

# Turban Helmets, from the Il-khanid Period to the Safavid Era

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## Abstract

The Turban helmet is a type of war helmet during the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries AD in Middle East countries. This type of helmet has become known by Western scholars by this name because of the special decorations that made it look like a turban as well as the visibility of the helmet from under the warriors' turban. Based on the numerous documents remaining, one can say that the use of Turban helmets was popular in Middle East territories' armies during the Middle Ages. Despite being widely used and in style for more than two centuries and among many west Asian countries, among all the remaining samples of this type of middle eastern helmet, only two distinct styles, the Turkoman and the Ottoman styles, have been examined and introduced. This can be due to a large number of remaining samples of these two being kept for years in the armouries of the Ottoman Empire. Apart from these two known styles, few studies have been done so far on investigating other possible types of turban helmets. The purpose of this research is to study the turban helmets that were popular among the armies of the Il-khanid, Jalayirid, Muzaffarid, Timurid, Turkoman, and Safavid that ruled respectively in the cultural Iran region, by relying on the remaining documents from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, such as the collection of helmets and illustrated manuscripts. The results of this research reveal that the changes that occurred in the making of turban helmets during the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries have led to the representation of four different types of helmets: Mongolian style, Timurid style, Turkoman style, and Qizilbash style.

**Keywords:** Turban Helmet, Il-khanid, Timurid, Turkoman, Safavid.

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## Introduction

The making of war helmets has a long history in areas that have been influenced by the cultural Iran region. There are many archaeological documents on the war helmets of the Urartus and Assyrians, indicating the existence of a very advanced design and construction pattern at that time (Castelluccia and Dan, 2013; Dezsö and Curtis 1991). We can also mention the helmets of the Achaemenid (Ionescu, 2017), Seleucid (Smirnov, 2017), Parthian (Farrokh et al., 2017), Sasanian (Kubik, 2017) and Kushan soldiers (Mielczarek, 2017) who, based on historical evidence, each used a unique style in the construction and design of war helmets. The design of war helmets has continued since the beginning of the Islamic era and has been influenced by the pattern and structure of Sasanian and Roman helmets, being subjected to many changes throughout the centuries (Moshtagh Khorasani, 2006; Nicolle, 2017). One of the most prominent developments in the design and manufacture of war helmets, in particular, occurred at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century CE., i.e., at the end of the Il-khanid era, and stayed common until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the Middle East, this type of helmet became known as the Turban helmet due to its unique shape and special use. Of course, it should be noted that this type of helmet has been referred to as the Turban helmet in the contemporary era, Russian and Western scholars first introduced this term referring to this type of helmet. Meanwhile, there is no specific name referring to this type of helmet in the historical texts of the middle ages. This type of helmet has become known as the turban helmet because it was sometimes worn with a turban and also because, in some samples, the artisans had simulated the form of a turban on metal. Apart from graving arabesque and friezes on metal, the distinctive feature that separated Turban helmets from previous examples in the Islamic era was the onion-shaped structure that Turban helmets had. In this type of helmet, the circular plate of the helmet is connected to a spike or tube at the apex using a curve in a way that, while a turban is worn, the hat dome and its spike are still clear and visible (Fig. 1) (Alexander, 2015: 70).

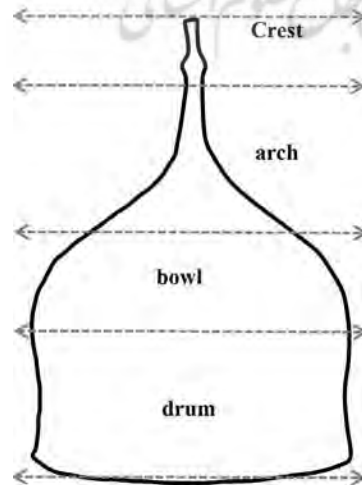


Fig. 1: Geometry of Turban helmet (Authors).

It should not be overlooked that the conical structure of the Turban helmet is similar to the geometry of a type of helmet that has been used for more than a thousand years in a wide area of Central Asian countries as well as the cultural Iran region. In some cases, this similarity is so great that it makes us assume the Turban helmet is a sub-branch of this type of old helmet mentioned under the name of bell-shaped or pear-shaped helmets (Salihov, 1985; Nicolle, 2017: 277; Kubik, 2017; 2018). However, due to its different usage, unprecedented popularity during the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and also the unique design that it had in a short period, Turban helmets can be considered as a distinctive sub-branch of pear-shaped helmets that require specific typology and review.

Based on the remaining documents, it was common to make and use Turban helmets during the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries among many middle eastern states, such as the Il-khanids, Muzaffarids, Jalayirids, Mamluks, Timurids, Mughals, Ottomans, Aq Qoyunlu Turkomans and Safavids, and they used this form of helmets for their generals and soldiers (Alexander, 1983: 97). Nevertheless, according to the same documents, due to the use of different geometries in the way of connecting the bowl or circular plate of the helmet to a spike or tube at the apex, several types of Turban helmets existed, each welcomed by Middle Eastern states for a while. This difference, the main characteristic of which, as mentioned, is in the rise and height of the helmet, is representative of the various styles that have been used throughout the centuries to make Turban helmets. Among the aforementioned styles, only two styles of Turkoman and Ottoman helmets have been noticed more than other Turban helmets due to the numerous remaining samples, as well as the complex structure and unique design pattern and decorations of them (Zaky, 1961; Alexander, 1983; 2015; Ahmadov, 2019). However, no study has been presented so far investigating the evolution and classification of different types of Turban helmets during the centuries in question. Since the main difference among Turban helmets seems to be the geometric shape and formal structure, based on this characteristic and based on the study of the remaining documents of Turban helmets from the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, this article tries to investigate and classify the evolution of this type of helmet during the four periods of the Il-khanid, Timurid, Turkoman and the first half of the Safavid era. It should be noted that the analysis of the helmets and the study of their changes in this article was done only in terms of their appearance and not to examine their components and other details of use. This research aims to provide a specific classification based on the evolution of the structure of Turban helmets during the periods in question.

**The main questions of this research are:** 1. How was the evolution of the Turban helmet during the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and what possible external factors influenced the makers in designing the geometry of these helmets? 2. How many categories and types are Turban helmets divided into based on the process of geometric changes?

## Methodology

The method used in this research is the comparative analysis method. Data collection and analysis have been done in two main stages: In the first stage, to study the evolution of the geometrical structure of the Turban helmets, historical documents such as remaining paintings from the periods in question and also the remains of helmets obtained from the same period have been periodically studied and reviewed. In the second stage, the representative samples from each period have been evaluated and compared with each other in terms of geometrical structure, so that the differences in shape and style of Turban helmets during the relevant centuries can be obtained.

