams of cotton, and borlu on the inside, boğasili quilted turban, … if with taffeta on the inside, … if the cotton of the quilted turban with miskali on the outside and taffeta on the inside, … if its cotton is 150 dirhams, … if its cotton is 100 dirhams, … if its cotton is 75 dirhams, … if its cotton is 50 dirhams"* thus, it is understood that the price changed depending on the amount of cotton inside the quilted turban, as it was clearly stated. Likewise, it was required that *"inner side of those without cotton, as peculiar to the ulema, with high or low inner side … the örf quilted turban must be [sold at] 10 akçe more than those with cotton…"*[16] As understood from this piece of information, the kavuks used by the ulema were made of woolen cloth, and their priced varied depending on the filling materials such as boğasi or taffeta, and that kavuks used by the ulema were divided into tall and short ones.

As in the other clothes, the headdress can be assumed to have been a sign of the hierarchical order. It is understood that the turban had a special position in the vizierate position, in the states legacy which the Ottomans continued. In fact, it is stated that turban is among the signs of vizierate, like sword, tent, inkwell, ring of the cloth and hil'at.[17] Use of turban is known for a long time, and even during the time of the Abbasids, in particular, the ulema would wrap"… *a short and light turban, over a capuche which has a round shaped top* …" and spread their taylasans.[18] In fact, those who were appointed as müderris at the Nizamiye Medreses would wear black cübbe, and presented turban and shawl, as stated above. The outgoing müderris, however, was required to return these clothes, which were bestowed to him.[19]

16 Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri,* 147-148.

17 Abdülkerim Özaydın, "Vezir," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XLIII (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2013), 83.

18 Bozkurt, "Sarık," 152.

19 Özaydın, "Nizâmiye Medreseleri," 189.

Early period Ottoman ulema generally preferred modesty and simplicity in their headdresses. For example, Molla Kirmasti [d. 1494] once went to the masjid with a small turban.[20] Besides, the Ottoman ilmiye, and the ulema in particular, wore topped kavuks. Örf was occasionally worn by the prominent state officials and sultans, in the past. Likewise, örf is defined as a 'globe shaped kavuk'.[21]

Örf is a large headdress and sources state that scholars would wear it. Likewise, Sultan Mehmed II reportedly liked to wear an örf with decorations on the sides.[22] Örfi destar or örf can be defined as a turban made of cotton.[23] This headdress type is for the senior ulema, and may be considered as a ceremonial cloth. Indeed, it is known that sheikh al-Islams and qadiaskers wore örf during religious festivals.[24] Yet, sheikh ul-Islams would wear only the white-colored örfi kavuk, which was peculiar to them. The kavuks of sheikh al-Islams with a sayyid background, would also have green muslin wrapped around to make sure they had a sign of their ancestors.[25] It is written that the qadiaskers would have a twisted turbans, that is, örfs on their head, when they would come to the divanhane, to hear cases in the presence of the grand vizier, on Fridays.[26] Likewise, when the market was to be checked, for instance, the kethüda [officer] of the city qadi would have his perişani, çavuşes [sergeants] with mücevvezes, chandlers with üsküfs, and seraser with waistcloths, and they would walk in an order, while the city qadi would join this team with his örf.[27]

20 Mecdi, *Hadaikü'ş-şakaik*, 224.

21 Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 2*, 217.

22 W. Björkman, "Sarık," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* X (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1988), 232.

23 Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 1*, 3rd ed (İstanbul: Milli EğitimBakanlığı, 1983), 432.

24 Mehmed Zeki, "Serpuş," 110.

25 İpşirli, "Şeyhülislam," 94.

26 Mehmet İpşirli, "Kazasker," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XXV (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2002), 142.

27 Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri,* 19.





FIGURE 16. **Turban Makers in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 353a.

In the light of the aforementioned explanations, it should be understood that the örf is a headdress peculiar to ilmiye members. In fact, outstanding qadis and müderrises who spent their 'zaman-ı infisal' [the period of delay to assume a new office] in İstanbul, were required to attend to the qadiaskers whom they served under, during the time they stayed here. Accordingly, the ulema and mevali who went to the divanhane in Paşakapısı, would always have a kavuk called örf, which was peculiar to the ulema, and long-sleeved coats, as a tradition.[28] The örf, which presumably did not change much in time is described as; "… *sheikh al-Islam's turban, and it was white and quite large. A sheet [band] of six-centimeter wide, made of lace would be wrapped over the turban, tilted from left to right. Behind the turban, a taylasan with a laced tip, of ten centimeters width would be spread over the shoulder.*"[29]

Küçük tepeli [small tipped] is the name given to the headdress which was made by wrapping green cloth around the kavuk, and used by the naqib al-ashrafs in lieu of the örf after the 18th century.[30] However, they continued to wear the örf, which is the ceremonial headdress, during the official days and religious festivals.[31] Therefore the smaller headdress was called the küçük tepeli.[32] If the örf was a headdress worn during ceremonial days, the küçük tepeli was possibly a headdress which the ilmiye members wore during the non-ceremonial days.

Another element that complements the headdress of the ilmiye members is the taylasan. Taylasan meant the tip of the cloth of the turban, spread between the shoulders or over the shoulders. It is related that the Prophet Muhammad wore turban and after he wrapped it, he spread it behind his shoulders.[33]

28 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 104.

29 Quoted from Mehmet Kökrek, "Osmanlı Serpûşları," *El Sanatları*, 20 (2015), 53, in Esad Serezli, "Şeyhülislamlar: İstanbul'un Fethinden Sonra," *Tarih Hazinesi* I, 5 (1951): 249.

30 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 167.

31 Mehmed Zeki, "Serpuş," 108.

32 Mehmed Zeki, "Serpuş," 108.

33 Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, 222; Haydar Güngör, "Hz. Peygamber (S.A.S.) Döneminde Kullanılan Kıyafetler," *Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* IV, 8 (2016): 64.

Therefore, it is observed that the taylasan was used among the Ottoman ilmiye as well, as a sunnah. Likewise, sources state that the ulema hanged down taylasan during religious festivals.

'Serbent', as an interesting custom among the Ottoman officials and particularly the ulema, should be cited here as a headdress. 'Şemle', although it is to be considered as a turban in general terms, serbent is more likely to be understood as a piece of cloth worn around the head. It is understood that the senior ulema attached a black piece of cloth around their turbans, in addition to wearing a black turban to display their status, or to symbolize their mourning during the funeral services. Wrapping this kind of black piece of cloth around the turban is called 'serbent etmek' [serbenting]. As an example of this use, when Ahmed I [d. 1617] ascended to the throne, the state officials and of course, the ulema wore black şemles around their head during his father's funeral, and those who did not have şemle serbented black clothes around their heads.[34]

In fact, clothing and color norm, along with many regulations, made it possible to differentiate between religion indirectly. One can understand that the Westerners took note of such differentiation since the early periods, from the notes they took. According to a French diplomat serving in the Ottoman State, colors demonstrated the religions of those who bore them. In this framework, he stated that the Jews wore green, Zoroastrians wore black, Christians wore blue, and Muslims wore white headdresses.[35]



[34] Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Naîmâ Tarihi: 1*, trans. Zuhuri Danışman (İstanbul: Zuhuri Danışman Yayınevi, 1967), 388.

[35] Matthew Elliot, "Dress Codes in the Ottoman Empire: The Case of the Franks," *Ottoman Costumes: Fromm Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christopher K. Neumann (İstanbul: ErenYayıncılık, 2004), 107.

As for the headdresses of students, there is not any qualified information. Despite the fact that sources mention a headdress called 'softa külahı'[36] it is not clear whether this was actually used by students. It should not be hard to assume that students probably wore headdresses in accordance with the facilities or the wealth of the waqfs of the medreses that they studied at. In this sense, a plain terlik, takke or a kavuk would suffice, in accordance with the geographical conditions. When we examine some miniatures, from which it cannot be clearly established whether they are of students or not, some students spontaneously wrap muslin around the takkes which they fitted on their heads, and thus they had their headdresses. On the other hand, it can be remembered in this section that students called 'çömez' [disciple] would prepare and carry the cübbes and turbans of those who were at the müderris and danişment levels, within the framework of the personal supports.[37]

Mustafa Âlî of Gelibolu, mentions clothes too, in his work titled Halat al-Kahire, in which he tackled Egypt. In this part, he states that those whom he defined as 'molla' [mullah], that is, probably the ilmiye members, wore large, and Arabic style turbans. As understood from what Mustafa Âlî of Gelibolu wrote, public would walk around in scholarly clothes as well.[38]

Despite the fact that some of his information on the shape and stitches of turban and kavuk were from the latest period, it seems possible to find them in the İstanbul court records. A 30 January 1804 dated decree sent to the qadi of İstanbul establishes that the turbans used by the İç Ağaları [inner chiefs] were sewn differently, compared to the traditional sizes and shapes. The verdict also includes names of such turbans, such as 'karyağdı', in a mocking way. According to the decree, it was required that "*As some of the attendants known as iç ağası had some weird quilted turbans sewn, with quite wide and*

36 Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 1*, 752.

37 Mehmet İpşirli "Çömez," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* VIII (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1993), 380.

38 Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Hâlâtü'l-Kahire mine'l-Âdâti'z-zâhire*, trans. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1984), 49.

large tops, their openings thinner and smaller than their tops, without linings, with stripe stitches, and other wider turbans, with quite hollow tops, their sides one fingerbreadth higher than the top, and wore turbans called karyağdı or similar weird names, and over them, and they were seen to walk around the bazaars in a way that provoked laughter; quilted turbans of those who had them should be pierced through, and fitted around their makers's necks, and necessary actions should be taken, with no regard to their feelings. It is hereby aimed to ensure that order and decency conditions prevail, and it should be communicated to the turban making artisans by your side, and hence forth, quilted turbans with stripes or spilled over stitches should not be made as a novelty either secretly or openly, and they should be made to be be equal on the top and the bottom, width and length in the same size with the top, sides in line with the sides of its top, and tops less hollow, and the stripes and spilled over stitches in line with the tradition, and in summary, it should be made in accordance with the old overlook…"[39] and the traditional kavuk styles were described in great details. As per what is written in the document, 'patlak dikişli' [popped sewn] kavuks, made in a way that the upper part is wide, and the part worn over the head is narrow. It is presumed that those who wore these kavuks, around which destar is wrapped, would display a flamboyant attitude, and they were not sewn by the artisans of such kinds of kavuks, and they were required to remove such kavuks and 'put it on their heads' disregarding the others.

OUTWEAR

Cübbes or the kaftans worn over cübbes constitute another element of the clothes of the Ottoman ilmiye, as an outwear item. Some confusions are seen in the clothing practices of the Ottoman ulema, both in type and name, and in many cases, cübbe, and biniş and kaftan as a weight, is confused with hil'at. When reviewed in general terms, one can claim that the actual outwear is the cübbe. The fact that the cübbe had a practical size and quality makes one think that it was used by the ulema comfortably

[39] *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 97 Numaralı Sicil (H.1217-1225 / M. 1802-1810),* 127. [Hüküm Nr: 58; Original Text Nr: 21a]

during lectures, announcing fatwas and in courts. Therefore, it can be asserted that the cübbe was the daily cloth of the ulema.

Kaftans, which were made in different styles, for representation of the favorite or loyal subjects of the sultan, along with being a ceremonial cloth, was another kind of outwear worn over the cübbe. In any case, the order of the successive outwears is cübbe > biniş > ferace > kaftan.[40]

Despite the fact that the back of the cübbe is less than the front, it is stated that it is a dress which is closed up by placing the flaps over each other. One can claim that this outlook is similar to the outwear worn by the ulema during the Ayyubids era. It is understood from the sources that the ilmiye members during the Ayyubids era would wear "…*over their dresses a fur [cübbe] with quite wide sleeves, the front completely open, and spreading over the heels, or an ferace slashed from the top to the bottom, tied around the waist with a waist cloth, instead of fur*".[41]

It is known that two types of cübbes were used in the Ottomans. This kind of cloth, known as kaba among the Turks, had a peculiar feature with the sleeve. In this regard, two types of sleeve design developed. It should be also remembered that two types of sleeves existed along with the width, namely the short and the long sleeves. In addition to the style in which it narrows down from the shoulders to the ankles, it is observed that those with wide sleeves were also preferred.[42]

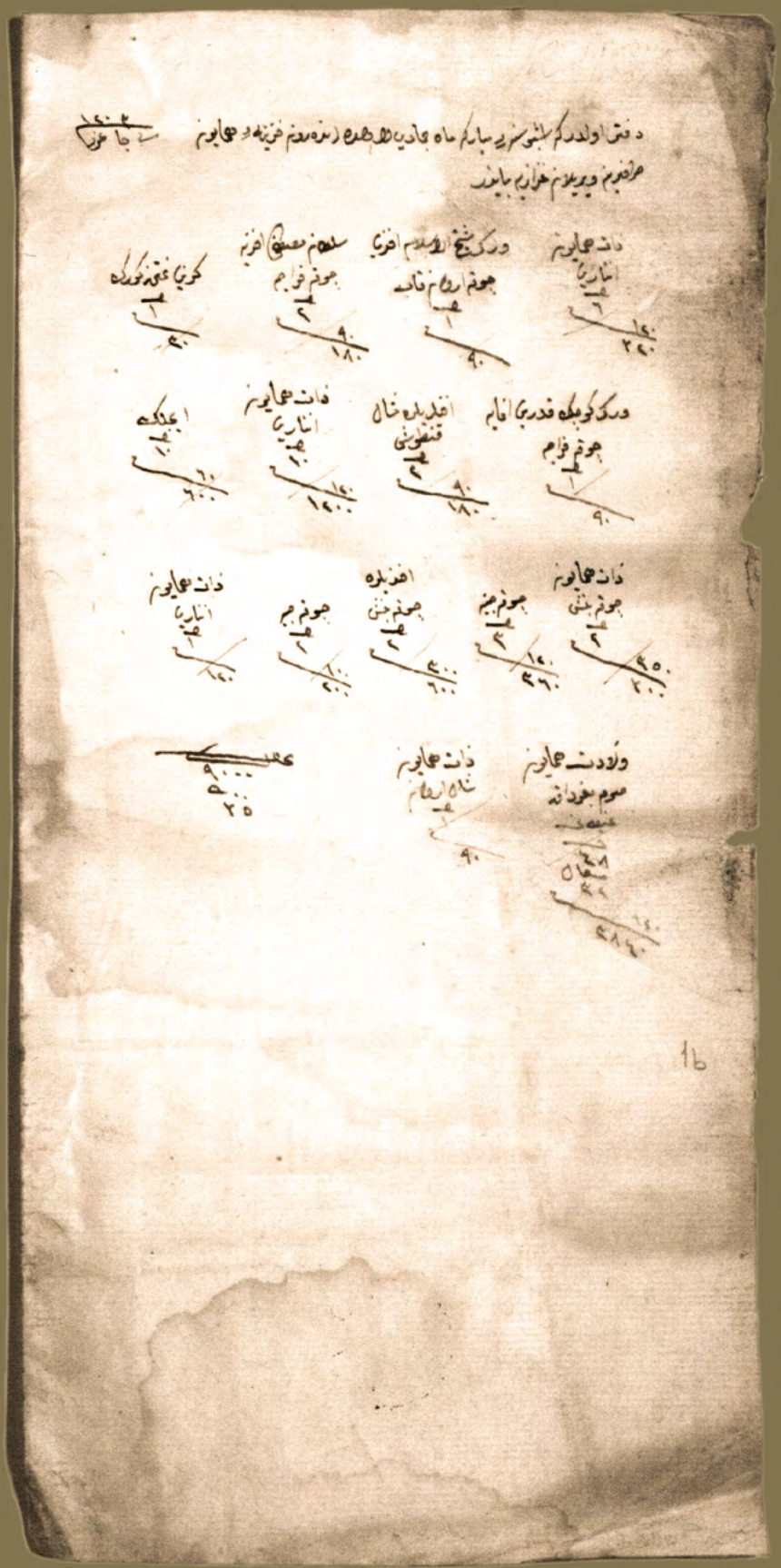
It is understood from miniatures that cübbes made of different fabrics had a wide range of use in the Ottoman society. In this regard, it is interesting that miniatures include both kaftan tailors and weavers of waist cloth, as a supplement of the outwear.[43] As explained before, since it was the law

[40] For metrical measures of lengths of some dresses like kaftan, ferace, dolama, vest and çakşır in 1614, see: "Garment Lengths in 1624," (Accessed on 22 May 2019). http://www.issendai.com/16thcenturyistanbul/fabrics-and-colors/garment-lengt-hs-in-the-1624-narh-defterleri/

[41] Ahmet Çelebi, "İslâm Eğitim-Öğretim Târihinde Müderrislerin Kıyafetleri," 44.

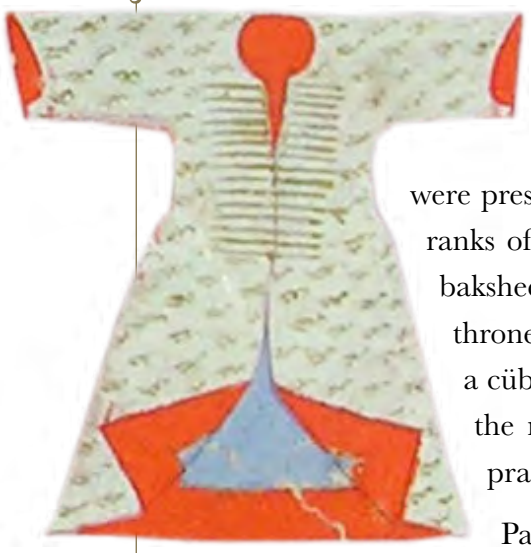
[42] Türkoğlu, "Cübbe," 102.

[43] Atasoy, *1582: Surname-i Hümayun: Düğün Kitabı*, 92. *Surname-i Hümayun*, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 22b, 121a, 378a.



DOCUMENT 5. **1788 Dated Inventory and Accounting Book on the Entaris, Fur Covers, Feraces, Mintans, Kontoşes, Under Garments and Cübbes Made for the Sultan, Sheikh al-Islam, Şehzades [Princes] and Other Persons**

Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi: D. 2434.



for the sultans who ascend to the throne to grant allowances to his subjects, such a practice was expected from the new sultan as well. While cash allowances were presented to the lower ranks of the askerî subjects, upper ranks of the askerî, such as the ulema, would receive in kind baksheesh in the form of clothes. For instance, as of the enthronement of Selim II, it was introduced as a law to grant a cübbe made of alpaca, along with the cash baksheesh, for the müderrises, except for the Sahn-ı Seman, and it was practices as such.[44]

Pakalın states that cübbe is a tight dress worn under biniş.[45] Besides, it should be added here that long-sleeved cübbes, shorter than a loose robe is called 'abdestlik' [for ablution]. As he wrote that the cübbe 'had a two centimeter-wide, soft collar', it is understood that the cübbe was a dress with collar. It is observed that it was made of cashmere for winter, and of alpaca, for summer.[46] Pakalın, further notes that the ilmiye members, beside the medrese members, were not able to wear cübbe, and had to use lata, during the later periods.[47] In fact, 'lata' is the name of an outwear worn by the ulema class, over their cübbes, in the form of a topcoat. It can be claimed that the lata was of the slate-grey color, made of dark or black colored broadcloth, and was quite long.[48]

In Sufism, having the followers wear the cübbe was a sign of succession, in terms of certifying the succession. Pakalın states that the biniş was a dress worn by ulema, while the cübbe was a looser dress, and had shorter sleeves.

[44] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları: 1 – Acemi Ocağı ve Yeniçeri Ocağı*, 341; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 1*, 314.

[45] Biniş was a type of cübbe and it differs from the former in that its body is looser, and sleeves are longer. Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, 39

[46] Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 1*, 311.

[47] Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 1*, 311

[48] Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 2*, 356.



He further states that biniş was the wider one, while the ferace was a dress whose sleeves were loosely cut.[49] If Pakalın is to be appealed again, it will be understood that ferace is an outwear worn in the official ceremonies, with lace decoration. However, the imperative to wear ferace was introduced after 1848, with the new organizational structure.[50]

Although ferace was women's dress, those worn by the ulema came to be named as such, afterwards. Likewise, it is stated in resources that the biniş worn by the ulema was also called ferace. According to Kazım Kadri, changing the ferace as biniş is because such clothes were worn by the ulema on horses during ceremonies.[51]

Courses in the court were called 'Biniş Ceremony' or 'Biniş-i Hümayun',[52] and the mukarrirs [lecturers] and their acceptors who attended the course were presented with various gifts, at the end of this ceremony. Among these gifts were clothes and relevant products, as well. In this framework, bundles which contain fabrics and "*çakşır [male shalwar made of thin fabric],*

49 Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 1*, 235.

50 Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 1*, 602.

51 Hüseyin Kazım Kadri, *Türk Lugati: 1.* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1928), 854.

52 Halil Şimşek, "The Missing Link in the History of Quranic Commentary: The Ottoman Period and the Quranic Commentary of Ebussuud/Abu al-Su'ud al-'Imādī (d. 1574 CE) Irshad al-'aql al-salim ilā mazaya al-Kitab al Karim" (PhD Dissertation, Toronto University, 2018), 113.



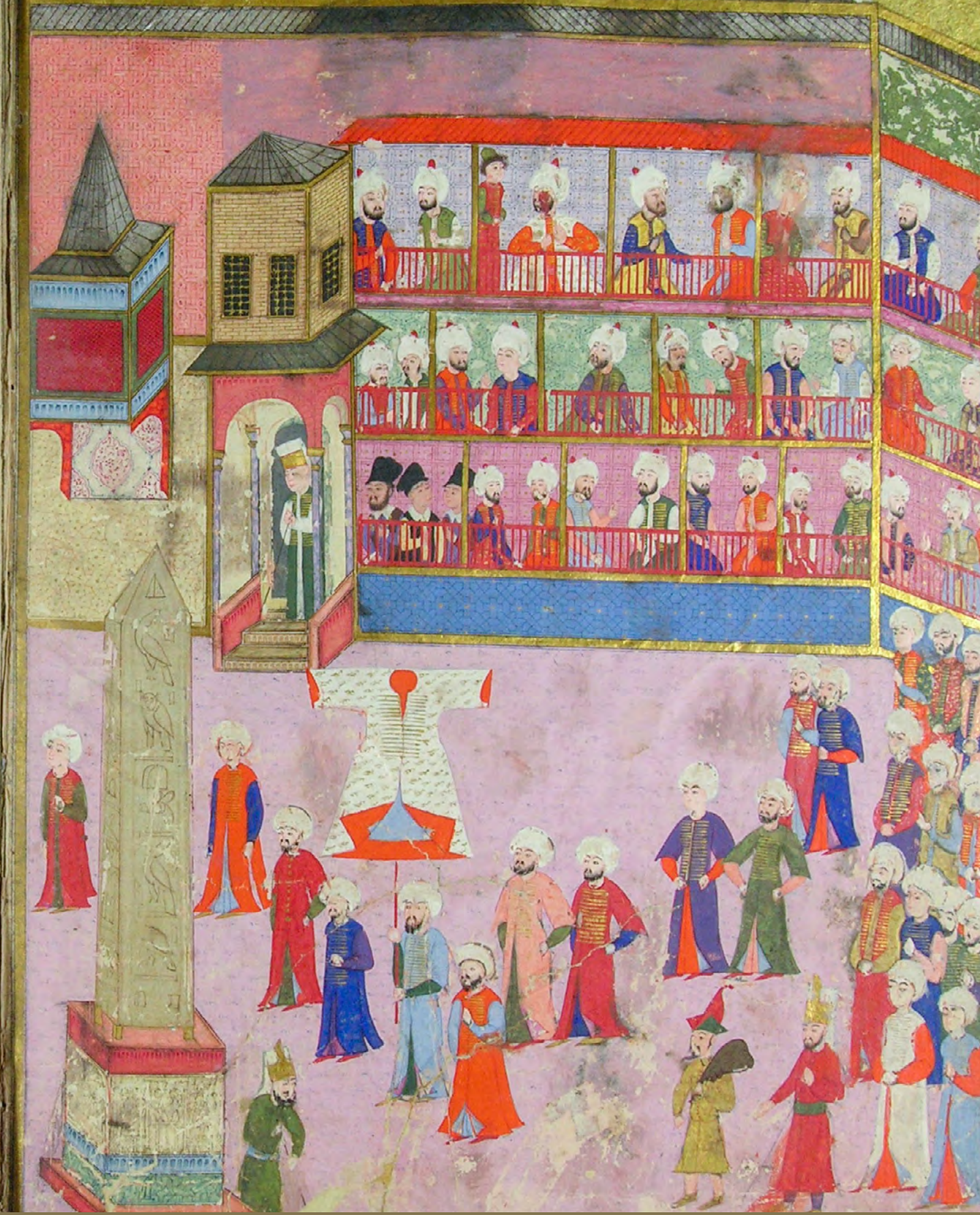


FIGURE 17. **Tailors in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 22b-23a.

kaftan, entari, kavuk, destar [turban] car, satin, ferace, cübbe, muslin, waist cloth, shoes, broadcloth and various fabrics"[53] as religious festival gifts.

As understood from the archive documents, the ulema continued to wear some clothes belonging to the ilmiye, despite the fact that some problems were experienced during the Tanzimat [reform] years [1839-1878]. Yet, we learn from the documents that some deficiencies were observed in this regard, in time. With reference to a decree in 1838, qadis were required to wear their lawful clothes during official gatherings and divan meetings, like müderrises, and in this regard, they were asked to wear 'telli imame and ferace', in other words, turbans and cübbes, wishing to ensure order.[54]

Another outwear mentioned with cübbe is dolama, and it must have been produced in three [3] styles, like the cübbe. They differed in that they were tight and fit over the body. Beside the fact that the dolama could be long or short sleeved, they were made of precious fabrics and furs, except for the broadcloth.[55]

It should be stated here that the colors of kaftans and cübbes and the fittings on them, such as stripes and buttons symbolized ranks.[56] Kaftans were in three [3] different lengths, namely the those extending over the hips, knees and ankles.[57] Generally, they had buttons or çaprasts. Their

53 Ebü'l-ula Mardin, *Huzur Dersleri: 2-3*, (İstanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1966), 55-94.

54 Hamiyet Sezer Feyzioğlu and Selda Kılıç, "Tanzimat Arifesinde Kadılık-Naiplik Kurumu," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* XXIV, 38 (2005): 48.

55 Özer Küpeli, "Revan Seferi'ne Götürülen Padişah Kıyafetleri," *Cihannüma: Tarih ve Coğrafya Araştırmaları Dergisi* II, 2 (2016): 37. Halil İnalcık, *Türkiye Tekstil Tarihi Üzerine Araştırmalar* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 59.

56 Nihat Öztoprak, "Divan Şiirinde Giyim Kuşam Üzerine Bir Deneme," *Divan Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 4 (2010): 120.

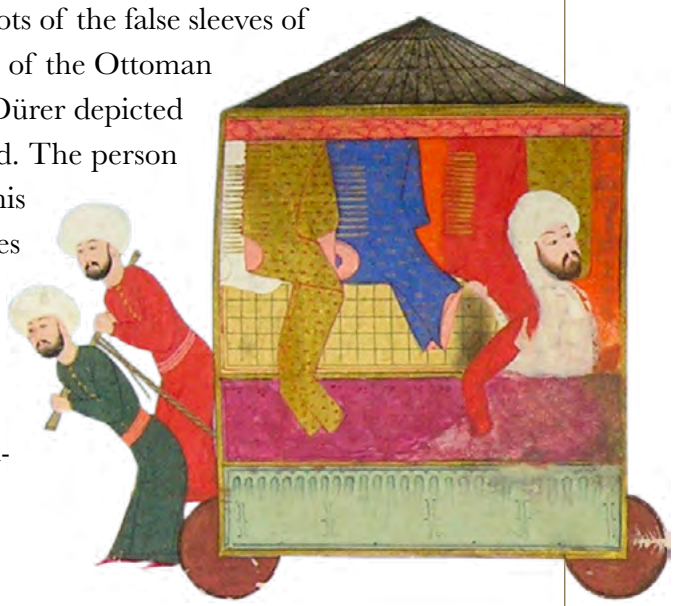
57 It can be assumed that long kaftans were of 151 cm, while the medium ones were 147 and short ones were 142 cm long. For detailed information on the types, materials and their lengths, see: Kütüoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri*, 109-137. Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "1624 Sikke Tashihinin Ardından Hazırlanan Narh Defterleri," *Tarih Dergisi* 34 (1984): 123-182.

sides were sometimes decorated or with small slashes that would ensure ease of movement. Likewise, they would have pocket openings at the waist level, on the sides. Despite the fact that kaftans and their linings were of the same color, various and plain colored ones were seen as well. Kaftans were made in two types as sleeved and sleeveless. Sleeveless ones had false sleeves [kolluk], spreading over the back, and providing a spectacular look.[58]

In some ulema dresses, we also see collars, sometimes extended towards the back side of the dress. The roots of this is, of course, falls into the field of clothing and art historians. However, it can be stated, as an assumption, that this is rooted in a design. In fact, similar clothing types in a manuscript in the book titled Hüsrev ü Şirin by Hatifi [d. 1521] can be considered as the early examples. In fact, in a scene described as a poetry gathering, it is understood that long collars drop over the back sides of the clothes of those present were designed as a part of the cloth.[59]

It is surprising to see a style similar to the drawings of Albrecht Dürer [d. 1528] in the years 1496-97. That Dürer depicts the collars of the coat-shaped outwears that spread over the back, through which he described the Ottomans, supports the example mentioned above. In this regard, it can be claimed that such collars were a design, as well as a means for protecting the head in cold days.

