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GARMENTS WITH HANGING SLEEVES: A GENERAL REVIEW WITH TAXONOMY OF STYLE AND CUT

Keywords: Asian dress, European dress, garments with hanging sleeves, world dress history, taxonomy of pattern

Abstract: The extensive research on garments with hanging sleeves presented in this article from the Bronze Age to the present day and across a wide range of regions where they were worn provides a clear account of their expansion. Preserved clothing items and visual and written sources reveal the reasons for their origin and spread, the means of use, and the symbolic value they had in the different cultures they marked. Their various types indicate three stylistic groups. Within each group, there are several pattern or style subgroups into which they can be classified. The established pattern or style groups shape the “family trees,” which connect the robes from distant meridians and centuries into the same clothing circle, shaped into the taxonomy tables. The time, space, style/cut, and purpose taxonomy is given to each stylistic group. The study also reveals the unbreakable artistic and craft ties that, despite the cultural, religious, and political differences, have spread and intertwined unhindered in time and space, outlining an undeniable picture of the creative unity of human civilization.

...Upon her shoulders wings she wears,
Like hanging sleeves, lin'd thro' with ears,
And eyes, and tongues, as poets list...

That is how, in the mid-seventeenth century, Samuel Butler describes the winged Fame at *Hudibras*,¹ using a poetic metaphor to testify to the popularity of hanging sleeves in the Europe of his time. The name *ad ali* – like the wings, for open hanging sleeves of

the Italian female gown *cioppa*,² confirms that Butler's impression was universally shared. However, Europe was not the cradle of garments with hanging sleeves, and the 17th century was a time of slow diffusion of the multi-millennial development of clothing forms marked by empty, often overlong, or slit sleeves that were freely swinging from the shoulders or arms. Garments with hanging sleeves like *herigaut*,³ *gardcorp*,⁴ *houppelande*,⁵ *cioppa*,⁶ *zimarra*,⁷ *Tappert*,⁸ *Schaube*,⁹ represent the European creative mirror of much older Oriental needs, customs, and imagination.

Garments with hanging sleeves had been designed and shaped in multi-millennial Asian cultures.¹⁰ Both written and visual sources indicate that one of the primary nurseries of such fashion was ancient Media (8th–6th century BC). Nevertheless, in ancient times, clothing and its features were not formed within one

² J. Herald, *Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400–1500*, London – New Jersey 1981, 56, with sources.

³ J. Evans, *Dress in Mediaeval France*, Oxford 1952, 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 19–20; H. Norris, *Medieval Costume and Fashion*, Mineola – New York 1999, 162, 170–171.

⁵ J. Laver, *Costume and Fashion: A Concise History*, London 2012, 64, 69–70.

⁶ J. Herald, *Renaissance Dress*, 49–50, 214–215.

⁷ L. Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabric in Italian and Northern Paintings 1300–1550*, New Haven – London 2008, 304; M. Cataldi Gallo, *Sacred Vestments: Color and Form*, Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination, ed. A. Bolton, New York 2018, 19, 22.

⁸ C. Köhler, *A History of Costume*, New York 1963, 185–186.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 247–249.

¹⁰ On the appearance and development of garments with hanging sleeves in Asia see *Riding Costume in Egypt: Origin and Appearance*, ed. C. Fluck, G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, Leiden–Boston 2004, 7–28, 29–36, 209–229.

* The editing of the text was done by our dear friend John Moffatt to whom we own our deepest gratitude.