## Research background

In an article, Rahman Zaky (1961) reviewed the helmets of the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and the helmets of Sultan Muhammad Fatih and Bayezid II of the Ottoman Empire and also investigated the Turban helmets used by these sultans. In this study, he has only considered examining Turkoman-style helmets. Russel Robinson (1967), in his research that has been published as a book, while investigating the evolution of arms and armour, has devoted a part to the study of the process of making and designing these tools from the Il-khanid period to the Ottoman period. In this study, he has investigated the structural changes to Turban helmets based on the existing paintings and, for the first time, has presented a brief process of development. David Alexander (1983) is another researcher who has published an article on the study of the Turban Helmet. In this article, while examining Turban helmets, he has studied and analysed the prominent works of Turkoman-style helmets based on the examples in the Metropolitan Museum. Alexander (2015) has also published a book dedicated to investigating the Metropolitan Museum's treasure of arms and armour and has examined and analysed several works of helmets of the Islamic era, from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, in this museum. Based on the remaining images from the ancient texts of the Il-khanid period, David Nicolle (1999), in his book dedicated to investigating war equipment in the Middle Ages, has studied and analysed the arms and armour of this period. Manouchehr Moshtagh Khorasani (2006; 2009; 2011) has also studied Turban helmets by conducting several investigations while studying the arms and armour of Iranians. However, his research has only been based on the introduction and classification of arms and armour, and no specific stylistic analysis has been done in this regard. Hans Stöcklein (2015), in an article devoted to the study of weapons and armour in the history of Iran, while examining the developments of Iranian helmets and referring to some paintings of the Middle Ages as well as the remaining works, has presented a valuable comparison between Iranian helmets after Mongol attacks. However, his review is very limited and exclusive to a few specific works, and he has not evaluated the development process from a structural point of view. Adam Lech Kubic (2018), while examining the wall paintings of Kizil caves, attempted to find the roots of a type of helmet called the Pear Shape Helmet, which was similar in terms

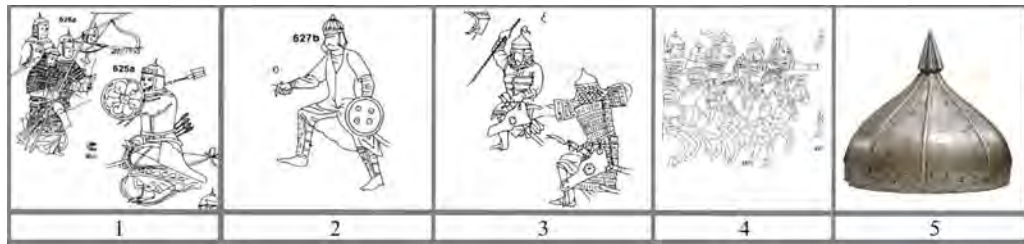
of structure to Turban helmets and was used in the northeastern regions of Iran in the one and two centuries AD. In his article, he mentions the hypothesis that the prevalence of pear-shaped helmets in the Central Asian region in the Middle Ages probably had its roots in this form of ancient helmets. His theory is based on the assumptions of other researchers, such as Salihov (1985) and Nicolle (2017), indicating a structural and regional connection between Turban helmets and pear-shaped or bell-shaped helmets. In a short article, Subhi Ahmadov (2019) examines the armour and helmets of Shirvanshah Farrukhyasar which are kept in the Turkey's Askeri Museum. The mentioned article has been presented only to examine the decorations and introduce the arms and armour of the ShaivanShahs, and it was not intended to examine the background and stylistics of Turban helmets in it. Among the many articles that have examined arms, armour and war clothing based on old paintings, several have been presented in the field of studies of the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, among which the article by Rezanezhad and Shariatpanahi (2018) must be mentioned. To study the arms and armour of the Timurid era, the authors have examined the remaining paintings of the Herat school of painting and, as a result, have introduced many types of these tools and have also mentioned the helmets of this era. Zamani and Farrokhfar (2020) have also studied the paintings of the Safavid era's Shahnameh, examined Rostam's battle suit, and compared them.

### Resources

The sources and documents that have been cited in this research in examining the course of geometric changes in the structure of the Turban helmets since the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century are divided into two main categories. The first category is the historical documents, including paintings remaining from the four Il-khanid, Timurid, Turkoman, and Safavid periods. These sources are mainly the royal paintings illustrated in the schools of Tabriz I and II, Shiraz I and II, Baghdad, Herat, and Qazvin and were often based on paintings from Ferdowsi's Shahnameh and other books such as Jami' al-Tawarikh, Khamsa of Nizami of Ganja, Khamsa of Khajuei Kermani, Zafarnameh, Khavarannameh, Manafi al-Hayyawan, and Garshasnameh. It should be mentioned that the reliance on these image sources was only to determine a historical basis for comparing changes in appearance and morphological developments. In this regard, it should be stated clearly that the image of many objects, landscapes and structures in the paintings do not necessarily reflect an external reality and might probably be a repetition of the forms transferred from teachers to their students. For this reason, it is necessary to pay attention to the error percentage in relying on these sources. The second category is the samples of Turban Helmets that are available in many museums around the world for researchers to study. The helmets of the Metropolitan Museum of New York, the Hermitage Museum, the Turkey's Askeri Museum, the Kremlin Museum, the National Museum of Copenhagen and the Royal Armouries Collection have been specifically examined in this research.

## **Turban Helmets and the process of changes in shape**

It is not possible to precisely clarify the date that the making of Turban helmets started. David Alexander believes that the design and manufacture of this kind of helmet started in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. However, due to the lack of remaining samples from the Il-khanid period (1256 – 1335 CE.), he has not specifically stated an exact date for the start of making Turban helmets. He considers the Il-khans to be among the first governments to use this new type of helmet (Alexander, 1983: 97). On the other hand, unlike Alexander, Robinson has attributed the invention of the Turban helmets not to the era of the Il-khans but to several years later at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Russell Robinson, 1967: 28-31). According to his hypothesis, during the entire period of their rule, the helmet of the Il-khans was limited to a simple bowl-like helmet with a spike or tube at the apex and without any pulled section in the upper part. To prove his hypothesis, he has cited the illustrations of the two manuscripts *Manafi al-Hayyawan* and *Jami' al-Tawarikh Rashidi*, the first of which was illustrated during the Ghazan era around 1294 to 1299 CE. (Nicolle, 1999: 243), and the second one around 1306 to 1314 CE. (Ibid: 242). However, contrary to Robinson's hypothesis and in agreement with Alexander's theory, we can refer to three documents belonging to the late Il-khanid era that contain documents contradicting Robinson's hypothesis. According to these documents, the process of developing and making Turban helmets at least started at the end of the Il-khanid period, i.e., from around 1330 CE. The first document in this regard is one of the few remaining helmets from the Il-khanid period, which was sold a while ago by Sotheby's auction house. This centre attributed the antiquity of this helmet to the end of the Il-khanid era and the beginning of the Timurid era, i.e., around the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Sotheby's, 2011). It can be seen that for the first time, in the design of this helmet, the bowl is connected to the tube at the apex with a short rise. This rise, which has given a conical shape to the helmet, is different from the structure of the previous helmets, so it can be assumed that it is one of the first examples of Turban helmets. Two other documents that confirm the period of making that helmet are the pictorial documents from the end of the Il-khanid era. The illustrations of Demotte's *Shahnameh* (Great Mongol *Shahnameh*), probably illustrated at the end of Abu Sa'id Bahadur Khan's era (1305-1335 CE.) or during the chaotic period of the late Il-khanid era (Canby, 2004: 36; Pakbaz, 2007: 61-62), as well as another *Shahnameh* illustrated in Shiraz during the Injuid period and specifically around the year 1330 CE. (Nicolle, 1999: 248), we can see samples exactly resembling the Sotheby's helmet. In these helmets, the bowl is connected to the tube at the apex by a very small rise, different from the shape of ordinary helmets before that time. The totality of these cases shows that, in agreement with Alexander's hypothesis, the construction and design of the first Turban helmets started at the end of the Il-khanid era, approximately around 1330 CE. However, this can only be considered a hypothesis because in order to accurately estimate the shape of Mongol and Il-khanid helmets, we need to rely on more reliable samples. (Fig. 2).