The drawing dated 1496, in which a akıncı [raider] was depicted, can be an evidence which shows the historical roots of the false sleeves of the kaftans which were among the clothes of the Ottoman ulema. In the painting called the akıncı, Dürer depicted a woman with her child, and her husband. The person called raider is seen bearing a turban on his head, wrapped around a kavuk. In his shoes



58 Çetin, "On Yedinci Yüzyıl Kıyafet Albümlerinde Osmanlı Erkek Giyim-Kuşamı," 265.

59 Hatifi, *Hüsrev ü Şirin*, The New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. 69.27, 1v.

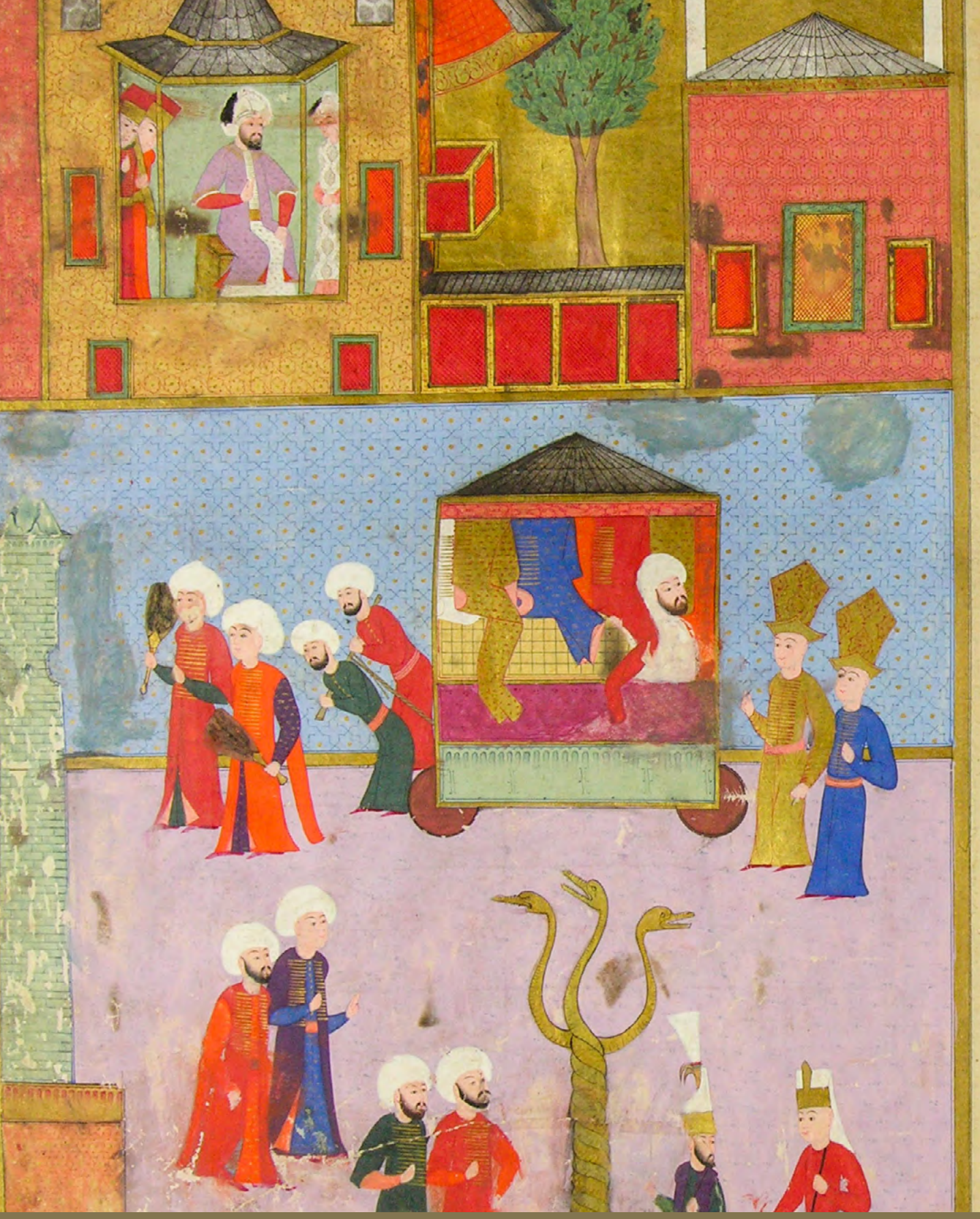
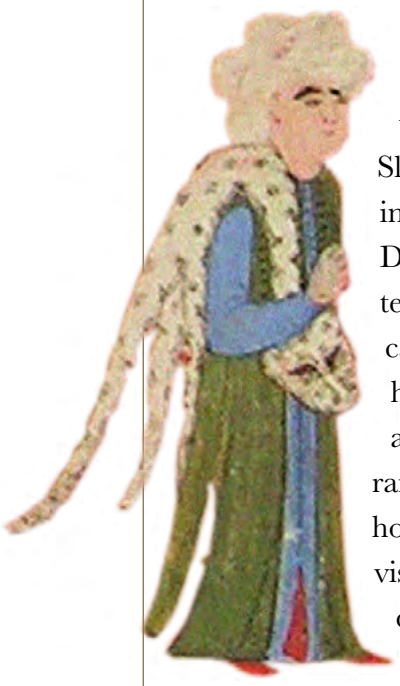




FIGURE 18. **Kaftan Makers in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 121a.



he had a classic yemeni. There is an outwear on the raider, holding the bow and arrow in his left hand, the collar stretched towards the back, which was drawn in the other painting by Dürer as well. Sleeves of this outwear resembles the pseudo sleeves frequently seen in the kaftans of the Ottoman ulema. In fact, both this one and the Dürer's three [3] paintings where the Ottomans was the subject matter, can be deemed important in that they depict how false sleeves came to being. In both of the paintings in question, the outwears had functional sleeves. Yet, there are openings where the sleeves are attached to the body, at the armpit part. In the painting of the raider, the sleeves are long, and reach over the ground. The raider is holding his war equipment, extending his hand out of the opening, visible between this sleeve and the body. In the painting where Dürer depicts three [3] Ottomans, it is observed that one person wears a long-sleeve dress, and that sleeves are long. The aforementioned opening is closed with a button. However, although the other two had their clothes on, it can be observed that the unbuttoned openings at the armpit remains open, as they fix their hands behind. This design, which initially seems to be a measure that would allow for using weapons, may have turned into a dress worn by the askerî segments, in time.[60]

In the ulema group scene in I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626 is quite interesting. However, the fact that the ulema did not wear cübbes with çaprast, makes it imperative to look into the visual cautiously. In the ulema group scene in I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626, the ulema were depicted as wearing different and vivid colored cübbes. The cübbe of a scholar, under whose arm a book was placed had a cübbe with çaprast and brit buttons. As stated above, despite the fact that this style is not an Ottoman ilmiye style, it can be assumed that it represents the sheikh al-Islam or qadiasker, in that the çaprast referred to a higher rank. It is seen on the

[60] Albrecht Dürer, *Three Orientals: Three Turks Wearing Long Coats and Turbans*, British Museum, Inv. No. 1895.0915.974. Albrecht Dürer, *The Turkish Family*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. 19.73.97.

right side of the visual that the ulema, depicted from his back, had a violet cloak on his back, beside his cübbe. Their entaris which are brit buttoned down to their waists inside their cübbes are tied with a waist cloth at the belly level. Their cloaks spills over the ends of their cübbes, and therefore, their çakşırs or shalwars that they wear inside their cloaks are not clearly visible.[61]

Another dress is ferve-i beyza. Ferve-i beyza is a cloth to the sheikh al-Islam's office, which they wore before the sultan.[62] A kind of cübbe that the sheikh al-Islam wore specifically for ceremonies are called as such. Although this is a ceremonial cloth, the cloth which was worn by the person who was appointed as the sheikh al-Islam, when summoned to the court, as a sign of his duty is called ferve-i beyza. Ferve-i beyza is made of the furs of the white sea otter and white alpaca.[63] It is known that, when ferve was not available, robe was used as well. In this regard, for example, among the late period sheikh al-Islams, the experience of Ziyaeddin Efendi [d. 1918] can be remembered, despite it was a quite late example. Ziyaeddin Efendi accepted the duty after some hesitation during the appointment, but as the ferve-i beyza, which the sheikh al-Islams were required to wear, could not be found, he joined the procession with signs placed over a black lata.[64]

It should be noted here that, besides the ferves, the furry outwears commissioned by the sultans, and granted to their subjects are generally called the hil'at. That the collars seen in the Ottoman hil'ats were furry is, indeed, a sign that the Central Asian tradition continued. In the Central Asia, the collar of a cloth was a part of the cloth which was taken



61 Heinrich Hendrowski, *Bilderaus dem türkischen Volksleben*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626, fol. 105.

62 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 194. Tahsin Özcan, "Veliyüddin Efendi," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XLII (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2013), 40

63 Koçu, *Türk GiyimKuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*,112-113; İpşirli, "Şeyhülislam," 94.

64 Tahsin Özcan, "Ziyaeddin Efendi," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XLIV (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2013), 490.

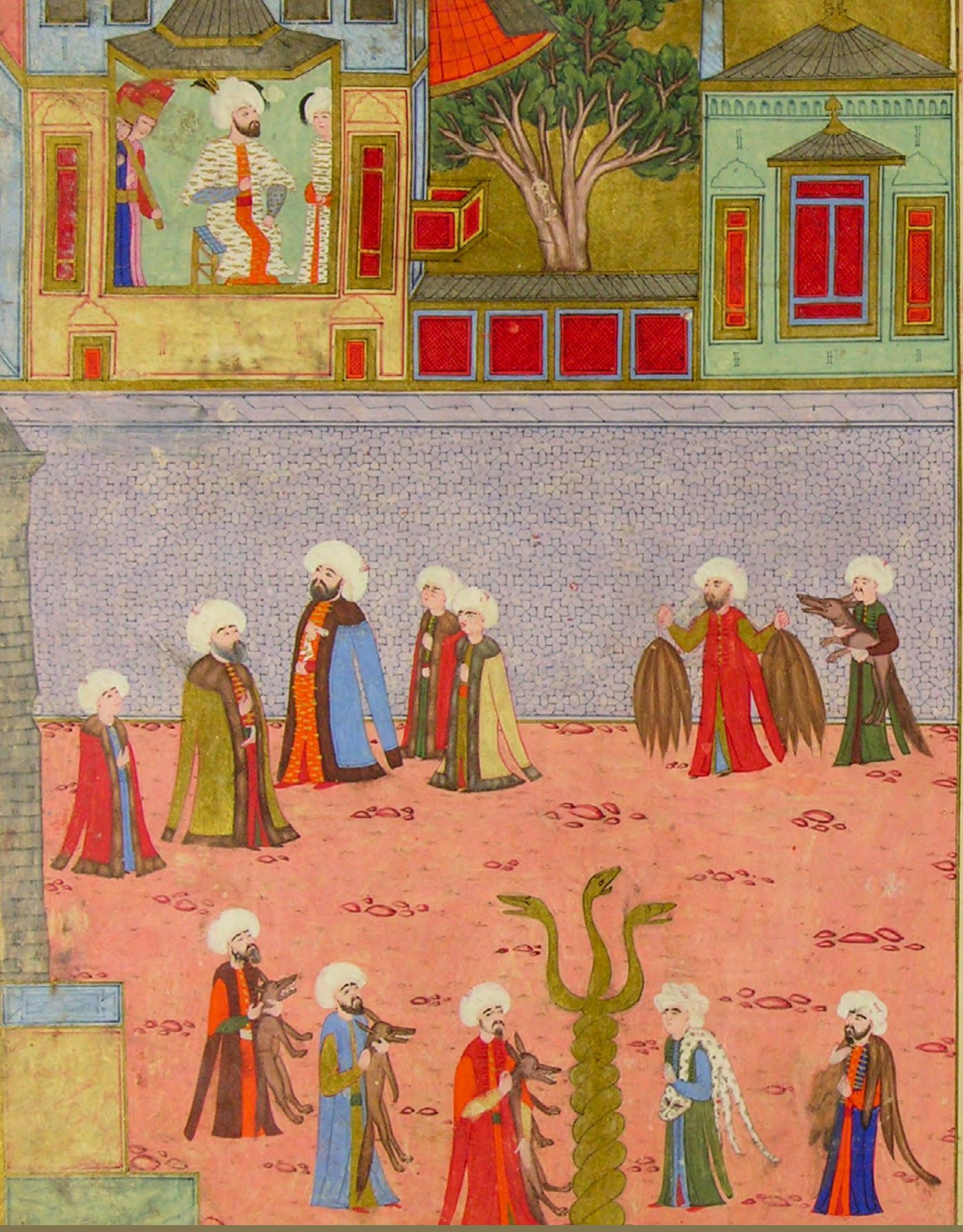




FIGURE 19. **Fur Coat Makers in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 146b-147a.

seriously, as a symbol of status. Indeed, it is stated that this had an 'honorary' meaning.[65] Therefore, the collars of the Ottoman ulema clothes were sewn with large, wide and furry, in relation to the position. In fact, hil'at is an Arabic word and used in the sense of kaftan. It would be appropriate to consider the hil'at as a 'dress bestowed to a person, when he would be honored', as in the case of tiraz, widely used among the Abbasids and the Umayyads. Therefore, it is quite appropriate to define kaftan as a dress of honor.[66] In this regard, hil'ats had a special place in the Ottoman state order. Hil'ats were made of glitters, along with furs and fabrics. As they are products peculiar to the sultan, they are produced under his supervision.[67] It is known that hil'ats are produced by the tailors in the court, especially after the 16th century. Among the major hil'at types, those with satin fabric interior, and the black fox fur exterior were called 'kapaniçe'. 'Kontoş' and 'seraser' comes after, in terms of quality and characteristics. Seraser is also a similar kind of precious fur, and it is among the expensive ceremonial dresses won by the senior officials.

It is known that sheikh al-Islams, qadiaskers, naqib al-ashrafs, mawali and some müderrises wore furs called 'muvahhidi' furs.[68] Although it is a later

[65] Necdet Sakaoğlu and Nuri Akbayar, *Derinin Anadolu'da Bin Yıllık Öyküsü* (İstanbul: Creative Yayıncılık ve Tanıtım, Orjin Grup, 2002), 69.

[66] Görünür and Ögel, "Osmanlı Kaftanları ile Entarilerinin Farkları ve Kullanılışları," 62. Phillips, "Ottoman Hil'at: Between Commodity and Charisma," 124. Mehmet Şeker, "Hil'at," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XVIII (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1998), 23.

[67] For an excellent assessment of the historical and political background of the hil'at as well as its characteristics in the Ottomans, see: Amanda Phillips, "Ottoman Hil'at: Between Commodity and Charisma," *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*, ed. Marios Hadjianastasis (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015), 111-138. For a general assessment on the value of the hil'at in the Ottomans, see: Filiz Karaca, "Hil'at," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XVIII (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1998), 25-27.

[68] Filiz Karaca, "Kürk," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XXVI (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2002), 569. For fur coated precious clothes, see also: Tahsin Öz, *Türk Kumaş ve Kadifeleri: I* (İstanbul: Ekonomi Bakanlığı, 1946). Tahsin Öz, *Türk Kumaş ve*



period source, information provided in Sahaflar Şeyhizade Esad Efendi's [d. 1848] work, titled Teşrifat-ı Kadime, shows that the tradition continued in the 19th century as well. As understood in literal terms, even at that time, the sheikh al-Islam participated in the memorial service with a turban on his head, and a white fur on his back. It is noted that the ulema, as members of the ilmiye, had örfs on their heads, and muvahhidi furs on their backs.[69] In the final analysis, the fur was always a privileged cloth. In this regard, both in the clothing norm and its users, it can be studied as a symbol of status. Therefore, it is possible to consider fur as a symbol of power, force and wealth.[70]

TÜBA TÜRKİYE BİLİMLER AKADEMİSİ TURKISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Kadifeleri: II (İstanbul: Ekonomi Bakanlığı, 1951). Hülya Bilgi, *Çatma ve Kemha* (İstanbul: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 2007); Nurhan Atasoy et. al. *İpek: Osmanlı Dokuma Sanatı* (İstanbul: TEB İletişim ve Yayıncılık, 2001). Fikri Salman, *Türk Kumaş Sanatı* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2011).

69 Esad Efendi, *Osmanlılarda Töre ve Törenler: [Teşrifât-ı Kadîme]*, trans. Yavuz Ercan (İstanbul: Tercüman Gazetesi, 1979), 22.

70 Güler Yarcı, "Osmanlı Kürk Ticaretinde Bir Ölçü Birimi: Beden," in *Beden Kitabı*, ed. Emine Gürsoy-Naskali and Aylin Koç (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2009), 487. For detailed names and prices of furs, see also: Zeki Tekin, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kürk Ticareti," in *Türkler*, ed. Hasan Celal Güzel et. al, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), 1: 754-763.

In the clothes of the state officials, stoat was preferred in the beginning of the autumn, while squirrel was used at the end of the autumn, sable for winter; and squirrel for the beginning of the spring, and then stoat preferred again. In summer, angora feraces were preferred.[71] In fact "*As the ceilings of wooden buildings were quite high, and the braziers were not enough for heating the rooms during hard winter days, furs would come to help. In those times, the feathered surfaces of furs would be inside, and their exterior would be coated with broadcloth, satin or heavy and precious fabrics, brocaded completely, called seraser, depending on the degree*."[72]

One can claim that the administration in İstanbul cared about sewing of the hil'ats, as a symbol of class. Accordingly, it is understood from documents that the hil'at production in the countryside was followed up closely. Therefore, when the needs of the ulema class in the countryside was taken into consideration, beside those of the central ilmiye offices, this was not surprising. An imperial order in 1661, sent to the tailors in the countryside contains information on this issue. According to the imperial order registered in the İstanbul Court, miri hil'ats were required to be processed as per the rules, and the armpit and waist sections to be sewn tight, without cheating. And if anyone cheats, it is requested that the necessary action be taken against them.[73] Probably, this has two important aspects: The first one is about the insufficient use of the material which was used in production of hil'ats, which was probably the case implied by the word cheating. Because the quality and quantity of the material must have been already defined; and any deficit meant debasement of the hil'at. The second issue is that the armpit and waist parts were sewn too tight leading to difficulty in wearing them, and that the spaciousness normally observed in hil'ats was not provided for.

71 Koç and Koca, "Osmanlı Kanunlarında Giyim-Kuşam Yasakları," 34.

72 Midhat Sertoğlu, İstanbul Sohbetleri (İstanbul, Bedir Yayınevi, 1992), 7.

73 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 10 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1072-1073/M. 1661-1663)* 51 (İstanbul: Kültür A. Ş., 2019), 902. [Hüküm Nr: 1115; Original Text Nr: 155a]

The last form of outwear to be remembered is called the 'aba'. Felt was used particularly in the production of the clothes to be used by the lower income groups, as an important product. It can be claimed that this product, made of wool, with swingling method, has a coarse structure. Felt was generally used for making coats, overcoats and abas. As it was a humble and low-cost product, it can be assumed that those with limited financial means preferred it. Because it is non-engraved and non-decorated.[74] In fact, the cloth called aba and worn since the time of the Prophet was used as an outwear. Although it was related to Sufism in its content, it is recorded in some documents that the medrese students wore the aba. In this regard, this dress, open at the front, made of coarse fabric, in the form of an overcoat or topcoat, must have been a dress that could be worn by students, because it was probably cheap and low quality. Likewise, according to another source, aba was not worn only by the medrese students, and it is understood that "it was worn by lower rank ilmiye members", although not stated clearly.[75] All in all, the broadcloth from which the aba was cut out, was used also in making çakşır, cepken and yelek. Indeed, as stated by the travelers in Anatolia around the same period, the basic fabric used by the people in Anatolia, for their clothing was a woolen one, called alpaca. This raw material obtained from wool animals was common in Anatolia and famous in the world. It is for this very reason that Ankara was the capital of the wool obtained from a special type of goat, and European traders had their agencies in the city, just to buy this product. As wool is a material that keeps cool during summers, while keeping warm during winters, contrary to what is believed, and that it is widely available, has made it sustain its status as the main fabric material used in clothes in Anatolia, for centuries. This preference continued during the Ottomans as well, and it was used in clothes.

74 Öztoprak, "Divan Şiirinde Giyim Kuşam Üzerine Bir Deneme," 123.

75 Uludağ, "Abâ," 4-5.





FIGURE 20. **Çakşır Makers in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 123a.

UNDER GARMENTS

From the sultans to commoners, people, and particularly the ulema, had under garments, along with their outwears. Roughly mintan, zıbın, entari, shalwar, potur and waist cloth can be listed as the main under garments. Based on the archive sources, it is seen that socks, underpants and shalwar were worn as the very inner clothes, and over these clothes, zıbın, shirt, mintan, inner kaftan or entari were worn with a waist cloth. The under garments in the form of entari, also defined as inner kaftan, may have been used in daily life as well. On the other hand, while entari was an under garment that extends over the feet, with slits on both sides, mintan was a robe that extends over the waist.[76] Mintan was a cloth with parts worn inside were with slits, fitting on the waist, made of fabric, with straight collars, and three [3] or four [4] buttons, worn by passing the head through.[77]



It is stated in literature that sewing shalwars out of thick satin with cotton mix was a tradition for men. Therefore, if shalwar is to be taken as an under garment product, it can be assumed that the high-ranking persons wore this kind of shalwars.[78] In this framework, the cloth called shalwar is a replacement for today's trousers. The under garment called çakşır was divided into two, as potur and çakşır, and the one extends from the knee to the ankle tightly was called potur, while the short, loose, and contracted on the patella was called çakşır.[79] Çakşır was stated as "… *a shalwar, with mests on the lower parts, made of thin fabric, worn below the waist*…"[80] Probably, the ilmiye members wore clothes

[76] Küpeli, "Revan Seferi'ne Götürülen Padişah Kıyafetleri," 35, 37.

[77] Küpeli, "Revan Seferi'ne Götürülen Padişah Kıyafetleri," 37.

[78] Öztoprak, "Divan Şiirinde Giyim Kuşam Üzerine Bir Deneme," 108.

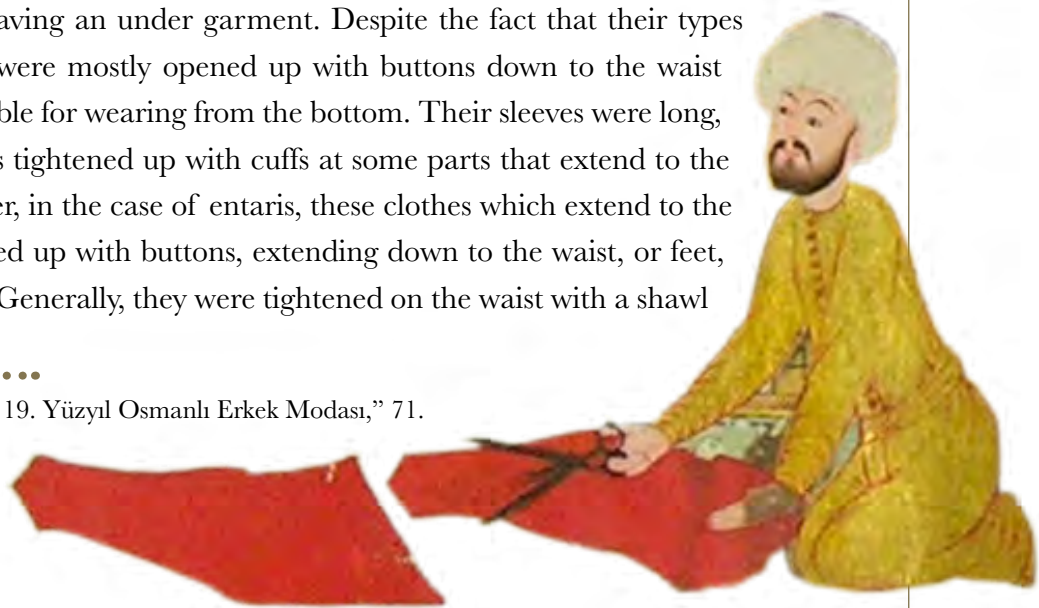
[79] Küpeli, "Revan Seferi'ne Götürülen Padişah Kıyafetleri," 37.

[80] Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 1*, 323.



in the shape of a shalwar, which functioned as trousers, in various colors and cuts. In this framework, it is understood from the studies that, ilmiye members wore some kind of shalwar, called 'elifi'. It should also be noted that this shalwar type was protected even during the bureaucratic reforms of Mahmud II [d. 1839].[81]

An entari or mintan was always worn as an under garment under the cübbe, thus, having an under garment. Despite the fact that their types differed, they were mostly opened up with buttons down to the waist and were suitable for wearing from the bottom. Their sleeves were long, and sometimes tightened up with cuffs at some parts that extend to the wrists. However, in the case of entaris, these clothes which extend to the feet, were closed up with buttons, extending down to the waist, or feet, as in mintans. Generally, they were tightened on the waist with a shawl



81 Koca, "18. ve 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Erkek Modası," 71.



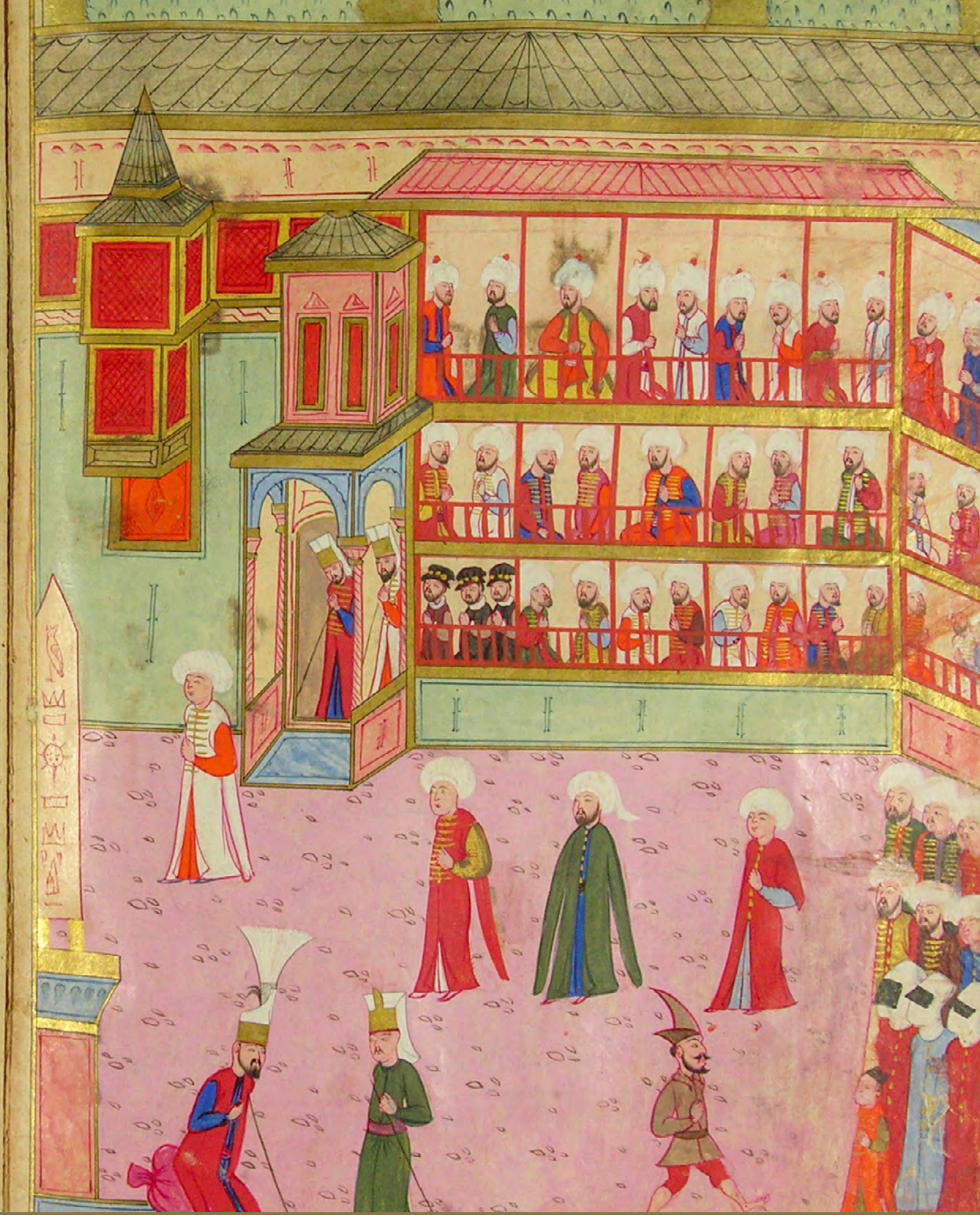


FIGURE 21. **Kuşak Makers in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 378a.

or a waist cloth, to open it up, and to provide ease of use; and a cübbe or a coat was worn over them, depending on the season.