¹ Samuel Butler, *Hudibras*, ed. T. R. Nash, Oxford University, London 1835, part II, canto I, 234:49–51.

people, but within one region.¹¹ That is evidenced by the cut of preserved garments and the way they were worn. So, the idea of pendant sleeves must have belonged to hunting and nomadic cultures of the Eurasian steppes and Central Asia and Near Eastern sedentary cultures since the Iron Age as well. That is confirmed by archaeological findings. Together, they laid the foundations for the three basic styles of garments with hanging sleeves, which would then be expanded and incorporated into various Asian cultures during antiquity and the Middle Ages. Iranian and Arab conquests of northern Africa during the Middle Ages spread the hanging sleeves fashion to that continent. The crusades at the end of the 12th century conveyed garments with hanging sleeves to Europe.¹² The overall expansion of the empty, pendant sleeves was made possible by the Mongol conquests during the 13th century, when caftans with hanging sleeves became the official attire throughout conquered Asia, in parts of Eastern Europe, and the Balkans.¹³ Together with Byzantine and European garments with hanging sleeves in the 13th and 14th centuries, they formed part of the global fashion scene never recorded before (Table 7), which would only appear in the 20th century with the concept of modern clothing. With the conquest of America, the hanging sleeves reached the “new” continent. The Ottoman Empire significantly contributed to the expansion of a particular type of hanging sleeves – the fully open *çepken*.

In the early footnotes of this study, we mention researchers and their books and articles that deal with the history of garments with hanging sleeves. But these are just parts of the general overviews of clothing in certain countries like France or Italy, studies limited to the specific regions like Golden Horde, or particular styles like *candys* fashion. This article is the very first attempt to put together the most of what we know about garments with hanging sleeves

and give to that knowledge a scientific structure and taxonomy.

Since the earliest times, it has been possible to divide garments with hanging sleeves into three stylistic groups:

1. Garments draped over the shoulders or head from which they fall freely together with empty sleeves (fig. 1a).
2. Garments with slits through which the arms are pulled out so that empty sleeves hang from the shoulders or arms (fig. 1b).
3. Garments whose sleeves have hanging extensions (fig. 1c).

The groups are formed on different roles of the cut. In the first group, the cut does not play almost any role except that it consists of just one type of robes – coat-like caftans. These caftans are products of local cultures and are not or do not have to be connected by the same cut. They are linked by the same custom of wearing – draped over the shoulders or had. The cut and embellishments of local caftans may differ during the time even within the same cultural group, but the tradition of wearing them in a particular way remained (Table 1). The main linking feature of the garments from the second group is their overall cut. Three different pattern groups among them form three different subgroups based on the place of the arm openings (Tabs. 2–5). The garments from the third group are connected by the specific cut of their sleeves (Tab. 6). That builds the main structure of this study. Its body is shaped with numerous examples of garments with hanging sleeves from all around the world and from the dawn of human civilization to the present day, which gives the final aim to this study – overcoming the regional view and appropriation of history and placing it into the global and unified perspective.

1. Garments Draped over the Shoulders or Head

This group consists of cloak-like coats draped over the shoulders or head from which they fall freely together with empty sleeves (fig. 1a). The earliest visual records of such a style come from Median art.¹⁴ The first preserved written source bringing the evidence of such a fashion in Media and its transmission from Medes to Persians is Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*. Describing Cyrus’ visit to Astyages, it mentions

¹¹ Н. П. Лобачева, *О некоторых чертах региональной общности в традиционном костюме народов Средней Азии и Казахстана*, Традиционная одежда народов Средней Азии и Казахстана, ed. Нина П. Лобачева, М. В. Сазонова, Москва 1989, 35.

¹² E. R. Knauer, *A Quest for the Persian Riding-Coats: Sleeved Garments with Underarm Openings*, Riding Costume in Egypt: Origin and Appearance, ed. C. Fluck, G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, Leiden–Boston 2004, 17–18, 20.

¹³ On the Mongol caftans with hanging sleeves in the Golden Horde see Н. В. Хрипунов, *Одежда с откидывающимися рукавами в Золотой Орде*, Золотоордынская цивилизация, 9, 2016, 84–87. On the Mongol caftans in the Balkans see Т. Вулета, *Страни елементи у одежди каранских ктитора – отисак света као симбол етноса, I део*, Патримониум.МК, 16, 2018, 223–242.

¹⁴ For examples of such a fashion among Medes see M. Tilke, *Costume Patterns and Designs: A Survey of Costume and Designs of all Periods and Nations from Antiquity to Modern Times*, London 1956, pl. 10; S. A. Yatsenko, *Costume of the Ancient Eurasia (the Iranian-speaking Peoples)*, Moscow 2006, figs. 7, 62a, 66, 68b, 71, 134c, 162.