**Fig. 2: 1. Jami' al-Tawarikh, Tabriz (1306-1314) (Nicolle, 1999: 451-452) 2. Manafi al-Hayyan, Maraghae (1294-1299) (Nicolle, 1999: 455). 3. The Demotte Shahnameh, Tabriz (1335) (Nicolle, 1999: 455). 4. Shahnameh, Shiraz (1331) (Nicolle, 1999: 455). 5. Il-khanid Turban Helmet (Sothebys [APA], n.d.)**

Based on the paintings of Jalayirid (1335-1432 CE.) and Muzaffarid (1335-1392 CE.) periods, one can understand that helmets used in this era were also similar to the shape of Turban helmets in the late Il-khanid period. Although the helmets depicted in the illustrations of these periods are not completely similar to each other or the helmets of the late Il-khanid era, they all follow a similar geometry, which is the connection of the bowl to the middle bar with a short rise. As an example, two warriors are depicted next to each other in an illustration from the Khamsa of Khajuei Kermani, which was painted in 1397 CE., at the Jalayirid school of painting in Baghdad (Canby, 2004: 46; Kuhnel, 2010: 55). The helmets of both warriors are distinctly Turban helmets since the bowl of the helmet leads to the tube at the apex with a short rise and does not have the shape of a completely circular bowl. In another picture of the Shahnameh, illustrated in 1369 CE. in the Muzaffarid period (Azhand, 2010: 181; Behroozipour and Ghazizadeh, 2020: 155), the warriors' helmets are also of the Turban type. Although the helmets in this painting are very similar to those of the late Il-khanid and Jalayirid eras, they have a longer ridge connecting the bowl to the tube at the apex so that it is closer to the shape of a cone. For instance, let's consider the helmet housed in the Hermitage Museum, dating back to the last quarter 14<sup>th</sup> century (Hermitage Museum [APA], n.d.). This particular helmet belongs to the Jalayirid or Muzaffarid era and features a unique design. The bowl of the helmet leads to the tube at the apex with a long rise. Its overall shape resembles that of a cone and bears a striking resemblance to high sphere-conical domes. (Fig. 3).

As in the previous periods, it is possible to study the Timurid helmets (1370-1506 CE.) based on visual documentation and remaining samples. Two important pictorial documents from this era are illustrations both painted on one subject; Shahnameh. The first book is Baysunqur Shahnameh illustrated in 1429 CE. (Canby, 2004: 63). The shape of the soldiers' Turban helmets in the illustrations of this Shahnameh is not significantly different from those of the late Il-khanid and Jalayirid eras. That is, in all the pictures, the helmet bowl is connected to the middle bar with a very slight slope. Nevertheless, in the illustrations of Ibrahim Sultan's Shahnameh, illustrated in 1436 CE., one can see a noticeable difference in the geometric shape of Turban helmets. In these helmets, the bowl leads to the tube at the apex with a sharp slope and a long rise like the Jalayirid or Muzaffarid helmet that was mentioned before. In this regard, there



**Fig. 3: 1. Khamsa of Khajuei Kermani (1397) (The British Library [APA], n.d.). 2. Shahnameh (1369) (Azhand, 2010). 3. Muzaffarid or Jalayirid Turban Helmet (Hermitage Museum [APA], n.d.).**

are two samples of Timurid period helmet remaining that are structurally similar to the helmets of Ibrahim Sultan's Shahnameh. The one kept at the Metropolitan Museum has a cone-shaped helmet in which the bowl leads to the tube at the apex with an oblique slope (Alexander, 2015: 68). The other helmet, kept at the Royal Armouries Collection, is similar to the helmet of the Metropolitan Museum and the illustrations of Ibrahim Sultan's Shahnameh, with inscription and arabesque decorations on the helmet, like the Turkoman Style's Turban helmets (Royal armouries collections [APA], n.d.). The exact year that these two helmets were made is unknown, but by comparing them with the illustrations of the Shahnameh of Ibrahim Sultan which was made around the fifteenth century AD., it can be said that these helmets too were made during that century. Thus, it can be seen that the tendency to increase the height of the Turban helmets, at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, eventually led to the creation of long conical helmets in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In terms of shape, they can be assumed to be similar to the old pear-shaped helmets of Central Asia (Kubic, 2018: 149) and also different from the early Turban helmets that were closer to the shape of a bowl. In addition, according to the illustrations of the manuscript of Zafarnameh, which was painted in 1467 in the city of Herat (Azhand, 2010: 265), we can say that using this form of Turban helmet in the eastern parts of Iran was probably common until the end of the Timurid era (Fig. 4).

Almost at the same time as the Shahnameh of Ibrahim Sultan was written in Shiraz, making a type of helmet known by Western scholars as the Turkoman-style Turban Helmet became common in the lands of the Ottomans (1299-1922), the Mamluks (1250-1517 CE.) and the Aq Qoyunlu Turkoman (1378-1501 CE.) (Zaky, 1961: 27). Although it was popular to use this type of helmet at the same time in all the mentioned places, it has become famous as the Turkoman Turban helmet due to the Eastern Turkoman style decorations on it (Alexander, 2015: 94). There is a noticeable difference between the form of Turkoman helmets and conical helmets that were popular among the Timurids before that. In the design of this helmet, in addition to detailed decorations, a skilful





**Fig. 4: 1. Baysunqur Shahnameh (1429) (Baysunqur Shahnameh, 1971). 2 .Shahnameh Ibrahim Soltan (1436) (British Museum, [APA], n.d.). 3 .Zafarnameh (1467) (Getty Images [APA], n.d.). 4 .Timurid Turban Helmet (1471-1499) (Royal armouries Collections [APA], n.d.). 5. Timurid Turban Helmet (Metropolitan museum [APA], n.d.).**

design can be seen in the curve that connects the bowl to the tube at the apex. First of all, it should be noted that the bowl, unlike previous helmets, was not only a simple circular bowl and its upper part protruded in the form of an onion-shaped curve from the initial base of the helmet in a way that is close to the structure of turnip domes or parabolic domes (that is known as Gonbad-i Shaljami in Iran) in the same period (Memarian, 2012: 544). Secondly, we should mention the curve that connected the bowl to the tube at the apex, which, unlike Timurid conical helmets, was not diagonal. In this structure, the arch, starting from the upper part of the bowl, has gone inward with an eyebrow-like curve, then it has slanted towards the middle bar of the helmet and finally, it has led to the tip of the helmet. The structure of this arch and the special shape of the bowl, have made this kind of helmet more similar to an onion. It is not known exactly in which Islamic country this style of helmet was made for the first time. Zaky has attributed the creation of this type of helmet to the Ottomans, based on one of the earliest surviving samples, the helmet of the Ottoman Sultan Muhammad II (1481-1432 CE.) (Zaki, 1961: 27). However, because of a few reasons, it is not easy to accept Zaki's hypothesis that the Ottomans invented the Turkoman-style Turban helmet. First of all, the helmets of Sultan Muhammad II and Sultan Bayezid II (1512-1481 CE.) were both made by an Iranian artist named Baba Naqash who had emigrated from Iran to Anatolia (Alexander, 2015: 70). In addition, there are several other samples of helmets that belonged to Sultan Ya'qub Aq Qoyunlu (1478-1490 CE.) and Farrukh Yasar Shirvanshah (1465-1500 CE.), which can be assumed to have been made at the same time as Sultan Muhammad II's helmet or maybe earlier (Alexander, 2015: 73-79; Ahmadov, 2019). However, because the existing samples of this type of helmet were mostly made in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the Anatolian region, mainly under the influence of the Ottoman government, its origin is attributed to this region. Considering all the mentioned cases, it must be said that this type of helmet was used by all the governments that influenced the western regions of Iran, Anatolia, and the Levant during this period, and that is why it is not possible to point to the original origin of it (Fig. 5).