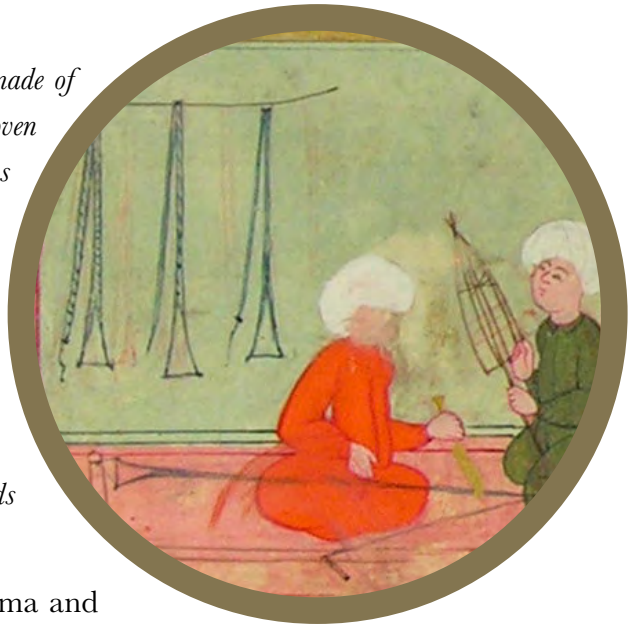
In the ulema group scene in I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626 resembles to the examples in the miniatures. The entaris worn by the ulema, which were extending over the ankles were opened at the front, and therefore, they were tied with a waist cloth at the end of the brit buttons. Sleeves of the entaris were seen through the wide sleeved but short cut cübbes. It is seen that the sleeves of the entaris, tied at the waists with buttons, were sewn in a way that they are widened from the waists to the shoulders, and the sleeves overlap, forming a wrinkle.

It can be said that the waist cloth has long been used in clothes by all nations, as an accessory. In this regard, it can be claimed that the Ottoman ulema used waist cloth as an accessory, as well. Although the first information on the waist cloth can be traced back to the Central Asia, the Anatolian Seljuks use can be better related to the Ottoman use. When it is remembered that Alaeddin Keykubat I [d. 1237] wrapped the ends of his entari with his waist cloth, the way it was used can be predicted.[82] By tying with the waist cloth tightly, it might have been ensured that the entari is not opened up, and that the shalwar remains fixed. It is seen that the waist cloth is frequently used among the Ottoman ulema. The interesting use in the miniature is that the waist cloth is hidden by wrapping the ends with the left and right sides, fixing it with a knot tied at the belly level.

For trousers and çakşırs, another accessory, called 'uçkur' or 'miyabend', meaning waist band, made of cloth, for tying the dress on the waist.[83] As it was stated, "*waist cloths have several types. The waist bands of fine men and women are made of all kinds of shawls, but the most desirable ones are made of Hind, Şam [Damascus] and Halep [Aleppo] shawls, and the abaniengrawed with yellow silk over linen brought from Gelibolu [Gallipoli]. There are also bands made of plain*

82 M. Zeki Oral, "Selçukîlerde Giyim Eşyası," *Türk Etnografya Dergisi*, V (1963): 16.

83 Lajos Fekete, "XVI. Yüzyılda Taşralı Bir Türk Efendi Evi," trans. M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, *Belleten* XLIII, 170 (1979): 62.



white muslin, edges from large pevres made of brocade fabric, the colored silk, stripe-woven Trablus [Tripoli] shawl used by artisans and young artisans,and the white wool band used by the very old persons as well as the dervishes and old ulema, also, the red-colored, woolen Algerian band, embroidered with white and red silk and gold thread and thin, "waist band" woven with colored silk and bands made of large kerchief".[84]

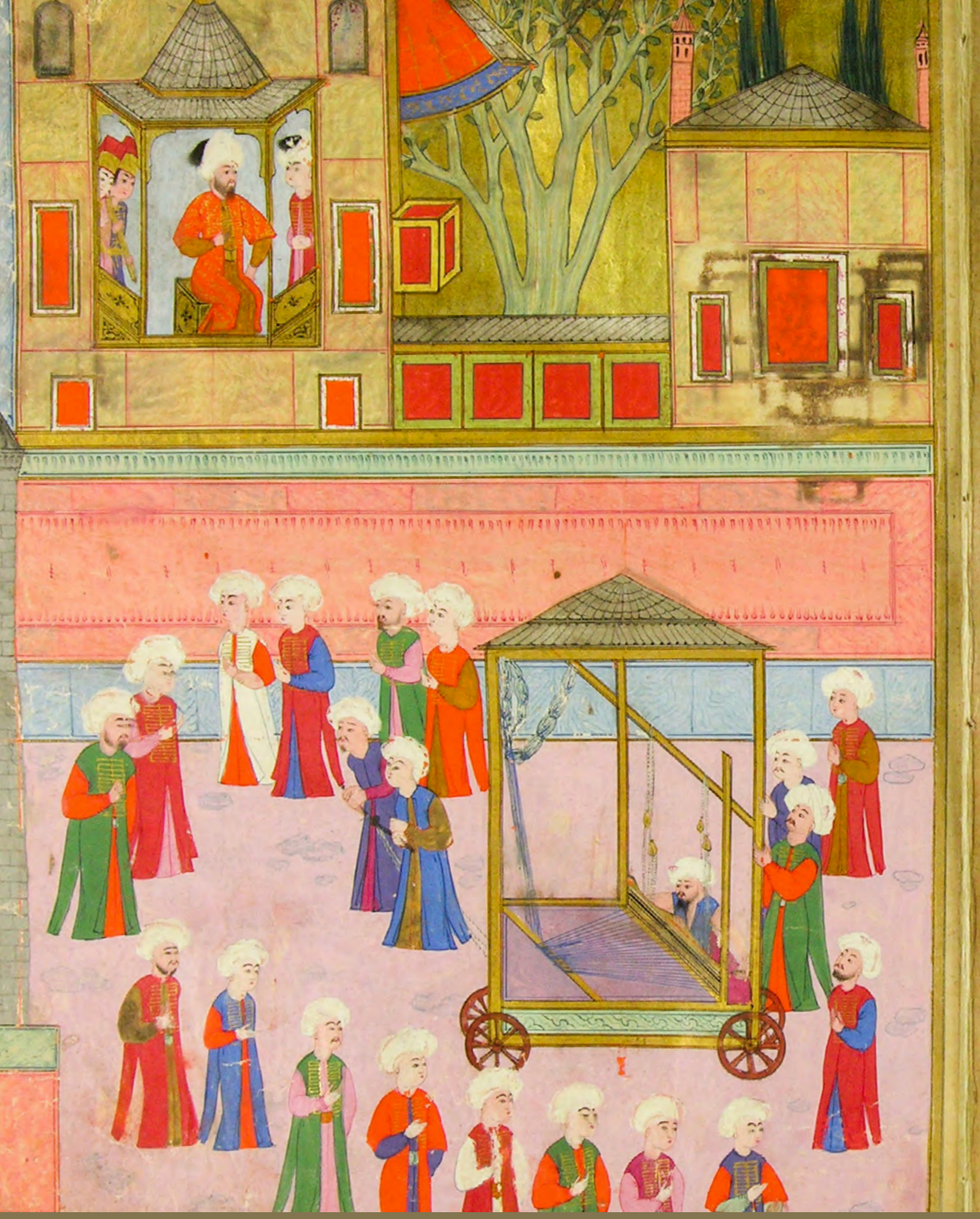
The bands worn by both the ulema and the young students in I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626 are wrapped around their waists. The band types in two examples of the same source are of similar styles. In the miniatures, the ends of the bands made of wide fabric, unlike what is seen, and of colors different from the cloth cannot be distinguished. This makes us think that the ends of the bands are wrapped by turning around several times, and also their ends are fixed in between. However, the band styles in the miniatures are such that they are wrapped tightly with thinner fabrics, and knotted at the waist level once or several times, and fixed the ends in the inner parts.

The outwears or cübbes seen in three [3] paintings by Albrecht Dürer with the Ottoman theme, are with brit buttons, and had bands around the waist. The engraved band of the figure in the middle was tied at the waist and their ends are dangling. However, the band ends of the figure at the right are seen to be fitted in the sides.[85]

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[84] Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri: Adat ve Merasim-i Kadime, Tabirat ve Muamelat-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye*, 227.

[85] Albrecht Dürer, *Three Orientals: Three Turks Wearing Long Coats and Turbans*, British Museum, Inv. No. 1895.0915.974.



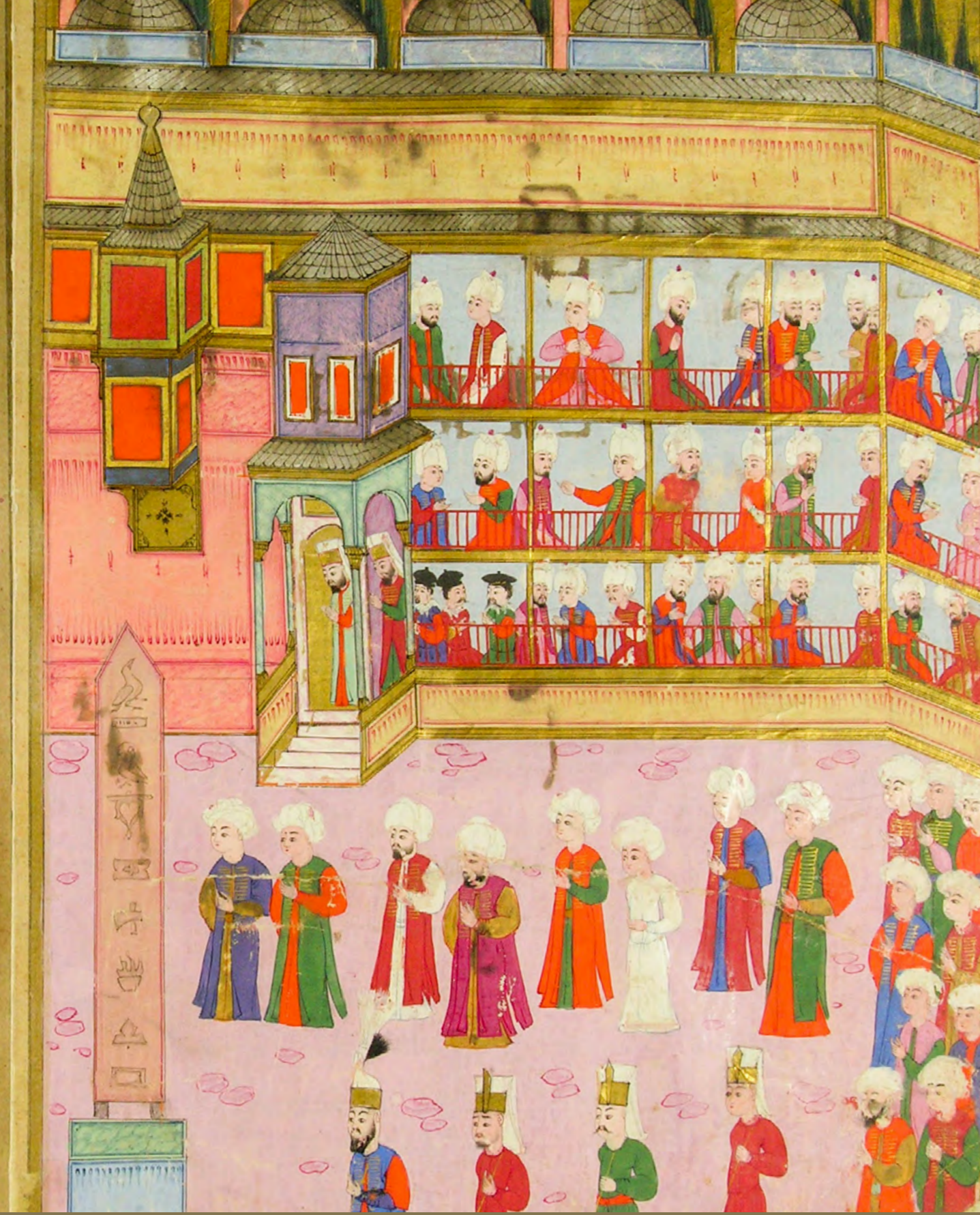
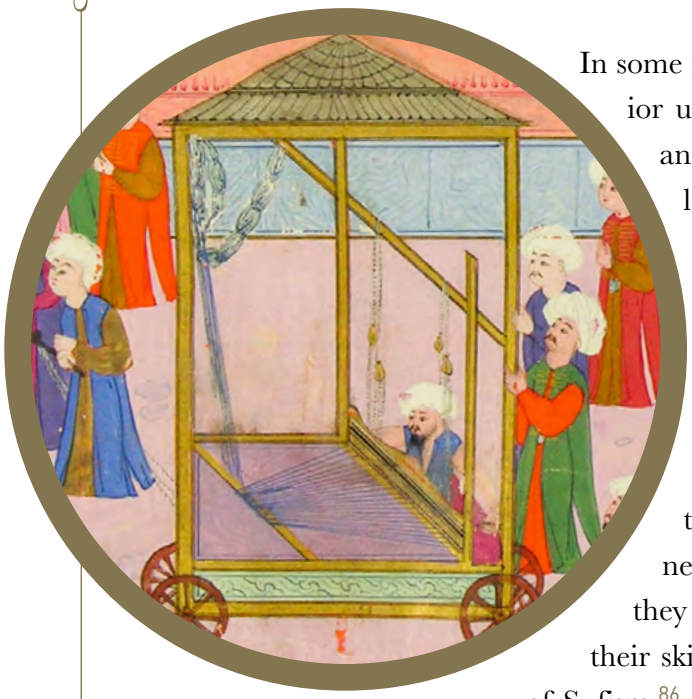


FIGURE 22. **Loincloth Makers in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 81b-62a.



In some miniatures, the müderrises or the senior ulema bearing the title mawlana, had an accessory called shawl, neckerchief or loincloth. The neckerchief, though it might be a clothing norm of the era, it might also be a sign of the Sufi joy of some ulema. As is known, some of the ulema attended the circles of prominent sheikhs of the era, for their spiritual education, along with the fiqh education. In this regard, the neckerchiefs of the Mawlawi, which they carried on their necks, extending over their skirts, made of woolen fabric, are signs of Sufism.[86]

Fashion must be pursued in the clothes of the Ottoman ilmiye members. Buttons were used as an important tool in creating some openings, particularly for providing ease of wearing. Probably, this provided ease of use, and in some respects, produced an aesthetic approach as well. For two reasons mentioned above, it is seen that buttons were used from the throat section to the waist, and sometimes to the ends of skirts. Likewise, in outwears such as dresses and shirts that extend from the wrists to the elbows, buttons were utilized. Surely, the buttons of the state officials' clothes were made of precious materials such as diamond, pearls and the like, while those in the ilmiye members' clothes were made of engraved materials such as fabric, thread and yarn. When we look at the depictions in miniatures, those engraved with fabric and yarn were preferred.

For the inner clothes, a band needs to be tied to fix kamis and shalwar together, tightly. Metal belts are used for fixing two sides of an outwear

86 "Prof. Dr. Reşat Öngören ile Söyleşi," *Tasavvuf: İlmi ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 8, 20 (2007): 271.

such as kaba or aba, by superimposing. However, in both of them, it is clear that a band or belt was used. That the bands used inside or outside were long and fringed may be dated back to the Seljuks period, long before the Ottomans.[87] However, it should be remembered that even during the era of Abdülhamid II [d. 1918] after the court lectures [Huzur Dersleri] given in the presence of the sultan in Yıldız Palace, the receptors would receive blue cübbes, while the mukarrirs would receive black one, along with shawls for their waists.[88]

SHOES

The fourth and the last element that complements clothing is shoes. They consist generally of buskins, boots, edik, yemeni, mest, pabuç and the like. Names of shoes were mentioned in foreign sources since the very early periods, and the names of clothes of the Ottoman ilmiye were included in foreign sources as object names. The first traces of them can be seen in the work titled De Turcarum Ritu Et Cereamoniis, printed in Antwerp in 1544. In the book the words *tsistme=çizme*, *babuts=pabuç*, *patsmag=başmak* and *mest* were included.[89] Likewise, it is seen that they are named differently in accordance with their different uses. Among such names,[90] pabuç, edik or iç edik,[91] mest-I pabuç, long-cropped çizme, short-cropped boots, terlik and çedik can be cited as examples.

87 Nurhan Atasoy, "Selçuklu Kıyafetleri Üzerine Bir Deneme," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, 4 (1971): 136, 111-151.

88 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 219.

89 Ömer Yağmur, "De Turcarum Ritu Et Cereamoniis (1544) İçerisinde Bulunan Çeviri Yazılı Sözlük Üzerine," *VIII. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi 30 Eylül-04 Ekim 2013 İstanbul: Bildiri Kitabı II*, ed. Mustafa Özkan, Enfel Doğan, Fatih M. Sanca (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2014), 624.

90 *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri: (975-976/1567-1569): II*, 42, 1270. hüküm.

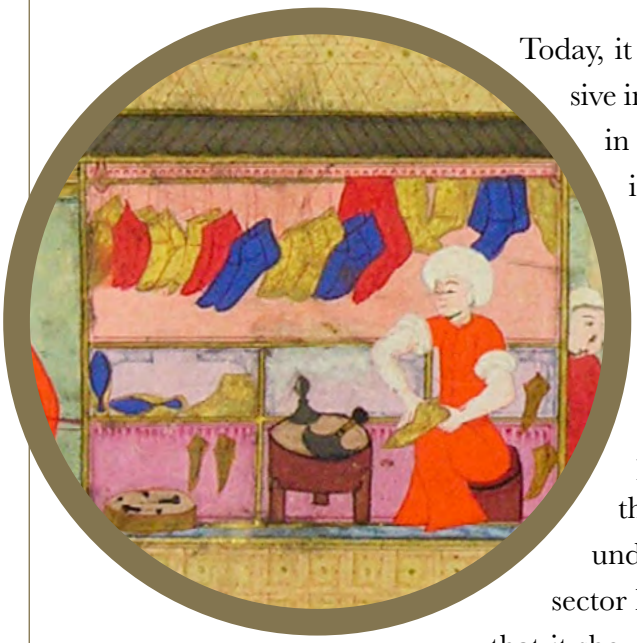
91 *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri: (975-976/1567-1569): II*, 42, 1270. hüküm; 395, 1966. hüküm.





FIGURE 23. **Çedik and Mest Makers in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 27a.



Today, it does not seem possible to find extensive information regarding the shoe-making in the Ottoman era. Therefore, revealing the style preferred in footwears of the ilmiye members is possible only through miniatures and other secondary sources. Surely, it can be claimed that a shoe-making sector was in production in the Ottoman period, in line with the needs of both the army and the public. Indeed, it is understood in 'Surname' that the said sector had accumulated wealth to the extend that it showed their skills in their field. The miniature depicting the shoe-making artisans while they were performing their art can be deemed as the most proof of it. Çizme, edik and other shoes of various colors are seen on the wall of an artisan, making shoes on a wheel-cart. Among what is distinguishable in the gallery of the artisan making shoes on the cart are mest, çedik and long-cropped boots. It can be stated that those which can be presumed to have been worn as mest and pabuç constitute the majority. On the other hand, artisans appear with their products in their hands.[92]

It should be conceived that the shoes which were complemental to the clothes worn by the ulema were also subject to regulations on colors. Because, as it was claimed, whether scholarly people wearing different colors of shoes, based on a deep-rooted practice, were maintained by the Ottomans as a Turkish custom is disputable. In fact, it should be remembered that the ulema had the privilege to wear blue mest and pabuç, to serve as a reference to such claim.[93]

92 *Surname-i Hümayun*, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 420a, 247b.

93 Sakaoğlu, *Derinin Anadolu'da Bin Yıllık Öyküsü*, 72.



In the ulema group scene in I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626, shoes were depicted in a quite vivid shape and style. As understood from the shoes pictured in this said source, ulema wore outer ediks of different colors. When we look particularly at the shoes of the scholar who was pictured at the right of the scene, as seen from the back, among others, this is quite visible. Despite the fact that Ottomans are seen to have worn heeled shoes in I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626 and other miniatures, in the aforementioned scene, shoes designed with sharp tip do not have leg parts, and heels. And inside the outer ediks, either inner ediks or inner shoes are worn. Another scholar in the scene is observed to have worn non-heeled, red edik.[94]

In Claes Rålamb's [d. 1698] album, drawings of different shoes, boots, inner shoes or ediks are found as well. Heeled shoes can be claimed to be preferred in the depictions of Christians or Persians, in general. Those of Muslims, however, were depicted as non-heeled, leather and flat-bottomed shoes.[95]

[94] Heinrich Hendrowski, *Bilderaus dem türkischen Volksleben*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626, fol. 105.

[95] *Rålambska Dräktboken,* Kungliga biblioteket, Cod.Rål. 8:o nr 10, 15, 26, 29, 97, 98, 102, 119. (Accessed on 21 December 2018). http://goran.baarnhielm.net/kb/draktboken.htm

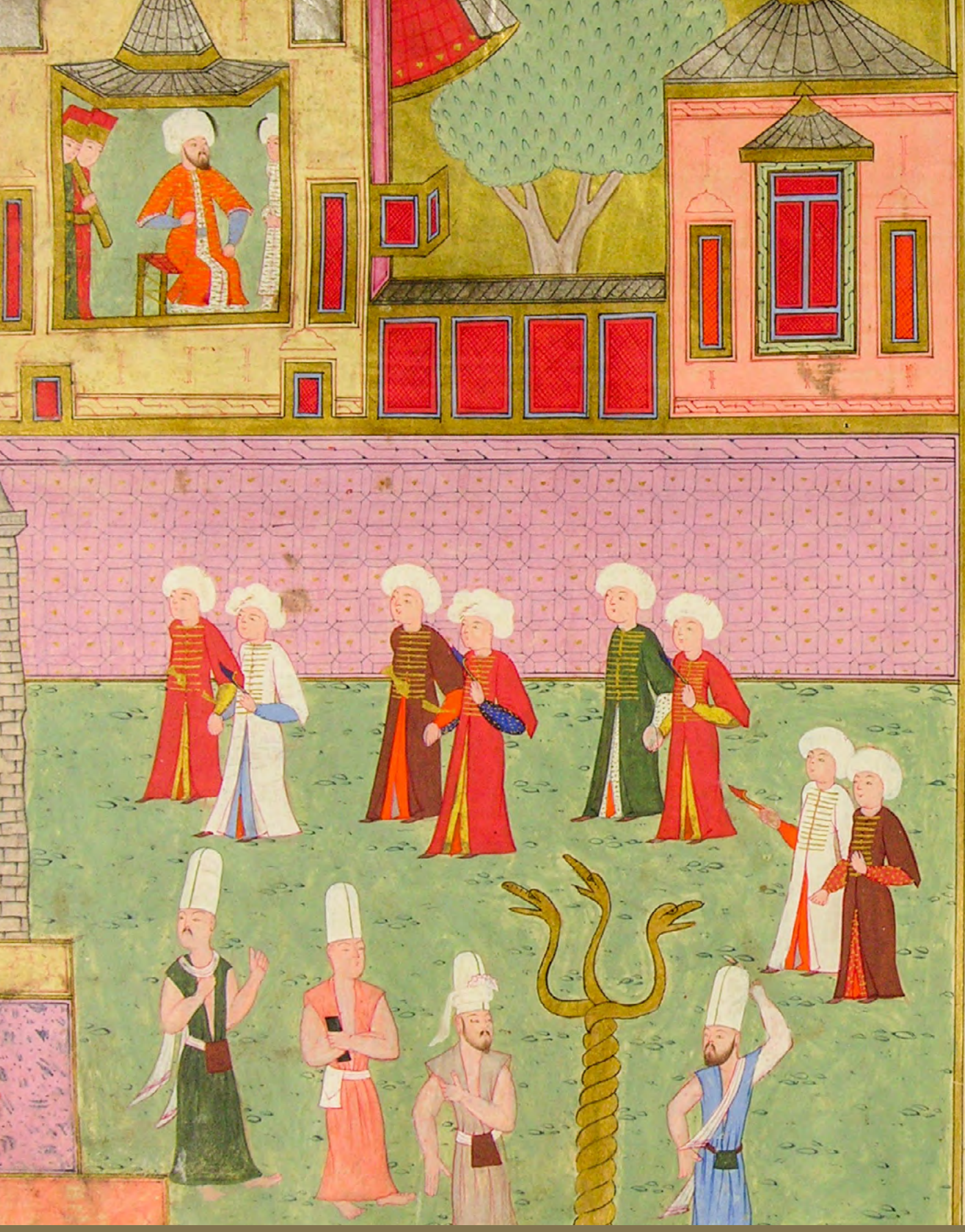




FIGURE 24. **Pabuç Makers in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 247b-248a.

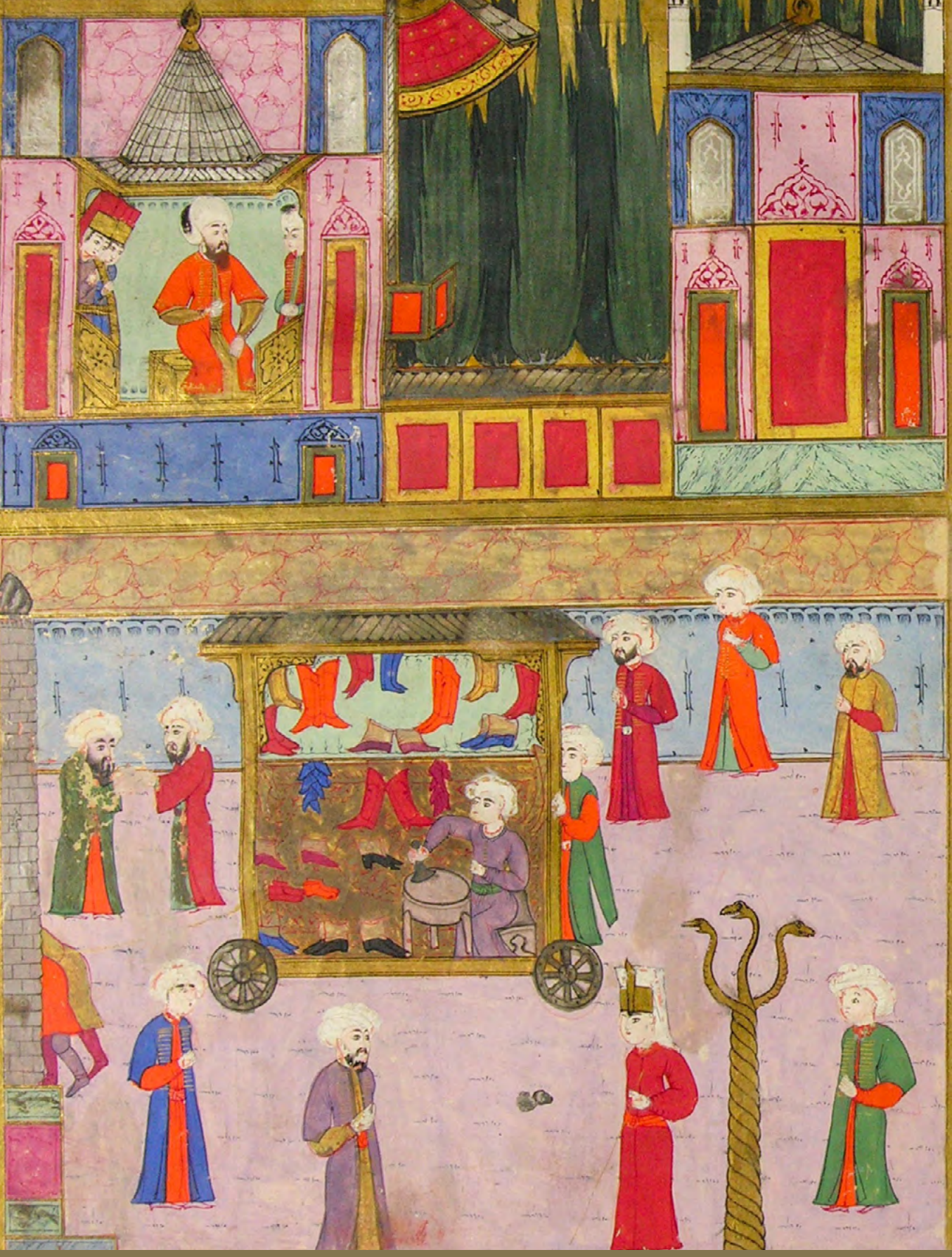




FIGURE 25. **Çizme Makers in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 420a.



Open-top footwear similar to the Yemeni is called başmak. As the back of this footwear made of black saffian is hard, it cannot be used as slippers.[96]

Başmak is the footwear with lining, worn as as an outer shoe. However, those without lining and in the form of a flat-bottomed shoe are called yemeni. Edik, on the other hand, is a kind of inner shoes, which are mostly worn with an outer shoe. In this regard, it can be assumed that it was worn in the same fashion as mest. This difference can be seen in the use of edik and iç edik. It should be remembered here that başmak, edik, pabuç and

[96] Küçükerman, *Türk Giyim Sanayünin Tarihi Kaynakları*, 45.

hırtı was mentioned as footwears in the Edirne inheritance records as of the 16th century.[97] In the final analysis, in the Ottoman footwear, it can be claimed that the non-heeled and short-cropped shoes were more widely used.

