



THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES

Volume 27, Issue 2 (2020), Pages 1-89

Director-in-Charge: **Seyed Mehdi Mousavi**, Associate Professor of Archaeology

Editor-in-Chief: **Masoud Ghaffari**, Associate Professor of Political Science

Guest-editor: **Seyed Alireza Hosseini Beheshti**, Assistant Professor of Political Science

Managing Editors: **Shahin Aryamanesh**, PhD of Archaeology, Tissaphernes Archaeological Research Group

English Edit by: **Ahmad Shakil**, PhD

Published by **Tarbiat Modares University**

Editorial board:

Ehsani, Mohammad; Professor of Sport Management, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran

Ghaffari, Masoud; Associate Professor of Political Science, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran

Hafezniya, Mohammadreza; Professor in Political Geography and Geopolitics, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran

Khodadat Hosseini, Seyed Hamid; Professor in Business, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran

Kiyani, Gholamreza; Associate Professor of Language & Linguistics, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran

Manouchehri, Abbas; Professor of Political science, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran

Ahmadi, Hamid; Professor of Political science, Tehran University, Tehran, Iran

Karimi Doostan, Gholam Hosein; Professor of Linguistics, Tehran University, Tehran, Iran

Mousavi Haji, Seyed Rasoul; Professor of Archaeology, Mazandaran University, Mazandaran, Iran

Yousefifar, Shahram; Professor of History, Tehran University, Tehran, Iran

Karimi Motahar, Janallah; Professor of Russian Language, Tehran University, Tehran, Iran

Mohammadifar, Yaghoub; Professor of Archaeology, Bu-Ali Sina University, Hamedan, Iran

The International Journal of Humanities is one of the TMU Press journals that is published by the responsibility of its Editor-in-Chief and Editorial Board in the determined scopes.

The International Journal of Humanities is mainly devoted to the publication of original research, which brings fresh light to bear on the concepts, processes, and consequences of humanities in general. It is multi-disciplinary in the sense that it encourages contributions from all relevant fields and specialized branches of the humanities.

Address: **Humanities faculty, Tarbiat Modares University, Nasr, Jalal AleAhmad, Tehran, Iran. P.O.Box: 14115-139**

Web Address for manuscript submission: <http://eijh.modares.ac.ir/>

Email: eijh@modares.ac.ir

Contents

Change in the Traditional Pattern of Tehran Women Outerwear since the Constitutional Period to Reza Shah Period

Shahram Yousefifar, Shahnaz Jangjou Gholejji 1

A Comparative Study of Drawing Style with Rows of Animals in Persian and Greek Pottery Art (Orientalism Impact)

Alireza Taheri, Habibolah Kazemnejadi, Abolghasem Nemat Shahrehabaki 13

String Instruments Depicted in the Paintings of Ancient Elam

Mostafa Rostami, Mostafa Mansourabadi 29

Did Urartian Šiwini Imitate Mesopotamian Šamaš?

Maryam Dara 43

New Horizons Towards Three Rock-Cut Tombs (13th – 14th CE) from Northwest Iran

Amin Moradi, Behruz Omrani 53

Reflection and Analysis of the Tree of Life and its Transformation into the Flower of Life in the Near East

Seyed Rasoul Mousavi Haji, Seyed Mehdi Mousavi, Shahin Aryamanesh 70

Change in the Traditional Pattern of Tehran Women Outerwear since the Constitutional Period to Reza Shah Period

ShahramYousefifar¹, Shahnaz Jangjou Gholej²

Received: 2019/2/16

Accepted: 2020/1/2

Abstract

Until the Naserid period, Iranian women clothing was different in and out of the home and was directly influenced by the common moral pattern. Changes in common patterns emerged from Iranians' familiarity with the manner of social presence as well as male and female clothing in the public sphere of western society, from the Naserid period onwards, and has had various effects over time. This process is examined in the present article to answer this question: Between which strata of society and regions of Iran did the change in the style of women's clothing during the period in question occur, and what social and cultural contexts were most effective in this regard? Based on the results of this study, it can be said that due to the increasing social presence of women, the process of fitting their clothing with the requirements of new social relations was within the framework of the ethical order and living patterns of Iranian women. But what happened later in the process of policy-making and implementation of socio-cultural programs by the government has caused ambiguity and numerous damages to this process.

Keywords: Women's Outerwear; Iranian Women's Clothing; Cultural Changes; Picheh; Rubandeh; Women's Shoes.

1. Professor of Iranian History, Faculty of History, Tehran University (Corresponding author)
shyousefifar@ut.ac.ir

2. Assistant Professor of Iranian History, Faculty Member of Encyclopedia of World of Islam.
sh.jangjo@rch.ac.ir

Introduction

From the middle of the Qajar era, on the one hand, due to the expansion of communication and familiarity with the social and cultural features of the West, and on the other hand, the changes in the political, social, and economic conditions of Iranian society, the usual routine of Iranian life inevitably changed. One aspect of this change was in the clothing.

