Iconography of Qajar Women’s Clothing and Ornaments as Depicted in the Painting “The Lady with the Parrot” by Mehr Ali*

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Abstract

Problem statement: The Qajar era painting has a particular position in the history of Iran’s art and portraiture is controversial as a prominent branch of painting during Fath Ali Shah’s sultanate period. As one of the main subjects of the painters in this era, women have been frequently portrayed with no veil (hijab) while wearing heavy make-up and a lot of jewelry. Mehr Ali is one of the proficient painters of this era that, besides portraying the king, has also portrayed a few of the Qajar women, as well. In the painting “the lady with the parrot” which is ascribed to Mehr Ali, a painter in Fath Ali Shah Qajar’s royal court, a kind of clothing style different from the common Qajar women’s, can be observed.

Research objective: The present study aimed at analyzing the clothing and ornaments of the woman in Mehr Ali’s painting and their consistency with the hijab and ornaments commonly used by Qajar women from iconographical perspectives. To do so, efforts have been made to unravel the latent layers of aforementioned artwork via describing and analyzing the themes therein. The article seeks to figure out the reason why the woman has been portrayed in this painting with those ornaments and clothing.

Research method: The present study was carried out based on a qualitative (analytical-descriptive) method using content analysis. The study’s theoretical foundation was set based on Erwin Panofsky’s school of iconography and the required data was collected based on the documentary method and library research.

Conclusion: The study findings makes the audience familiar with a different type of female clothing that is less similar to the outfits commonly used by Qajar era’s women and no historical book has pointed thereto. The type of hijab depicted in Mehr Ali’s painting remind the audience of the Indian women’s clothing in Mughal (Gurkanian) era and the woman’s make-up style seem to be influenced by the literature and representation of its similes in painting.

Keywords: Qajar Era, Women’s Clothing, Ornaments, Mehr Ali.

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Introduction

Iconography in Iranian painting that had been started since Safavid Era, bloomed during Fath Ali Shah Qajar’s period considerably. The subjects of the pictures from this epoch of history were the kings and royal figures as well as the women who were mostly not high-ranking members of the royal court; they predominantly were dancers, musicians and bondswomen. The women inscribed on the painting paintings of this period show off on the painting canvas while wearing various kinds of ornaments, make-up and precious outfits. Mehr Ali, a royal painter, who had been honored with the epithet of Naqqash Bashi by Fath Ali Shah used to depict the king as well as the bondswomen; unfortunately, there are few of them at hand at present.

In the art print “the lady with the parrot” which is ascribed to Mehr Ali, the clothing put on by the girl is less similar to the common garment of the Qajar women. The current research aimed at identifying the visual relationship governing the painting “the lady with the parrot” based on iconographical methods; it also tried to find an answer to the question as to under the influence of what factors have the clothing and ornaments of the portrayed girl been inscribed on the painting? To do so, iconography that has been recently welcomed as an efficient method of describing and analyzing artwork can contribute to the understanding of the abovementioned picture and an answer can be found to the aforesaid question using the historical resources related to the subject and analytical texts. In this method which is accompanied by description and analysis, representation of the woman in the painting “the lady with the parrot” has been considered as part of Qajar era’s culture, the content of which can be analyzed to arrive at a perception of the position of the women who used to spend their time in harems and/or in the adjacency of the harems’ women but in a different clothing. In line with this, the study materials have been gathered based on library research and the study method was a qualitative (descriptive-analytical) one.

Literature Review

Many studies have been conducted regarding Qajar Era’s painting amongst which the book “Iran’s painting” by Pakbaz (2006) can be pointed out. Therein, Pakbaz investigated Iran’s painting from the ancient era till the contemporary period. Karimzadeh Tabrizi, as well, has introduced the Iranian painters as much as possible in two volumes of a book named “the statues and works of old Iranian painters” (Karimzade Tabrizi, 1997); he also has dedicated a part to introducing Mehr Ali and his works. Yahya Zoka has allocated a part to the clothing of Qajar women in a book titled The clothing of Iranian women from 13th hegira century till now that has been used as a reference for many books and specialized articles by many of the researchers (Zoka, 1985). Many itineraries have also devoted parts of their observations to the clothing of Qajar women; amongst these, Gaspar Drouville’s itinerary can be pointed out (Drouville, 1999). As for the painting analysis from the iconographical viewpoint, there is a scarcity of research. “Iconographic investigation of the wall paintings and murals in Chehel-Sotoun Palace, in Isfahan, with the themes of sightseeing and cedar”, written by Nahid Abdi and Azadeh Paniriyan that has been published in the journal of visual and applied art in 2017, has adopted an iconographical approach to study the backgrounds and hidden layers of these works via describing, analyzing and interpreting the themes of the paintings in the murals (Abdi & Paniriyan, 2107). However, no research has investigated Qajar painting using an iconographical approach.