Figure 1. a. Ivory diptych, detail, 4th–6th centuries, Carrand collection, Bargello Museum, Florence b. Župan Peter Brayn, detail of the fresco (digital reconstruction), Church of Annunciation, Karan, Serbia, 1338; c. Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine, detail, Lorenzo Veneziano, 1460–1470, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (photos: Tatjana Vuleta)

the gift of Median clothing that the Persian prince got from his grandfather, among which was a purple *candys* (Gk. *κανδυς*) that Astyages was clad in as well.¹⁵ Pollux gives the more detailed description of *candys* in his *Onomasticon* – it was sleeved and fastened along the shoulders.¹⁶ Persian court protocols translated into the representations of rulers from the time of Achaemenid, Seleucid, Arsacid, and Sassanid dynasties (550 BC–651 AD) provide insight into the thousand-year-old Persian variant of this style taken over from the Medes. Graffiti¹⁷ and reliefs in Persepolis¹⁸ and reliefs in Taxē Bostan¹⁹ depict Persian de-

ities, rulers, dignitaries, and priests clad in that particular coat. It was thrown round the shoulders and its sleeves were not pulled onto the arms, but empty, fell freely, dangling along the body.²⁰

The cut and appearance of the *candys* are the most realistically represented on sculptures from the Achaemenid period – a silver statue, today in the Museum of Asian Art in Berlin,²¹ and two golden figures from the Oxus treasure, of the 5th–4th century BC, at

¹⁵ Xenophon, *The Education of Cyrus*, Book I, Chapter 3.2,3, tr. W. Ambler, Ithaca–London 2001, 28.

¹⁶ *Pollucis Onomasticon*, Vol. II, Book VII.58, ed. E. Bethe, Leipzig 1931, 68.

¹⁷ P. Callieri, *At the Roots of the Sasanian Royal Imagery: The Persepolis Graffiti*, Ēran ud Anērān, ed. M. Compareti, P. Raffetta, G. Scarcia, 2003, figs. 5, 6, electronic version available at <http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/Articles/callieri.html> (accessed on 01/17/2020).

¹⁸ R. Ghirshman, *Persian Art 249 B.C.–A.D. 651: The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties*, New York 1962, pl. 87b.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 235.

²⁰ On *candys* see R. Schmitt, *Candys*, Encyclopaedia Iranica, Vol. IV, Fasc. 7, Abingdon 1990, 757–758; S. Shahbazi, *Clothing ii. In the Median and Achaemenid periods*, Encyclopaedia Iranica, Vol. V, Fasc. 7, Abingdon 2012, 723–737, pls. lvi, lvii, electronic version at (accessed on 20/11/2019). In Persia, in ancient times, several different types of caftans were worn – G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Sasanian 'Riding Coats': The Iranian Evidence*, *Riding Costume in Egypt: Origin and Appearance*, ed. C. Fluck, G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, Leiden–Boston 2004, 218–223.

²¹ F. Boucher, *A History of Costume in the West*, London – New York 1987, 63, pl. 84.

the British Museum in London (fig. 2).²² Ankle-length caftans were decorated with metal plates sewn along the edges and hem. Sometimes, the sleeves were overly long, falling to knee height.²³

The millennial tradition marking the rulers of Persia by the wearing of a local caftan on their shoulders was preserved even under the onslaught of foreign invaders – Arabs, Seljuks, Mongols. Persian shahs, including Alexander the Great, are regularly dressed in the same fashion on miniatures of manuscripts made in the 13th and 14th centuries.²⁴ During the Middle Ages, *candys* underwent changes in style and decoration, shaped by court fashion that depended on both the conquerors' tastes and ideology. Thus, during the Mongol domination, the Persian caftan received an expensive fur lining and an embroidered shoulder ornament in the form of a *cloud-collar*.²⁵ The visual sources from that period show caftans with only one side draped over the shoulder from which it falls down freely, while the other is pulled over the arm and body.²⁶ The same cut, decorations, and way of wearing caftans identified Persian shahs in the Timurid period (1370–1467) as well.²⁷ In Rashid al-Din's

²² J. Curtis, *The Oxus Treasure*, London 2012, 33, fig. 20; photo available at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/nickmard/2866382210/in/set-72157607303096557/>.