Aforementioned edik or çedik is the name of the short and loose legged footwear, made of yellow saffian. As shoes are worn over it generally, it is more likely to be understood as mest. Yet, it will be more appropriate to consider it as a form of under garment, beside mest. One can also come accross its use as mest-i çedik, which is sewn onto çakşır, as it was used as mest, and it is soft and non-heeled.[98] It is known that boots were worn over them, if it was to be used for long distances.[99] Shoes belonging to Murad IV [d. 1640] can actually be cited as an example of how mest-iç edik was used.[100] Another type of footwear worn over mest and çedik, made of yellow leather is called 'merkup'.[101] It can be stated that this footwear is seen on the feet of some ulema, in miniatures.



97 Bilgin Aydın, "Edirne Tereke Sicilleri," *Uluslar-arası Sempozyum: "Balkan Ülkeleri Arşiv Kaynaklarında Edirne": 21-23 Ekim 2010, Edirne-Türkiye*, ed. Tuba Karatepe and Bahattin Demirelli (Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, 2010), 178.

98 For an exemplary women's mest and pabuç in the 17th century, see: "Pabuç and Mest: Shoes," (Accessed on 22 May 2019). http://www.issendai.com/16thcenturyistanbul/womens-garb-piece-by-piece/pabuc-and-mest-shoes/

99 Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 1*, 339.

100 Lâle Görünür, *Pabuç: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi Koleksiyonundan*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 2016), 19.

101 Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 2*, 481.



FIGURE 26. **Ebussud Efendi Giving a Lecture**

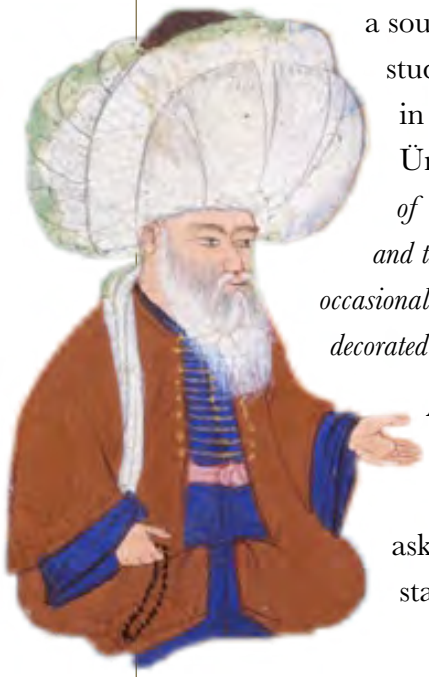
Mahmud Abdülbaki, *Divan-ı Mahmud*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. 25.83.9.

Attires of the Ottoman İlmiye Class

That the terms ulema and ilmiye were used interchangeably in the Ottoman era, must have been as a result of the professional mobility of those who bore these titles. Because, that those who made up the Ottoman scholarship were subjected to formation from a single source, and likewise organized from a single center must have caused this. This center is the medrese, and medrese is in charge of producing the formative status of the Ottoman administration. In this regard, medrese, in its capacity to both produce and control the law, had been one of the three [3] building blocks of the Ottoman administration. However, its such determinant status could not eliminate the transitivity in definitions of duties. What is meant here is related to the discussion on what the Ottoman ulema consisted of. There were mainly three [3] areas where the medrese graduates were to be employed. These fields, the office of the mufti, from the lowest administrative unit in terms of 'ifta', that is, the task of issuing of fatwa, to the office of the sheikh al-Islam, and from the office of the qadi, from the lowest administrative unit to the Rumelia qadiasker, who tackled lawsuits, and the duty of teaching, from the medreses of 20 akçe, to the Süleymaniye Dar al-hadith. As they had the right to alternate duties among themselves,

they could move from the office of qadi to that of the müderris, or from müderris to qadi, and, despite not quite preferred, from both posts to that of the mufti. These three [3] fields, in short, would constitute the Ottoman ilmiye. However, it may not be appropriate to consider the Ottoman ulema as consisting of these three [3] groups. For example, the suhtes that are, the students who are at the beginning of a 'tarik' [hierarchy] must be considered within the Ottoman ilmiye class, since they are candidates to be so, even if it is the lowest rank. Despite the fact that they are not directly within the ilmiye, naqib al-ashraf can well be included in this sequence.

So, how do the members of Ottoman ilmiye, from the suhtes to the sheikh al-Islam? What kinds of clothes did they prefer, in daily life, as well as while they were lecturing? In this regard, little is known, as it was stated above. Source of what is known is limited amount of remaining materials and mostly the drawings in miniatures. The extend that miniatures can serve as a source in shedding light upon the Ottoman ilmiye clothes must be studied and discussed separately. Indeed, the similarities of clothes in these works are quite clear and common. In fact, according to Ünver, "*Clothes of the ulema are generally the same. Their clothes consisted of a headband under the turban, the entari that they wore as an inner cloth, and the cübbe that they wore as an outwear. The cübbes with fur lining that are occasionally seen are probably a result of seasonal changes. Apart from them, clothes decorated with brocaded palettes are among the signs that indicate court officials.*"[1]



Although they cannot be cited among clothes, another accessory that draws one's attention, and complements their flashy clothes is the walking stick. Because, sheikh al-Islams, qadiaskers and some müderrises used walking sticks, as the top-ranking state officials.[2]

1 Ahmet Süheyl Ünver, *Türk Süsleme Sanatçıları Müzehhipler*, I, ed. Gülbün Mesara and Aykut Kazancıgil (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2007), 300.

2 Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, 16-17.

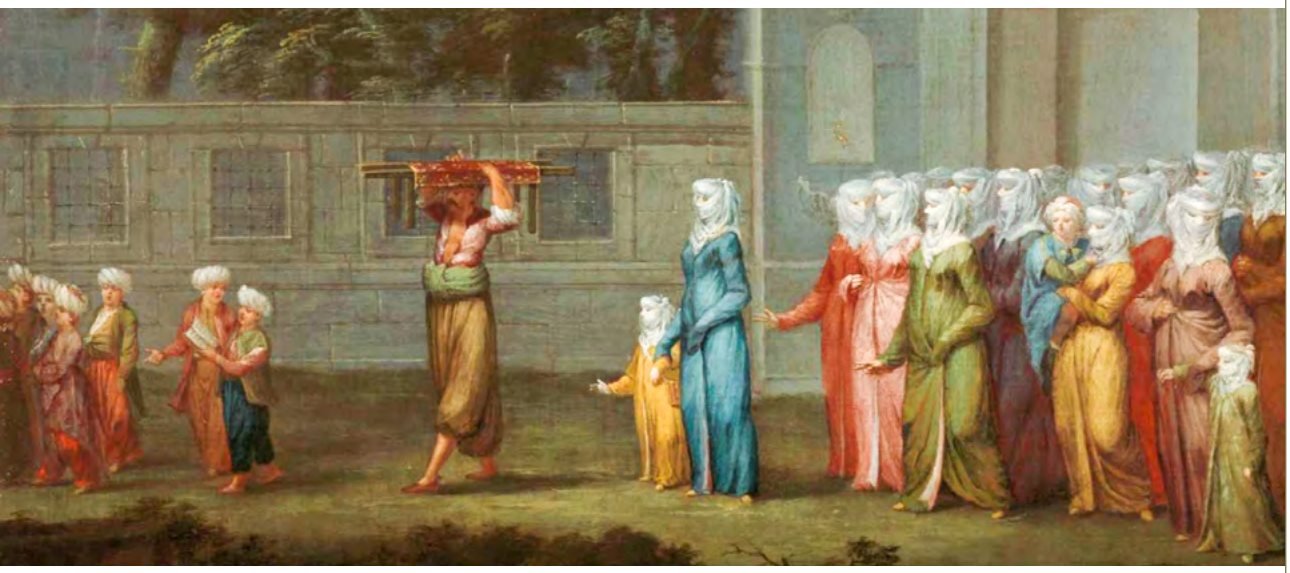


FIGURE 27. **The First Day at School [De Eerste Schooldag]**
Jean Babtiste Vanmour, Rijksmuseum, SK-A-2005

İlmiye clothes are initially divided into two, as ceremonial and daily clothes, and then into several categories as per seasons. While a plain cübbe and 'arakiye' [a kind of cap] or turban sufficed for daily clothes, it can be claimed that heavier and more expensive clothes were preferred for festivals and ceremonial periods. In this regard, fur is an important criterion and those covered with expensive clothes had a wide area of use among the Ottoman ilmiye. In fact, it is stated that the ulema was entitled to the 'mawlana' title after completing a formal education, and they wore a fur kaftan, as a grace of the sultan, as in the case of viziers. The difference here is that the ulema wore an outwear, like those of the viziers.[3]

The ulema wore hil'ats bestowed to them as a gift, during the 'cülus' [enthronement] ceremonies. The general outlook in 'Şehname-i Selim Han' and 'Şehinşahname' can be cited as examples of it. During the enthronement of Selim II and Murad III [d. 1595], the ulema around him and behind the state officials are the Rumelia and Anatolia qadiaskers. As far

3 Gül A. Russell, "Physician at the Ottoman Court," *Medical History*, 34 (1990): 264.





FIGURE 28. **Suhtegan-ı Anadolu in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 118b-119a.

as we can see, they are wearing hil'ats over their long-sleeved kaftans. Their beards and the örfs on their head were indications of the fact that they spent their lives mostly for scholarly activities. Inside their hil'ats, furs are visible. It should also be noted that the hil'at had fake sleeves [kolluk] extending to the back and to the ground, along with their short sleeves. Over the furs, spots, probably made by arranging the black parts of the tail and feet parts of the fur animals, draw our attention. Inner clothes and shoes are not distinct for the ulema wearing hil'ats of different colors. On their heads, örfs worn around the light-colored tops make an impression.[4]

That the ulema had some privileges in their clothing makes it possible to consider them to be members of the highest rank state officials. A 1765 dated imperative supports this claim. According to the imperative, 'it is important to remind that using stoat and lynx furs' and wearing them was a privilege peculiar only to viziers, state officials and the ulema.[5] Therefore, it is quite important to underscore that the ulema was a member of the high-ranking state officials, as they were granted the right to wear furs.

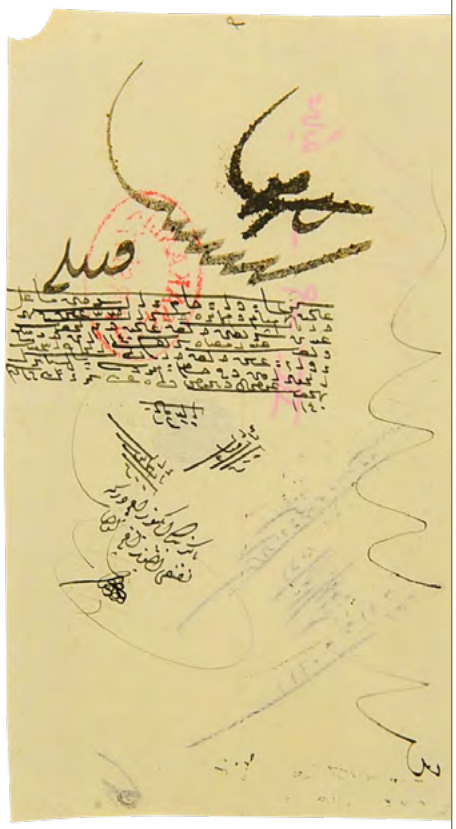
Despite the aforementioned glamour, it is known that some ulema refrained from expensive clothes and pursued simple lives. The example of Molla Lütfi [d. 1495], provided in 'Şakaik', reveals another stance taken by the Ottoman ilmiye, in terms of clothing. Although the way he dressed up is knot known, that Molla Lütfi was revered while he joined the assembly while Evrenesoğlu Ali Bey [d. after 1462] was speaking in İbrahim Paşa's [d. 1499] divan, attracted İbn Kemal's [d. 1536] attention. What is significant here is that Molla Lütfi was revered despite his clothes. Molla Lütfi example was pursued by Molla Hüsrev, a middle-sized man with thick beard, with no regard to clothing, and Molla Musannifek [d. 1470], who wore a 'külah' [capuche] on his head and an aba on his back,

4 Feridun Ahmed Bey, *Nüzhetü'l-esrari'l-ahbar der Sefer-i Sigetvar*, TSMK, Hazine 1339, 111b. Seyyid Lokman bin Hüseyin el-Urmevi, *Şehinşahname*, İÜK. F.1404, 12a.

5 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 25 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1179-1180 / M. 1765-1767)* 76 (İstanbul: Kültür A. Ş., 2019), 152. [Hüküm Nr: 108; Original Text Nr: 54-1]

as well as many other ulema, who cannot be cited here.

Students and müderrises wore similar clothes in medrese classes, with no regard to their status, although their qualities may vary.[6] There was always a headdress on their head. Despite the fact that students were depicted with turbans or 'kalpaks' [a kind of astrakhan hat], sometimes they were depicted with takke as well.[7] However, headdresses of müderrises or mawalis were enlarged, in accordance with their positions, made it more qualified, and the color symbolism make them more visible in the community. The cübbe, as an overcoat, had similar functions. Despite the differences in fabric quality, their cutting styles, arrangement of their cuffs, or their collars are more or less the same. However, overcoats of those in the higher ranks of the bureaucratic organization, that is, senior müderrises and sheikh al-Islam, such as the kaftan, had some differences in style. Surely, seasonal changes must have been taken into consideration in both styles and qualities. For example, the kaftans that the horse-riding ulema wore as a ceremonial dress shows proximity to the sultan.[8]



DOCUMENT 6. **1722 Dated Document on Payment of the Costs of Dresses to Be Bestowed to the Medrese Students, as a Tradition on Religious Festivals**

Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: AE.SAMD.III. 143/13831.

6 Mehmed bin Abdülgani, *Divan-ı Nadiri,* TSMK, Hazine 889, 22a.

7 Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine 1263, 30a; 37a.

8 Seyyid Vehbi Hüseyin bin Abdullah, *Surname-i Vehbi*, TSMK, 3. Ahmet Kütüphanesi, 3594, 3a.

STUDENT [SUHTE-DANİŞMENT]

The medreses of Haşiye-i Tecrid, which make up of the first layer of the medreses, were above the children's schools. Students pursuing education from the medreses of Haşiye-i Tecrid, to the Süleymaniye Dar al-hadith, were called generally suhte, muid and danişment. However, it is not possible to distinguish them from each other, clothing-wise.

The starting point of the sequence above is the children's schools, and those who graduated from these schools would move on to the lowest levels of medreses, and included in the higher education. Children's schools that were organized widely were also supported by waqfs, like in the case of medreses, and needs of students studying in these schools were met by such waqfs. It goes without saying that clothing was among the needs of students. In the aforementioned framework, students in schools were provided aids under the titles 'melbusat-ı eytam' [dresses for orphans], 'libas-ı eytam' [clothes for orphans] or 'kisveha-i yetim-i bera-yı sıbyan ber-mucib-i şer'iyye'.[9] In this regard, clothing aids starting in children's schools continued at medreses as well. Among such aids by waqfs, works of Sheikh al-Islam Esad Efendi Waqf can be cited as example here. "*On the clothes bestowed to the students at Sıbyan Mekteps* [Children's School]*, it is stipulated in the waqfia* [deed/ foundation charter] *of Sheikh al-Islam Esad Efendi Waqf that each year they would receive one boğası kapama, one fez, one mintan, one zıbın, one waist cloth, one pair of mest shoes. Again, in the same foundation charter, it was stipulated that the teacher of the school and the vicegerent would take children to a picnic each year, cooking foods and feeding the children with 1.200 akçe, every year. In the foundation charter of Saliha*



[9] Mefail Hızlı, "Osmanlı Dönemi Bursa'sında Eğitim-Öğretim Vakıflarına Genel Bir Bakış," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 7, 7 (1996): 187. Mefail Hızlı, "Osmanlı Sıbyan Mektepleri," in *Osmanlı: 5*, ed. Güler Eren (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), 213.

Sultan, it is required that one kapama, one kavuk, one angora waist cloth, one pair of mest shoes and ten akçe allowance would be bestowed to each student at the children's school, for Eid al-Fitr. Going out for a picnic during the spring was an established custom and it was implemented in almost all children's schools, and the students, as well as their parents were quite happy with it…"[10]

1954 dated detailed foundation charter of Zekeriya Efendi, a former Rumelia Qadiasker, and subsequently sheikh al-Islam, which was registered before the witnesses in the court, included some considerations regarding the clothing aid for the students in the sıbyan mektebi. According to the foundation charter it was required that "*the trustees would grant ten students, or, if the financial situation of the foundation permits, more than ten students, clothes, shoes, shirts and trousers, and dress them up on laylat al-qadr, without discriminating in between them.*"[11] Likewise, according to the charter of the 200.000 akçe worth cash waqf of Mevlana Bekir Efendi, who is understood to have been a qadi, as per his 1594 dated title, it was required that "…*seven hundred and twenty akçe would be spent for clothes and shoes by means of the trustees, and bestowed to the orphans and children, each year during the last ten days of the month of Ramadan…*"[12] As another example, Mehmed Efendi bin Sefer bin Abdullah also stipulated in his will that, "… *In the holy Ramadan, each of the fifteen children in the children's school opposite of the masjid, should receive a kapama and a pair of shoes on days close to the Eid; the remaining amount of money, if any, should be spent for the mats [of the school]…*"[13]

[10] Mehmet İpşirli, "Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Geleneksel Eğitim ve Ulema," *Antik Çağ'dan XXI. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi: Eğitim, Bilim ve Teknoloji*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İBB Kültür A. Ş., İSAM, 2015), 72.

[11] *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Rumeli Sadareti Mahkemesi 21 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1002-1003/M. 1594-1595)* 12 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2011), 45. [Hüküm Nr: 1; Original Text Nr: 1b]

[12] *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Rumeli Sadareti Mahkemesi 21 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1002-1003/M. 1594-1595)*, 143. [Hüküm Nr: 128; Original Text Nr: 32a]

[13] *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 22 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1107-1108 / M. 1695-1697)*, 57 (İstanbul: Kültür A. Ş., 2019), 471. [Hüküm Nr: 364; Original Text Nr: 113b]

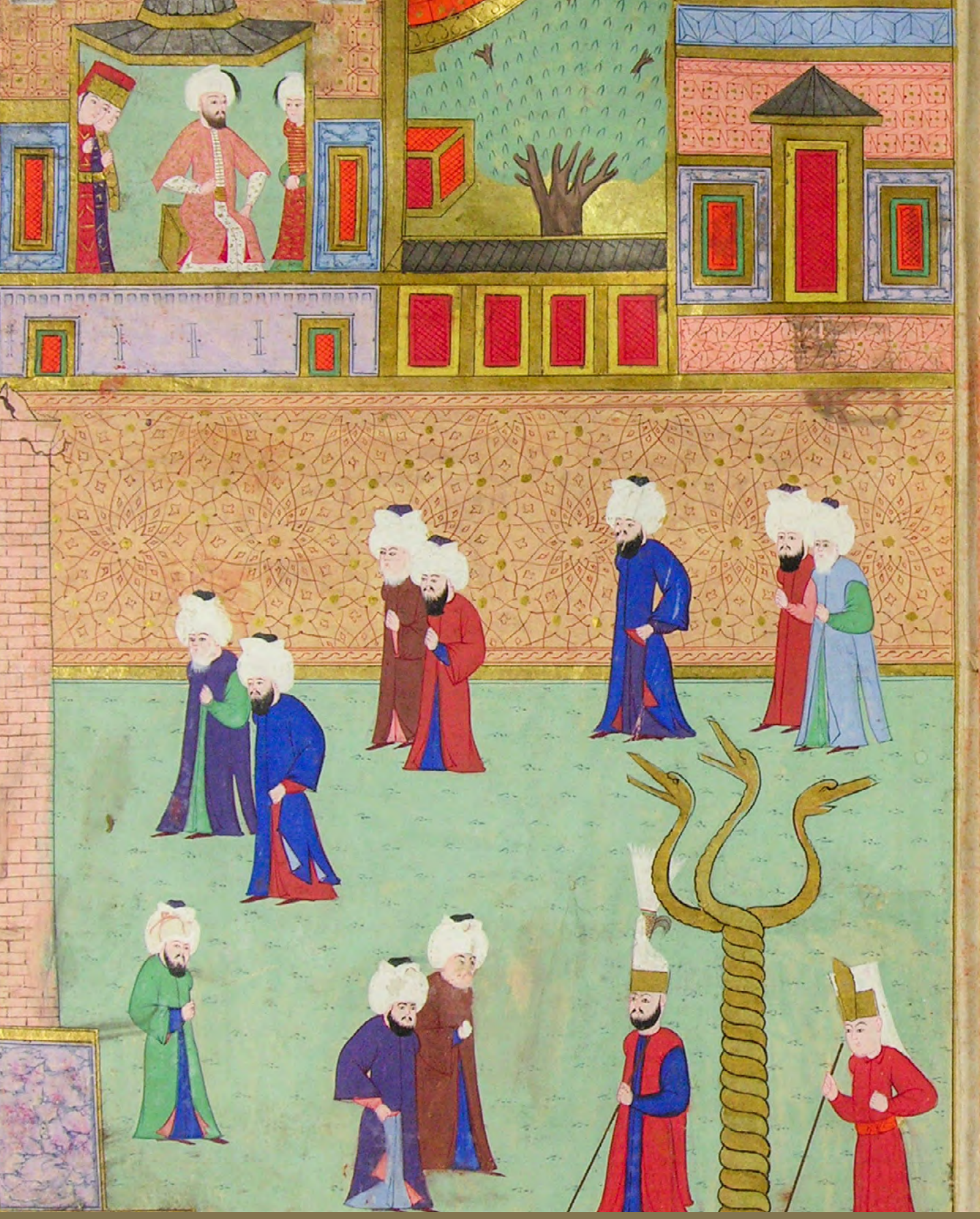
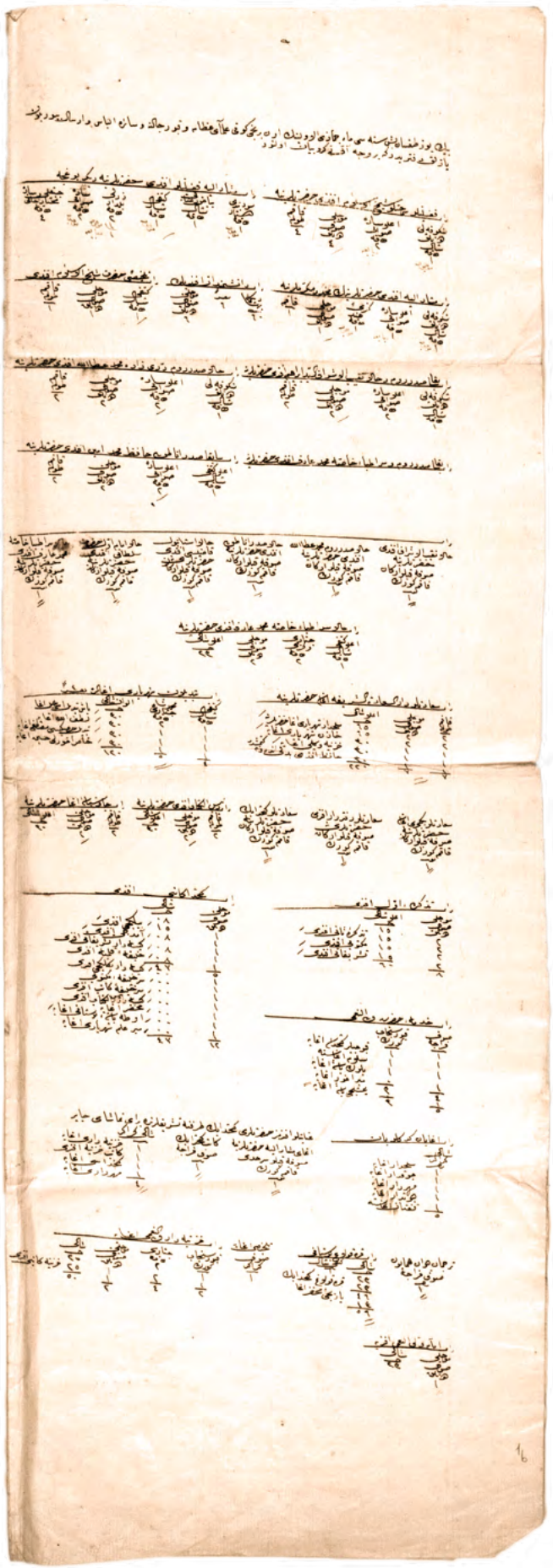




FIGURE 29. **Danişments in A Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 334b-335a.



DOCUMENT 7. **1780 Dated Inventory on the Dress Fabrics for Summer, Sent to the Sheikh al-Islam, Danişments, Sheikh al-Islam Epitomist and Naqib al-Ashraf**

Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi: D. 5455.

The aforementioned information is complemented by the interesting scenes in I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626[14] and the "First Day of School" painting by Vanmour.[15] In the scene in I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626, students, presumed to be at younger ages, were depicted. Of course, it is impossible to know whether the painter actually saw such a scene in person, but according to the drawing, it would be appropriate to assume that the students were attending to sıbyan mektebi. The fact that some students had Qur'an bags, diagonally hanged on their necks, and some other who were relatively younger, and holding others' hands can be cited among the evidence to support this claim. Indeed, as understood from the past sources, students attending the children's

[14] Heinrich Hendrowski, *Bilderaus dem türkischen Volksleben*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626, fol. 108-109.

[15] Vanmour, Jean Baptiste. *De Eerste Schooldag*. Rijksmuseum, SK-A-2005.

school would have Qur'an covers or bags in their hands. Another element that draws attention in the scene is the overcoats worn by students. The necks of their clothes were rounded and a distinct shape is given to the collars, with a small extension at the sides. Buttons extending to the waist in the overcoats, are also seen is children's clothes. Likewise, at the end of the bottomed part, the waist cloth wrapped around the waist complements the general overlook. The overcoats of students probably would get looser down from the waist, or the waist cloth wrapped around the waist gives that impression. It can also be noted here that in the waist clothes of some students, a cover of 'makrama' type was fixed. Under the overcoats, rather tight trousers that ends on the ankle, in the form of çakşır were worn. Their shoes were probably in the form of iç and dış ediks [outer edik], and it is seen that a joint existed in the inner side of one of them.[16] On their heads there were white turbans. What is interesting in this scene is that majority of students had long hairs, woven and hanged on the back.

The first step of the ilmiye path is the student rank. Distinctive and enlightening information is not available in terms of the clothing customs of this rank. There is not sufficiently clear information on how students were dressed up in the classroom, or what kinds of clothes they preferred in daily life. However, it is understood from sources that a 'suhte dress' existed. An album in the Marsigli Collection in Bologna is sufficient to show the diversity in the clothing of suhtes. Different samples of turbans are included in this album. The names of some of the turbans in question are as follows: 'Siyrus Suhtesi'[17], 'Diyarbekir Suhtesi'[18], 'Danişment Destarı'[19] and 'İmaret Suh-



16 Heinrich Hendrowski, *Bilderaus dem türkischen Volksleben*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626, fol. 108. *A Janissary's Headgear and Footwear*. (Accessed on 10 February 2019). http://www.kismeta.com/diGrasse/JanissaryHeadgear.htm#Head

17 Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler*, 30.

18 Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler*, 30.

19 Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler*, 156.

tesi'[20]. In fact, as understood from qadi registers, students had wardrobes in which they could put many clothes and dresses in the rooms in their medreses.[21]

Although there were some differences in terms of their qualities, one can have an opinion on the clothing of the medrese students, based on the clothing of the Enderun students. As Pakalın wrote, the "*students* [in the Enderun] *would wear a kavuk on their head, an entari on their back, a kaftan over it, with buttons on the chest, white çakşır on their legs, mests sewn to the çakşır, in red or yellow color, depending on their titles, and they would tie a fine lace belt on their waists. Color and kind of the entari and kaftan would vary according to the season, and while they wore takke in the dorms, they would release their ear locks on both sides*."[22] Furthermore, despite the fact that they are not lower rank students, in consideration of the fact that danişments were also students at the high rank medreses, their clothes may be deemed to be among suhtes. Even though it is not clear what kinds of clothes they wore, there are signs that danişments had their own peculiar clothes. For example, when Mustafa Âlî of Gelibolu mentions Mevlana Seyyid İlahi in Künhü'l-ahbar, he states that he attained the 'mülazemet' [permanent position-assistantship] position. While his status in between Sufism and normal life was depicted with the sentence "*… he leant towards neither the medrese student's clothes, nor to the humble shawl peculiar to the dervishes…*"[23] a reference was made to the clothes peculiar to the danişments. Likewise, the discipleship period of Hocazade [d. 1488] can be cited as an example of this explanation. As Hocazade preferred scholarship despite his family's wealth, he was



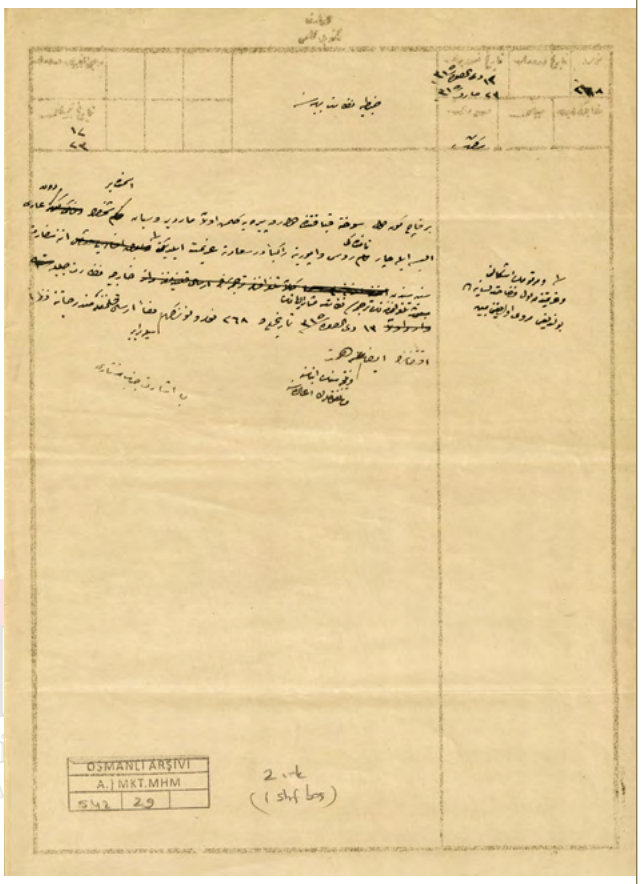
20 Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler*, 168.