Theoretical Foundation

Iconography is the study method in the area of art history that dates back to 16th century. “Iconography is a research about the visual subjects, their evolutions, traditions and contents that have happened in the course of various centuries” (Nasri, 2013, 10). “This expression was seminally used to refer to brief volumes containing indicators and
explanations about the art themes and allegorical indices” (Abdi, 2012, 27). During the late 19th century, Aby Warburg not only generalized the scientific approach of iconography to the religious and corporeal topics, but he also succeeded in applying the extents of this approach in directing knowledge, art and cultural history of art in a pervasive manner (Mokhtarian, 2011, 110). “This method deals not only with the creator of artwork but also with the analysis of the picture’s content and includes collecting, classifying and analyzing information obtained from an artwork” (Lash, 1996, 89). In this method, the subject and content of the artwork are described and the researchers seek in the face of the objective reality of the work to figure out what has been delineated in the artwork. “Erwin Panofsky has attempted in a book called ‘researches in iconology: humanistic themes in renaissance art’ to make a distinction between iconography and iconology. The result of this distinction has gained a large deal of credit in the interpretation of Renaissance art and Christian art and, then, Buddhist art and as well as modern art. Panofsky defines picture reading in three stages, including: the first stage (pre-iconographical description) is a formal pseudo-analysis identifying the real subjects from one another through studying the motifs and forms carrying the preliminary and natural meanings. The second stage (iconographical analysis) is the identification and analysis of the regulations and contractual rituals governing the images and their themes according to the written documents and literary texts of a given period. The third stage (iconological interpretation) includes the researcher’s endeavor for making the audience familiar with the symbolic values latent in artworks (Abdi, 2012, 31-33).

Pre-Iconological Description of the Painting “the lady with the parrot”
Fath Ali Shah’s sultanate period was an auspicious opportunity for the revitalization of royal art. In this era, a number of the most outstanding painters painted large-size curtains to be installed in newly constructed palaces. Mehr Ali is one of these painters who left precious works behind. There is not much precise information at the hand of the death and birth dates of this artist, but his peak of art activity approximately dates back to the years from 1798 to 1815 and his death has been estimated to be in 1835 (Karimzadeh Tabrizi, 1997, 69). He was a proficient painter in all of the art techniques including watercolor, lacquer painting and reverse glass painting, but drawing the portrays of Fath Ali Shah is his most eminent art heritage. Mehr Ali has most often drawn pictures of Fath Ali Shah and Iran’s ancient kings and there are seen several curtains of women depictions amongst his works but, of course, all with no signature.

The painting “the lady with the parrot”, 163cm×84cm in dimension, is attributed to Mehr Ali but it is not clear at what date he has created it (Fig. 1). The girl portrayed in the painting has a round face, conjoined eyebrows, small lips and a mole on the side of her lip and black curry hair with hands covered with henna. In fact, the majority of the figures painted of the women and, most likely, of the men in this period, features such a sort of make-up and this is one of the common characteristics of the portraiture style. The visages of the depicted women were all painted based on a certain scale and similar to one another with the lowest change in the facial expression and only with a smile on the lips. This make-up style must have normally had an example in the society. Drowill has described the women’s make-up in the following words: “the hair was weaved in the form of twenty or thirty small French braids with half being tied to the turban and the rest being thrown back. Two sets of curly hair were allowed to fall down from the sides of the face and these two sets were long enough to reach the chest” (Drouville, 2008, 61). The women’s make-up has been described as follows in Ravandi’s history: coloring of the hands and feet with henna, coloring the face by eyeliner, woad (or indigo), white face powder and blusher (Mohammadi Namini, 2002, 122). The make-up in that era was based on the
aforesaid scales so that the women lacking bushy and black eyebrows and or large round eyes could shape them into their ideal forms by drawing eyeliner in the eyes and eyebrows.