²³ A skeleton in one of the tombs of Tillya Tepe had gold plates arranged exactly as on the coats from these statues, which indicates that the deceased was dressed in a caftan draped over his shoulders at the funeral – S. Peterson, *Parthian Aspects of Objects from Grave IV, Tillya Tepe*, unpublished master degree dissertation, SOAS University, London 2012, 28, fig. XIII, available online at https://www.academia.edu/1485067/Parthian_Aspects_of_Objects_from_Grave_IV_Tillya_Tepe (accessed on 16/12/2019).

²⁴ See miniatures from the Great Mongol *Shahnama* created in Tabriz during the fourth decade of the 14th century – *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, ed. L. Komaroff, S. Carboni, New Haven – London 2003, figs. 186, 189.

²⁵ For *cloud-collars* from the time of the Mongol Empire and regional differences in their types see Вулета, *Лесновске облак-крагне*, 159.

²⁶ For example, see a representation of Shah Zav from the Great Mongolian *Shahnama* – *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, 41, fig. 37.

²⁷ See miniatures from a copy of Firdawsi's *Shahnama* (1426–1430), for example “A Princely Couple with Courtiers in a Garden” – available at <https://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/dynasties/timurids-and-turkmen/art/21b-2006-21a-2006>. For Persian costume in the Mongol and Timurid periods see E. Sims, *Clothing ix. In the Mongol and Timurid periods*, Encyclopædia Iranica, Vol. V, Fascs. 7, 8, Abingdon 2011, 778–784, 785, electronic version at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/clothing-ix> (accessed on 14/02/2020).



Figure 2. Achaemenid period gold statuettes from the Oxus Treasure, British Museum, London (photo: Nickmard Khoey)

History of the World from 1430–1434,²⁸ Genghis Khan himself was dressed in a Persian caftan lined with ermine, draped over one shoulder (fig. 3). In the same manuscript, the wives of the rulers wear caftans in the same way.²⁹ The custom of wearing a local caftan draped over the shoulders and still lined with fur, but now, under Turkish influence, decorated with special frogging fastenings – *çaprast* (*çap-rastly*, from *çap-rast* = left-right)³⁰ also existed at the Safa-

²⁸ Rašīd al-Dīn Fazl-ullāh Hamadānī, *Ġāmi' al-tavārīḫ*, Shiraz 1430–1434, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. pers. 1113, fol. 44v, available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8427170s/f100.item> (accessed on 06/12/2019).

²⁹ Rašīd al-Dīn Fazl-ullāh Hamadānī, *Ġāmi' al-tavārīḫ*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. pers. 1113, fol. 22v, available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8427170s/f56.item> (accessed on 06/12/2019).

³⁰ These are parallel rows of decorative braids with loops and large buttons for fastening, sewn on the chest part of the upper gowns. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are two forms of the word – *chaprazi* and *chaprage* (Serb. *čaprazi*/чaпpaзи, *čaprage*/чaпpaгe) derived from the Turkish *çap-rast* = left-right (Pers. *čepu-rāst*, *čep-rāst*) – A.



Figure 3. Genghis Khan clad in a caftan in the candies-fashion style, detail of the miniature from Rashid al-Din's *History of the World*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Suppl. pers. 1113, fol. 44v, 1430–1434 (photo © Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

vid court from the 16th to the 18th century.³¹ During this period, the royal caftan had short sleeves and was draped over one shoulder. Court dignitaries, including women,³² were covered with long-sleeved caftans that were draped over both shoulders.³³

The caftan draped over the shoulders was also a symbol of the Persians in the eyes of the Ottomans, as evidenced by their representations in Turkish costume albums.³⁴ The Ottoman Sultan Selim I was depicted

Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*, Sarajevo 1966, 163. Such decoration comes from the Turkic costume.