**Fig. 5: 1. Turkoman's Helmet for Sultan Mohammad 2 (Inst. de Valencia de Don Juan [APA], n.d.). 2. Turkoman's Helmet for sultan Ya'qub of the Aq Quyunlu (1478-1490) (Metropolitan museum [APA], n.d.). 3. Turkoman's Helmet for Shirvanshah Farrukh Yasar (Turkey's Askeri Museum [APA], n.d.). 4. Turkoman's Helmet for Unknown Sultan of Aq Quyunlu (Kremlin Museum [APA], n.d.). 5. Turkoman's Helmet (Hermitage Museum [APA], n.d.). 6. Turkoman's Helmet (Hermitage Museum [APA], n.d.).**

In addition to the many remaining samples of Turkoman-style helmets, one can understand the widespread use of this style among the Iranian military based on the manuscripts of the Turkoman painting school of Aq Qoyunlu. In a particular *Shahnameh* illustrated around 1493 CE. in Gilan, known as the *Shahnameh-i Sarbozorg* (Canby, 2004: 72), the soldiers' helmets are different from the structure of the helmets of Timurid painting schools, and they are depicted under the shape of the Turkoman-style helmets. This style of illustrating helmets in the paintings of the Turkoman period was not specifically for the north of Iran, one can also see this style of helmets in the versions illustrated at the same time in the south of Iran in Shiraz. For example, the illustrations of *Khavarannameh*, which was older than *Shahnameh-i Sarbozorg* and was illustrated around 1477 CE. by a painter named Farhad, can be mentioned (Afshar, 2002: 539) (Fig. 6).



**Fig. 6: 1. Khavarannameh (1477) (Sedaghat, 2006). 2. Shahnameh Sarbozorg (1493) (Smithsonian National Museum of Asian Arts [APA], n.d.).**

With the fall of the Timurid and Aq Quyunlu governments in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century and the rise of the Safavid dynasty (1501-1736 CE.), a unified government dominated

the entire territory of Iran and a coordinated structure of military uniforms was formed. During this period, wearing a hat known as the Qizilbash hat became in fashion. In many paintings of this period, we can see men wearing red hats with long peaks and turbans tied at the bottom of them. One can compare the shape of the Qizilbash hat with the shape of the Turkoman-Style Turban helmet, with the difference that the tip of the Qizilbash hat is much longer than the Turkoman-style helmet (Seyedbonakdar, 2016: 197-198). It is notable that despite the Safavid army officers wearing Qizilbash hats with those long tips, helmets used by the Safavid soldiers in the early days of this era were similar to the same Turban Turkoman-style helmets with only a few differences. This is determined by examining the helmets illustrated in the paintings from the beginning of the Safavid era to the time of Shah Abbas the great. It should be noted that it is not possible to give a definite opinion about its prevalence at this time due to the lack of remaining original samples of this form of helmet belonging to the Safavid period. However, by relying on the evidence left from the historical paintings belonging to the first half of the reign of the Safavid dynasty in Iran, it can be assumed that it was common among some groups of Qizilbash soldiers to wear a type of Turban helmet then. One of the illustrated documents in the Tabriz II school of painting, completed in the last year of the reign of Shah Ismail I (1487-1524 CE.), is a manuscript of *Khamsa of Nizami of Ganja* (Azhand, 2010: 520). In the illustrations of this manuscript, in addition to the Qizilbash hat, the soldiers are wearing Turkoman-style helmets. However, it is noteworthy that the tip of their helmets is slightly longer than those of the Turkoman era, which one can consider was influenced by the shape of Qizilbash helmets. Despite this long tip, the structure of the helmets is very similar to the previous helmets. The same way of drawing helmets can also be seen in the illustrations of the manuscript of *Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp* illustrated in 1537 CE. In these paintings, the tip of the helmet is longer than before and, in some cases, it is even closer to the shape of a cone. Based on these illustrations, it can be said that in the first half of the Safavid era, it was somewhat common to make helmets in this style, as the same helmet style can be seen in many documents illustrated during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As an example, one can mention the illustrations of the manuscript *Garshasnameh*, illustrated in 1572 CE. in Qazvin, the second capital of the Safavids (Ibid: 568). Based on the manuscript illustrations from the beginning of the reign of Shah Abbas the Great (1629-1587 CE.), this style of helmet was popular until then. The illustrations in the *Shahnameh of Shah Abbas*, illustrated in Qazvin around 1596 CE. (Ibid: 433), can be considered as one of the last examples in which helmets similar to the Turkoman style with a long peak were depicted. Apart from these documents, one of the most unique samples of the helmet belonging to the beginning of the Safavid period, the Turban helmet, is now kept in the National Museum of Copenhagen, Denmark (Stöcklein, 2015: 2967). This helmet is very similar to the helmets seen in the illustrations from the first half of the Safavid period. The bowl of this helmet is in the form of a round bowl, almost similar to the

bowl of Il-khanid helmets, and unlike Turkoman helmets, it does not have a turnip shape. However, like the Turkoman-style helmet, the connection of the bowl to the tip of the helmet is by an eyebrow-like curve. The obvious difference between this helmet and the Turkoman style is the very high peak that can be seen in most of the paintings of Tabriz II, Qazvin, and Mashhad schools (Fig. 7).

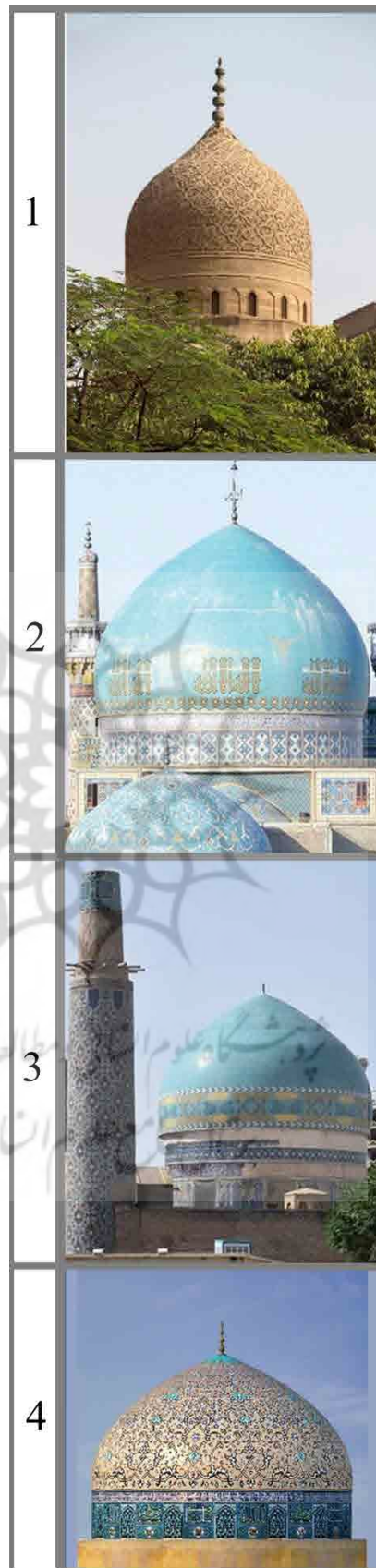


**Fig. 7:** 1. *Khamsa of Nizami of Ganja* (1524) (Metropolitan museum [APA], n.d). 2. *Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp* (1537) (Metropolitan museum [APA], n.d). 3. *Garshasnameh* (1572) (The British Library [APA], n.d.). 4. *Shahnameh Shah Abbas the Great* (1596) (Chester Beatty Library [APA], n.d.). 5. Safavid Turban Helmet (Stöcklein, 2015).