Prior to this period, the dominant patterns in male and female clothing were subject to conventional and highly conservative traditions, but from the middle of the Qajar era, influenced by external factors (such as the expansion of social and cultural ties with the West and the emergence of Western tendencies among the upper class groups of the society and the introduction of new products) as well as a number of internal factors (such as modern trainings, the formation of new urban public spaces, changes in lifestyle, an increased desire to consume cultural and social goods as a form of social and cultural status expression,...) gradually changed the clothing pattern of some groups of Iranians, and among them the slow changes in the pattern women's outerwear was under influence of the transformation of the intellectual, cultural, social and economic impact of social issues such as economical-social matters of development patterns, obstacles and constraints. Changes in the women's outerwear during the Constitutional Period, was gradual, but it took other paths during the Reza Shah period.

Social changes and the issue of clothing has been the subject of some researches, but in most of them the historical trend of changes in women's clothing has not been addressed and the main presupposition of such researches is that until the issuance of

the decree of forced veiling (Kashf-e Hijab) in January 1936, the women's clothing remained the same traditional style. In the present article, the process of change in the women's outerwear in the Constitutional period up to the Reza Shah period is considered. Given that changes in the style of women's outerwear during the related period were more evident in Tehran's women's clothing - and it was spread to other cities in next periods, the present study focuses on Tehran, and, of course, the upper classes of this city.

Traditional Women's Clothing

Prior to the Constitutional period, women's outerwear was quite different to that of their home, and women were present in the outer spaces, with full coverage covering them completely. Numerous reports on the women's clothing since the Safavid era to the late Mozafar al-Din Shah indicate that there was no particular change in the components and style of their clothing during this period (See Chardin, 1994: Vol. 2: 805; Olearius, 1984: 287; Tavernier, 2003: 299; Polak, 1982: 116; Sheil, 1989: 64-68; Mostofi, 2005: Vol. 1: 510-511; Feuvrier, 2006: 119). The main components of women's outerwear, as described by travelers, were as follows:

1. **Chādor:** A large piece of fabric that covered from the top of the head to bottom and a skirt that was fastened to Chādor and worn like a shirt from above. Chādor was fastened to the head and neck by two strips sewn from inside. Chādor had a belt that was fastened to the waist tightly so that no part of the woman's body could be seen as she walked (Drouville, 1991: 59; Shahri, 2002, Vol. 1: Footnote: 279).

2. **Rubandeh/ Ruband:** A long white cloth hanging in front of the face which was fastened by two clasps sewn at the top corners and closed and opened behind the head. In front of the eyes, a lace horizontal oval piece (about 17 cm long and 9 cm high) was sewn in order to be able to see¹ (See Chardin, 1993, Vol.2: 805; Allemagne, 1956: 292; Wills, 1984: 103).
3. **Chāghchur:** A very loose trouser with an underwear shirt. Chāghchur was tightened at the ankle and a sock was attached to it with the same fabric (Allemagne, 1956: 292; Polak, 1982: 116; Sheil, 1989: 64; Lomnitskiy, 2008: 97). Chāghchur was often purple, green, or blue, covering the feet from the toes to the hip² (Polak, 1982: 116; Zoka, p. 31).
4. **Shoes:** Made of yellow, green, blue, and red leather, shoes were beautiful in appearance and color (Rice, 2004: 119; Allemagne, 1956: 297). Shoes stayed out of Chādor, playing an important role in representing the class status of women, and were of great importance to them³.

The outer clothing was completely covering the face and the body and concealing the

shape and appearance of women's bodies. Iranian women wore more hijabs than women in other Eastern countries with this clothing (Anet, 1991: 162). Sometimes "the most cautious women" even "wore something like bundle" to completely change the shape of their bodies (Shahri, 2002: Vol. 2: 63-65). Traditionally, the openness of a part of a woman's face or body in public spaces was inappropriate and unforgivable (Shahri, 2002: Vol. 2: 62). In fact, veiling was intertwined with personification and honor, and so distinguished and prominent women (courtiers and upper class women) had more complete veil than ordinary women (Tavernier, 2003: 300; Drouville, 1991: 59). Upper class women typically appeared in public spaces with some companions (Tancoigne, 2004: 237). More distinguished women, like the women of Harem were appeared in the public with several eunuchs in the front and the path were persevered only for them (Tavernier, 2003: 300; Wills, 1989: 401-402), That is, they closed the doors of shops, houses, and windows and passers-by were guided into houses and alleys⁴ (Wills, 1989: 402). Young women of middle and lower classes were present in public spaces with a companion (mother, husband, brother), and only older women were allowed to move freely in the streets of the

¹Bontems refers to three (Bontems, 1975: 108) and Tancoigne refers to four Chādors as the outer garment of women in the early Qajar period (Tancoigne, 2004: 237), referring to Chādors, Rubandehs as well as women's headscarves such as Charghad.

²Some people sew two parts of Chādor separately and tied them up or below the knee with two straps (Drouville, 1991: 59; Zoka, p. 33).