³¹ For the dress in the Safavid period see L. S. Diba, *Clothing x. In the Safavid and Qajar Periods*, Encyclopaedia Iranica, Vol. V, Fasc. 8, Abingdon 2011, 785–808, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/clothing-x> (accessed on 15/02/2020).

³² See, for example, short caftan draped over the shoulders of a lady depicted in an oil painting made in Isfahan around 1650–1680 in J. Scarce, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East*, London–Sydney 1987, 156, pl. 109.

³³ Among the most beautiful representations of court life and court costume in the time of Safavid are the miniatures of *Divan of Hafiz*, a miniature poetry book from 1527, dedicated to Prince Sam Mirza, created in Herat and Tabriz – S. Cary Welch, *Persian Painting: Five Royal Safavid Manuscripts of the Sixteenth Century*, New York 1976, 20–21, 62–69, fig. c., pls. 15–18.

³⁴ For example, the representation of a young Persian man from an album created in Istanbul in 1618, today in the British Museum in London, No. 1974,0617,0.13.11, fol. 50v, available at https://www.research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=1043719001&objectid=1478726 (accessed on 05/12/2019).

with such a caftan in portraits made after the Turkish conquest of Persia in 1514.³⁵ It was a symbol of the Persians in the eyes of Europeans as well. Posing for Anthony Van Dyck in 1622, Sir Robert Shirley was represented as a Safavid envoy to the British king wearing a caftan with overlong hanging sleeves, made of sumptuous yellow Persian silk and draped over his shoulders.³⁶

The custom of wearing a caftan draped over the shoulders also existed in other Asian cultures. A caftan found in a tumulus in Katanda in the Altai, dated to the 5th or 4th century BC, has overlong, very narrow, non-functional sleeves which testify that it was not worn pulled on the arms but draped over the shoulders.³⁷ Goddesses represented on Scythian metal plates that were sewn on clothes from the 4th century BC are also clad in long caftans.³⁸ Furthermore, the so-called “witch” from Subeshia, a mummy from the 4th to the 2nd century BC, found in a gorge east of Turfan, has a long fur coat draped over her shoulders as well.³⁹ On the Sogdian terracotta figures from the 1st to the 4th century,⁴⁰ as well as on the participants in religious scenes painted on the walls of palaces in Pyanjikent, Tajikistan, from the 7th century,⁴¹ local caftans are also draped to fall freely from the shoulders. The Sogdians took the same custom with them to China – a coat lined with fur, draped over the shoulders, is worn by a Sogdian groom on a ceramic statue made in China in the 7th century (fig. 4).⁴²

The manner of dressing of the Scythians and later the Persians after their conquest of the Caucasus during the 6th century left its mark on the clothing customs of the dignitaries and rulers in Armenia and Georgia. Thus, ankle-length caftans with knee-length sleeves are worn draped over the shoulders of the founders represented on the façade relief of the cathedral in Mren from 638–640.⁴³ A caftan draped

³⁵ From that period, portraits of Sultan Selim, painted by Nakkaş Osman who was active in Istanbul from 1560 to 1592, are particularly famous.

³⁶ P. L. Baker, *Islamic Textiles*, London 1995, 114.

³⁷ Knauer, *A Quest for the Persian Riding-Coats*, 8–9, col. pl. 2.

³⁸ *Gold aus Kiev. Ausstellungskatalog des Kunsthistorischen Museum*, ed. W. Seipel, Wien 1993, 170–171, Kat.-Nr. 46; Yatsenko, *Costume of the Ancient Eurasia*, fig. 41.

³⁹ V. C. Mair, *The Mummies of East Central Asia*, Expedition, 52(3), 2010, 30, 31.

⁴⁰ A. Belenizki, *Mittelasiens Kunst der Sogden*, Leipzig 1980, fig. 6.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 111; A. Naymark, *Clothing vi. Of the Sogdians*, Encyclopaedia Iranica, Vol. V, Fasc. 7, Abingdon 2012, 754, pls. LXXXII/7, LXXXII/13.