### Geometrical analysis of the Turban helmets

To analyse the geometry and eventually identify the possible styles of Turban helmets from the end of the Il-khanid period to the middle of the Safavid era, we should study the most important remaining samples of each period and finally compare them with each other. For this purpose, a helmet from the end of the Il-khanid period preserved in a private collection, a helmet from the Timurid period preserved in the Royal Armouries Collection, a helmet belonging to the period of Sultan Ya'qub Aq Qoyunlu preserved in the Metropolitan Museum and a helmet from the Safavid period preserved in the National Museum of Copenhagen will be examined and compared respectively.

**1. Il-khanid Helmet:** The form of this helmet is based on a metal bowl that has been divided into different sections by some stripes. Its structure is similar to a metal ball that has been split in half from the center. On the top part of this round bowl, the attaching part can clearly be seen, which has shaped the tip of the helmet. This added part consists of two eyebrow-like curves connected by a cusp. Hossein Lorzadeh has called this shape of the arch the Mughal arch (Taq-i Mogholi) (Raeiszadeh and Mofid, 2010: 18). This naming is likely influenced by the shape of domes in India during the Mughal period, such as the Taj Mahal. However, just like the Taj Mahal, there are numerous domes in the Middle East that have been designed based on this form before Mughal era, Like Qanibay complex in Cairo, which was built in 1503 CE. during the Mamluk period (O'kane, 2012: 6) (Fig. 8). In general, the main difference between this helmet and the previous types is in this new addition. Based on the principles of architecture and the method of drawing Iranian building arches, the arch can be interpreted as an acute Mughal arch (Raeiszadeh and Mofid, 2010: 18). Finally, the Mughal arch that started from the top of the bowl leads to the tip or the crest of the helmet. Thus, this helmet can be divided into three main parts: 1. Bowl 2. Mughal arch 3. Crest (Fig. 9).



**Fig. 8: 1. Qanibay Complex (1477) (O'kane, 2012: 11). 2. Goharshad Mosque in Mashhad. 3. The Mosque of Shah in Mashhad. 4. The Mosque of Sheikh Lotfallah in Isfahan (Authors)**

**2. Timurid Helmet:** Unlike the previous helmet, instead of starting with a bowl, this helmet has a drum-like base on which the bowl is placed. The base of the helmet or drum part, which is inclined from the outside to the inside, forms the lower half of the helmet and covers a part of the bowl. The conical sloping surface at the top of the bowl forms the added section. This sloping surface is formed based on a diagonal line that starts from the end of the drum and inclines inward towards the tip and is connected to the tip or crown of the helmet with an eyebrow-like arch. The upper part of the bowl is placed at the bottom of this additional part and forms the upper half of the helmet. In general, this helmet has a wide span, which becomes narrower as it gets closer to the tip, thus forming a cone in two parts. The first part, which is the base of the helmet or drum part, has a slight slope from the edge to the inside. The second part, the added section, leads towards the tip of the helmet with a steeper slope. All in all, this helmet can be divided into five main parts: 1. Drum 2. Bowl 3. Sloping surface 4. Mughal arch 5. Crest (Fig. 9).

**3. Turkoman Helmet:** This helmet, kept in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, is one of the few Turkoman-style helmets whose owner can be identified due to its inscription. This helmet, which belongs to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, was designed and made for Sultan Ya'qoob Aq Qoyunlu (Alexander, 2015: 85). Like the Timurid helmet, this helmet also has a drum with a bowl on it. However, compared to the Timurid sample, there is a fundamental difference in the way this drum was designed. The line forming the drum takes a gentle curve inwards midway and then slopes outwards near the span of the bowl. This form of connection between the drum and the bowl in this helmet, in such a way that the curve of the bowl protrudes from the body of the drum, is very similar to the structure of Iranian turnip domes, which have an onion shape (that is known as Avgoon in Iran), that is, the curve of the dome protrudes from the body of the drum (Memarian, 2012: 544). Among the examples of this style of domes, which are similar to the Turkoman helmet, one can mention the domes of Goharshad Mosque in Mashhad (1418 CE.), Shah Mosque in Mashhad (1451 CE.), and Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque in Isfahan (1619 CE.) (Fig. 8). Unlike the Timurid helmet, the upper part of this helmet is connected to the bowl only with an eyebrow-like arch that has become more acute than before. The absence of a sloping surface part makes us compare the upper part of this helmet with the Il-khanid helmet. The only difference between these two helmets in this part is that the arc in the Turkoman helmet is more acute than the Il-khanid helmet, as it is more curved inward and extended to the tip of the helmet. That way, this helmet can be divided into four main parts: 1. Arched drum 2. Turnip Bowl 3. Acute Mughal arch 3. Crest (Fig. 9).

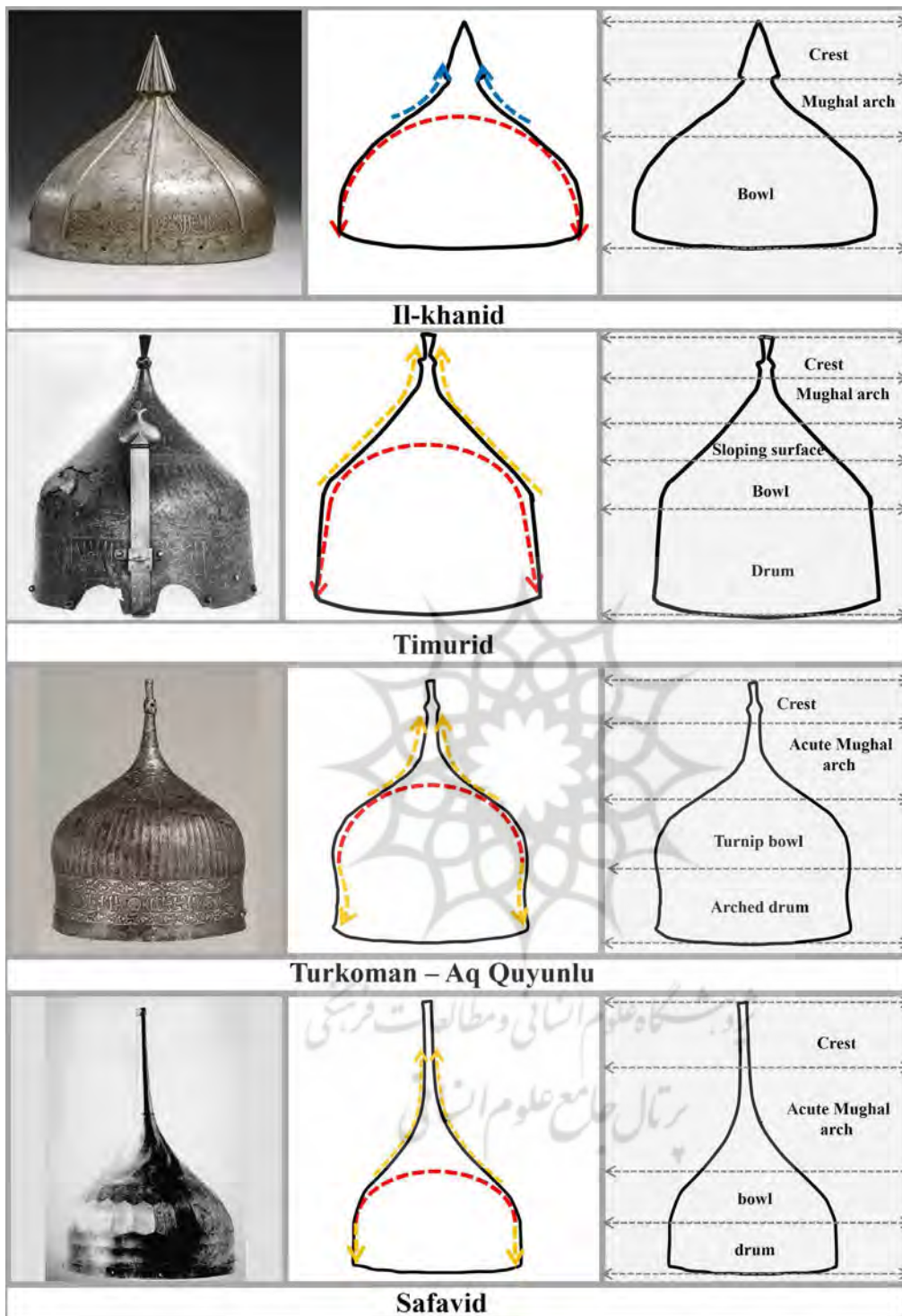
**4. Safavid Helmet:** This helmet, which belongs to the beginning of the Safavid period, can be considered a combination of all previous helmets. The bowl of the helmet is placed on a relatively short drum. Unlike the Turkoman and Timurid helmets, this drum does not have any curve or slope and is almost directly connected from the bottom