21 Mefail Hızlı, *Mahkeme Sicillerine Göre Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Bursa Medreselerinde Eğitim-Öğretim*, 2nd ed. (Bursa: Emin Yayınları, 2012), 30.

22 Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 1*, 538.

23 İsen, *Künhü'l-ahbâr'ın Tezkire Kısmı*, 294.

subject to the anger of his father. Therefore, he received quite little allowances from his father in an attempt to discourage him from scholarly activities. Possibly, it was for this reason that he sat together at the same places with blacksmiths, with ragged clothes on him. While his brothers were dressed up in line with their wealth, Hocazade lived in poor dresses. Although his father asked Emir Sultan [d. 1429] to advise him, Hocazade did not change his mind, and pursued a life away from glamour, in terms of his clothes.[24]



DOCUMENT 8. **1897 Dated Document on a Person Called Mardrosyan, Coming to Pire [Piraeus] and Boarding on a Boat to Go to Dersaadet in Suhte Clothes**

Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: A.}MKT.MHM. 542/29

As indicated above, it is not clear enough, what kinds of clothes students preferred. The reason of this lack of clarity can be assumed to be insufficient visual source. Despite the fact that some traces of information can be found in some sources, it is not possible to fully imagine what kinds of clothes the medrese students preferred. Surely, there is no other way than deriving some opinions from pictures drown by the Ottoman miniaturists and persons traveling in the Ottoman lands. It cannot be ignored that people had a clothing habit in the 16th century as is the case before and after it. As it was indicated in

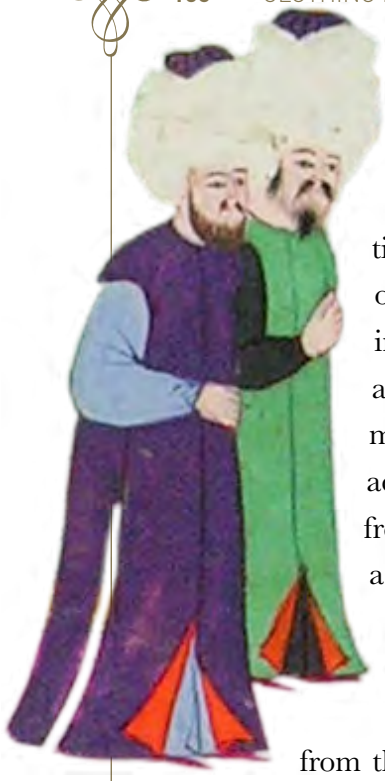
[24] Mecdi, *Hadaikü'ş-şakaik*, 145-158.





FIGURE 30. **Danişments in A Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 332b-333a.



the relevant sections, the aim of making hierarchy visible was behind the emergence of clothing rules. Therefore, a clothing regulation was in place in medreses, as in other public institutions. It is understood from the archive documents that clothing of suhtes were included in these regulations. It is undeniable that in the 16th century, there was a clothing habit just like before and after it. As it repeated in the relevant sections, clothing arrangements were used to build the hierarchy. Therefore, a dress code was adopted in medreses as in other public institutions. It is understood from the archival documents that these arrangements included a specific dress code for students of medreses. It is understood that the 'levent' [irregular soldier or brigand] corps, who were in a riot in Anatolia as of the second half of the 16th century, maintained such disorder in their suhte clothes. It is understood from the Mühimme Defterleri that the levents would wander around 'under the disguise of suhtes', and oppressed people.[25] Therefore, it is understood from the expression in the documents that students, as other ilmiye members, wore distinct clothes. At the end of the day, even if they were not actual suhtes, some persons among the subjects or the janissaries disguised themselves in fake suhte clothes, in order to conduct mischief, taking advantage of the situation.[26] According to what was written, they hid under their cübbes a simple weapon called 'çop', used also by students as a thick stick.[27] It means that, cübbes of students were of a size which would enable hiding such a weapon. Furthermore, similar fraudulence is also encountered in the very late periods as well. For instance, if what

[25] *5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri: (973/1565-1566)* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1994), 179. 1115. Hüküm. *6 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri: (972/1564-1565): I* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1995), 120. 1036. Hüküm.

[26] Mustafa Akdağ, *Celâlî İsyanları: (1550-1603)* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil-Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1963), 100, 122.

[27] Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü: 1*, 380.



FIGURE 31. **Leyla and Mecnun in a Classroom**

Nizami-i Gencevi, *Leyla vü Mecnun*, Süleymaniye Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 3289, 32b.



FIGURE 32. **A Student Studying on His Course Before Molla Hasan Paşa**

Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine 1263, 30a.

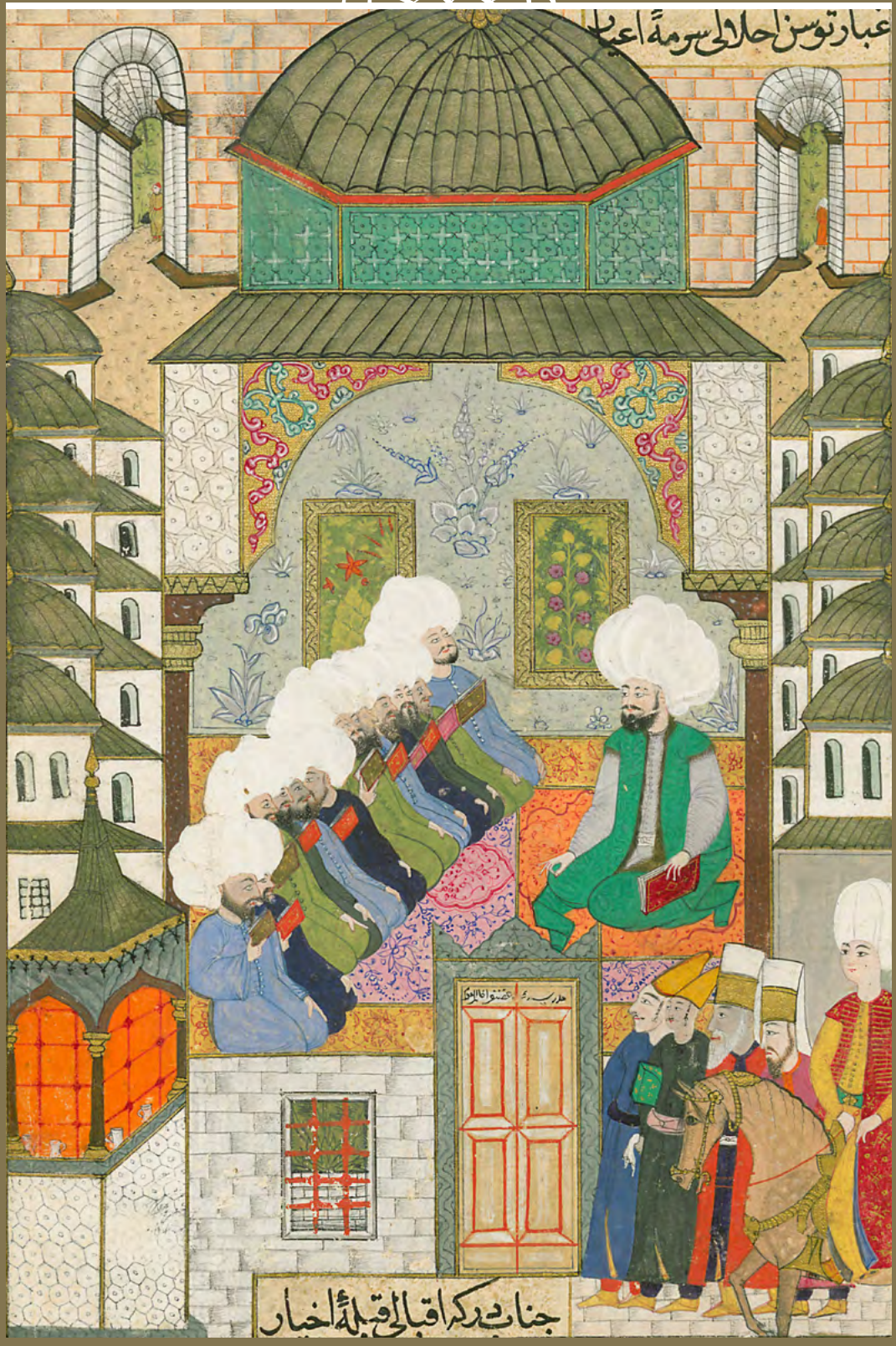
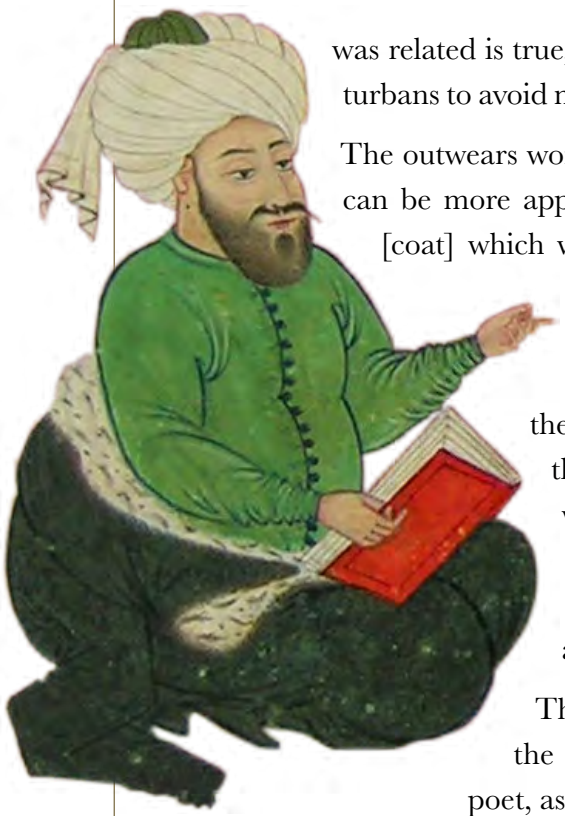


FIGURE 33. **A Course at Gazanfer Ağa Medrese**

Mehmed bin Abdülgani bin Emirşah, *Divan-ı Nadiri*, TSMK, Hazine 889, 22a.



was related is true, it was noted in official sources that students wore turbans to avoid military service, even in the era of Abdülhamid II.[28]

The outwears worn by suhtes are generally called the aba. The aba can be more appropriately understood as the opposite of 'kaban' [coat] which was an overcoat made of precious fabrics. In the final analysis, it can be claimed that aba, weaving quality of which was a low and was a coarse fabric, was used for meeting the clothing needs of the suhtes. Yet, one can assume that the abas worn by the medrese students would be different from those worn by the people of sufi order.[29] In this regard, clothing preferences of the suhte, acting as levents during the Celali rebellions, would give some ideas.

Those who received education with Aşık Çelebi at the medrese, describe the clothing style of Tului the poet, as follows: "*We were together for a while in the same medrese and course. The cloth of his turban, and his dress were always dirty, sides of his dress was always stained, his collar was torn, the armpit was stinky, his face was unwashed, and his beards were messy*"[30] drawing a picture of a completely neglecting student portrait.

It can also be underscored that, sources refer to well educated, fine and well-dressed youth, although they were not students. Such young persons were called 'şehir oğlanı' [city boys].[31] In this regard, it must not be hard to assume that urban youth had their peculiar clothing styles. One should presume that these young persons, considered to be of urban origin, had their clothing styles among other refined pleasures. As an examplefrom the

28 Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi I-II* (İstanbul: Eser Neşriyat, 1977), 386.

29 Uludağ, "Abâ," 5.

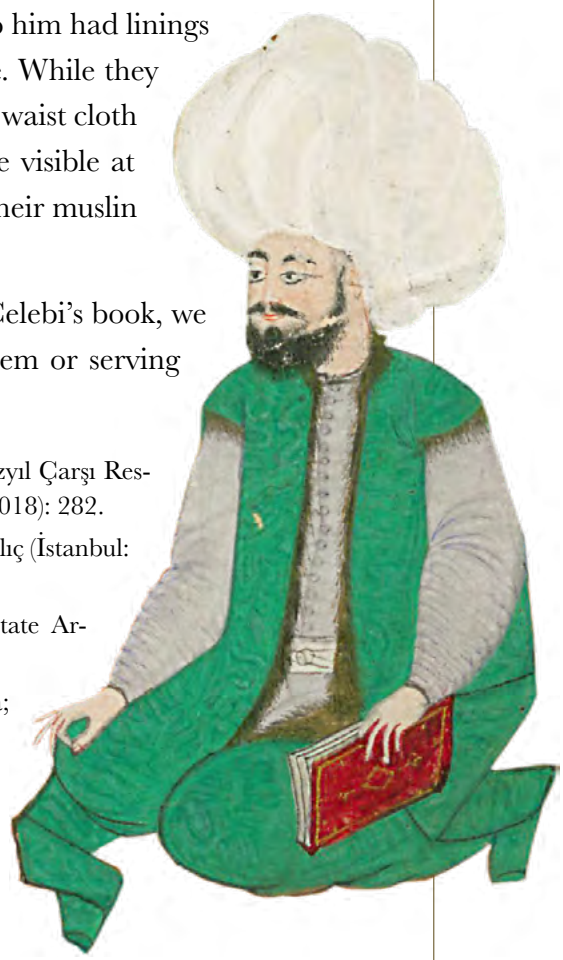
30 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 2*, 652.

31 For şehir oğlanı's turbans, see: Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler*, 50, 60, 178.

Ottoman society, where growing beard was a custom, it can be claimed that these urban young persons were shaved, in contrary to such acceptance.[32] When the miniatures are checked, it was the case for having a non-bearded face, at the medreses, at least except the Sahn or the Süleymaniye, if not for the suhtes in all medreses. For example, a non-bearded boy sitting in front of Salih Çelebi [d. 1565] has a look that is in line with what is narrated.[33] According to a document dated 1574, Mehmed, the head of the suhtes engaging in banditry, is understood to have gone to Bursa, under disguise, having shaved his long beard and mustache.[34] However, as understood from the miniatures in Surname-i Hümayun, students at the danişment level, grew beards and mustaches. In fact, in those miniatures, danişments had well-groomed beards and mustaches.[35]

If those who listen to Baki [d. 1600], is famous Ottoman poet, as seen in this miniature are students, they provide a complete clothing picture. Because, one should surely remember the müderris status of Baki. As two persons, understood be young, who were listening to him had linings on them, their cübbes sewn out of fabric are visible. While they had turbans on their heads, their entaris, tied with a waist cloth can be seen through their cübbes. Their kavuks are visible at the top of their turbans on their head, the ends of their muslin give a sense of 'şemle'.[36]

In the Şakaik translation or in many parts of Aşık Çelebi's book, we see boys depicted as reciting a poem, writing a poem or serving



32 Fikret Turan, "İki Minyatürde Üç İstanbul Genci: 17. Yüzyıl Çarşı Resminde Gençlerin Giyimine Dair Tespitler," *Art-Sanat*, 10 (2018): 282.

33 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 3*, ed. Filiz Kılıç (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010), 1271.

34 Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: A.{DVNSMHM.d. 25/2602.

35 *Surname-i Hümayun*, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 332b-333a; 334b-335a.

36 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 1*, 411.

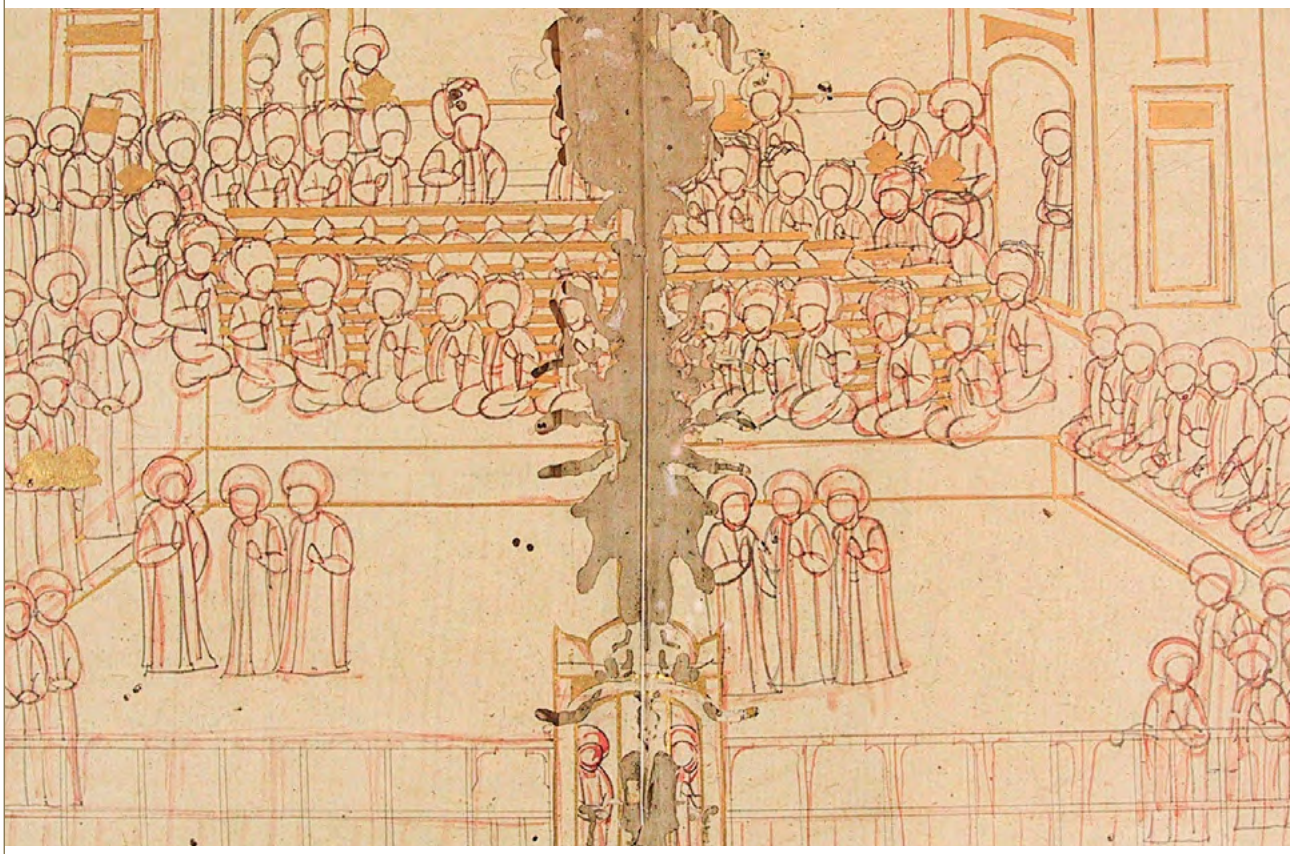


FIGURE 34. **Opening of Gazanfer Ağa Medrese**

Gazanfer Ağa Mescidi'nin Küşadı Hakkında Manzume, Süleymaniye Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 4787, 17b-18a.

refreshments, in front of the poets, who are also qadis and müderrises. Besides, the expensive dresses they wore, and the decorated fabrics, arouses some suspicion on whether suhtes dressed up as such. The boy with a bottle in his hand, in the depiction where Abdi [d. 1536] was pictured, wore a red entari, with çaprast [diagonal], and motifs on it. On the tree at his very right side, an overcoat which was possibly engraved with gold or silver, and the turban that he took off from his head. While there is a dark green waist cloth on his waist, a takke or terlik is visible on his head, worn under turban. On his neck was a loincloth or a neckerchief.[37] A similar scene is

37 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 2*, 1044.



FIGURE 35. **Molla Kara Yakup and His Student**

Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine 1263, 50a.

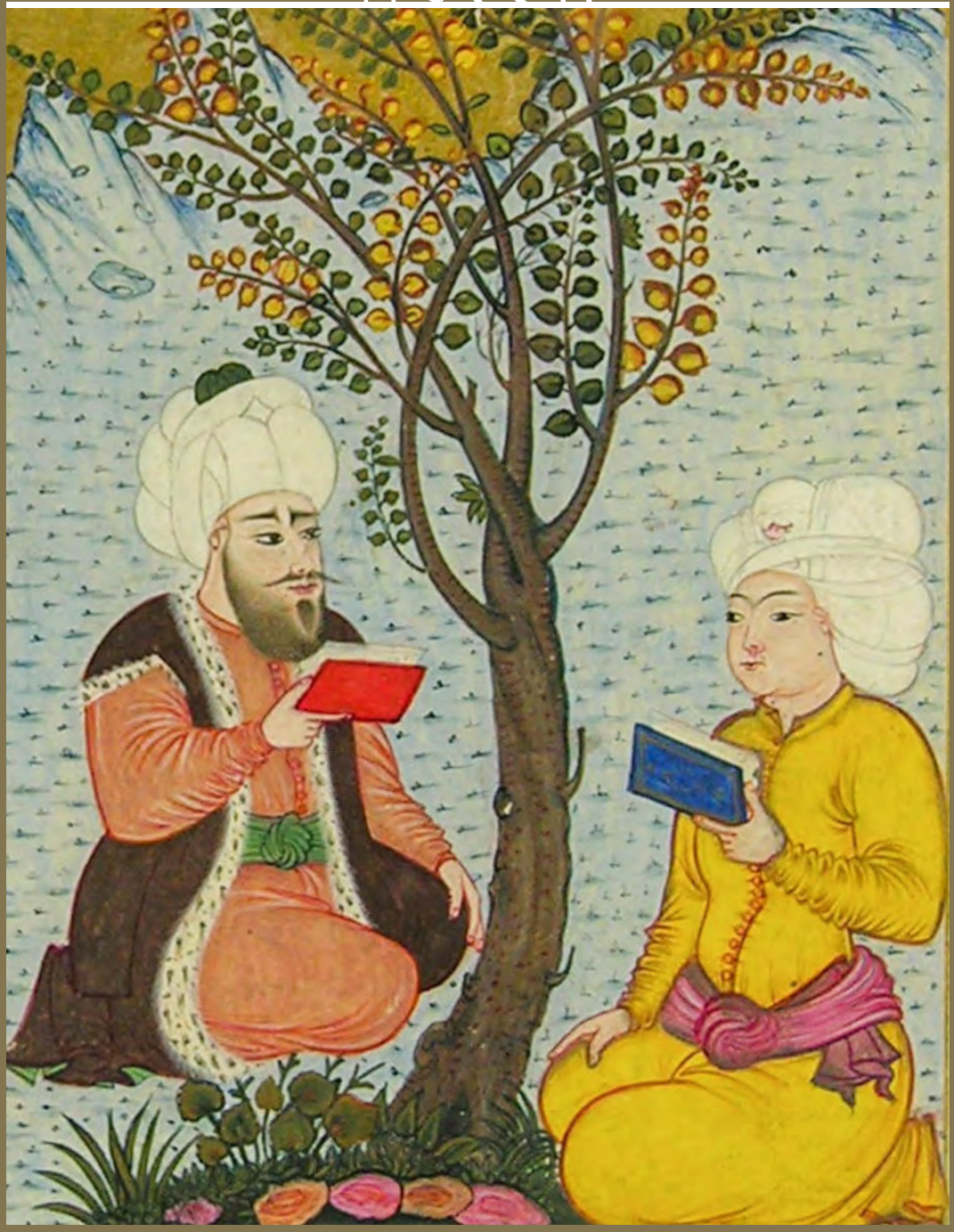


FIGURE 36. **Molla Muslihuddin Mustafa During a Lecture**

Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine 1263, 132b.

seen in Ubeydi Çelebi's [d. 1573?] miniature. The boy, kneeling in front of a white-bearded Ubeydi Çelebi, practicing with his pen, dipped into his inkpot, wears a white entari with çaprast, and a wrapped around his waist a red waist cloth, whose ends hangs on the side. Besides the white turban and the decorated cübbe that Ubeydi Çelebi placed on the branches of the tree behind him, There is a red terlik on his head, and a loincloth or 'futa' [a kind of loincloth] on his neck, two ends hanging on both sides.[38]

And in the miniature in which Firaki was pictured, he had a small green top, as well as a large white turban on his head, and a dark blue fabric coated, long and wide sleeved cübbe on his back. When the boys sitting in front of Firaki is observed, their beards and mustaches are not fully grown. On both person heads, there are multi-'terkli' [sliced] and strikingly green and orange tops, around which turbans irregularly wrapped. On the kneeling boys there are plain colored, collarless cübbes or overcoats, one of which is dark blue and the other one brown, upright and seems to be covered probably with black fur. Their entaris inside and the waist clothes on their waists complement this general overlook. Their beardless and mustacheless faces draw attention as a sign of their youth.[39]

Again, in Aşık Çelebi's work, Usuli [d. 1538/1539] was represented with his clothes as well. According to Aşık Çelebi, while Usuli was pursuing his education, he leaned towards Sufism. Then, one would wonder if his clothes were fake suhte clothes.[40] It is understood from his clothes that he wore a short-sleeved, dark-colored cübbe. Under Usuli's short-sleeved cübbe is an entari, which is understood to be buttoned down to the waist, and a red waist cloth around his waist. His beards, which he might have barely started growing, complements his non-mustached face. On his hand is a large-sliced turban which was peculiar to the ilmiye, called dolama, and over the turban is a green kavuk, of which



38 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 2*, 1051.

39 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 3*, 1155.

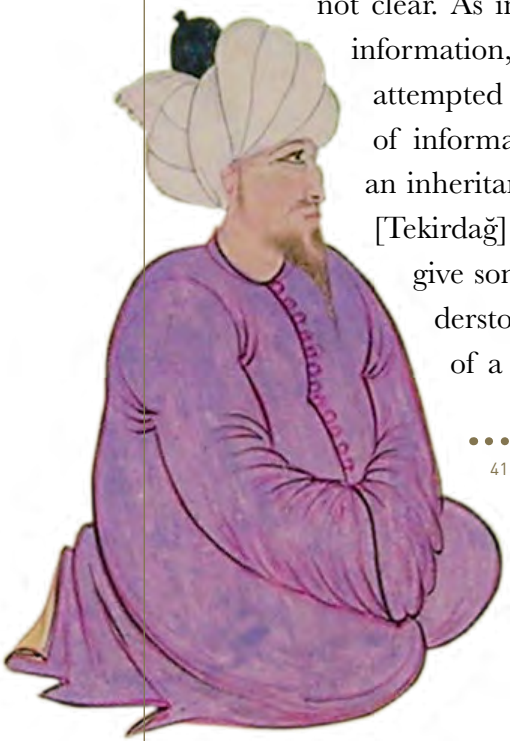
40 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 1*, 344.

only the tip is visible, or a 'küçük tepeli'. Usuli was depicted as such, holding a book in his hands.[41]

The depiction of Hasan Çelebi [d. 1604] can be presumed to have been drawn at an age which would attest to his mülazemet [permanent position-assistantship]. According to this depiction, Hasan Çelebi's long mustache only adorns his face, and the customary beard form is not seen. Hasan Çelebi, depicted as sitting on the floor is probably reciting a poem. It is seen that, with his wide-sliced turban, his sleeveless green overcoat extends down to the floor. At the right side of his coat, yellow buttons on the part that extend to his waist draw attention. It is understood that similar buttons are also used in his entari, and there is a red waist cloth at his waist level, fitting on his purple entari.[42]

While Lütfullah Üskübi was the most prominent student of his era, he came under the influence of Şeyh-i İlahi [Abdullah-ı İlahi, d. 1488/1491] and suddenly leant towards Sufism. When the story of his encounter with the sheikh was narrated, it was told that he went to Zeyrek Mosque, and that he had a dress on himself, which was peculiar to the medrese students, without any details on the quality.[43]

As is seen under various topics, the kind of dress that students had is not clear. As indirect studies on this issue are yet to contain qualified information, the available information remains superficial, and it is attempted to compile them from various fields. For example, a piece of information derived through such compilation can be found in an inheritance record of a student living in 16th century Rodosçuk [Tekirdağ]; despite it does not include substantial information, it can give some opinion on the issue, in the form of a trace. It is understood that this student, called Hüseyin, understood to be son of a person called Kaya, as per the inheritance record, would



41 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 1*, 345.