³Shoes were sewn in a special way and had only the front part and were so small to barely cover half the soles of the foot, and in fact, women could only move with the tip of the foot (Polak, 1991: 117; Sheil, 1989:

64; Rice, 2004: 119; D'Allemagne, 1956: 297) The shoes' heels also had a heavy cast iron shoe, so the shoes would always lumber and noisy (Rice, 2004: p. 119). Walking with these shoes was difficult (D'Allemagne, 1956: 297; Sheil, 1989: 64; Rice, 2004: 119) and so, at some point when they wanted to get their destination sooner, they took off their shoes and ran (D'Allemagne, 1956: 297).

⁴In spite of much rigor in this regard, some comments on punishing delinquent are exaggerated (See Wills, 1989: 402).

city with full coverage (Tancoigne, 2004: 237).

The outer covering of the women was similar to each other and they appeared to be similar, so that it was not easy to identify the social status of women in public passages⁵ (Anet, 1991: 164; Rice, 2004: 119; Gobineau, 1988: 404; Feuvrier, 2006: 119; Sheil, 1989: 88; Orsolle, 2003: 230). The only indicator to distinguish women was their outerwear and the quality of their clothing: Usually, the fabric of Chādor, Rubandeh and shoes was more or less a logical criterion for identifying the social status of women outside (Drouville, 1991: 59). The wealthy women wore silk and poor women wore woolen or satin Chādors (Lomnitskiy, 2008: 96-97; Rice, 2004: 119). The Rubandeh's clasp was the only place where jewelry and ornaments could be used, and depending on one's ability it was gold, silver or brass (Rice, 2004: 118; Drouville, 1991: 58; Allemagne, 1956: 292). Rich and upper class women usually had gold clasps and, in exceptional cases, even diamonds (Benjamin, 1984: 290).

The presence of women outside the home was criticized unless necessary. Although the presence of women in some public places (such as coffeehouse) was even with full veil, the same type of women's outerwear would give them freedom to go outside the home (Serena, 1983: 74; De Gobineau, 1988: 401-408). They were present in the alley and market (Sheil, 1989: 88; Orsolle, 2003: 230; Gobineau, 1988: 408-410) or some religious rituals (Benjamin, 1983: 290; Ain al-Saltaneh, Vol. 9: 7266) and participated in cultural and social context and levels of social participation and in public spaces that were

accepted for women or were doing outdoor works anonymously (Sheil, 1989: 88, 173; Benjamin, 1983: 83-84; Anet, 1991: 164).

According to reports, the pattern of women's outerwear from the Safavid period to the Constitutional era did not change significantly, with Chādors, Rubandehs and Chāghchurs being the main components of women's outerwear. Apparently the only noticeable change during this period was the change in the color of Chādor. Because the usual color of Chādor in the Safavid period (Chardin, 1993, Vol. 2: 805; Drouville, 1991: 58) and the early Qajar period, was white (Tancoigne, 2004: 237; Drouville, 1991: 58), but from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards, indigo (Polak, 1981: 116; Feuvrier, 2006: Wills, 1984: 103-104) and black has spread (Lomnitskiy, 2008: 96; Rice, 2004: 118; Feuvrier, 2006: 119; Benjamin, 1983: 290). But the change in the form of women's outer garment gradually began from the Constitutional period and continued until the middle of Reza Shah. The beginning of this transformation in women clothing belonged to the upper classes of society, which was observable in new forms of cultural socialization and acquaintance with new cultural and social relations of the new world, changes in their values, norms and social approaches, and one of the places in which such transformations were occurring, was their outerwear style.

Gradual Process of Change in Outerwear

Changes in the outer clothing of women (the public sphere), due to its more direct relation to the religious and cultural beliefs and values of society, had a different path than change in

⁵For example, Claude Anet does not hide his inability to determine the women social status in places like the Tehran market (Anet, 1991: 165).

the home clothing (private sphere). According to observers of the time, this dichotomy in the experience of women of that time was as follows: "Nimtāj Khanum, daughter of Vossuged-Dawlah and second wife of Sardar Akram, who had traveled from Tehran to Hamedan, had always worn "the best of fashionable clothes" at home, but whenever she left, she covered her whole body in a Chādor. Openness of Western women in public spaces was a shameful act in Nimtāj's opinion (Forbes Leith, 1987: 160). But with the increasing familiarity with the way women were dressed and the social presence of Western women, they have gradually created a variety of behaviors among activists and have attracted the attention of some observers of the time. For example, the occasional behavioral changes that were reported by removing the women Rubandeh (Allemagne, 1956: 292; Wills, 1984, 104; Bird and Weston, 1997: 215) was considered an unusual habit in the period. According to the conditions of the time, this behavior had found its socio-political function. Another time, removing Rubandeh became a sign of social protest. For example, during the famine in Tehran, a large number of women gathered in the bazaar, removed their Rubandehs and shouted in protest (Lomnitskiy, 2008: 96). In a number of other popular uprisings in which women were involved, they threw their Rubandehs behind their head in sensitive times, revealing their faces in order to incite men, provoke strikes and riots (Zoka, 1957: 292). According to Lady Sheil, at these times, they wanted to make themselves look like Western women and thereby satisfy their curiosity (Sheil, 1989: 68). Such behaviors were characterized by specific groups of women during this period.