There are also pieces of evidence available of the Qajar women’s method of hairstyle and face make-up bringing testimony to the women’s inclinations towards simulating their faces in the ideal form described in the recited poems of that era. In other words, the women in the painting curtains are ideal human beings stemming from the Persian poetry. The components of the girl’s face in the foresaid painting, as well, is no exception to this rule; examples of the descriptions provided by the literary men of the elements of the nature, objects and humans can also be found in the works by the painters, as well; the poet compares the face with the moon, the height with the cedar tree and lips with the flower buds and other things of the like and the painter tries finding and utilizing the visual equivalent of this metaphorical language. “It can be stated that the beauty of the Iranian painting and, especially, the drawings from the first half of Qajar Era deals with the creation of an imaginary and allegorical world under the influence of the symbols institutionalized in the Iranian literature and the important matter here is that the painter and the person ordering the painting are both found mindful of a fundamental point, i.e. following an aesthetical culture that has been accepted as an aesthetical pattern and scale during long centuries in the Iranian literature and culture by the elites and general public featuring special identity and function” (Alimohammadi Ardakani, 2013, 143).

The aesthetical scales were ideals to the painters and miniaturists of this period and their roots can be found in the poetry, particularly in Persian sonnets. The painting “the lady with the parrot” has been depicted in large dimensions and it possesses geometrical form on its topside. In that time, it was very important to keep the proportion between the shape and size of the painting with the spatial nature and feature designed for it. This is why many of these images have different shapes and forms so that they can be fit into the corners and shelves of the customers ordering the form and size of the painting based on their buildings’ architecture. “The cadre of Qajar panting can be realized as one of its aesthetical specifications because the use case caused the creation of a new form in the cadre of the painters’ works” (Jalali Ja’fari, 2004, 48). The colors used in the outfit of the girl in an order of frequency are green, dark blue and orange. The varying dark and cold degrees of green have created a vague and nearly empty space; however, the pearly bright and orange colors of the drawn on the top of the image in the form...
of a drape has reduced the space’s coldness to some extent. “Generally, it seems that the women’s images are the works of second degree painters who used lower quality materials. The goldbeatings are always found blurry and dark, whereas the goldbeatings used in portraying the king’s bodies are still glowing for the use of real gold; the colorants are often dilute and of a lower quality” (A Look at Iranian Painting, 1975, 21). According to the fact that Mehr Ali was the first degree painter of the royal court and had been given the title of Royal Painter following the lead of Mirza Baba, he does not seem to have used low quality and low-grade materials. The reason for this issue might have been the lesser importance of the subject. Moreover, the amount of ornaments drawn in other works by Mehr Ali of Fath Ali Shah is a lot higher than those drawn of “the lady with the parrot”. On the other hand, it is also envisaged likely that lower prices were paid for these paintings.

Pearl, ruby and emerald can be seen in the ornaments of the painting “the lady with the parrot” in an order of frequency; these have been used not only as jewelry but also in the clothing and its accessories, including the belt, cuffs and armbands and the chiffon pearl-braided small hat has been decorated with feather. The king and his companions’ tastes seem to have been not devoid of effects in the women’s method of applying jewelry and make-up because the art was specifically unique to the aristocrats in this period. Qajar kings’ delight by the jewelry and their attentiveness to the country’s treasury and its richness justifies the abundant interest of the women in that era in jewelry. All of the Qajar kings were sumptuous and this trait peaked during Fath Ali Shah’s sultanate. “In the position of kingship, he was, on the one hand, a glorious and majestic character and, on the other hand, a greedy and merciless person” (Falk, 2014, 31). His crown was covered with such jewelries as diamond, ruby and emerald but, in terms of showiness, nothing could keep pace with his broad armbands and jeweled belt. He was very much interested in pearl and garnet and pearl was frequently used in his jewelry (Ferrier, 2005, 94) (Fig. 2). Fath Ali Shah’s too much interest in jewelry, on the one hand, and the women’s zeal for jewelry and their efforts for winning the king’s attention, on the other hand, transformed the use of jewelry into an excuse for both parties’ attainment of their wants. “The use of jewelry in harem had become so common and pleasant that ruby- and emerald-inlaid rings were used as the governmental sign for acquiring permission to enter and exit the harem with the former being shown to the person in charge of the harem for entry and the latter for exit. More importantly, the harem’s women had to put on fine clothes on which precious stones and pearl had been embellished (Taheri, 2015, 192).