42 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 2*, 620.

43 Mecdi, *Hadaikü'ş-şakaik*, 262-264.



FIGURE 37. **Çak Muslihuddin During a Lecture**

Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine 1263, 227b.



FIGURE 38. **A Group of Darülmuallimin Students**
A. Magrin, *Dobrudja Artistique: Darülmuallimin*, İÜK, II. Abdülhamid Han Fotoğraf Albümleri NEKYA91331/36.

take care of his appearance. Along with his writing tools, it is understood from the same sources that he had a green ferace, though not quite flamboyant, and a black kaftan.[44] In fact, it can be assumed that these clothes, which are quite assertive for a student, were worn only on important days.

Clothes of the student receiving education from Molla Hasan Paşa [d. 1423?] consisted of entari, cübbe and turban. Some engravings are visible over the turban on the student's head. It is understood that the student had a brown, thin cübbe on the back. Inside the cübbe, there is a red dress which is not similar to the conventional entaris. It is understood from the collar of the red dress inside his cübbe that his inner clothes were superimposed on the edges. Under this dress is probably an inner shirt, green and rounded collar of which is visible. The student had a colored and striped waist shawl around the waist, to hold the entari which is closed by superimposing.[45]

[44] Özlem Sert Sandfuchs, "Reconstructing a Town from its Court Records: Rodosçuk (1546-1553)" (PhD Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilian University, 2008), 146.

[45] Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine 1263, 30a.



FIGURE 39. **Students of Darülmuallimin-i İbtidaiye Section**

Abdullah Fréres, *Darülmuallimin-i İbtidaiye Kısmı Şakirdan,* The Library of Congress, 2. Abdülhamid Collection LC-USZ62-81501.



FIGURE 40. **A Group of Students**

Salute de Constantinople: Groupe de Softas, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı, Kartpostal Arşivi 12833.

Particularly the müderrises and danişments of the high-ranking medreses could receive external service for their personal care, cleaning and organizing their clothes. Suhtes who were probably studying in the same medreses or in the lower rank medreses in the city, and had limited financial means would provide such services. As understood from these traces of information, suhtes would wash up and organize the clothes of the said instructors, and some of them even cooked foods for the müderrises and danişments. Yet, there is no sufficient information on the extent to which these services were free or paid for. The striking point here is that, while suhtes served müderrises and danişments, they also entered into the scholarship circles and learned methods, established collaboration for the future and were exposed to mass education.[46]

[46] İpşirli "Çömez," 380.

Presenting cübbes to students during when they are graduated, reminds symbolically of the Prophet Muhammad's bestowing his coat to Ka'b bin Zuhayr, or giving away clothes to newly converted Muslims. Because it is known that the graduated students received cübbes and turbans. For example, it is known that, when the ratification ceremony of the students in the Ottoman higher education in the late period ended, they would return to their schools with loose-sleeved binişes on their back, and turbans on their heads, in reverence to their teachers. It is also recorded that, those who came to congratulate the teachers of these students subsequently would present them furs, broadcloth for cübbes, clothes for travel, waist shawl and other gifts of this kind.[47]

Sıdki Mustafa Efendi [d. 1790] who received his diploma from the sheikh al-Islam of the era in 1754, subsequently participated in a gathering where the sheikh al-Islam, ulema and other state officials were present, with his fellow students, with their cübbes and turbans on, possibly as a show of gratitude.[48] Another piece of information on this tradition is included in Naima Mustafa Efendi's [d. 1716] chronicles. It is understood from other examples that the cübbe and other materials that would be needed to come into the presence of the grand vizier, were required to be supplied by the müderris himself, and for that, he resorted to borrowing. Only when the person appointed as müderris was able to come into the presence of the grand vizier, with a turban on his head and cübbe on his back.[49]

Although it was not the case at the beginning, the idea of a uniform dress for the students in the Ottoman medreses were debated in the subsequent periods, particularly the 19th century. Despite the fact that students



47 Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri: Adat ve Merasim-i Kadime, Tabirat ve Muamelat-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye*, 56.

48 Ali Aslan, "18. Yüzyıl İstanbul İlim Hayatından Bir Kesit: Sıdkî Mustafa Efendi'nin Günlüğü ve Mülazemet Yılları" (Master Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2015), 104.

49 Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Naîmâ Tarihi: 4*, trans. Zuhuri Danışman (İstanbul: Zuhuri Danışman Yayınevi, 1968), 1656.



FIGURE 41. **Students of Darülmuallimin-i İbtidaiye and its Rüşdiye Section**

Abdullah Fréres, *Darülmuallimin-i İbtidaiye ve Rüşdiyesi Şakirdanı*,
The Library of Congress, 2. Abdülhamid Collection LC-USZ62-81501.

wore dresses that indicate their affiliation, the uniform dress idea is understood to have entered into the medreses in the last century. In these debates, ideas of Eşref Efendizade Şevketi Efendi's [d. 1934] can be cited as an example. According to Şevketi Efendi, uniform dresses that would eliminate the class divisions in the medrese system to be reformed and the state should provide for it, in line with the tradition.[50] In fact, it should be remembered that this standardization initiative in medrese clothing was a relation between the centralization of education and the quest for reform. However, it is understood that these debates did not develop within the framework of Şevketi Efendi's ideas and the traditional clothing types continued to exist considerably. It is understood from the archive documents that clothing order was largely preserved in the medreses established during the late Ottoman period. In this regard, the cübbes designed for students, to be sewn out of black fabric was required to be 15 cm longer down from the knee, and students were obliged to wear these clothes everywhere, except for their rooms.[51]

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Despite the directories, legal regulations established for clothing and widespread reform initiatives throughout the Ottoman period, the exceptional clothing order which hardly changed was peculiar to the ulema. Such preservation continued even after 1923, and some continued to use ilmiye clothing.[52] It is observed that the clothes of the ilmiye class, which was constituted by the ulema were preserved until the late period of the state. A similar preservation is the case for student clothes as well. Yet, although some innovative ideas existed, white or green turbans and black cübbes were continuously worn by student. Within this scope, it should be noted that students preferred shirts and shalwars in the form of loose-cut trousers, under their cübbes, instead of entaris.

50 Hafız Eşref Efendizade Şevketi, *Medaris-i İslamiyye Islahat Programı* (İstanbul: Hürriyet Matbaası, 1329), 39.

51 Hasan Yıldız, "Dârü'l-Hilâfeti'l-Aliyye Medresesi'nde Eğitim ve Öğretim" (PhD Dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2017), 362-363.

52 Presidency of the Rebuplic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Republic Archives: 51/12.99.21.

It can be surely asserted that the diligence on clothes is not surprising. It is understood from sources that medrese students were quite attentive to the stylistic integrity of their clothes, in many cases. As an example in support of this claim, a student attending to the Papazoğlu Medrese in Trabzon was forced to leave the medrese as he did not comply with the clothing order, and acted negligently. Beside this example, two students who were determined not to have worn their turbans around the Ayasofya [Hagia Sophia] Mosque were taken to the police headquarters for interrogation, in a period as late as 1893.[53] As will be understood from these two examples, traditions in ilmiye circles were strictly preserved, even if the clothing regulations changed in many public institutions, and students who do not comply were kept under control.

Stolen goods of a person called Ahmed bin Abdullah, who is stated to be a resident in the medrese, but not stated whether he was a student or a müderris, as per the registry, constitute countless examples to be cited with regards to the ilmiye members' clothes. According to the theft incident referred to the court, the room of Ahmed bin Abdullah, domiciled in the el-Hac Hasan Medrese in İstanbul, was broken into in his absence, by means of breaking the lock, and his belongings were stolen. Among the stolen belongings were a silver sword, two silver pitchers, five golden bracelets, one silver dagger which were deposited to him, as well as one benefşe broadcloth kontoş, one benefşe broadcloth serhaddi and one green kaftan which he owned, and also a multicolored kaftan and one red ripple entari and four new linen shirts, four underpants and three boğasi 'zıbıns' [a kind of trousers].[54]



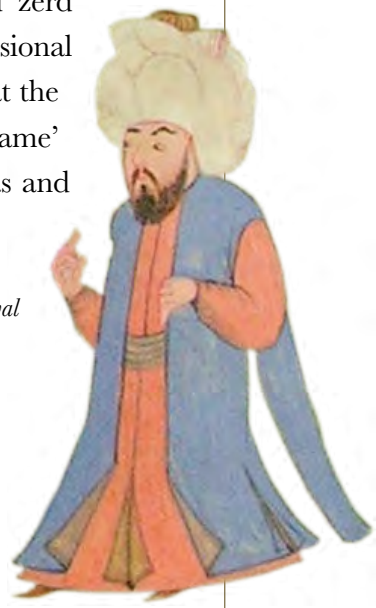
53 Halil İbrahim Erbay, "Teaching and Learning in the Medreses of Istanbul During the Late Ottoman Period" (PhD Dissertation, University of London, 2009), 158.

54 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1077 / M. 1666- 1667)* 17 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2011), 838. [Hüküm Nr: 1091; Original Text Nr: 131b]

QADI

Although qadis were members of ilmiye, they were more visible as they took part in daily life. Because, among the duties of the qadis who were ilmiye members, were municipal services as well. Within the scope of these services were checking the qualities, sizes and prices of fabrics, and determining the compliance of the clothes and headdresses worn. As an example, city qadis were obliged to wear the örf.[55] In this regard, the qadis, particularly those engaged in auditing activities, were obliged to have a large, official turban, generally deemed to be a sign of ilmiye, called the örf.[56] Indeed, it should be stated that the accompanying official were also mentioned with their headdresses; these officials accompanying the qadi are 'çuhadar' [footman] with felt, 'kethüda' [chamberlain] with cork imame [mantar imame], and 'muhzır' [bailiff] with red 'mücevveze' [big turban].[57]

Examples of clothing derived from their inheritance records contain information that can be used for qadis, as in the case of other ilmiye members. In this framework, it may be useful to pay attention to the wardrobe of a retired qadi, who lived in the first half of the 17th century. In the inheritance record of Derviş Mehmed Efendi, known as Baldırzade, who was a retired qadi, various and detailed information on his clothing can be reached. According to the inheritance record, the efendi had çakşırs in multicolor, benefşe, red, white, blue, orange, purple and yellow, a kebe, a bürde, that is a coat, a kaba, an aba and a raincoat. The clothes of the efendi are not limited to these. He also had a sable fur, fox bogat with purple broadcloth, wildcat and 'zerd aba' fur, which were probably reminiscent of or a result of his professional life. The trimmed fur coats found in the list is a precious outwear that the qadi wore in cold winter days, to keep warm. He would wear 'halali came' [halali dress] in his daily life, and preferred colorful bürdes, and abas and



55 Mehmed Zeki, "Serpuş," 111. For a sample of örf, see: Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler*, 168.

56 For a qadi's turban, see: Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler*, 170.

57 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 138.





FIGURE 42. **Discharged Qadis in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 197b-198a.



FIGURE 43. **Yıldırım Bayezid and Molla Fenari**

Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, Tercüme-i Ṣakaiku'n-numaniyye, TSMK, Hazine, H.1263, 22a.

furs in line with the weather conditions. The qadi would wear çakşır under his dress and complement the general overlook.[58]

A qadi under the pseudonym Meali [d. 1535/1536?] Was depicted as wearing a dark blue overcoat, whose sleeves extended to the elbows, and on the right side of which were buttons. Inside of it, he wears a dark yellow entari, with tighy cuffs. On his waist, a green waist cloth is wrapped. His beard and mustache is black and they complement his face, while there is a white and quite big turban on his head, similar to perişani.[59]

It can be understood from the white beard of Halimi [d. 1516], who was pictured as kneeling before Sultan Selim I in Aşık Paşa's work, was depicted at his old age. On Halimi, there is a dark blue, sleeveless overcoat, and a purple entari under it. On his waist, a green waist cloth is wrapped. On his head, his turban that he wrapped in slices, and on the part of his overcoat that extends down to his waist, yellow buttons are visible.[60] According to Latifi Çelebi [d. 1582] cübbes and destars may be considered under the classification of precious goods sometimes put in pledge. For example, the qadi Emlahu'ş-Şuara Melihi sometimes had to put his cübbe and destar as pledge to the alcohol dealer, since he was inclined to drinking in his early life, although he repented afterwards, according to the writer of the inheritance record.[61]

As per a 1699 dated inheritance record, Yusuf Efendi bin Halil Efendi, one of the qadis of Medine-i Münevvere [Medina al-Munawara], had personal belongings, along with his many books. Among these belongings were a veil trimmed fur coat, mai [blue] 'velençe', consigned raincoat, a fabric kaftan and an old 'ihram'.[62] There are also some qadis, who seize clothing goods in others' inheritance records, although they do not own

58 Maydaer, "XVII. Yüzyılda Bursa'da Emekli Bir Kadı: Baldırzade Derviş Mehmed Efendi ve Serveti," 574-576.

59 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 1*, 763.

60 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 2*, 631.

61 Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-şu'arâ ve Tabsıratü'n-nuzamâ: (İnceleme-Metin)*, 505.

62 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Kısmet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 19 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1109-1110 / M. 1698-1699)* 58 (İstanbul: Kültür A. Ş., 2019), 846. [Hüküm Nr: 691; Original Text Nr: 157a]



FIGURE 44. **Molla Balat Qadi, Discussing an Issue**

Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, Tercüme-i Ṣakaiku'n-numaniyye, TSMK, Hazine, H.1263, 77a.

them. As an attestation to this claim, the court records which indicate that Abdülkerim Efendi, Qadi of Ferecik [Feres], seizing some books and belongings in Mehmed Efendi's inheritance record can be cited. There was a 'Musuli' [of Mosul] ferace with fox fur, which was worth three thousand akçe, and white tor belt, which was worth two hundred akçe among the belongings of Mehmed Efendi bin Süleyman, known for saying "allame" [scholar] who opted for conciliation when referred to the court, and seized by Abdülkerim Efendi, Qadi of Ferecik.[63]

And in the inheritance record of Ahmed Efendi bin İbrahim, one of the qadis of Babadağı, inheritance of a qadi who passed away in Eyüp, but served as qadi in the countryside, was listed. According to the 1735 dated inheritance record in the registry, Ahmed Efendi had, in addition to many belongings for daily use, *"…a white kebe…an old ihram… an Algerian ihram… a squirrel nafe fur …an old nafe fur… an old çulkafa fur…an old alpaca ferace… an old entari…an old zıbın…an old destar…an old çakşır…an old kavuk…an old celayi… an old kutni kapama…a destar…an old rabbit fur…"*[64]

Likewise, Mehmed Efendi bin Abdullah, a qadi of Trabzon, left various belongings when he passed away. Among the belongings that were registered in the registry were, "*… an old kebe…an old night kavuk…a Bursa aba…saye çuka raincoat a headdress, with a kebe… a şali biniş…a white çuka biniş…a dark green çuka biniş…a yellow alpaca ferace… a kutni kapama… a squirrel back shawl… a back shawl… a shawl waist…an old entari…a black alpaca ferace… an old satin kaftan…an old çakşır…a new destar…an old destar…a nafe fur … a squirrel fur cübbe …a cat fur cübbe… an otter biniş fur…a squirrel biniş fur… a şali coated squirrel fur…an old cuff fur…an old corsac biniş fur…a counterfeit mustela erminea fur…an old Okçuoğlu fur…a black boat …*"[65]



63 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Rumeli Sadareti Mahkemesi 40 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1033- 1034 / M. 1623-1624)* 46 (İstanbul: Kültür A. Ş., 2019), 156. [Hüküm Nr: 137; Original Text Nr: 25b]

64 *İstanbul Kadı Mahkemesi 163 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1147-1149 / M. 1734-1736)* 67 (İstanbul: Kültür A. Ş., 2019), 174. [Hüküm Nr: 125; Original Text Nr: 42b]

65 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Eyüp Mahkemesi 163 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1147-1149 / M. 1734-1736),* 184. [Hüküm Nr: 132; Original Text Nr: 45a]





FIGURE 45. **Preachers in a Procession at the Circumcision Ceremony of Mehmed III, Son of Murad III**

Surname-i Hümayun, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 60b-61a.



FIGURE 46. **Mufti [Mufti Patriarchate et Grand Interprète de l'Alforcan]**
Abraham De Bruyn. *Habitus variarum orbis gentium. Habitz de nations estranges*, [Coloniae]: [Caspar Rütz], 1581, fol. 62.

MUFTI

It is not possible to think of mufti, a member of the Ottoman ilmiye, as having a different overlook, than the other members' clothing styles. Because there is no doubt that muftis dressed up as the ulema. In the sheikh al-Islam depiction s in the Rålamb Album, indicated with a mufti headdress, it is seen that the ilmiye member had a widely wrapped örf-type turban on his head.[66] And he had a geometrically decorated, sleeveless kaftan, whose fake sleeves were thrown to the back. The kaftan may be described as an assembly, decorated with engravings. However, as it will be seen in the depiction inside the kaftan that there are black points on white background. It

[66] *Rålambska Dräktboken,* Kungliga biblioteket, Cod.Rål. 8:o nr 10, 132. (Accessed on 21 December 2018). http://goran.baarnhielm.net/kb/draktboken.htm



FIGURE 47. **Mufti**

Rålambska Dräktboken, Kungliga biblioteket, Cod.Rål. 8:o nr. 10, 132.



FIGURE 48. **Ali Osman Efendi, Mufti of the Fifth Regiment**

Selamlık Resm-i Âlîsine Memur Ümera ve Zabitan: Beşinci Alayın Müftüsü Ali Osman Efendi, İÜK, II. Abdülhamid Han Fotoğraf Albümleri NEKYA91301/31.

is observed that fur parts spring forth from the pocket slits. Under the overcoat, the mufti head a green entari, called kamis, extending down to the waist and closed up with buttons. A white waist cloth, whose details are not quite visible, to close up completely, is tied around the waist. It can be claimed that the sleeves of the kamis were loose cut. This looseness turns into tightness on the wrists and, probably tightened with buttons, though not seen clearly. The non-heeled yellow leather mest-ipabuç on his feet complement the clothes of the mufti.



FIGURE 49. **Mufti**

A. Magrin, *Dobrudja Artistique: Müftü*, İÜK, II. Abdülhamid Han Fotoğraf Albümleri NEKYA91331/4.

In Goodwin's album, the mufti, was depicted with his quite large turban on his head and loose sleeved kaftan. The internal fur spring forth from both the sleeves and the front sides of the kaftan, and it hovers around. A similar fur is seen on the collar, depicted as wider than the fur and spreading over the back. His shoes can be claimed to have been produced in the form of classic çedik or başmak.[67]

[67] James Goodwin, *Eski Türk Kıyafetleri ve Giyim Tazrları: Pictureque Representations of Dress and Manners of the Turks*, trans. Muharrem Feyzi (İstanbul: Zaman Kitaphanesi, 1932-1933), 12th Picture.

MÜDERRİS

The information on the clothing of müderrises could be tackled roughly under the official clothing and daily clothing headings. Because the available information does not allow for making such differentiation with clear lines. As will be seen in the use of their properties in the bureaucratic and official transactions by the askerî class, such as qadis, muftis or viziers, one can claim that their clothing orders were arranged in a similar way. As the bureaucratic class maintained their duties in daily life as well, or that their duties covered all walks of life completely, such a differentiation might not have been deemed necessary. Therefore, all the ilmiye class members can be said to have not appealed to such a differentiation between the daily use and official duty clothes. Although it is not Ottoman, an example from Aydınoğulları Principality is interesting in this regard. The lecturing cloth of a müderris-faqih, visited by Ibn Battuta [d. 1368-1369] in Aydınoğulları, attracted attention of the traveler. As noted by Ibn Battuta, when they first met the müderris while he was going to give his lecture, "*he had a large and heavy dress, decorated with golden engravings.*"[68]

As the müderrises constituted the higher class of the society, though relatively, it can be assumed their clothing preferences for their lives would develop in parallel to this. Particularly, the presents bestowed by the sultan to the müderrises in festivals and other important days, in cash, as well as in the form of fabrics and clothes, should be deemed important in many aspects. In this framework, a book containing the gifts bestowed by the Ottoman court, roughly between 1503 and 1507, includes quite valuable information. According to the book, müderrises were bestowed fabrics of different qualities and quantities, and the reason for giving these gifts were stated. Several examples can be cited here: Mevlana Babek, serving as a müderris in the Davud Paşa Medrese in İstanbul, received 'kadife-i müzehheb-i benek-i Bursa', 'kadife-i alaca-i Bursa', 'kadife-i rişte-i Bursa' and

[68] Ebu Abdullah Muhammed İbn Battuta Tanci, *İbn Battuta Seyahatnamesi: 1*, 2nd ed., trans. A. Sait Aykut (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2004), 419.

'kemha-i kırmızı-i Amasya' fabrics in July 1503. And in September 1503, Mevlana Samiri, müderris of the Çelebi Medrese in Edirne was granted 'cübbe an murabba-çuka, sevb', along with some cash.[69]

As will be seen in the lines below, while some müderrises preferred simplicity, many müderrises were fond of clothes, unlike the previous ones. For example, Molla Fenari [d. 1431] is cited in sources as wearing quite ordinary clothes, despite the fact that he had twelve [12] servants, wearing quite luxurious and fancy clothes, and that he had many handmaids in his house. The molla wrapped a small turban around his head, similar to those of the Sufi sheikhs, and while he explained such modesty, he said "…*what I eat and wear is my hands' work. I cannot afford to have more than this, with my hand work.*"[70] However, they could have some of the incomes of the waqfs that they were affiliated to, some clothing aids from the sultan himself, for the müderrises.[71]

In general terms, the ulema, but particularly the müderrises are known to have furs that they wore on special occasions, and they were called muvahhidi furs.[72] Surely, these clothes were peculiar to the ceremonies, and more comfortable and useful cübbes and light turbans were preferred in education activities. For example, Mevlana İshak is portrayed in Künhü'l-ahbar as riding a horse with cübbe and destar on, while he was going to give his lecture at the Sahn-ı Seman Medreses.[73]

69 İlhan Gök, "Atatürk Kitaplığı M.C. O.71 Numaralı 909-933/1503-1527 Tarihli İn'âmât Defteri (Transkripsiyon-Değerlendirme)" (PhD Dissertation, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2014), 115; 130.

70 Mecdi, *Hadaikü'ş-şakaik*, 47-53.

71 Ercan Alan, "Yeni Bir Belgeye Göre Bursa Müderrislerinin Gelirleri," *Iğdır Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 16 (2018): 214.

72 Fatma Ayhan, "Türklerin Giyim Kuşamında Kürk," 196. (Accessed on 09 November 2018). http://www.ayk.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/AYHAN-Fatma-T%C3%9CRKLER%C4%B0N-G%C4%B0Y%C4%B0M-KU%C5%9EAMINDA-K%C3%9CRK.pdf

73 İsen, *Künhü'l-ahbâr'ın Tezkire Kısmı*, 191.

There are many reasons to think of the requirement as to form was an important requirement for the task of the müderrises. That employing the rapidly increasing number of müderrises in various duties became a problem in due course caused operationalizing the exam institution, however, those who wished to earn a social status quickly, having the necessary financial means, could open their own path in this race. On this note, the refined criticism of Vakanüvis [Chronicler] Raşit Efendi [d. 1735], who, as narrated by Uzunçarşılı, relating from Raşit Efendi, who could not enter the exam due to various restrictions, can be remembered: "…*changing their clothes with a basket from their livelihoods, and entering the exam session*…"[74]

That is, despite the fact that official documents might have been somehow obtained and the exam might have been taken, the requirement as to form was still deemed to be important. Therefore, as it is recorded in Raşit Efendi, those who had the necessary means would turn their clothes into müderris clothes and took the exam.

The inheritance record prepared for Mevlana Muslihuddin Efendi, a müderris who lived in the 16th century, who passed away during a naval journey, is quite an important document in terms of understanding what kinds of clothes that müderrises wore. Although all müderrises did not enjoy a prosperous life, the clothes inherited from Mevlana Muslihuddin Efendi, or the clothes that can be used for making clothes, are significant in understanding the clothing preferences of a müderris living in Bursa. However, whether the fabrics mentioned in the inheritance record were used for his own liking is not clear. For example, he can be assumed to have kept linen clothes, cotton cloth roll, thread hank, boğasi, clothes for kaftan, velours, trams silks and broadcloths for trading purposes. The large amounts of them makes one think as such. However, according to another assessment made on another inheritance record dated 1702, which is a quite late period as compared to the 16th century, these clothes might have been kept available to sew clothes.[75] Of course, on the other hand, aba, Bağdadi kaftan,

[74] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 65.

[75] Akyüz, "Osmanlı Ulemasından Üç Efendi'nin Terekeleri," 198.



FIGURE 50. **Molla Arap**

Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine 1263, 203b.

clothes, waist clothes of different qualities cotton and old destars with blue ends, marten, black-brown fur, muslin, silk apron, multicolored kamis, silk coat, white Indian waistcloth, old and new kebes and seraser can be deemed to be his own clothes.[76] Value of the belongings in the detailed list of the study corresponds to the %12.98 of the inheritance. According to the comparison made by the researcher, this is a quite high ratio, when compared to the other inheritance records. Indeed, according to another research made for İstanbul, this ratio stands at %7.28.[77] In the final analysis, commercial freedoms or visions of ilmiye members, as an askerî [bureaucratic] class member, must be considered important in this framework.[78]

When the inheritance record of Mevlana Muslihuddin is checked, he had two [2] 'zerdeva', totally three [3] furs, one [1] of which was registered as brown black [3], beside those he maintained for trade. He further had three [3] Bağdadi kaftans, one [1] of which was purple, one [1] green and the other one white. He also had a kebe, aba, kamis, coat and six [6] headdresses. Likewise, eight [8] waist clothes were also listed. Clothing preferences of a young müderris in a former Ottoman capital as Bursa can be deducted from such information. The said müderris probably wore his kaftans as an overcoat, during festivals and ceremonies. Because, it is not possible to assume that he would keep such precious kaftans in daily use. The said müderris probably wore his cotton kamis, and over that, his aba, which is relatively light and less expensive, during lectures and otherwise in his daily life, and his kebe on rainy days. If another assumption is to be made, he might have taken a coat on his back, and wore one of his waist clothes on his waist.

Notes in a diary, kept by a müderris, which is currently rarely available, is quite interesting. According to the notes taken by Sıdki Mustafa Efendi, whose diary is quite well-known, he had a piece of cloth cut to have a plain

[76] Saadet Maydaer, "XVI. Yüzyılda Bir Osmanlı Müderrisi: Mevlana Muslihuddin Efendi ve Mirası," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* XX, 1 (2011): 140-142.

[77] Maydaer, "XVI. Yüzyılda Bir Osmanlı Müderrisi: Mevlana Muslihuddin Efendi ve Mirası," 143.

[78] Barkan, "Edirne Askerî Kassamı'na Ait Tereke Defterleri: (1545-1659)," 61.



FIGURE 51. **Recitation Scholar Sheikh Ebülhayr Muhammed el-Cezeri Examining a Book**

Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine 1263, 34b.

entari sewn for himself and his brother. Sıdki Mustafa Efendi did not only have a piece of cloth for entari, but also bought linings at a price of 11 akçe per measure.[79] Indeed, according to the notes he wrote later, he purchased "*…one piece of white fox head coat was bought for eighteen and a half kuruş, and a half coat was bought for three and a half kuruş, and owned a trimmed fur overcoat, including its cover, for twenty six kuruş…*"[80]

Regarding beard and mustache, with his large posture, sources indicate that Molla Gürani [d. 1488] took care of his beard groom, and dyed it.[81] Similar examples can be encountered, given the depictions in miniatures. For example, as he was depicted to be quite old, his beard and mustache seems to be grey, in a miniature of Baki. Baki is depicted to be bearing a turban on his head, which is quite large, and therefore assumed to be örf, but, as seen in the other two figures, its design is different than those mentioned before. At the top of the turban, the end of the purple kavuk is visible. On his back, there is a sea-green kaftan, made probably of broadcloth, inner side coated with black fur. The long pieces of the kaftan, which are presumed to be fake sleeves, extend down to the knees and are twisted therein. He wore a white entari inside, and the wrist parts of his entari can be assumed to have been sewn to be short-cuffed. On his waist, a light-colored waist cloth is tied.[82] On the other hand, Molla Musannifek, one of the well-known scholars, wore a thick aba on his back, and wrapped a fabric made of thin velvet on his head.

In Hafız-ı Acem's [d. 1551] depiction, there is someone in front of him. The overcoat with motifs and the short-sleeved kaftan on this person, as well as the entari in it can be assumed to have been made of an expensive

79 Aslan, "18. Yüzyıl İstanbul İlim Hayatından Bir Kesit: Sıdkî Mustafa Efendi'nin Günlüğü ve Mülazemet Yılları," 88.

80 Aslan, "18. Yüzyıl İstanbul İlim Hayatından Bir Kesit: Sıdkî Mustafa Efendi'nin Günlüğü ve Mülazemet Yılları," 95.

81 Mecdi, *Hadaikü'ş-şakaik*, 102-111.

82 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 1*, 411.