to the beginning of the span of the bowl. The additional part at the top of the bowl without having a sloping surface part starts immediately with an acute Mughal arch. The biggest difference between Safavid and Turkoman helmets appears here as the long extension of the arch and its connection to the long crest of the helmet. This makes the structure of the Safavid helmet as similar as possible to the Qizilbash hats. Here it should be reminded again that due to the lack of reliable physical samples, it cannot be said that this type of helmet was widely used during the Safavid period. It can only be said that this helmet was used in the early stages of this period and only in a limited way. All in all, this helmet can be divided into four main parts: 1. Drum 2. Bowl 3. Acute Mughal arch 4. Crest (Fig. 9).

Therefore, by putting the geometrical analysis of these four helmets next to each other, one can observe the evolution of Turban helmets in the cultural Iran region. The early Turban helmets in this region were in the form of a simple bowl connected by a short eyebrow-like arch to the crest. In the Timurid period, just like the high and majestic domes of this era, the bowl of the helmets was also placed on a high drum, and the design moved away from the previously small and bowl-shaped form. The upper part was also connected to the crest of the helmet by a steep slope and an eyebrow-like arch at the end. This style was corrected in the Turkoman period in such a way that the drum is connected with a convex slope to a bowl that protrudes from the base in the same elaborate manner as the turnip domes of this era. The same inward arch structure is repeated in the tip of the helmet, and the bowl is connected with an acute Mughal arch to the crest. Eventually, the Iranian craftsmen from the Safavid period adjusted the geometric exaggerations of the Turkoman helmets, they removed the arch from the drum and returned the bowl to the same simple form as before, and in this way, they adapted the structure of the Turkoman helmets to their aesthetic principles. However, the most striking change implemented in this period is the long rise given to the end arch of the helmet. This arch, in combination with the crest part, has defined the long tip of the helmet.

### Conclusion

Based on the evolution of Turban helmets from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, these helmets in the cultural Iran region can be classified into four specific styles: The first style, which according to the documents has been common from around 1330 to 1429 CE., can be known as Mongolian-Style Turban helmets. It became in fashion at the end of the Il-khanid period and was used by Jalayirid, Injuid, Muzaffarid, and Timurid dynasties. In this style, the earlier circular helmets, which only had a bar in the apex, were transformed by adding a new part to the top of the helmet. This new part, which connected the bowl to the tip of the helmet with an arch, caused the helmet to increase in height and protrude from under the turban worn by the warriors. The second style, which according to the documents



**Fig. 9: Comparing the structural geometry of Turban helmets during four periods (Authors).**

was popular from around 1369 to 1506 CE., is considered the dominant type in the second half of the Timurid era and also used by Jalayirid and Muzaffarid dynasties. This style of helmet, which can be referred to as the Timurid-style Turban helmet, has some similarities with the pear-shaped and bell-shaped helmets that were common before that in the Central Asian region. The influence of the shape of the domes of the Timurid era can be seen in the design of this helmet to some extent. Like the domes of



the Timurid period, the bowl of these helmets is placed on a high drum, and to induce more height, the top of the helmet is also connected to the crest by a steep slope. The noteworthy point is the use of the Mughal arch in the part connecting the slope to the crest. All these things have caused the Timurid-style Turban helmet to look more similar to the shape of a cone, looking bigger than other Turban helmets by the increase in the height of the drum and the rise of the arch. According to the documents, the third style was popular from around 1450 to 1501 CE. in the areas dominated by Iranians. This type of helmet has been called the Turkoman-style Turban helmet due to the use of Turkoman-style decorations and also its popularity among Aq Qoyunlu Turkomans. Like the Timurid-style helmet, the geometric shape of this helmet is also similar to the geometric structure of the domes of this era. It can be assumed that the craftsmen imitated the structural design used in the turnip domes in the design of this style of helmet. In addition to using an onion-shaped protruding arch to connect the drum to the bowl, the Iranian craftsmen have made the shape of the helmet closer to the structure of the dome by using an acute Mughal arch. With the fall of the Aq Qoyunlu Turkomans and the rise of the Safavid dynasty in Iran, the fourth and last style in the evolution of Turban helmets emerged. This style, which can be referred to as the Qizilbash-style Turban helmet, was popular from around 1500 to 1596 CE. The shape of the helmet in this style is a continuation of the structure of the previous helmets, especially the Turkoman style, with the main difference being that its design imitates the shape of Qizilbash hats and it is reflected in the long crest of this helmet. This is the part that has caused a clear difference between Qizilbash and Turkoman styles. It should also be added that the Qizilbash-style helmet has been simplified by removing the decorations and curves of the Turkoman style.