Iconological Analysis of the Painting “the lady with the parrot”

The clothing in the first period of Qajar period was continuation of the style in Zandieh period with slight changes which included certain pieces: a part that

Fig. 2. Fath Ali Shah’s kingship crown, 32cm in height, made by an anonymous artist, Tehran, 13th hegira century. Source: Alimohammadi, 2013, 269.
covered the upper body and it was usually a thin shirt with a placket in the middle that was continued up to navel and its outer parts were decorated with jewelry; a tight jacket and then a long and tight doublet Kolijeh with long sleeves were worn on the shirt. The skirts of this period were like those in Zandieh era with the difference that these were longer. Loose trousers prepared from precious to cheap fabrics, depending on the financial affordability, were worn underneath the skirt (Ghaibi, 2006, 588). Of course, “… since the skirts were long enough that the trousers could not be seen, the loose trousers were replaced with tight ones and they were generally not so much important; long and loose trousers without skirts became fashionable for a period of time” (ibid., 592). Scott Waring described in his itinerary that thick velvet trousers were worn that were made of silk fabric and sewed in the form of a bag that encompassed the calves (Waring, 1990, 193). It seems that trousers were worn in different designs but the constantly worn thing on the trousers was the skirt made of thick materials.

In the image “the lady with the parrot”, a jacket different from what was commonly worn and inconsistent with the definitions offered for the clothing in that era can be seen. On the shirt, a front-closed blouse is worn with round and open collar and long sleeves; it covers the area from the chest to the waist and is wrapped inside the trousers. Based on the documents, Qajar women used to put on front-open jackets on their shirt that occasionally that the front parts were open and apart from one another and sometimes closed by the use of buttons. The blouse depicted in the aforesaid painting is not similar to any of these two models. Considering its image, the trousers were made of a high quality fabric and, additionally, the skirt might have been made of thick fabric. In this image, the frilly skirt has been made of a thin and sheer fabric of the same material that has been used for the sewing of the shirt. Possibly,
the intention of using a sheer frilly skirt has been showing the beauty of the engraved fabric of the tight trousers underneath. The blouse and the trousers can be associated with the garments of the Indian women more than being similar to the common clothes in this period (Fig. 3). Shakeri, as well, described the garments of the Gujarat women during the 18th century in “the history of the clothes put on by Indian women”, “the Gujarat paintings usually exhibit women in trousers on which a sheer skirt was worn; the trousers were usually conical in shape for ease of covering oneself and lowering the looseness of the trousers” (Shakeri, 1999, 46).

In the Fig. 3, the clothes are generally similar to one another in form and their only difference is in the shortness of both the sleeves and the jacket. These forms have probably been changed in Mehr Ali’s painting in regard of religious matters and he has drawn completely covered bodies. The shawls wrapped around the waist and the head and even their placement on the body are similar. The jewelry painted in the painting pertains to a sultan’s daughter hence look more expensive than those painted in Mehr Ali’s painting, but it has been more intensely manifested and applied in Mehr Ali ’s painting. It appears that Meharlai has been considerably impressed by the clothing style of the Indian women and that he has been influenced in his paintings of the ornaments and facial make-up by the conditions governing the king companions’ tastes and Qajar women because Mehr Ali has paid particular attention to draw the face of his subjects (for example, both of the hands have been covered by henna from the wrist to the tip of the fingers), while only tip of the fingers and nails are covered with henna in Indian paintings. Amongst the headwear used by the Qajar women, different kinds of caps and hemp hat along with chiffon scarves can be pointed out. “Women put on scarves for covering their heads like Europeans, and they used them in several forms; they were pinned underneath the chin or wrapped around the neck and head” (Olivia, 1993, 155) The headdress was a square scarf that was folded from diameter to be placed on the head in the form of a triangle; but, in Mehr Ali’s painting, there is a long and silk shawl with fimbriated margins on the girl’s head and it is hung over the shoulder and stretched towards the back. Based on the documents, the shawl has not been amongst the components of clothing during Qajar Era and it is very close in compliance with the Indian women’s garment. The shoes commonly put on by Qajar women were called “Saqari” that was in the form of sandals with a rolled-back tip and was smaller than the natural form of the foot in the heel side hence it may have not been comfortable but the footwear in the painting of the lady with the parrot induces a sort of plainness and comfortability and it is very much similar to the footwear used by Indian women. “The Indian women’s shoes were a sort of heel-less slippers that could be readily put on and taken off because it is customary in India for the individuals to take off their shoes before entering any place and nobody ever enters the houses or even the shops while wearing shoes. Wearing socks was also not common due to the fact that it is humid and hot in there” (Company, 2016, 5). In Figs. 4 and 5, the trousers, collars and shawls are rectangular and the manner of wearing them on the head and neck in Mehr Ali’s painting is very much similar to the Indian women’s clothing in Figs. 6, 7 and 3-c.