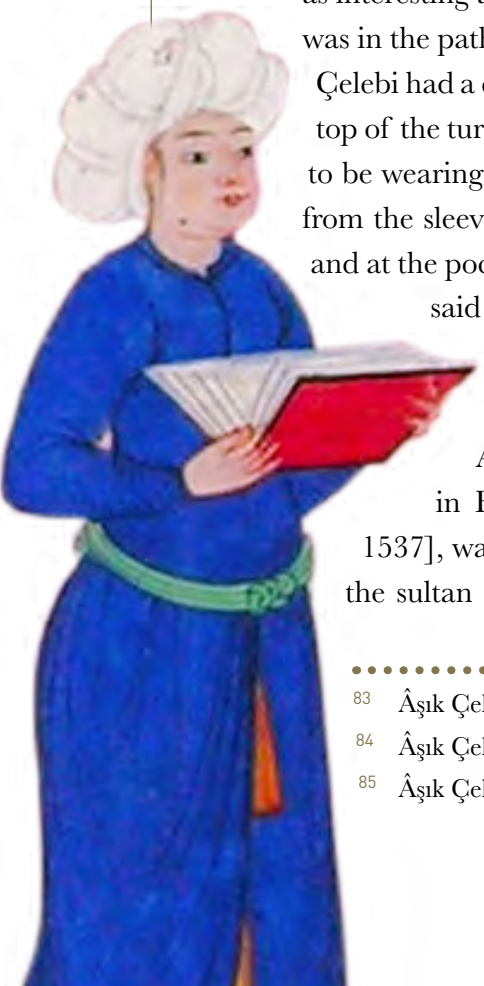
FIGURE 52. **Molla Ubeydullah Inspecting a Book**

Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine 1263, 233b.

fabric. The person has a neckerchief on his neck. A waist cloth is visible on his waist. Therefore, it is disputable whether he could be a suhte or not. A long and loose sleeved, brown cübbe, a dark blue entari under it, and an orange waist cloth is visible on Hafiz-ı Acem. Over the sliced turban on his head, his green top is visible, and on the sides of the top, the end of his red-decorated destar can be seen. His beard and mustache complement this outlook and his neckerchief extending to the ground, which he holds with his left hand is visible.[83]

Azmi-i Sani's clothes as a müderris is quite plain and simple. The ends of the white turban on his head overflows at the side, and he had a collarless cübbe which is green on the inside and maroon on the inside. His cübbe had long and loose sleeves. Under it, he had an entari with yellow buttons down to the waist, and a white waist cloth.[84]

Clothes of the müderris called Müslim Çelebi [d. 1560?] can be deemed as interesting as well. It is known that Müslim Çelebi, depicted in an iwan, was in the path of scholarship, and served as a qadi and müderris. Müslim Çelebi had a quite large turban on his head, wrapped in large slices. At the top of the turban, the tip of his hood is visible. On his back, he can be said to be wearing a kaftan, inside of which is fur coated, and fur overflowing from the sleeves and collar. His kaftan is green and had slits on the sides, and at the pocket parts, there are visible openings. These parts can also be said to be framed with fur. Under it, he is seen to be wearing an entari made of pink colored fabric, and sitting in front of the writing desk, with his left foot up.[85]



Among the Ottoman ulema who completed their education in Edirne, from Kara Bali [d. 1514/1515], İshak Çelebi [d. 1537], was recorded to have a cübbe and destar, that is, turban, when the sultan at the time received a group which included İshak Çelebi,

83 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 2*, 605.

84 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 2*, 512.

85 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 2*, 807.



FIGURE 53. **Molla Ali Çelebi Giving a Lecture to One of His Students**

Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine, H.1263, 129b.

while he was playing the chess, with a posture and dignity peculiar to the mollas.[86] In fact, in Aşık Çelebi's depiction in his Meşairü'ş-şuara, İshak Çelebi has a 'khaki' cübbe, with long and loose sleeves, extending relatively from the wrists and elbows, and with short slits on the sides, if they are not folds. At the lower edge of the cübbe, which was wrinkled, its lining made of a lighter colored fabric is discernible. Inside of the cübbe, a purple colored entari, understood to be buttoned down to the waist is visible, while at his feet, he wears potur or çakşır. It can be claimed that his beard is of a certain length and well-groomed. His sliced turban, peculiar to the ulema is in front of his knees, while he had a takke on his head.[87]

The scholarly person, who became mülazım [assistant] from Muhyiddin Çelebiyyü'l-Fenari' [d. 1548], whose real name is Abdurrahman, is understood to have possessed golden daggers, clothes and turbans, Persian kalis as well as scupper pipe mats, in addition to sable furs and famous clothes.[88]

Molla Lütfi's mücevveze and the cübbe and kaba on his back was stated to be in the 'ma'hude mugayir fenayi' status.[89] Another poet from the ulema class, called Helaki [d. 1572-156] disclosed that 'destar-ı büzürg' was a burden on the head, and 'came-i örf' was found to be 'libas-ı müste'ari', and leaned towards the path of Sufism, leaving the path of bureaucracy.[90] According to a kassam book of Edirne, dated 1545-1659, Müderris Ahmed Efendi's inheritance was quite extensive. Among his belongings were a dark green ferace with sable fur, a black ferace with sable fur, an alpaca with wildcat fur, a golden belt and kebe raincoat.[91]

In a miniature o Bihişt-i Sani or Bihişti Ramazan Efendi [d. 1571/1572] found in Aşık Çelebi's inheritance record, he is seen to have a turban on

86 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 1*, 331.

87 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 1*, 330.

88 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 1*, 528.

89 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 2*, 730.

90 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 1*, 539.

91 Barkan, "Edirne Askerî Kassamı'na Ait Tereke Defterleri: (1545-1659)," 62.



FIGURE 54. **Müderris Molla Sadi Çelebi Giving a Lecture to One of His Students**

Muhtesibzade Mehmed Belgradi, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine, H.1263, 223b.

his head, called white örf. The turban is wrapped in large slices, and on top of it, red ends of it, probably with fringes as is seen. Efendi is opening up his hands and praying in a community, at a rostrum. Then, it can be assumed from the thin-edged brown or black extensions, that he was wearing a short-sleeved white kaftan, inside of which was coated with fur. However, the clothing gives the impression of a thin fabric as well. His entari inside and the waist cloth on his waist complement this general overlook.[92]

In the scene where Molla Hasan Paşa is thought to be giving a lecture to one of his students, the clothes of the molla are quite clearly portrayed. It can be understood from the green branches of the tree under which they reside, that it is spring time. Maybe it is for this reason that Molla Hasan Paşa's cübbe, fur coated inside, seems to have slipped from his shoulders towards his back. There are black points in his cübbe, coated with white fur. It must be remembered that such black points, which are also seen in a similar kaftan of a sultan, was the black tails of the fur animal. The brit knitted buttons starting at the round collar of Molla Hasan Paşa, kneeling on his knees, continue down to his waist. Sleeves of his entari narrows down to wrists and creates a looseness. The turban on the molla's head was wrapped with muslin, and its green engraved tip hangs over his hood, in the form of taylasan.[93] As another example of turban with taylasan, a miniature in which students reading from an open book on lecterns in front of the instructor can be cited here. In this miniature, the long end of the instructor teaching a course, falls over his right shoulder to his chest.[94]

Clothes of renowned scholar Molla Gürani, who is the instructor of Mehmed II, have some differences in that they provide an example of müderris clothes. It is understood that Molla Gürani, whom Mehmed II is waiting for in front of him, standing, is wearing several clothes on each other. At

92 Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 1*, 441.

93 Muhtesibzade, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*. TSMK, Hazine 1263, 30a.

94 Mehmed bin Mehmed el-Fenari [Talikizade Mehmed Subhi], *Firasetname*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Supplément Turc 1055, 42v.



FIGURE 55. **Opening Ceremony of Bursa Hamidiye Muallimler Medrese**
Hüdavendigar Vilayeti Salname-i Resmisi: 1325, 73.

the very interior, his long arms sprout from the loose sleeves of his cübbe. Over his cübbe was a short-sleeved overcoat with çaprasts. In fact, it is interesting that the said kaftan is short-sleeved. It is understood that the interior of the cübbe was coated with a white under garment. As seen in almost all ulema, a white waist shawl complements this general outlook. On Molla Gürani's head is a sliced [dilimli] kavuk, fortified on the inside probably with cotton.[95]

Again, it is understood from sources that the ulema wore under shirts as a form of flannel, inside their entari. Konevi Mustafa Efendi can be cited as an example for this. As stated in the chronicles of Çeşmizade Mustafa Efendi [d. 1770], bearing his own name, Konevi Mustafa Efendi lived in

[95] Muhtesibzade, *Tercüme-i Şakaiku'n-numaniyye*, TSMK, Hazine 1263, 66b.

difficult conditions and therefore he took of his clothes and turban, and tried to cool himself by sitting against the wind direction and pouring down ice cubes down from the top of his head.[96]

Clothes of three [3] ilmiye members, who are reportedly among the ulema, in a year as late as 1702, shows that the ilmiye clothes did not change that much, whether they are of a qadi or a müderris. Among the clothes of ilmiye members whose names are listed consequently in the study are 'velençe's, which are said to be worn in Rumelia, as a flannel. In fact, velençes of one of them are in red, white and blue colors. An under garment reported to be made of taffeta yemeni, completes this outlook, although there are some other likings. Regarding their outwears, it is understood that Türkmen, multicolored, green broadcloth coated 'nafe' fur, blue broadcloth ferace coated 'cilkave' pitched sable furs were used. A black raincoat made probably of felt, to be water-proof for rainy weathers, and a black aba accompany the outwears.[97]

Lastly, one should hear what Nihani-i Kadı, a qadi from Kastamonu says. According to Nihani-i Kadı;

> *"Sufism was reduced to the crown and kaftan*
> *What a pity, merit got wasted*
> *Knowledge and virtue of scholars became their turbans and cübbe*
> *What is visible is the thief of image*
> *Do not think that they all became saints*
> *Therefore, at the gate of the rulers*
> *Scholars became customers."*[98]

96 GökerİNan, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Müderrislik Yapan Vak'anüvisler ve İlmiye Sınıfına Dair Tuttukları Bazı Kayıtlar," in *Sahn-ı Semândan Dârülfünûn'a: Osmanlıda İlim ve Fikir Dünyası (Âlimler, Müesseseler ve Fikrî Eserler) - XVIII Yüzyıl*, ed. Ahmet Hamdi Furat, Nilüfer Kalkan Yorulmaz, Osman Sacid Arı (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2018), 307-308.

97 Akyüz, "Osmanlı Ulemasından Üç Efendi'nin Terekeleri," 194-197.

98 Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-şu'arâ ve Tabsıratü'n-nuzamâ: (İnceleme-Metin)*, 543. İsen, *Künhü'l-ahbâr'ın Tezkire Kısmı*, 283.

Likewise, the same poem criticizes those who engage in scholarship. After he refers to studying and lectures in other couplets, he says,

> *"Worn layers of wool and cübbe on his back*
> *And amplified his head like a dome*
> *His dress is spectacular, and his name is master*
> *But he is a foolish donkey himself,"*[99]

referring to the effect of clothing.

In the 1661 dated humble inheritance record of Müderris Ali Efendi, which was duly registered, it is stated that he owned an ferace made of broadcloth, a broadcloth coated old fox fur in cinnamon color, a squirrel fur coated old mintan fur, a destar and a muslin börk.[100]

The 1734 dated inheritance record of Müderris Abdullah Efendi, son of Çivizade Ataullah Efendi, one of the renowned qadiaskers, who was an ilmiye member like his father, from which one can assume that he was relatively wealthy thanks to his father who lived in the 18th century, provides some insights into what a müderris would wear. According to the registered inheritance record Abdullah Efendi had "*…an old Algerian ihram…a mai velence…an old çuka biniş…a white çuka biniş…a saye çuka raincoat…a destar… an alpaca overcoat … an old alaca entari…a white kutni kapama…a mai alpaca ferace …an old temper alpaca ferace… an alpaca çakşır… a corsac fur…a coverless corsac fur…a mai dolama…a biniş corsac head fur…a squirrel nafe fur…a cübbe cat fur… nafe fur…an old cübbe squirrel nafe fur…a çuka biniş…a çuka dolama…a squirrel fur coated ferace…a çuka çakşır…a biniş cat fur… black boats…a white ihram…*"[101]

TÜBA TÜRKİYE BİLİMLER AKADEMİSİ TURKISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

[99] Latifi, *Tezkiretü'ş-şu'arâ ve Tabsıratü'n-nuzamâ: (İnceleme-Metin),* 547.

[100] *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Eyüb Mahkemesi (Havass-ı Refia) 74 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1072 - 1073 / M. 1661 – 1662)*, 198. [Hüküm Nr: 197; Original Text No: 42a]

[101] *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Eyüp Mahkemesi 163 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1147-1149 / M. 1734-1736),* 71. [Hüküm Nr: 35; Original Text Nr: 12a]

NAQIB AL-ASHRAF

Although the institution of naqib al-ashraf did not correspond to a very important rank in the period of interest for the purpose of this study, it must be deemed to be within the ilmiye class, for the aforementioned reasons. The main duty of naqib al-ashrafs, whose daily allowances were paid from the treasury, and who were specifically selected out of the 'sadat' [sayyids and sharifs] was about meeting the needs of descendants of Hasan and Hüseyin, grandsons of the Prophet Muhammad.

It is clear that the clothing norms of sadat, who were of significance for their lineage, was paid maximum attention, to distinguish them from other people. It is known that, since the Abbasids, the sadat would have green cübbes and turbans. Such practices continued afterwards, and the Ottomans called sadat as 'emir' and consequently, their turbans were called 'emiri sarık' [turban].[102] Then, the naqib al-ashraf must have been wearing similar clothes, as well, in his capacity as the head of the sayyids and sharifs. Therefore, apart from the sign that the naqib al-ashraf was a descendant of sadats, they were particularly paid attention to in their appointments, and they were made to wear precious clothes, as a form of honoring in the Ottomans. As seen in some other appointments, the grand vizier would have him wear a state officials' fur coat after submitting the order of appointment, thereby announcing his new duty.[103]

The dresses of the naqib al-ashrafs were complemented by a green turban at their heads. In this framework, the naqib al-ashrafs had a mücevveze made of green broadcloth and a kavuk with destar, on their heads.[104] It is stated that the naqib al-ashraf clothes resembled to those of the qadiaskers, after the 18th century. Afterwards, with such change, the örf, which was their head-dress, also changed, and they started to wear a kavuk, called küçük tepeli, the

[102] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 163. As an example of the emiri sarık, see: *The Habits of the Grand Signor's Court*, British Museum, 1928,0323,0.46, fol. 7b. For another naqib al-ashraf's turban, see: Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler*, 26.

[103] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 166.

[104] Kumbaracılar, *Serpuşlar*, 20.



FIGURE 56. **Naqib al-Ashraf**

Rålambska Dräktboken, Kungliga biblioteket, Cod.Rål. 8:o nr. 10, 40.

indicated part of which was wrapped with green turban, as explained in the headdress section. However, as stated by Uzunçarşılı, if there was someone among them who served as qadiasker, he continued to wear the örf.[105]

As depicted in 1582 dated Surname-i Hümayun, clothes of the sadat who were present in the procession contained important details. They all had green turbans and their taylasans spread over their shoulders. While some of their overcoats were quite long-sleeved, some others were sleeveless. And some members had fake sleeves. It can be claimed that the entaris or overcoats of all of them were in blue color. Their waist clothes, however, would differ. The shawls [rida] on their necks should be considered as a sign of their prominent status. The last one at the very back, with brown overcoat, was depicted as his hands inside the pockets of the dress. Another interesting detail in these paintings is that the sadat were depicted as braiding their hair and extending them over two sides. As for their shoes, it is highly probable to define them as mest and çedik.[106]

While Nicolas de Nicolay [d. 1583] pictured many persons during his trip in the Ottoman lands, he included a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad among his works. Although details are not distinguishable as the picture was an engravement, it can be claimed that it included some signs about the ilmiye members. While he has a large and widely wrapped turban on his head, headgear of which is not visible, he is seen to be wearing a long-sleeved dress on his shoulders, extending down to his knees. This dress can be defined as a cübbe, both because of the plainness of its inner side, and having long sleeves, and extending down to the knees. Inside the cübbe, he is depicted as wearing an entari, buttoned from the neck to the waist, tied on the waist with a waist cloth. He holds a silk apron in his hand. It can be claimed that the mest-edik on his feet, which is seen to be non-heeled, complements the general clothing.[107]

105 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 167.

106 *Surname-i Hümayun*, TSMK, Hazine 1344, 14b-15a.

107 Nicolas de Nicolay, *Discovrs et Histoire Veritable des Navigations, Peregrinations et Voyages, Faictsen la Tvrqvie* (Anvers: A. Coninx, 1586).

A depiction of a naqib al-ashraf in the work titled Fenerci Mehmed Kıyafetnamesi is interesting. Although it refers to a late period as compared to the 16th century, he has a green, sliced turban on his head, peculiar to his lineage. The hood of the turban is green, as is the destar. There is a green overcoat on his back. It is understood that his collar and front edges are decorated with black fur. His overcoat has some folds, because of its width. Two small slits are seen on the right and left side. It seems like the arm sleeves are tight down to their elbows and with çaprasts. Behind their arms, the fake sleeves extend down to the ground. From the lower edges of the overcoat, the red entari or shalwar is visible. On his feet, blue shoes, claimed to be peculiar to the ulema are seen.[108]



FIGURE 57. **Naqib al-Ashraf**

Paul Rycaut, *The History of The Present State of thev Ottoman Empire, Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politie, the Most Material Points of the Mahometan religion. Their Sects and Heresies, Their Convents and Religious Votaries. Their Military Discipline, with an Exact Computation of Their Forces Both by Sea and Land,* London: John Starkey & Henry Brome, 1667, 110.

It can be claimed that the naqib al-ashraf drawing in a book published in 1667 looks like a scene in I Turchi. Codex Vindobonensis 8626, in many aspects. According to the said scene, he has a large turban on his head, which symbolizes his lineage. There is a kaftan on his back, probably fur inside, as understood from the edges, and he is on a horse.[109]

[108] Visible, Pabuç: *From Sadberk Hanım Museum Collection*, 18. For Fenerci Mehmed Kıyafetnamesi, see: İlhami Turan, *Osmanlı Kıyafetleri: Fenerci Mehmed Album=Ottoman Costume Book: Fenerci Mehmed* (İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 1986).

[109] Paul Rycaut, *The History of The Present State of the Ottoman Empire, Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politie, the Most Material Points of the Mahometan religion. Their Sects and Heresies, Their Convents and Religious Votaries. Their Military Discipline, with an Exact Computation of Their Forces Both by Sea and Land* (London: John Starkey & Henry Brome, 1667).



FIGURE 58. **Cavalryman and Qadiasker**

Salomon Schweigger, *Ein newe Reiss Beschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, Nürnberg: Gedruckt durch Christoff Lochner, Velegung Wolffgang Endters, 1639, 168.

QADIASKER

The status of qadiaskers is understood to have been transferred to the Ottomans, through the Seljuks, following the Fatimids and Abbasids, from a political history perspective. As in the case of traditions, institutions can be claimed to be inherited. The office of qadi'l-kudat in the Fatimids court gave way to the qadiasker in the Ottomans. As in the Ottomans, qadi'l-kudat was an important position in the Fatimids, and it was subject to the clothing regime. Indeed, qadis were before the dai'd-duat and as they wore the same clothes, they were collectively called 'erbabü'l-emaim' that is 'turban wearers'. Accordingly, it is understood that even during the Fatimid era, those at higher positions as qadiaskers, would wear turbans.[110]

[110] Eymen Fuâd es-Seyyid, "Fâtımîler," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* XII (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995), 235. For a qadiasker's turban, see: Altun, *Osmanlı'da Sosyal Sınıf ve Kimlikler*, 168.



FIGURE 59. **Qadiasker**

Rålambska Dräktboken, Kungliga biblioteket, Cod.Rål. 8:o nr. 10, 77.

What is known about the clothes of qadiaskers are in line with the clothing of the ilmiye members. Likewise, it is understood from sources that qadiaskers would receive dresses from the sultan as a gift, as in the case of müderrises. According to the aforementioned the 'İnamat Defteri', the sultan presented to the qadiaskers, '*dresses with sable fur coat, pox decorated, made of velvet fabric, and with latticed gold decoration, as well as plain pox red velvet dress, with wildcat fur coat…*" which can be considered as quite expensive, in December 1508.[111]

The following example may be cited to show what qadiasker clothing meant. Hanefi Efendi [d. 1658], a retired qadiasker, who came to the court while appointing a new sheikh al-Islam to replace Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi [d. 1658], who joined the janissaries that grouped for the issue of killing Kösem Sultan [d. 1651] was being discussed, was appointed as the sheikh al-Islam, in a twist of fate. The part of this appointment which is related to our topic is that, Hanefi Efendi who came to the court, had a white, cotton cübbe, which is peculiar to the ilmiye, even if he was retired.[112] That is, the ilmiye members continued to wear clothes in white, which was considered as the color of their order, even if they are retired.

According to the codex of Sultan Mehmed II, qadiaskers were required to wear a red headdress called mücevveze, which was also worn by court officials.[113] In this regard, it is understood that the qadiaskers would wear a special headdress when they attend ceremonies or special occasions. It is known that the qadiaskers would come to the divanhane with an örf on their heads, after the fajr prayer on Friday mornings when they would hear lawsuits in the presence of the grand vizier.[114] In Jean Brindesi's [d. 1888]

[111] Gök, "Atatürk Kitaplığı M.C. O.71 Numaralı 909-933/1503-1527 Tarihli İn'âmât Defteri (Transkripsiyon-Değerlendirme)," 875.

[112] Ekrem Sarıkçıoğlu, "Şeyhülislamlık Makamı," *Atatürk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 5 (1982): 200.

[113] Quoted from Mehmed Zeki, "Serpuş," 109, in "Kanunname-i Âl-i Osman," 15-16.

[114] İpşirli, "Kazasker," 142.



FIGURE 60. **Qadiasker Vusuli**

Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'ara*, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri 772, 113a.

work qadiasker was depicted with an örf on his head, peculiar to the ilmiye members, and an overcoat made of green broadcloth, inside of which was coated with sable fur, a striped entari under it, and a waist cloth on his waist. And on his feet, the qadiasker, as a ilmiye member, was pictured to be wearing yellow yemeni, as in other drawings.[115]

When we look at the engravements of Nicolas de Nicolay, it seems possible to make deductions from two qadiasker engravements. Clothes of qadiaskers, one of which is riding a horse, while the other one is standing, can be tackled under three [3] headings as, headdresses, body dresses and footwear. For the headdress of the qadiasker riding a horse, he seems to have a headgear with twelve [12] slices or a turban wrapped around kavuk with muslin. The turban is irregularly wrapped. As will be seen in other engravements, it is interesting that ilmiye members have conveniently long beards. Under his overcoat is a red and long-sleeved dolama. Over the dolama, he is understood to be wearing an entari, decorated with 'hatais', with sleeves extended to the elbows, reaching down to the ground. On the entari, there is a light-colored kaftan, inside of which is fur coated, visible since its collar is folded outwards at the neck. The kaftan is closed up with seven [7] buttons, arranged from the throat to the waist. The qadiasker seems to put his hands inside the pocket openings at the side of the kaftan. There are two small slits at the back of the kaftan. On his feet, he is understood to be wearing pointed boots, which is not clear whether it is edik, with a spur. With such clothes, the qadiasker seems to have more like a daily look.[116] For the second qadiasker example, the idea of a ceremonial cloth is dominant. On his head, there is a quite large turban, which can be likened to the headdresses called the örf, whose kavuk is not visible. The turban is wrapped as vertical winding, and it has a quite big size. Inside, the dress closed up with buttons extending from the neck to the waist, can

[115] Brindesi, *Elbise-i Atîka: Elbice-i Atika: (Musée des Anciens Costumes Turcs de Constantinople)*: *Osmanlı Kıyafetleri*, ed. H. Ahmet Arslantürk ve M. Mert Sunar (İstanbul: Metamofroz Yayıncılık, 2013), Plate: 3.

[116] Nicolay, *Discovrs et Histoire Veritable des Navigations, Peregrinations et Voyages, Faictsenla Tvrqvie.*



FIGURE 61. **Rumelia Qadiasker Among the Ulema**

Elbise-i Atika-i Osmaniye Risalesi, İÜK, T.9362, 8.



FIGURE 62. **Qadiasker Kadri**

Âşık Çelebi, *Meşairü'ş-şuara*, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri 772, 296a.

be assumed to be an entari, as it seems like a thin dress.

There is a waist cloth in the waist part of the entari, which seems to be tightly wrapped. Over the entari, the long and loose sleeved white fur, with black points on the inside, is visible as it pours out from the collar and the front parts. This kaftan, which has a loose look at the waist, can be claimed to have been made of white fabric, as peculiar to the ilmiye members. On his feet are ediks with tips twisted upwards.[117]

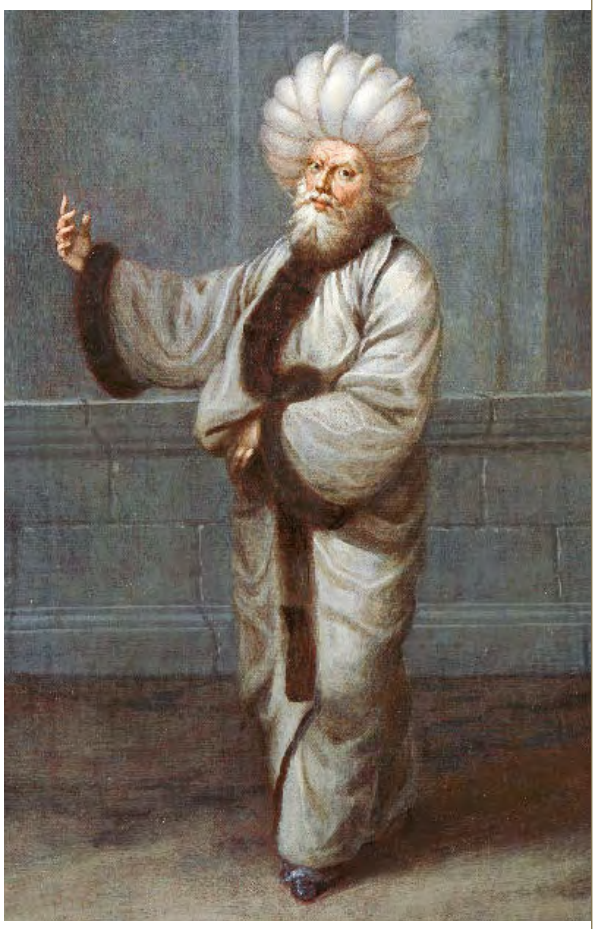


FIGURE 63. **Qadiasker [De Kazasker]**
Jean Babtiste Vanmour, Rijksmuseum, SK-A-2022

It is narrated in chronicles that Kudsizade [d. 1674] and Sun'izade [d. 1565] who were appointed as the Rumelia and Anatolia qadiaskers, respectively, after the Rumelia qadiasker Memekzade Mustafa Efendi [d. 1656] and Anatolia qadiasker İmamzade [d. 1657] were discharged of their duties and sent into exile, joined the divan with green turbans on their heads.[118] Likewise, on the other hand, when such high level appointments are made, it is known that the 'ibka kürkü' [fur of preservation] was worn.[119]

117 Nicolay, *Discovrs et Histoire Veritable des Navigations, Peregrinations et Voyages, Faictsenla Tvrqvie*.

118 Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Naîmâ Tarihi: 5*, trans. Zuhuri Danışman (İstanbul: Zuhuri Danışman Yayınevi, 1969), 2451.

119 Aslan, "18. Yüzyıl İstanbul İlim Hayatından Bir Kesit: Sıdkî Mustafa Efendi'nin Günlüğü ve Mülazemet Yılları," 98.

According to the qadiasker depiction in Rålamb's album, qadiasker is in a red-orange kaftan.[120] The interior of the kaftan is coated with a white fur, decorated with black stripes. The fur is visible as it overflows from the flat pockets on the sides as well as the front side and lower hems, and the shoulders. As an interesting detail, a piece of the fur covering the inner side of the kaftan overflows at the neck and hangs down, thus creating the collar form. On the inside, there is a purple entari, buttoned down to the waistline. The entari, which narrows down from the shoulders to the wrists, has the impression of looseness. The entari, open at the front, is tied with a white waist cloth. It is understood that there is a knot on the waist cloth, at the belly line. As the shoes of the qadiasker is under his entari, their form cannot be discerned, however, we have the impression that they are yellow, non-heeled and long cropped that they were a kind of boots.[121]

[120] Similar clothes is also seen in Raynal's album: Raynal, *Figures Naturelles de Turquie*, 1688 Bibliothèque Nationale de France, IFN-8455919, 90.

[121] *Rålambska Dräktboken,* Kungliga biblioteket, Cod.Rål. 8:o nr 10, 77.