⁴² Today at the Art Museum of University of Michigan, Reg. No. 1950/2.13, available at <http://tap.ummaintra.net/object/71020> (accessed on 02/03/2020).

⁴³ J. Thierry, N Thierry, *La cathédrale de Mren et sa décoration*, Cahiers Archéologiques, 21, 1971, 43–77, figs. 13, 17–19.

over the shoulders can also be found in later Armenian portraits, but not as a witness to the continuous *candys* fashion in that environment, but as a consequence of the contemporary clothing trends that were arriving from Persia. On the portrait of the donor of the *Gospel of Ignatios*, fol. 124v, from 1236,⁴⁴ the caftan lined with fur is modeled on contemporary Mongol-Persian fashion. The one represented on Prince Sahak Bagratuni on a miniature from the *History of Armenia* by Movsēs Xorenac'i, Matenadaran MS.2865, of 1567,⁴⁵ belonged not only to the Safavid court fashion but also to the Sassanian, which was contemporary to the prince's rule.

Unlike Armenia, the Georgian ruling and aristocratic costume adopted *candys* fashion as a more permanent sign of social status of both men and women equally. The oldest representation of a caftan draped over the shoulders, below the knees in length, and with overlong sleeves, can be found on the founders shown on the reliefs of the façade of the Jvari temple in Mtskheta from 586/7–605/6 (fig. 5).⁴⁶ Despite the Byzantine court titles with which they were endowed from Constantinople together with the accompanying titular robes, they were dressed in caftans draped over the shoulders according to the Persian court protocol. Portraits in T'beti from the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century,⁴⁷ in K'umurdo in Javaxeti from 964,⁴⁸ in Ošk'i from 1036,⁴⁹ in Kho-bi from the end of the 14th century,⁵⁰ and especially the large number of those represented between the 15th and 17th centuries on frescoes,⁵¹ miniatures,⁵²

⁴⁴ P. Donabédian, J. Thierry, *Armenian Art*, New York 1989, pl. 133.

⁴⁵ N. Stone, *Studies in Armenian Art: Collected Papers*, Leiden–Boston 2019, 193, 195, fig. 13.5.

⁴⁶ Ш. Я. Амиранашвили, *История грузинского искусства*, том I, Москва 1950, figs. 35–38. A photo of the relief available at https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/32/Bas-relief_of_Jvari_monastery_%281%29.jpg.

⁴⁷ Portrait of Eristav Ašo't II K'uhi – A. Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia*, University Park 1998, 9–17, figs. 2, 3.

⁴⁸ Portrait of the King Leon III of Abxazeti – *ibid.*, 34–38, fig. 25.

⁴⁹ Portrait of the King Bagrat' IV – *ibid.*, 41–42, fig. 26.

⁵⁰ Portrait of Dadani's father Giorgi II, mtavar of Samagrela – С. В. Свердлова, *Программа росписи придела Вамека Дадиани в Хоби*, Византийский временник, 72(97), 2013, 302–303, figs. 3, 5.

⁵¹ See numerous portraits in the churches in Gelati (St. Marine chapel from the 15th and 16th centuries), Tsalenjikha, Bugeuli, Nikortsmina, Martvili, Svetitskhoveli.

⁵² For example, portrait of Giorgi Zhutuli in a charter from 1460, or portrait of the wife of Eristav Vameq Shaburisdze on a document from 1494, available at <http://illuminateddocument.ge/en/album/index/1/georgian>, (accessed on 10/01/2020).



Figure 4. Sogdian groom, ceramic statue, China, 7th century, Art Museum, University of Michigan (photo © Art Museum, University of Michigan)

and metal reliefs⁵³ show that, as in Persia, Georgian caftans changed their cut and decorations following the political and cultural influences in the region. However, the custom of wearing them draped over the shoulders remained a millennial hallmark of the Georgian elite.