The cultural commonalities and relationships between Iran and India due to their adjacency were the reasons given rise to the existence of a background of communication and relationship between these two countries in political, social, economic and cultural areas. Olearius, the German traveler, gives an estimated 12000 figure for the number of the Indians residing Iran during the Safavid era and describes them as good-natured, cheerful and cordial persons (Olearius, 2006, 200). “In Afsharid Period, as well, one of the most important consequences of Nader Shah’s invasion of India was his bringing back of a large number of Indian captives who accompanied Nader as soldiers and were recruited in various
activities. In India, Nader chose a group of artists and employed them for creating a cultural and artistic evolution” (Saleh, 2015, 74). Pakbaz knows Safavid Era as the starting point of Indian painting’s effect on Iran so it is not strange if Mehr Ali, as well, is found inspired by the clothing design and engraved fabric in drawing the garment for this girl.

“Mughal painting (that was per se a mixture of European, Indian and Iranian elements) not only introduced a sort of portraiture and simulation to Iranians, but it also was the mediator for the transferring of certain aspects of the 16th century European art to Iran. During the early 11th hegira century, [the Mughal] Jahangir Shah dispatched his ambassador along with a high-ranking political mission to the royal court of Shah Abbas. Several Indian painters (including Beshandas) accompanied the delegation and each of them drew portraits of Shah and his companions’ faces. Mughal’s painting must have been promulgated in Iran from this period. The Indian textiles were possibly coming to Iran in the same period because images were seen of the Indian flowers and shrubs on the Safavid Era’s waist shawls, turbans and gowns. Many of the other documents are also signifying that it was via the relationship between Iran and India that the foreign elements (Indian and European) became daily increasingly important during the late Safavid Era’s painting” (Pakbaz, 2006, 133).

Due to the close relationship between India and Iran that is given a faster pace since Safavid Era, it is not unlikely for an outfit like that of the girl in Mehr Ali’s painting that was less similar to the garments of the Qajar era’s women to have been common and used by a special group of the harem’s women (dancers and singers and bondswomen). Based on the documents, the population of the harem’s women was comprised of the temporary and permanent wives of Fath Ali Shah and another part was composed of bondswomen, musicians and dancers who had a specified position for themselves in the royal court. In Azodi History, reference has been made to two well-known masters named Zohreh and Mina who, though not being amongst the harem’s women, had permissions from Shah to enter the harem for teaching the dancers and each of them trained a group of the dancer girls. Their number has been mentioned to be fifty each having her own bondswoman (Azod Al-Dawleh, 1976, 19).

Astarabadi knows the prevalence of such arts like...
dancing, singing and playing music to have come about under the influence of Indian artists and captives: “after the conquering of India, the Indian music masters who naturally had their own specific styles of dancing and singing, followed the style of Nader Shah’s musicians; the duty of these artists was to professionally teach their work styles to the Iranian celebration holders and the Iranians began imitating the Indian dancers and amusers … three years after Nader’s return from India, since a group of Iranians had learnt the rules of the Indian style of playing musical instruments and music techniques and had become skillful in dancing and playing music, this group of Indians were dismissed and sent back to India (Astarabadi, 1988, 297).

In a painting from Safavid Era and in another example of the Qajar Era’s paintings (available in Emery collection), the portrayed women have clothing similar to that of the girl in Mehr Ali’s painting and it becomes strongly likely that the Indian style of clothing had become common in the harem and these women might have enjoyed a higher rank than the dancers (Figs. 7 & 8). The girl’s posture in Mehr Ali’s painting is unlike the

Fig. 6. Imperial Woman in Mughal India, Jahanara Begum. Source: http://madhukidiary.com.