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## کلاهخودهای دستاری از دوره ایلخانان تا عهد صفوی

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### چکیده

کلاه خود دستاری، گونه‌ای از کلاه خودهای جنگی دوران اسلامی است که به دلیل تزئینات ویژه‌ای که آن را شبیه به دستار می‌کرده و همچنین نمایان بودن کلاه خود از زیر عمامه جنگجویان به این نام معروف شده است. براساس مستندات متعددی که تاکنون باقی مانده می‌توان گفت که استفاده از کلاه خودهای دستاری به صورت تقریبی از اوایل قرن چهاردهم تا اواخر قرن شانزدهم میلادی در گستره وسیعی از سرزمین‌های اسلامی رواج داشته که از این میان می‌توان به دولت‌های ایلخانی، آل جلایر، آل اینجو، آل مظفر، تیموریان، ترکمانان و صفویان نیز اشاره کرد که در طول قرون فوق در ایران حکومت می‌کردند. باوجود این گستره وسیع و مدت طولانی که این سبک از کلاه خود مورد توجه و استفاده قرار داشته، تاکنون تنها دو سبک ترکمانی و عثمانی، به دلیل وجود نمونه‌های متعدد باقی مانده، به صورت کامل مورد مطالعه و بررسی قرار گرفته و سایر نمونه‌ها و مستندات برجای مانده از سده‌های فوق، یا مورد توجه نبوده و یا به طور کلی فارغ از دایره کلاه خودهای دستاری مورد ارزیابی و دسته‌بندی قرار گرفته‌اند. این پژوهش قصد دارد تا با اتکاء به مستندات باقی مانده، از جمله مجموعه کلاه خودها و همچنین نگاره‌های مصور شده در طول قرون فوق به مطالعه و بررسی کلاه خودهای دستاری بپردازد. هدف از انجام این پژوهش مطالعه ساختار هندسی کلاه خودهای دستاری در طول سده‌های ذکر شده است تا به کمک آن بتوان به شناسایی ساختار شکلی و تفاوت‌های سبکی در طراحی و ساخت این کلاه خودها پی برد. نتایج این پژوهش گویای آن است که تحولات در ساخت کلاه خودهای دستاری در طول سده‌های چهارده تا شانزده میلادی در ایران منجر به ارائه چهار سبک مختلف در طراحی و ساخت کلاه خودهای دستاری شده که به ترتیب عبارتند از: سبک مغولی، سبک تیموری، سبک ترکمانی و سبک قزلباشی.

**کلیدواژگان:** کلاه خود دستاری، ایلخانان، تیموریان، ترکمانان، صفویان.

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## مقدمه

در طول قرن‌های چهاردهم تا شانزدهم میلادی در گستره وسیعی از سرزمین‌های اسلامی، ساخت گونه‌ای از کلاه خود جنگی متداول شد که به «کلاه خود دستاری» مشهور گردید. این فرم از کلاه خود به آن دلیل که بعضاً به همراه عمامه یا دستار پوشیده می‌شد و همچنین به دلیل آن که در بعضی از نمونه‌ها، صنعتگران فرم دستار یا عمامه را عیناً بر روی فلز شبیه‌سازی کرده بودند، توسط پژوهشگران غربی به کلاه خود دستاری معروف شده است. در این نوع، کاسه کلاه به وسیله یک قوس مشخص به میله انتهایی آن متصل می‌گردید؛ به صورتی که با بستن دستار، قبه و میله انتهایی آن هنوز مشخص و نمایان بوده است (Alexander, 2015: 70). براساس مستندات می‌توان گفت که به دلیل به کارگیری هندسه‌های متفاوت در نحوه اتصال کاسه به میله اصلی کلاه، سبک‌های متعددی از کلاه‌خودهای دستاری موجود بوده است. از میان سبک‌های فوق، تاکنون تنها دو سبک کلاه‌خودهای ترکمانی و کلاه‌خودهای عثمانی بیش از دیگر کلاه‌خودهای دستاری مورد توجه قرار گرفته‌اند (Zaky, 1961; Alexander, 1983; 2015; Ahmadov, 2019). با این‌همه تا این زمان، هیچ مطالعه‌ای با هدف بررسی سیر تحول و دسته‌بندی گونه‌های مختلف کلاه‌خودهای دستاری در طول قرون مورد نظر ارائه نشده است. از آنجایی که به نظر می‌رسد که تفاوت بارز میان کلاه‌خودهای دستاری در شکل هندسی و ساختار ظاهری آن‌ها باشد، این پژوهش سعی دارد تا براساس همین مشخصه و برمبنای مطالعه مستندات برجای مانده از کلاه‌خودهای دستاری در طول قرن‌های ۱۴ تا ۱۶ م. روند تحول ساختار هندسی این گونه از کلاه‌خودهای دوران اسلامی را در پهنه ایران فرهنگی و در طول چهار عصر مشخص: ایلخانی، تیموری، ترکمانی و نیمه اول دوره صفوی مورد بررسی و مطالعه قرار دهد. هدف از این بررسی، ارائه یک دسته‌بندی مشخص براساس روند تحول ساختار کلاه‌خودهای دستاری در طول دوران مورد نظر است.

## پیشینه پژوهش

«رحمان زکی» (۱۹۶۱) در مقاله‌ای ضمن بررسی کلاه‌خودهای سلاطین مملوک مصر و کلاه‌خودهای «سلطان محمد فاتح» و «بایزید دوم عثمانی»، به بررسی کلاه‌خودهای دستاری پرداخته که مورد استفاده این سلاطین بوده‌اند؛ وی در این مطالعه، تنها بررسی کلاه‌خودهای سبک ترکمانی را مدنظر قرار داده است. «رایبسون» (۱۹۶۷) در پژوهشی، مطالعه تحولات ساختاری کلاه‌خودهای دستاری را برمبنای نگاره‌های موجود مورد بررسی قرار داده و برای اولین بار یک روند تحول مختصر را در مورد آن‌ها ارائه کرده است. «دیوید الکساندر» (۱۹۸۳) در مقاله‌ای ضمن بررسی کلاه‌خودهای دستاری، نمونه‌های مطرح کلاه‌خودهای سبک ترکمانی را برمبنای نمونه‌های موجود در موزه متروپولیتن مورد مطالعه و بررسی قرار داده است. الکساندر (۲۰۱۵) همچنین با انتشار کتابی که به بررسی گنجینه ابزارآلات جنگی موزه متروپولیتن اختصاص دارد، چندین نمونه از کلاه‌خودهای دوران اسلامی، از قرون ۱۳ تا ۱۷ م. که در این موزه قرار دارند را مورد بررسی و تحلیل قرار داده است. «دیوید نیکول» (۱۹۹۹) در پژوهشی برمبنای تصاویر باقی مانده از متون کهن دوره ایلخانی، زره‌ها و آلات جنگی این دوره را مورد مطالعه و بررسی قرار داده است. «منوچهر مشتاق خراسانی» (2006; 2009; 2013; 2014; 2018) در خلال چندین پژوهش ضمن مطالعه ابزارآلات جنگی ایرانیان، به بررسی کلاه‌خودهای دستاری نیز پرداخته است. با این حال پژوهش‌های وی صرفاً برمبنای معرفی و دسته‌بندی ابزارآلات جنگی بوده و تحلیل سبک شناسانه مشخصی در این رابطه انجام نشده است. «هانس استوکلین» (۲۰۱۵) در مقاله‌ای که به بررسی سلاح و زره در تاریخ ایران اختصاص دارد، ضمن بررسی تحولات کلاه‌خودهای ایران، با اشاره به برخی از نگاره‌های قرون میانی و همچنین نمونه‌های باقی مانده، مقایسه ارزشمندی میان کلاه‌خودهای ایرانی پس از استیلای مغول ارائه

کرده است. با این حال، بررسی وی بسیار محدود و منحصر به چند نمونه خاص بوده و روند تحولات را از منظر ساختاری ارزیابی نکرده است.