The same custom of covering shoulders with a caftan arrived across the Caucasus to Russia. It is depicted on visual sources from the end of the 14th century, since when it had become a permanent feature of the royal and boyar manner of attire.⁵⁴ The caftan, often lined with fur, is draped over the shoulders and

⁵³ For example, portrait of Mtavar Levan I Dadiani and his wife on the metal icon from Kortskheli – Амиранашвили, *История грузинского искусства*, Vol I, fig. 198.

⁵⁴ For examples see А. С. Преображенский, *Ктиторские портреты средневековой Руси, XI – начало XVI века*, Москва 2010, 150, 228, 229, 230, 232, 233, 314, 315, 317, 319–320, 321, 322, 385, 422, 436, 437, 440.



Figure 5. Demetre the Hypatos, eastern façade, Jvari Monastery, Mtskheta, Georgia, 586–605 (photo: Jaba1977, source: Wikipedia).

buttoned with one clasp on the chest. Its overlong sleeves fall freely from the shoulders. The collar is wide and covers the shoulders.

Local caftans wrapped over the shoulders are also found in Turkic cultures. Clay figures from the time of the Chinese Tang dynasty depict members of Turkic tribes in long caftans with lapels, draped over their shoulders.⁵⁵ On the Uighur donors in the Nestorian temple in Chotscho (Gaochang) near Turpan, from 683–770,⁵⁶ shown in the prayer position, typical Turkic caftans with lapels are represented again, also draped over the shoulders. The custom of wearing a local caftan over the shoulders on religious occasions seems to have existed in Seljuks and survived among the Ottomans, as evidenced by visual sources, especially as a dervish costume.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ S. Yatsenko, *Early Turks: Male Costume in the Chinese Art, Second Half of the 6th – First Half of the 8th cc. (Images of 'Others'), Transoxiana*, 14, 2009, figs. 21, 22, electronic version at http://www.transoxiana.org/14/yatsenko_turk_costume_chinese_art.html (accessed on 24/11/2019).

⁵⁶ A. von Le Coq, *Chotscho Facsimile: Wiedergaben der wichtigeren Funde der ersten königlich preussischen Expedition nach Turfan in Ost-Turkistan*, Berlin 1913, pl. 7a; Ghirshman, *Persian Art*, pl. 440.

⁵⁷ For example, a representation of an elderly man reciting prayers from an album made in Istanbul in 1618, today in the British Museum in London, No. 1974,0617,0.13.11, fol. 17v, or a dervish, fol. 36v,



Figure 6. St. George and a dragon, detail of the fresco, Staro Nagoričino, Northern Macedonia, 1316–1318 (photo: Tatjana Vuleta).

In the same way, St. George is depicted on a horse in the scene of *St. George and a dragon* in Staro Nagoričino (fig. 6),⁵⁸ erected as a patronage of the Serbian King Milutin, which testifies to the spread of the influence of oriental clothing on the Balkans in the early 14th century. St. George's caftan has a particular shoulder embroidered ornament, reminiscent of the contemporary Persian variant of the Sino-Mongolian *cloud-collars*, which reveals Ilkanid influences.⁵⁹ Such a custom of wearing a caftan draped over the shoulders could have come to medieval Byzantium and the Balkans through the influence of the Alans, who often made up the ranks of the mercenary armies. Saint George wearing such a caftan in Staro Nagoričino, could be interpreted as the oldest preserved representation of a hussar – a soldier of light cavalry equipped with a spear and a shield. The hussars originated in Byzantium, but the spread of such military detachments from the second half of the 15th century belongs to Hungary, Poland, Austria, and further Russia, France, England, and most of northern

available at <https://research.britishmuseum>. (accessed on 25/11/2019)

⁵⁸ Б. Тодић, *Старо Нагоричино*, Београд 1993, fig. 67.

⁵⁹ For *cloud-collars* from the time of the Mongol Empire and regional differences in their types see Вулета, *Лесновске облак-крагне*, 159. As the frescoes of Staro Nagoričino are the work of a Byzantine artist, the shape of the shoulder embroidery is adapted to contemporary Byzantine shoulder decorations, but the association with the *cloud-collar* is clear.