Fig. 7. A young dancing woman, 75cm×111cm in the height worked by a pupil of Muhammad Hasan. Source: Falk, 1972, 34.
majority of the images drawn of the dancers; there is shown a dignified visage of the girl, holding of a parrot (as more a symbol of India) on the fingers that cannot have anything to do with dancing and she might have been a musician and/or one of the harem’s Galins. The girl’s balanced state and her contrastively lower amount of jewelry strengthen the guess that this painting has been drawn of a live model.

In regard of the insertion of the name Gowhar Taj Bani Abbas, there is the likelihood of the name belonging to the owner of the painting and it has been written later on considering its difference from Mehr Ali’s Nasta’liq handwriting in his other artworks. “As he had a high rank and prestige in the royal court, Mehr Ali was also enumerated amongst the individuals who had permission to enter harem and, this way, he had been able to portray the visage of some of the famous dancers who came and went to the harem for entertaining and keeping the king’s relatives amused and/or the brides who were interested in having a depiction of their countenance and he has refrained from inserting his name due to the high prestige and reverence of the harem” (Karimzadeh Tabrizi, 1997).

**Conclusion**

The present study analyzed the clothing and ornaments of the woman in the painting “the lady with the parrot” which is attributed to Mehr Ali. Additionally, the mutual relationships between the painting and the social situation and position of women in the Qajar Era’s society were reviewed and the literature was investigated from iconographical perspectives. The clothing of the girl in Mehr Ali’s painting had the lowest similarity to those commonly used by Qajar Era’s women and they were mostly close to the garments of the Indian women in the Mughal era. For instance, the use of shawl on head (in lieu of headdress that was the
conventional headwear of the Qajar Era’s women), as well as the silk ruffle skirt (instead of the skirts made of thick fabric and trousers that covered the legs), can be pointed out.

According to the history of Indian women’s presence in Iran, the prevalence of Indian clothing style in Fath Ali Shah’s harem does not seem unlikely. Mehr Ali’s personal interest in the Indian art and Indian women’s clothing can possibly justify the difference in the clothing of the girl he has portrayed with the garment that had been common in that period of time.

The influence of literature, poetry and the things that were recited in the amorous and sonnet-like verses of this and later periods about the beloved on Mehr Ali’s painting can be vividly seen in the components of the girl’s visage and this is indicative of the nearly fixed mental pattern of the ideal image of a woman in the painters’ mind. In the painting “the lady with the parrot”, he has intermittently dealt with the ornaments and this is somehow related to the subject of Mehr Ali’s painting because the girl’s posture is not so much similar to that of the dancers of that period (the dancers are predominantly seen either playing a musical instrument or performing acrobatic movements and wearing a lot of jewelry). Since Mehr Ali was the Royal Painter of the king’s court and a trustee of Fath Ali Shah, he had been allowed to draw the portrays of the dancers or the brides who were willing to have a painting of their own faces. Therefore, it is quite likely for the portrayed girl to have been amongst the prestigious women of the royal court who has become a painting model for Mehr Ali with an Iranian visage but with a clothing style inspired from the Indian women’s clothing. The bird she is carrying on her hand is seen in the paintings of the princes, on the one hand, and this is indicative of his particular position in the harem and it can be realized as a symbol of India, on the other hand, which justifies the accentuated presence of Indian elements in this image.

Endnote
1. A French officer who had been residing Iran in 1812-1813 in the 15th year of Fath Ali Shah Qajar’s sultanate and successorship of Abbas Mirza in Iran. Gaspar Drouville has published his memories in two volumes of a book titled Journey in Iran in 1828.
2. Kolijeh was a tight jacket with a long skirt that was worn under the frock; the length of the Kolijeh’s skirts was sometimes the same as that of the frock’s skirts (Ghaibi, 2006, 462).
3. Scott Waring is amongst the journal writers who travelled to Iran and Shiraz during Fath Ali Shah’s period.
4. Chiffon or hemp hats were the headwear of the women in the first Qajar period (from Aqa Muhammad Khan till Naser Al-Din Shah’s era) and they were often either embroidered or jewelry braided.
5. Galin means bride that was the epithet given to some of Fath Ali Shah’s wives.

Reference list