But during the social presence and the formation of political and social spaces during the Constitutional era transformations, it accelerated cultural and social changes, including some new forms of clothing and a different way of social presence of women than ever before. Although such changes were gradual, they had long-lasting effects on the minds and attitudes of women's communities and their particular feminine issues. In addition to the general atmosphere of the community, a number of other factors also had significant effects.

- a) Changes in the type and quality of women's shoes: The first change in the components of the dress seems to be the change in the quality of the shoes. Changes began in this regard from the late Naserid period, following the increasing import of Western shoes. Black leather shoes imported from Europe (Farangi shoes), replaced with usual and locally made shoes by women of wealthy families and lords, (Mo'ayerol-Mamalek, 1983: 29; Allemagne, 1956: 297). Farangi (European) shoes first began to spread among the rich women of Tehran (Allemagne, 1956: 297) and then spread rapidly and the increasing import of western shoes accelerated its popularization. The increasing demand for these types of shoes made Iranian shoemakers begin to copy the European shoes (Rice, 2004: 120). According to some evidence from the late Qajar and early Pahlavi period, following the fashion by some of the women of upper classes in the big cities made these shoes more demandable. For

example, daytime footwear advertisements published in different numbers of *Etela'at Newspaper* in December 1926 indicate that women's shoes are sold (merely) cheaply because they are a bit outdated (7 December 1926: 2; 6 December 1926: 2).

- b) *Picheh* replacement with *Rubandeh*: Another change in women's clothing was the replacement of the *Rubandeh* with *Picheh*. *Rubandeh* was a white fabric hanging over the face of women with a lattice piece in front of the eyes and reaching up to below the knee (Rice, 2004: 118; Wills, 1984:103). But *Picheh*, which was woven from black horse hair, was shorter and narrower - a little larger than the lattice piece of *Rubandeh* - and did not cover the entire face (Manganeh, 1965: 33; Shahri, 2002, Vol. 1, Footnote: 279) and it moved upward with every movement, the woman's face appeared (Etehadiyeh, 2009: 59). *Picheh* was considered an ingenious initiative (Rice, 2004: 119) because it was cooler and easier to use than the *Rubandeh* (Rice, 2004: 119). The size of the *Picheh* was different and was 20 to 25 cm long and 10 to 15 cm wide. *Picheh* was apparently imported into Iran from Iraq and used in the western parts of Iran (Hawks, 1989: 199). Nasser al-Din Shah, in 1287 AH / 1870 AD, describes the black *Rubandeh* of Kermanshah women woven from a horse's hair and says, "This does not cover the woman's face at all" (Nasser al-Din Shah, 1993: p. 188). *Ain al-Saltaneh* in 1309 AH / 1891 reports the prevalence of *Picheh* rather than

Rubandeh among Nahavand women (*Ain al-Saltaneh*, 1995, Vol. 1; 467).

The use of *Picheh* was probably spread among some women of Tehran gradually from the Constitutional period. According to a report, in Sha'ban 1323 AH / 1906 AD, "Alaa al-Dawlah banned use of mask (*Neghab*) by women in Tehran" (Sepehr, 2007, Vol. 2: 836). Probably mask refers to the *Picheh*, because it did not cover the entire face and it attracted attention: *Imad al-Saltaneh Salour* writes in 25 Zighade 1325 AH: Women "often wear *Picheh* and raise their heads a little bit and the whole face is visible." He emphasizes that "the use of *Rubandeh* is much reduced" (Ettahadiyeh, 1998: 290). However, according to available evidence, this new cover was still prevalent in a limited number of women in Tehran. *Wills* and *Allemagne* who prepared their reports 1324 AH/ 1907AD and 1327 AH/ 1910 AD respectively, in a detailed description of women's clothing, they made no mention of the *Picheh* and mentioned the prevalence of *Rubandeh* (*Allemagne*, 1956: 292; *Wills*; 1984: 103-104). But later evidence suggests that the use of *Picheh* was expanding at this time as a result of the rapid social and cultural changes. *Ain al-Saltaneh* indicates that in Safar 1327 Ah/ 1909 AD, some women appeared in *Shoja-al-Saltaneh's* (*SadarShoja*) *Taziye*h ceremony with *Picheh*. He refers to this group of women as "*Picheh Women*" (*Ain al-Saltaneh*, 1995, Vol. 3: 2322). The importance of this report is in the presence of women in ritual ceremonies and very conservative communities with a new cover.