SHEIKH AL-ISLAM

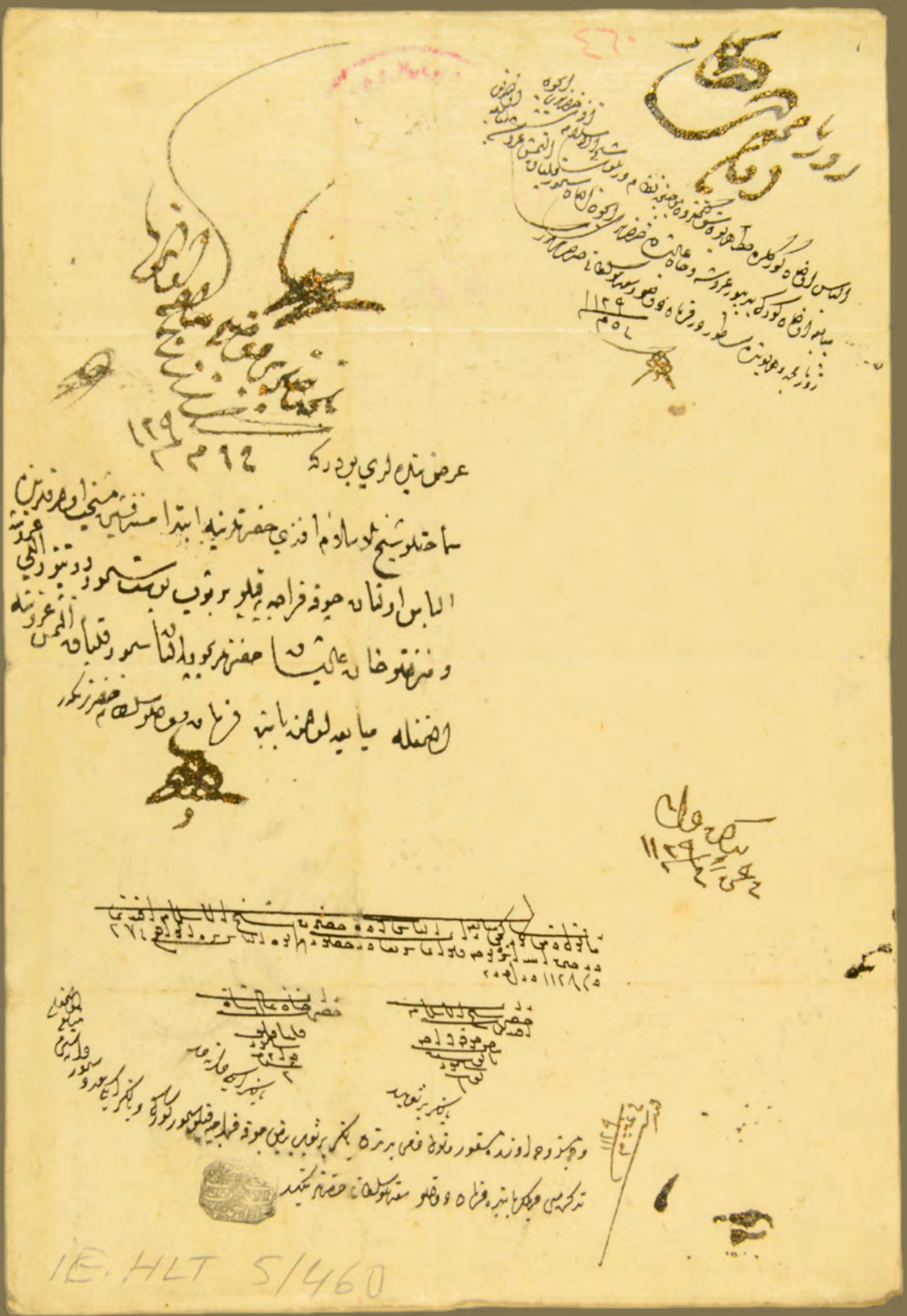
The highest position of the Ottoman ilmiye and ulema, belongs to the sheikh al-Islam. This position is attained after two challenging processes, namely education and career. Sheikh al-Islam is the head of the Ottoman ulema, and the resolver of religious issues. His worldly and other worldly authority made sheikh al-Islam to be seen in a very different position, as compared to the other Ottoman officials. Therefore, trust, along with respect of the sultan is important. Accordingly, he was respected and acted in line with such respect. Possibly as a sign of this respect, appointments of sheikh al-Islams were done with a symbolic ceremony, centered around clothing, and the appointment was announced with a fur coat presented to him.

A dress called 'ferve-i beyza' was presented by the sultan as a gift to him, as a dress of 'honor and office', after appointments to the office of the sheikh al-Islam. In general terms, this dress is long sleeved and loose, the interior of which was coated with sable fur, while the exterior was covered with a white fabric.[122] As it is narrated, when Ebussuud Efendi completed his renowned tafsir and presented it to the sultan, the sultan granted him two furs, one for summer one for winter, and it is probably after this incident that granting two furs to the sheikh al-Islams by sultans became a law.[123]

The dress ceremony held on the occasion of appointing sheikh al-Islams had peculiar features. After announcing such appointment, the sheikh al-Islam would be made to wear the fur coat before the sultan. During such appointments made in a certain order, hand of the sultan was kissed, and the sultan, in turn, granted a dress to the sheikh al-Islam, as a sign of his post. At the appointment ceremony, the person who was decided upon would be submitted to the sultan by the grand vizier, and the to-be-sheikh al-Islam either met with the grand vizier in the mansion of the grand vizier

[122] Many miniatures that fit into the definition can be cited as examples. However, for two simple examples, see: Raynal, *Figures Naturelles de Turquie*, 1688, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, IFN-8455919, 93. *The Habits of the Grand Signor's Court*, British Museum, 1928,0323,0.46, fol. 25b.

[123] Sarıkçıoğlu, "Şeyhülislamlık Makamı," 213.



DOCUMENT 9. **1716 Dated Order of the Grand Vizier on Purchasing the Hil'at Presented to the Sheikh al-Islam on His Appointment to the Office of the Sheikh al-Islam**

Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: İE.HLT. 5/460.



FIGURE 64. **Sheikh al-Islam Issuing a Fatwa**
Elbise-i Atika-i Osmaniye Risalesi, İÜK, T.9362, 2.

and moved on to the court, or directly joined the court. After that, the ceremony was concluded as the sultan tells the prospective sheikh al-Islam, sitting on a sheet spread on the floor, that he would be appointed as such, and subsequently the person accepts it, and the sultan makes him wear a white broadcloth coated 'ferve' [sable fur coat] for the state officials. That they were made to wear this dress when they were invited to the court, would mean that they assumed the duty. As qadiaskers and sheikh al-Islams were considered under the same category and that the sheikh al-Islam had a position as the head of the ilmiye, it is not customary for the qadiaskers to have the sheikh al-Islam wear his hil'at. However, it is a law for the grand vizier to grant the sheikh al-Islam a loose-sleeved sable fur, coated with green broadcloth. The sable fur coat bestowed would be sent to the sheikh al-Islam in a bundle and shown to him via a chamberlain, and subsequently delivered to an appropriate servant.[124] It was stated above that the sultans started to routinize two separate hil'ats to the sheikh al-Islams one for summer, one for winter, as per the seasons, after the 16th century, starting with the Ebussuud Efendi era. The sheikh al-Islams would respond to this generous gift by going to the court and presenting their gratitude.[125]

Below is another example of this. Although it was a custom to have sheikh al-Islams wear a white cübbe, coated with fur on the inside when the they were notified about their duty, Mirzade Mehmed Said Efendi [d. 1775] was reportedly bestowed a green fabric coated sable fur, at his appointment, as no white fabric coated fur was available.[126] In addition to the sultan's gift, the grand viziers bestowed green fabric coated sable furs to the sheikh al-Islams, but they were not made to wear them, as in the case of the sultan's gifts, but shown inside a bundle, and delivered to one of his attendants.[127]

In another example, Abdülaziz Efendi [d. 1658] who would be appointed as the sheikh al-Islam in the beginning of the 17th century comes to the Topkapı Palace and was made to wear a white alpaca coated sable fur in

[124] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 191.

[125] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 179; 206.

[126] Sarıkçıoğlu, "Şeyhülislamlık Makamı," 201, 34th footnote.

[127] Sarıkçıoğlu, "Şeyhülislamlık Makamı," 202.



FIGURE 65. **Sheikh al-Islam Ebulmeyamin Mustafa Efendi Issuing a Fatwa**

Mehmed bin Abdülgani bin Emirşah, *Divan-ı Nadiri*, TSMK, Hazine 889, 18b.

the space in front of Babüssaade, and then, he was taken to the Arz Odası [Submission Room] and made to kiss the sultan's hand.[128]

Sheikh al-Islams would wear ferve-i beyza, which is characterized as a loose-sleeved fur, probably bestowed by the sultan, and sewn specially at the court, during the enthronement and religious festival celebrations, which were deemed to be official duties. Despite the fact that various names were given for this fur, the most direct and simple definition is ceremonial fur.[129] Sheikh al-Islams would wear a ferve made of white alpaca with sable fur, which were bestowed to them, at ceremonies and their appointment.[130] In fact, Ignatius Mouradgea D'Ohsonn [d. 1807] depicts the official dress of the sheikh al-Islams as ferve-i beyza and 'sırmalı harvani' [brocaded long cloak].[131]

It is understood that sheikh al-Islams would receive precious dresses and clothing items from the sultan for various occasions. In this practice which became widespread particularly in the late period, it is understood from archive documents that sheikh al-Islams were bestowed furs and other clothing items at enthronement ceremonies,[132] religious festivals,[133] at the ends of feasts offered,[134] at departure or arrival of the navy from/to the capital[135] or launching a ship.[136]

[128] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 190-191. Aslan, "18. Yüzyıl İstanbul İlim Hayatından Bir Kesit: Sıdkî Mustafa Efendi'nin Günlüğü ve Mülazemet Yılları," 63.

[129] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 205.

[130] İpşirli, "Şeyhülislam," 94.

[131] İpşirli, "Kıyafet (Osmanlı Dönemi)," 511.

[132] Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: D.TŞF.d. 26080.

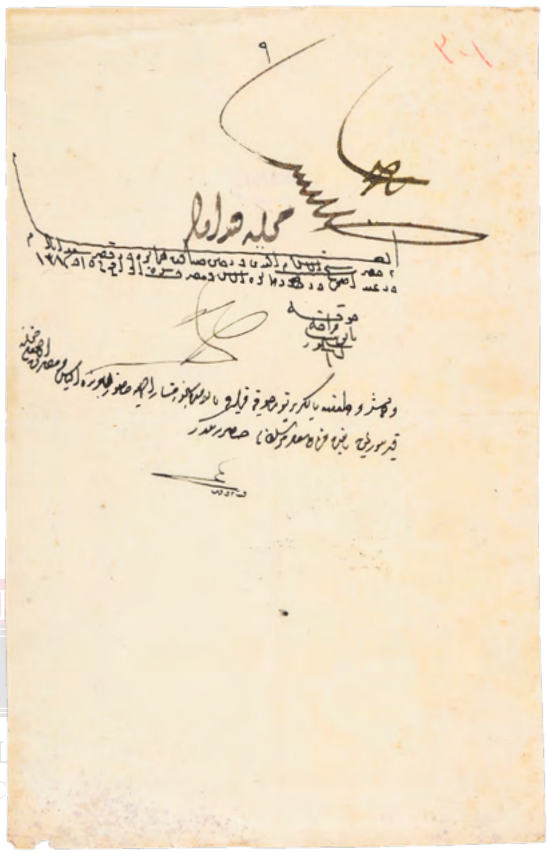
[133] Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: İE.HLT. 3/301. AE.SMHD.I. 179/13968.

[134] Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: AE:SMHD.I. 43/2573.

[135] Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: AE.SAMD.III. 232/22216. AE.SMST.III. 84/6215. C.ADL. 104/6213. C.ADL. 105/6294. C.BH. 149/7122.

[136] Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: C.ADL. 81/4908. C.DH. 343/17132.

Sheiks al-Islam would wear a headdress called örf or 'örfi kavuk', and used this headdress, which was a white kavuk. The general outlook of this headdress was "… *in twisted shape, made of Indian muslin top side in green color and the lower part with gold thread stripe.*"[137] In this framework, those who were sayyids were in green color.[138] It is understood that the sheikh al-Islams would wear an örf on their heads, along with a ferve-i beyza for winter, and a white alpaca ferace for summer, during official convocations. In fact, it is known that they would ride a decorated and fringed horse with these clothes.[139]



DOCUMENT 10. **Receipt of the Hil'at Requested to Be Bought to have the Sheikh al-Islam Wear in the Presence of the Sultan on Eid al-Adha**

Presidency of the Rebublic of Turkey, Directorate of State Archives, Ottoman Archives: İE.HLT. 3/301.

Surely, the Ottoman miniatures and the ulema depictions of the Western works are basically the same. In almost all of them, the sheikh al-Islam would bear a large, white turban on his head. Besides, they would wear a long, loose cübbe made of expensive white fabrics. Such a general outlook was included both in the Ottoman and Western sources alike. However, such similarity occasionally caused some confusion in the ulema class. The painting in Vanmour's

137 Kumbaracılar, *Serpuşlar*, 18.

138 İpşirli, "Şeyhülislam," 94. Sarıkçıoğlu, "Şeyhülislamlık Makamı," 213.

139 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, 207.

album titled qadiasker can be cited as an example of it. Vanmour pictured the qadiasker with a large-sliced turban on his head and his white cübbe, whose sides are decorated with furs. However, such clothing style is associated with a sheikh al-Islam, rather than a qadiasker.[140]

In the miniature of Kemalpaşazade [d. 1534], found in a copy of Aşık Çelebi's work titled Meşairü'ş-şuara, found in the Millet Kütüphanesi, the Kemalpaşazade was depicted with a dress during his tenure as a sheikh al-Islam. The beards of the Paşazade are grey and he has an örf on his head, which belongs to the ilmiye, and are larger when they are worn by the sheikh al-Islams. It is short, in relation to the wrapping style of the örf, and with narrow stripes, as understood from the miniature. One edge of the muslin overflows from where the kavuk is visible. Likewise, it is seen that the sides and ends of the muslin was engraved with a red colored thread. The other end of the turban hangs over the paşa's right shoulder to his front, in the form of taylasan. As understood from the sides, he had a sleeveless kaftan, made of a dark khaki fabric, interior of which was coated with a dork-colored fur, fake sleeve just thrown at the back, with a visible slit at the right back side. Inside the kaftan is a claret red cübbe. If there is an entari, its buttons and the waist cloth are not visible as the front side of the kaftan is closed. In fact, as the sleeves of this under garment are long and wide, it must be a cübbe. Besides, a white entari or an under garment concentrated around the wrist is visible. Prayer beads in his hand complement this general outlook.[141]

The mufti and consequently sheikh al-Islam depiction of Jacopo Ligozzi [d. 1627], which is not in a positive framework, is also interesting. Although it is not clear whether Ligozzi actually saw a sheikh al-Islam, it is probable that he was influenced by Nicolay's paintings. As another source, he might have obtained information from the tradesmen who visited the Ottoman lands. Nevertheless, his depiction is in line with the general

[140] Vanmour, Jean Baptiste. *De Kazasker*. Rijksmuseum, SK-A-2022.

[141] Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-şu'arâ: İnceleme ve Metin: 1*, 296.



FIGURE 66. **Sheikh al-Islam [Pontifex Maximus Turcarum]**

Hans Weigel. *Habitus praecipuorum populorum tam virorum quam foeminarum sigulari arte depicti*. Nuremberg: [n.p.], 1577, 189.





FIGURE 67. **Sheikh al-Islam Wearing Ferve-i Beyza Welcoming Kaiser Wilhelm II at Sirkeci Train Station**

"The Sheikh ul Islam, Emperor Wilhelm II, the Sultan, Excellency Enver Pasha, WWI", *Wikipedia Commons*.

frameworks. The sheikh al-Islam had a cübbe satin coated on the inside in blue color, which was known to be color of nobility as a professional color, and the exterior in white, which is peculiar to the ilmiye members, with long and wide sleeves, but a straight collar. It is understood that his entari is of the same color as his lining, and tied with a red shawl. Indeed, the fact that the outwear of the sheikh al-Islam had linings can be said to be a sign of his priority in the hierarchy and high position. Likewise, the use of fur can be deemed as reference to a similar feature. This feature must have probably been limited to the upper administration of the ilmiye. Because available information indicates that the ilmiye members in the countryside were subjected to limitations in terms of using some accessories such as stoats.[142] On his head, there is a blue turban with slices on the hood, wrapped with fine muslin in slices, called the örf; and on his feet there is a mest or edik made of saffian. Besides, as seen in the other Western paintings, the long and grey beards o the sheikh al-Islam complement the general outlook.[143]

According to the drawings by Jean Brindesi, published in 1855, the sheik al-Islam had a white, örfi turban on his head, of which the green hood is visible. On his back a dress inner side of which is sable fur coated, made of white satin, which can be called as ferve-i beyza is visible. Its sleeves were pictures as long and wide. Inside there is an entari with superimposed vertical red and white stripes, which, for some reason, is not seen much in the Ottoman clothing style. Over this entari, a waist cloth which is understood to be colored or inlaid, at the waist level. On his feet, a yellow yemeni attracts attention.[144]

[142] Patricia L. Baker, "Middle East: History of Islamic Dress: Dress in the Ottoman Empire," *Encyclopedia of Clothing and Fashion: 2*, ed. Valerie Steele (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2005), 406.

[143] Jacopo Ligozzi, "*Il Papa dei Turchi, Le Gallerie degli Uffizi*," Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe 2953.

[144] Brindesi, *Elbise-i Atîka: Elbice-i Atika: (Musée des Anciens Costumes Turcs de Constantinople)*: *Osmanlı Kıyafetleri*, Plate: 2.



FIGURE 68. **Sheikh al-Islam Cemaleddin Efendi**

F. G. Aflalo, *Regilding the Crescent*, London: Martin Secker, 1911, 2.

Witnessing that the classic clothes of the sheikh al-Islams filled their wardrobes as late as the end of the 19th century is striking in that it shows how the clothing tradition of the ilmiye class were strictly preserved. How this was sustained, is a primary question to be answered. The state enters into the 19th century with a transformation in cultural, social, economic and many other fields, and while rigorous regulations were being made in bureaucracy, it is significant to note that the ilmiye sustained its clothing norm, along with many other areas. That, for example, in his inheritance record, Sheikh al-Islam Halil Efendi [d.1880] had biniş and hil'ats in various colors and qualities, coated with fur, among the clothes used, beside the classic cübbes and turbans. On some of the furs, there is even 'al mücevherat' [scarlet jewelry].[145]

The painting depicting Sultan Abdülmecid I [d. 1861] returning to the court from Eyüp Sultan is noteworthy in that it contains visuals about the ulema clothes, despite it corresponds to a late period. As is known the transformations of both Sultan Mahmud II [d. 1839] and Sultan Abdülmecid I in the state affairs influenced a wide field from the military sphere to the daily life. Reception of technique from the West and consequently putting new tools into use further developed with the reform movements which would penetrate into the clothing of the military to the bureaucracy and consequently lives of people. Nevertheless, in spite of the clothing regulations particularly in the military and bureaucratic spheres, it is both interesting to see the ulema sustaining their traditions, and important in that the institutionalism was preserved in this sector.[146] As understood from some other visuals and documents, the clothing tradition of the Ottoman ilmiye is understood to remain almost unchanged until the end of the 19th century. According to the painting by Pavlo Verona [d. 1896], there are ilmiye members before Abdülmecid I, who is returning from the sword girding ceremony, with

[145] Edip Uzundal, "Osmanlı İlmiye Teşkilatından Bir Portre: Şeyhülislam Halil Efendi ve Terekesi," *History Studies* 10, 8 (2018): 191-192.

[146] Koca, "18. ve 19. Yüzyıl Erkek Modası," 76.

Omar's [d. 644] sword, and a black maşlah. According to the painting, in the first raw of the group proceeding before the sultan in three [3] rows, each consisting of two persons, one of them with white turban and blue cübbe on the right of the first row is on a horse. Clothes of the one on the left defines his mission; green turban and green cübbe can possibly be a a sayyid, a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad or a the naqib al-ashraf, leader of sharifs. The turban is neatly wrapped and the cübbe is open at the front, with long and wide sleeves. This depiction indicates that there had been no change in the dresses of the naqib al-ashrafs, until the very late period of the Ottomans. Right behind the soldiers at the back row is another ilmiye member. His white turban, called the örf, indicates that this person is the sheikh al-Islam. A hardly noticeable taylasan hangs behind the turban. An intermediate coat, a belt is found on the turban, as a golden stripe. The white overcoat on him is the ferve-i beyza. As it is summertime, the cübbe can be assumed to have been made of a thin fabric. The sleeves of the ferve are long and quite large. What is visible under the cübbe is a white kamis and the shoes are not fully visible.[147]

Blessing dresses is more likely to be understood as a means of creating alliances for the central government or the sultan. As an example, the ulema, who developed a negative approach towards the Reformation practices, were honored with dress gifts. Within this scope, Mahmud II bestowed 'a diamond ring' to Sheikh al-Islam Kadızade Mehmet Tahir Efendi [d. 1838], who issued a fatwa in favor of abolition of the guild of the janissaries [1826]. Right after this, he rewarded the high-ranking officials, along with the sheikh al-Islam, with sable fur, hil'at and various dresses, with the abolition of the guild.[148]

[147] Pavlo Verona, *Sultan Abdülmecid'in Kılıç Alayı*. (Accessed on 14 April 2019). www.artist-won- ders.com/milli-saraylar-resim-müzesi-birinci-kat/

[148] Uğur Tatlısumak, "Osmanlı Uleması ve Patronaj İlişkisi" (PhD Dissertation, Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2016), 276, 290-291.

Conclusion

TÜBA
TÜRKİYE BİLİMLER AKADEMİSİ
TURKISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

A wide scale and qualified discipline on the history of the Ottoman higher education, with relevant rules and methods is still in the formation phase. Likewise, it is still not possible to talk about a literature on the clothing norms of the Ottoman ilmiye, which can be tackled as a sub-section of it. Yet, the scientific studies on the clothing norms and dresses within the scope of the European education history shows how important the studies in this field are. Such studies need to be carried out for the Ottoman education history, in a similar manner, and clothing norm and research on dresses must be established as a sub-discipline. In fact, there should be no doubt that the clothing norm and dresses would constitute an important sub-unit to understand the Ottoman higher education history.

In the final analysis, the Ottoman ilmiye, and consequently the ulema, which constituted the ilmiye, belonged to the askerî class, and therefore, they were the servants of the sultan. In this regard, there are some differences between them and the reaya [subjects]. Such differences are about organization, as much as they were made visible through tangible elements. One of the leading tangible differences is the clothing norm which developed in time. As in the case of seyfiye and kalemiye; ilmiye formed its own

peculiar ways of clothing and traditions. Such norms are inherited from the religious and administrative traditions, both in quantity and quality.

Although the Ottoman ilmiye inherited some of its clothing rules from preceding ilmiye heritages, it also developed some original practices. Thus, as in the other segments of the state, it established an etiquette and its complementary elements in ilmiye. This group of rules and clothing forms were sustained until the end of the 19th century specifically and meticulously. In this regard, Sultan Mehmed II, as one of the legal fathers of the state, had an important status. He shaped and laid the foundation of the hierarchal order of the state by including clothing rules in the Kanunname-i Âl-i Osman he commissioned. While laying these foundations, Mehmed II made a set of regulations from the characteristics of the high-ranking officials to the clothes they would wear. The Ottoman order developed over this organizational codex thereafter, in line with the needs of the time.

As referred to above, although the ilmiye clothes that Sultan Mehmed II included in the law had some customary justifications, they also had historical and religious roots. The higher education which attained an organizational order by means of the Nizamiye Medreses, and its elements, reached to the Ottomans through different states and practices, and the Ottomans developed this heritage carefully. In this regard, the clothes of the Ottoman ilmiye class can be considered as a continuation of what came before. The second source of the Ottoman ilmiye clothes is the religious practices and consequently, sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad. The Ottoman ulema, pursued particularly and meticulously the life practices of the Prophet Muhammad, called sunnah, and derived its clothing styles from these practices, and transformed them into their traditions.

In the Ottoman ilmiye clothing norm, the traditions of the preceding established structures were developed and sustained, and their main elements were maintained. Traditions and practices that are transferred from the Abbasids reached the Ottomans through the Seljuks, and the Ottomans made contributions to them and developed them in line with the era and needs. As the reference source in many practices, such as the

medrese diplomas was the Prophet Muhammad, tradition was respected, the connection of the colors and styles with the Prophet Muhammad was maintained, as in the case of taylasan, cübbe and the like.

The clothing norm of the Ottoman ilmiye, which found its field of implementation with a deep-rooted heritage consisting of religion and tradition, can be considered as a perfectly functioning mechanism in two aspects. The first one is that it turned into a control mechanism both in transition to an askerî class and after. The other mechanism is that clothing could be used as a rewarding instrument. On the final analysis, as the only way of transition from the reaya class to the askerî class in the Ottoman system, the ilmiye remained as a special canal. In this regard, it is important that this class which was established in the form of a connection between the state and the people, was kept in a privileged status.

The clothing styles in the ilmiye class, unlike others, included both symbolic and solid differences. The turban called the örf and the white cübbe turned firstly into the dress of the sheikh al-Islam, the head of the ilmiye, and similar ones turned into the clothing practices of the other ilmiye members. These specific clothes ensured that the ilmiye was recognized and distinguished visually in the Ottoman bureaucratic practice.

Despite all this affirmation, clothes used by the Ottoman ilmiye, are not quite bright, as compared to the seyfiye, among other askerî classes, except for those of the sheikh al-Islams and the Sahn-ı Seman müderrises. At the end of the day, it is not possible to talk about a difference between the clothes of the müderrises, qadis, naqib al-ashrafs or muftis, which virtually constitute the ilmiye, except for minor changes due to the specific duty or rank. Therefore, it can be claimed that the clothing of the ilmiye members are similar, with minor differences. These differences may only be deduced from the information provided in chronicles, as well as the visual materials from the eras that they were produced in, such as miniature and engravements. Surely, despite all these, a clothing norm and a tradition on the clothing styles were formed for the Ottoman ilmiye, as much as the reaya and other askerî classes were concerned. In fact, such tradition is deep

enough to constitute an important and special field as much as the clothing history of the European universities.

As will be seen throughout the Ottoman experience, clothes emerged as an embodiment of the hierarchial structure for the ilmiye class and was successfully use for creating classes. Material elements, such as materials, colors and sizes of the black cübbes that qadis wore in courts, or of the ferve-i beyza, which is the ceremonial dress of sheikh al-Islams, provided an outlook in line with the relevant duties and ensured that the ilmiye ranks took shape. Therefore, a planned and functional structure was shaped in the ilmiye class, as in the case of the Ottoman askerî and civil bureaucracy, starting with Kanunname-i Âl-i Osman.

The ilmiye class was made to attain an identity of being a askerî class, along with the religious legitimacy, by means of both form and color symbolism. This gain turned the ilmiye class into one of the basic components that governed the Ottoman State, and transformed their clothes into uniforms that symbolized their contact to the religious sources and provided some superiority over them. Such functionality had a significant position particularly in the Ottoman ilmiye, and the special status of the ilmiye in the Ottoman organization and its legal founding identity, made its dresses a peculiar shield for the ilmiye.

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CLOTHING NORM AND ATTIRES OF THE OTTOMAN İLMİYE CLASS

STUDENT, QADI, MUFTI, MÜDERRİS, NAQIB AL-ASHRAF, QADIASKER, SHEIKH AL-ISLAM

CLASSIC PERIOD IN GENERAL TERMS

Those who founded and built the Ottoman mentality is the Ottoman ulema and the ilmiye class, which is its institutional structure. Despite the fact that ulema, which constitutes the Ottoman ilmiye class within the askerî class is divided into different sub-classes, the center they are affiliated is the Ottoman medrese. In this regard, the Ottoman medreses are the center of the Ottoman ilmiye class and its intellectual mentality; therefore, it has its own tradition, customs, and clothing form. And attires make the Ottoman ilmiye visible within the state with all its elements and reiterate its status. The clothing regulations and differences of the Ottoman ilmiye class manifest itself strongly from studentship, which is the lowest level, to the office of the sheikh al-Islam, the highest post. Differences and status regulations are made distinct through the design and colors of attires as well. Thus, they are rendered easily distinguishable in the society.

With this study, covering the attires belonging to the Ottoman ilmiye class, it is aimed to provide contribution to three fields. Firstly, it is aimed to unfold the clothing norms of the Ottoman ilmiye class, and hence to establish a theoretical base. Surely, the clothing norm of the Ottoman ilmiye class has a philosophical background and reason. The design of this theoretical plan and reason is discussed in this study. Another target is to classify attires belonging to the Ottoman ilmiye class, to serve as a source for future studies. With this classification effort, the ilmiye attires will be sorted out and thus, the attires will be inter-related. The third and the last aim is to pave the way for establishment of the Ottoman ilmiye class attires as a sub-discipline in the Ottoman higher education studies. Because a sub-discipline that will serve as a source for comparative studies can be established as such.

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