### نمونه‌های مورد مطالعه

در این پژوهش به پنج نمونه اصلی اشاره شده و همگی با نگاره‌های هم‌عصر خود تطبیق داده شده‌اند. اولین نمونه مربوط به کلاه خود دستاری متعلق به اواخر عهد ایلخانی است. در طراحی کلاه خود فوق برای اولین بار می‌توان اتصال کاسه کلاه به میله انتهایی را با یک خیز مختصر مشاهده کرد. این خیز که صورتی مخروطی به کلاه خود داده، با ساختار کلاه خودهای قبلی تفاوت داشته، به گونه‌ای که آن را می‌توان از اولین نمونه‌های کلاه خودهای دستاری فرض کرد. دو مدرک دیگر که دوره ساخت کلاه را تأیید می‌کنند، عبارتند از: نگاره‌های شاهنامه دموت و شاهنامه مکتب شیراز آل اینجو که در حدود سال ۱۳۳۰ م تصور شده است. دو نمونه دیگر متعلق به دوره تیموری است. این کلاه‌ها مخروطی شکلی بوده و کاسه کلاه با یک شیب اریب به میله مرکزی منتهی شده است. هر دو نمونه را می‌توان با نگاره‌های شاهنامه ابراهیم سلطان و کتاب ظفرنامه تیموری مقایسه کرد. از دوره ترکمانان نمونه‌های متعددی برجای مانده که در اینجا کلاه خود منسوب به «یعقوب آق قویونلو» محفوظ در موزه متروپولیتن و همچنین کلاه خود منسوب به «شروانشاه» محفوظ در موزه نظامی ترکیه مورد تحلیل قرار گرفته‌اند. فرم کلاه خودهای فوق تفاوت محسوسی با فرم کلاه خودهای مخروطی دارد که تا پیش از آن در میان تیموریان رواج داشته است. در طراحی این کلاه خود، علاوه بر تزئینات مفصل، طراحی ماهرانه‌ای در قوسی که کاسه را به میله انتهایی متصل می‌ساخته، دیده می‌شود. آخرین نمونه متعلق به اوایل عهد صفوی است و شباهت زیادی با فرم کلاه‌های قزلباش دارد. کاسه کلاه تقریباً مشابه با کاسه کلاه خودهای دستاری مغولی به صورت یک کاسه مدور بوده و برخلاف کلاه خودهای سبک ترکمانی، فرم آوگون ندارد؛ اما مرحله اتصال کاسه به کلاه همچون کلاه خودهای سبک ترکمانی، به وسیله قوسی ابرو مانند انجام شده است. تفاوت بارز این کلاه خود با سبک ترکمانی، نوک یا همان قلّه بسیار بلند است که در اغلب نگاره‌های مکاتب تبریز دوم، قزوین و مشهد قابل مشاهده است.

### بحث و تحلیل

به منظور تحلیل هندسی و در نهایت شناسایی سبک‌های احتمالی ساخت کلاه خودهای دستاری از اواخر دوره ایلخانی تا میانه دولت صفوی، مهم‌ترین نمونه‌های باقی مانده از هر دوره که عبارت بودند از: یک کلاه خود از اواخر دوره ایلخانی محفوظ در مجموعه‌ای خصوصی، یک کلاه خود از دوره تیموری محفوظ در مجموعه نظامی سلطنتی لندن، کلاه خود دستاری متعلق به دوره سلطان یعقوب آق قویونلو ترکمانان محفوظ در موزه متروپولیتن و در نهایت کلاه خود دستاری دوره صفوی محفوظ در موزه ملی کپنهاگ مورد بررسی و مقایسه قرار گرفتند. هنگامی که هندسه ترسیمی از چهار کلاه خود مورد نظر را در کنار یک دیگر قرار می‌دهیم، می‌توان روند تحول کلاه خودهای دستاری را مشاهده کرد. کلاه خودهای دستاری اولیه، منحصر بوده است به کاسه‌ای که به وسیله قوسی ابرو مانند و کوتاه به تاج کلاه خود متصل می‌شده است. در دوره تیموری همچون گنبد‌های بلند و معظم این عهد، کاسه کلاه خودها نیز بر روی پایه‌ای بلند قرار گرفته و از آن فرم کوچک و کاسه‌ای پیشین فاصله گرفتند. قسمت قلّه کلاه نیز با شیبی بلند به همراه قوسی ابرو مانند در انتها، به تاج کلاه منتهی می‌شده است. این سبک در دوره ترکمانی تصحیح شده به صورتی که پایه کلاه به صورت یک شیب محدب به کاسه‌ای متصل شده که همانند گنبد‌های شلجمی این عهد، به طرزی استادانه از پایه کلاه بیرون زده است. همین ساختار قوس به داخل در قسمت قلّه کلاه نیز تکرار شده و قوس مغولی

شکسته‌ای با زاویه‌ای چشم‌نواز به تاج کلاه منتهی شده است. در نهایت کلاه‌خودهای دستاری عهد صفوی، با تعدیل اغراق‌های هندسی کلاه‌خودهای ترکمانی از قبیل برداشتن قوس در پایه کلاه و بازگشت کاسه به همان فرم ساده پیشین، ساختار کلاه‌خودهای ترکمانی را با زیبایی‌شناسی خود تطبیق داده‌اند؛ با این حال چشم‌گیرترین تغییری که در این دوره اجرا شده، خیز بلندی است که به قوس انتهایی کلاه داده شده که در ترکیب با تاج کلاه، قلّه بلندی را تشکیل داده است.

### نتیجه‌گیری

بر اساس روند تحولات کلاه‌خودهای دستاری از اوایل قرن چهاردهم تا اواخر قرن شانزدهم می‌توان کلاه‌خودهای دستاری را به چهار سبک مشخص دسته‌بندی نمود؛ سبک اول یا سبک مغولی از سال ۱۳۳۰ تا حدود سال ۱۴۲۹ متداول بوده است. در این سبک، کلاه‌خودهای کاسه‌ای پیشین که تنها دارای میله‌ای در میان کلاه بوده‌اند، با الحاق قسمت جدیدی در بالای کلاه متحول شدند. این قسمت جدید که به وسیله یک قوس کاسه را به میله و نوک کلاه متصل می‌کرد سبب شد تا ارتفاع تاج افزایش یافته و از زیر دستاری که جنگجویان بر روی آن می‌بستند، بیرون بزند. سبک دوم یا سبک تیموری از ۱۴۳۶ تا ۱۵۰۶ رواج داشته است. این سبک شباهت زیادی با کلاه‌خودهای گلابی‌شکل و زنگی‌شکل داشته که تا پیش از آن در منطقه آسیای مرکزی متداول بوده‌اند. کاسه این کلاه‌خودها همچون گنبدهای دوره تیموری بر روی پایه‌ای بلند قرار گرفته و برای القای بلندی بیشتر، قسمت بالایی کلاه نیز به وسیله شیب تندی به تاج کلاه منتهی شده است. سبک سوم یا سبک ترکمانی از حدود سال ۱۴۵۰ تا ۱۵۰۱ در نواحی تحت تسلط ایرانیان رواج داشته است. شکل هندسی این کلاه‌خود نیز همچون کلاه‌خود سبک تیموری تا حدی مشابه با ساختار گنبدهای این عهد بوده، به صورتی که می‌توان احتمال داد از فرم گنبدهای شلجمی در طراحی آن تقلید شده است. علاوه بر استفاده از قوس آوگون در نحوه اتصال پایه به کاسه کلاه، شکسته‌تر کردن قوس مغولی در این کلاه‌ها، سبب شده‌اند تا شکل کاسه هرچه بیشتر به ساختار گنبد نزدیک شود. چهارمین سبک مربوط به اوایل دوره صفوی، سبک قزلباشی است. در طراحی این کلاه‌خود از شکل کلاه‌های قزلباشان نیز تقلید شده که این امر در تاج بلند کلاه‌خود سبک قزلباش منعکس شده است؛ همین بخش است که سبب ایجاد تفاوت بارز میان سبک قزلباش و ترکمانی شده است.