According to subsequent reports, the use of *Picheh* had become more common. In 1337 AH / 1919 AD *Rice* writes: "In recent years women have been wearing *Rubandeh* reluctantly and using *Picheh*

instead" (Rice, 2004: 119). It seems that until 1340 AH / 1300 SH, certain groups of Tehran women put Rubandeh aside and wore Picheh which "has gone up a bit" (Ain al-Saltaneh, Vol. 8: 6487; Boyce, 1966: 276). From the early days of Reza Shah's Rule, it also appears that groups of women have tended to put Picheh aside and cover their faces only with Chādors.

- c) **Reduced Use of Chāghchur:** With the gradual replacement of the Rubandeh with Picheh, the use of Chaghchur was first abolished among young and fashionable women and gradually among other women. The reasons for the removal of the Chāghchur were probably due to the use of stockings (Rice, 2004: 120), which would allow the foot to be covered. Around 1300 SH, there is a report that indicates that pants of some women were so short that they would not extend below the kneecap and women covered their knees with stockings (Ettahadieh, 1998: 290; also Ain al-Saltaneh, Vol. 8: 6487).

By the early Pahlavi period, it seems that the use of Chāghchur was restricted and women were less seen in Chāghchurs in Tehran passages. It is said that the popularity of wearing long skirts during this period accelerated the elimination of Chāghchur, because it was almost inappropriate and impossible to fit a long skirt in a puffy trouser (Boyce, 1966: 267-268). Far from large urban spaces such as Tehran and among women belonging to the privileged segments of urban society, the use of Chāghchur was

continued by other groups of women in the country until the Unveiling period (Hawks, 1989: 198- 199).

d) Change in Chādor Pattern

Along with changes in the outer clothing components, there were changes in the pattern of the Chādor. The first change was apparently the addition of colored borders - mostly white, blue and purple - to Chādor. The next change was in the type of Chādor sewing that probably began during the reign of Ahmad Shah Qajar⁶, and gradually Chādors without belt and skirt, known as the "Charkhi" Chādor, became known among distinct groups of young fashionable women (Ettahadieh, 2009: 59; Shahri, Vol. 1: 2002: Footnote 279), but other age groups of women still used the usual Chādor pattern known as the Kamari Chādors (Belt Chādor) which were sewn in thick or Abaeifabric (Shahri, Vol. 1, 2002: Footnote 279).

Charkhi Chādor was shorter than the Kamari Chādor and, unlike it, was sewn without skirts and belt (Ettahadieh, 2009: 59). Also in front of the Charkhi Chādor was often lattice and flounce with pores. Charkhi Chādor was gradually shorter in around 1300-1301 SH (Shahri, 2002, Vol.1: 279-280, also: Ain al-Saltaneh, Vol. 8: 6487; Ibid. Vol. 9: 6832-6863). An observer reports that these women usually did not wear Chāghhad under their Chādors (Ain al-Saltaneh, Vol. 8: 6487; Ibid. Vol. 9: 7269). Such changes have undoubtedly been considered undesirable by some social observers and have received criticism (including: see, Ibid. Vol. 9: 7081).

Despite changes in the women dress until the early Pahlavi Period, Chādor was still a major element of women's identity and

⁶According to some opinions, CharkhiChādor or Round Chādorhas emerged from the Mozaffari

period, but some other evidence does not support this (Ettahadiyeh, 2009: 59).

morality, and any tendency to remove it by layers of women was faced with pessimism. (Ain al-Saltaneh, Vol. 9: 7266). There are various reports of the prevailing situation of time against such changes in some women dress - in a city such as Tehran. The report of the beating of women in the Sepahsalar Mosque in 1304 SH and the involvement of the police in this regard is notable (refer to Ain al-Saltaneh, Vol. 9: 7266).

Putting aside Chādor as a social and cultural change came with government planning, and groups of women presenting in public spaces with new dresses in coordination with executive departments (regarding the situation in 1928, See: Sedigheh Dowlatabadi, 1998, Vol. 3: 611/633-634), were mainly in specific cultural and social areas. There were no more general trends in women's community in the upper and lower urban layers, as well as in smaller urban communities and villages in this respect⁷. The most important reason for this was the strength of common life practices. In fact, despite the changes that have taken place since the Nasserid Period in various aspects of Iranian life, and the many debates that have been made against the way women are dressed, the traditional dressing of women permits their cultural and social functions as appropriate cover for the presence of women and there was a tendency to maintain its generality in women's society in various layers of society, and reports of women's attitudes to Chādor removal is analyzable from this perspective (See Sedigheh Dowlatabadi's report on the

September 1314 SH incident, 1998, Vol. 3: p. 635).

Some reports of criticism of the limited amount of change in women's outer clothing also indicated the existence of intellectual, cultural, and social spaces at that time, which combined modernity's tendencies with rational reflections on the subject and the conflict of tradition and modernity was analyzed a little deeper (see: Ain-al-Saltaneh, 1995, Vol.10: 7701).

The announcement of unveiling on January 8, 1936, was a new stage in the changes to women's clothing: the prohibition of using Chādor, Picheh and Chāghchur, as a social and cultural program created many complexities and encountered major difficulties during implementation, and so there were instructions and changes to the process and content. For example, it was initially intended to put aside some of the traditional clothing components, and gradually putting aside the traditional women's clothing completely and adopting a Western style of clothing was considered. In the case of tribal and rural women who had no interest in unveiling (removal of Chādor, Chāghchur, Rubandeh), it created cultural and social issues. For example this directive on one of the issues is worth considering. The Governor-General of Kermanshah issued a directive to the governors on 1 June 1936:

The purpose of the women's movement in the country was not just to unveil, because in Iran, veiling was one of the ugly habit of urban dwellers and the inhabitants of the villages had no such habits at all, and Nayib al-Hokumah and other officials must take an action so that women come out of all different shapes and become like

⁷According to an official report, the number of women attending public places without Chādors before the official announcement of the unveiling was reported to be around 4,000 (Abrahamian, 2010: 157; Avery,

1988: 70). These were predominantly girls with new education, women of elite classes and families, Iranian foreign spouses, travelers to Europe, and middle-class religious minorities (Abrahamian, 2010: 157).

civilized ladies of the world, meaning they have to wear long, simple dresses and lightweight hats (Unveiling Incident, 1992: 252).

But in the general process of using Chādor, Chārgħad and common head covers, only European hats were allowed (National Library and Archives of Iran, D.N: 8354-290: 17). The command was that women could only wear hats (Violence and Culture, 1992: 110; Unveiling Incident, 1992: 246).

As demand for some outerwear items for women increased suddenly, and of course the financial difficulty of some women for purchasing importing items such as women's hats was raised, some action was taken inevitably (Violence and Culture, 1992: 110; Unveiling Incident, 1992 Violence and Culture, 1992: 110; Unveiling Incident, 1992: 132, 15-66, 178, 262-263). For example, in January and February of 1936, that was when unveiling occurred, the Kurdish government repeatedly asked the central government that due to the inadequacy of women's hats and clothing for some of the lower-class women in this area, to allow these women to come out in Kurdish traditional dresses without Chādor. But the answer was: "Women must wear European hats after leaving the Chādor, because if they are allowed to wear the same local Kurdish clothing and hat, it will be difficult to change them later" (Unveiling Incident, 1992: 132, 166, 178). Thus, the Unveiling Program forced a change in the outerwear of women, and in the context of imposing a social and cultural program in a society with its historical and social position, the subject of change was to be transformed

into an intellectual struggle with hidden and obvious social and individual and of course long-lasting resistance.

However, after the implementation of the Unveiling Program, women's outerwear changed rapidly, and new components such as socks⁸ and hats were incorporated into women's clothing. The most fashionable women's hats in European countries have been imported and advertised by various publications (National Library and Archives of Iran, D.N: 32112-240; Yousefifar and Janghjo Gholanji, Summer and Autumn 2016: 114-116). Bags have also become popular among women since the Reza Shah period. Evidence, such as advertisements that have been published in publications such as the Ettela'at Newspaper (for example, April 4, 1939) for the lost women's bags, as well as Ain-al-Saltaneh referring in 1945, that in recent years, The bag of "ladies is in danger of picking and thuggery (Ain-al-Saltaneh, Vol. 10: 8004), indicating that the use of the bag was also widespread among women. Until the end of the Shah Reza period, women's dress patterns were shaped by the currents that emerged from these events, and later changed under the influence of wider transformation of Iranian society during World War II.

Conclusion

From the Constitutional period to the reign of Reza Shah, along with the changes in various intellectual, cultural, social, and political spheres of society, the women clothing, especially those of the upper class and familiar with the Western world, both in

⁸The socks were unknown among the Iranians until the Nasserid period; with the increase in travel to the West from the Nasserid period onwards, the socks were among the souvenirs that came to Iran and were used for a long time in the royal court and the Lords'

class (Shahri, 2002, Vol. 2: 11, Vol. 3: 383). With socks mass importation and then production domestically, its use became widespread among other classes (Ibid., Vol. 2: 7).

the public and outside the house changed. These changes were noticeable in three main components of the clothing: replacement of the Rubandeh with Picheh, reduced use of the Châghchur, and changes in the quality of the Châdor to increase its mobility and lighter and easier use. Such gradual changes were a kind of updating and adapting the clothing to the requirements arising from the growth of modern urbanization and the requirements for a more effective social presence of women in society.

References

- [1] Abrahamian, Ervand (2010). *A History of Modern Iran*, translated by Mohammad Ebrahim Fattahi Valilaei, Edition 4, Tehran: Ney Publications.
- [2] Ain-al-Saltaneh, Ghahreman Mirza Salour (1995). *Ain-al-Saltaneh's Diaries*, corrected by Masoud Salour and Iraj Afshar, Tehran: Asatir.
- [3] Allemagne, Henry-René d (1956). *Travelogue from Khorasan to Bakhtiary*, Translated by Alimohammad Farah Vashi, Tehran: Amirkabir Publications.
- [4] Anet, Claude (1991). *The Rose of Isfahan, Iran with Automobile: Travelogue Anet Claude*, Translated by Fazlollah Jelveh, Narration.
- [5] Avery, Peter (1988). *Modern Iran* (Vol. 2: From Pahlavi Dynasty to the Coup of August 19, 1953), Translated by Mohammad Rafiei Mehrabadi, Edition 3, Tehran: Ataei.
- [6] Bamdad, Badrolmoluk (1969). *Iranian Woman from Constitutional Revolution to White Revolution*, Tehran: Ebne Sina Publications.
- [7] Benjamin Samuel Green Wheeler (1984). *Iran and Iranians: Naser al-Din Shah Era*, Translated by Mohammad Hossain Kordbacheh, Javidan Publications.
- [8] Bird, F.L and Harold F. Weston (1997). *Visiting Iran after the Constitutional Revolution*, Translated by Ali Asghar Mazhari Kermani, Tehran: Janan Publications.
- [9] Bontems, Auguste (1975). *Bontems Travelogue: The Letter of a French General during His short Trip to Turkey and Iran in the year 1807*, Translated by Mansoureh Ettehadieh Mafi, Separ Publications.
- [10] Boyce, Annie Stocking (1966). *Moslem Women in the Capital of Persia, the Moslem World*, vol. xx, 1930, Editor Samuel M. Zwemer, New York.
- [11] Chardin, John (1993). *Travelogue of Sir John Chardin*, Translated by Eghbal Yaghmaei, Tehran: Toos Publications.
- [12] Dowlatabadi, Sedigheh (1998). *Letters, Writings and Memories*. Edited by Afsaneh Najmabadi & Mahdokht Sanati, *Woman's Attitude and Writing*.
- [13] Drouville, Gaspard (1991). *Travel in Persia*, Translated by Manouchehr Etemad Moghadam, Edition 4, Tehran: Shabaviz Publications.
- [14] Ettehadieh, (Nezam Mafi) Mansoureh (1998). *Here is Tehran: a Collection of Articles about Tehran (1853 to 1926)*. Tehran: The History of Iran Publications.
- [15] Ettehadieh, Mansoureh (2009). *Women who wore hats under scarfs: The life of the Malek Taj Khanum Najm al-Saltaneh (1854-1932)*, Tehran: The History of Iran Publications.
- [16] *Ettela'at* Newspaper (1926 – 1941).
- [17] Feuvrier, Joannes (2006). *Three Years in the Court of Iran*, Translated by Abbas Eghbal Ashtiani, Tehran: Nashre Elm.
- [18] Forbes Leith, Francis (1987). *Checkmate*, Translated by Hossein Abutorabiyani, Tehran: Ettela'at Publications.
- [19] Gobineau, Arthur (1988). *Gobineau Travelogue, TroisAnsEnAsie* (Three years in Asia) (1855-1858), Translated by Abdolreza Hooshang Mahdavi, Ketabsara.
- [20] Hawkess, Merritt (1989). *Persia: Romance and Reality*, Memories of Traveling to Iran, translated by Mohammad Hossain Nazari

- Nejad and Mohammad Taghi Akbari, Ahmad Namaei, Mashhad: Astan Quds Razavi, Cultural Department.
- [21] Katouzian (Homaoun), Mohammadli (1995). *Iran's Political Economy Since the Constitutional Revolution to Pahlavi Dynasty*, translated by Mohammadreza Nafisi and Kambiz Azizi, Edition 4, Tehran: Nashre Markaz.
- [22] Kazama, Akiyo (2001). *Itinerary of Kazama*, translated by Hashem Rajabzadeh, Tehran: Society for the Appreciation of Cultural Works and Dignities.
- [23] Lomnitskiy, S., (2008). *Iran and Iranian People*, translated by Mohammad Nayebpour, Tehran: Institute for Research and Development of Humanities.
- [24] Manganeh, Nourohoda (1965). The story of an Iranian woman or a small part of my memories, no place.
- [25] Mo'ayyerol-Mamalek, Dust Ali khan (1983). *Notes from the Private Life of Naser al-Din Shah*, Tehran: The History of Iran Publications
- [26] Mostofi, Abdullah (2005). *My Biography*, Edition 5, Tehran: Zovvar.
- [27] Nasser al-Din Shah Qajar (1993). *The King of Roads: Diary of Naser-al-Din Shah on His Journey to Atabat*, Corrected by Mohammadreza Abbasi and Parviz Badiie, National Library and Archives of Iran.
- [28] Olearius, Adam (1984). *Olearius Travelogue*, Translated by Ahmad Behpou, Tehran: Ebtekar Publishing and Cultural Organization.
- [29] Orsolle, Ernest (2003). *Travelogue of Caucasus and Iran*, Tehran: Institute of Humanities and Cultural Studies.
- [30] Polak, Jacob Edward (1982). *Iran and Iranians: Iran, Territory and its People*, Translated by Keikavus Jahandari, Tehran: Kharazmi Publications.
- [31] Rice, Clara Colliver (2004). *Persian Women and Their Ways*, Translated by Asdullah Azad, Tehran: Ketabdar Publications.
- [32] Sepehr, Abdolhossein Khan (2007). Mer'atalwaqaye'e Mozaffari, corrected by Abdolhossain Navaei, Mirase Maktoob Publications.
- [33] Serena, Carla (1983). *Madame Carla Serena's Travelogue*, People and Rites in Iran, Translated by Ali Asghar Saeidi, Zovvar Publications.
- [34] Shahri, Jafar (1989). *The Social History of Tehran in the Thirteenth Century*, Rasa Cultural Services Institute.
- [35] Shahri, Jafar (2002). *The Old Tehran*, Edition 3, Tehran: Moein Publications.
- [36] Sheil, Mary (1989). *Lady Sheil's Diary* (Wife of the British Minister at the beginning of Nasser al-Din Shah's reign), translated by Hossain Abutorabian, Edition 2, Tehran: Nashre Nau.
- [37] Tancoigne, J. M., (2004). *Letters on Persia, and Turkey in Asia*, Translated by Ali Asghar Saeidi, Tehran: Chechmeh Publications.
- [38] Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste (2003). *Tavernier Travelogues*, Translated by Hamid ArbabShirani, Tehran: Niloufar Publications.
- [39] Unveiling Incident: Documents Released on Unveiling in the period of Reza Khan (1992). Compiled by MortezaJafari, SoghraEsmaeilzadeh and Masoumeh Farshchi, Center for Cultural Documents of Islamic Revolution.
- [40] Violence and Culture: Confidential Documents to Unveiling 1934 – 1943 (1992). Research Management, Publications and Education, Tehran, Research Management, Publications and Education.
- [41] Wills, Charles James (1989). *Iran a Century Ago: Wills's Travelogue*, Translated by Gholam Hossain Gharagoz, Tehran: Eghbal.
- [42] Wills, Charles James 1984). *The Social History of Iran in the Qajar Period*, Translated by Seyyed Abdullah, compiled by Jamshid Dodangeh and Mehrdad Niknam, Tehran: Zarrin Publications.
- [43] Yousefifar, Shahram and JangjouGholenji, Shahnaz (Summer and Autumn 2016): Representation Women and Femininity in the Advertisements of Ettela'at Newspaper (1925-1941), *Journal of Social and Economic History*, 5th Year, 2nd No. Summer and Autumn 2016, pp. 109-129.
- [44] Zoka, Yahha (1957). *Iranian Women's Clothes from the 13th century AH until Today*, Tehran: Department of Museums and Folk Culture, Department of Fine Arts.

Documentation:

National Library and Archives of Iran, D. N: 32112-240; D.N: 8354-290; and D.N: 6537-290.

تغییر در الگوی سنتی لباس بانوان تهران از دوره مشروطه تا دوره رضاشاه

شهرام یوسفی فرا^۱ و شهناز جنگجو^۲

تاریخ دریافت: ۱۳۹۷/۱۱/۲۷ تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۳۹۸/۱۰/۱۲

چکیده

لباس زنان ایرانی در داخل و خارج از خانه تا دوره ناصری متفاوت بود و مستقیماً تحت تأثیر الگوی اخلاقی مشترک قرار می‌گرفت. تغییر در الگوهای مشترک ناشی از آشنایی ایرانیان با نحوه حضور اجتماعی و همچنین لباس زن و مرد در حوزه عمومی جامعه غربی، از دوره ناصری به بعد است و با گذشت زمان تأثیرات مختلفی داشته است. این فرایند در مقاله حاضر برای پاسخ به این سؤال مورد بررسی قرار گرفته است: بین کدام بخش از جامعه و مناطق ایران تغییر در سبک لباس زنانه در دوره مورد نظر رخ داده است و چه زمینه‌های اجتماعی و فرهنگی در این زمینه مؤثرتر بوده است؟ براساس نتایج این تحقیق می‌توان گفت با توجه به حضور روزافزون اجتماعی زنان، روند متناسب‌سازی لباس آنان با الزامات روابط جدید اجتماعی در چارچوب نظم اخلاقی و الگوهای زندگی زنان ایرانی قرار داشت. اما آنچه بعداً در روند سیاست‌گذاری و اجرای برنامه‌های فرهنگی-اجتماعی توسط دولت اتفاق افتاد باعث ابهام و خسارات بی‌شماری برای این روند شد.

واژه‌های کلیدی: لباس بیرونی زنان، لباس زنانه ایرانی، تغییرات فرهنگی، پیچه، روبنده، کفش

۱. استاد تاریخ، گروه تاریخ دانشگاه تهران، تهران، ایران (نویسنده مسنول) shyousefifar@ut.ac.ir

۲. استادیار تاریخ ایران، دایره‌المعارف تاریخ اسلام، تهران، ایران sh.jangjo@rch.ac.ir