Europe.⁶⁰ The main feature of the Hussar uniform in Europe was a short jacket decorated with froggings – *çaprast*, which hung from the shoulders,⁶¹ an obvious combination of the Persian *candys* fashion and Turkish tailoring and decoration. The same jacket worn on one shoulder was the mark of the Ottoman navy and on both shoulders of the janissaries.⁶² The Hungarian name for the hussar jacket – *dolama* (or *dolman*),⁶³ reveals its Turkish origin. The Persian way of wearing such a garment is confirmed by Stanis Stanaw Niemojewski from Poland when describing the bearers of the imperial weapon at the 1606 coronation of the Russian Tsar False Dimitri, whom he says were dressed in Iranian or Hussar style.⁶⁴ The jacket of the same cut and decoration, hung over both shoulders, were worn in the Cetinska Krajina region⁶⁵ and on the Miljevci plateau, while worn over only one shoulder in Vrlika and Bukovica in Dalmatia,⁶⁶ until modern times. That indicates that the cult of hussars in the 15th century spread from Byzantium to Europe through the Balkans, as an intertwining of the Byzantine military concept and the Persian-Turkish appearance of the uniform.⁶⁷

A short jacket, already modernized in cut and decoration, draped over the shoulders, has remained in Vojvodina to modern days. It is worn by a peasant from Orlovat in the painting *Happy Brothers* by the Serbian artist Uroš Predić, from 1887.⁶⁸ Moreover, the Hungarian *menta*, a jacket that in the 16th century still had a basic Turkish cut, could be worn draped over the shoulders.⁶⁹ It was an obligatory part of the ceremonial attire of the Hungarian aristocrats until the beginning of the 20th century. The most famous is the one worn by Count Domokos Bethlen on his shoulders at the coronation of Queen Victoria of Eng-



Figure 7. *Veliki gunj*, Slavonia, late 19th century, Ethnographic Museum, Belgrade (photo © Ethnographic Museum, Belgrade)

land in 1838.⁷⁰ In the northern part of former Hungary, present-day Slovakia, *menta* was called *mentieka* and was also worn draped over the shoulders.⁷¹

Judging by visual sources, the ancient Median *candys*, itself changing the cut and decorations over time, did not experience the transmission of its form through different cultures but influenced the spread and adoption of a particular custom – wearing a caftan draped over the shoulders. In various cultures, local caftans worn in that way acquired different symbolic meanings. On an ivory pyxis from the 6th century, today in the British Museum,⁷² one of the admirers of St. Menas from Egypt is dressed in a richly decorated

⁶⁰ G. Chaduc, J. Childs, *Hussars*, A Dictionary of Military History and the Art of War, ed. A. Corvisier, J. Childs, Oxford 1994, 367–368.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 368; Z. Grbašić, V. Vukšić, *The History of Cavalry*, New York – Oxford 1989, 79–84, 88–90, 107, 113, 135, 152, 160, 171, 185, 205, 265; R. D. Pengel, G. R. Hurt, *Austro-Hungarian Hussars, Artillery and Support Troops 1740–1762*, Birmingham 1983; idem, *Prussian Hussar Regiments*, Birmingham 1983.

⁶² Tilke, *Costume Patterns and Designs*, pls. 16.22, 16.25.

⁶³ I. Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, Warszawa 1991, 24.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁶⁵ J. Бјеладиновић, *Народне ношње Срба у XIX и XX веку*, Београд 2011, 117, fig. 183.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 118, fig. 189, 119, fig. 192.

⁶⁷ The way of wearing a hussar jacket on the shoulders may also indicate that the first hussars in Byzantium were mercenaries from the Caucasus, possibly Alans.

⁶⁸ М. Јовановић, *Урош Предић*, Нови Сад 1998.

⁶⁹ Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe*, 23. About *menta* see further in the text.

⁷⁰ P. Cone, *The Imperial Style: Fashions from the Hapsburg Era*, New York 1980, 86, fig. 56.

⁷¹ Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe*, 59.

⁷² Reg. no. 1879,1220.1, available at https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=8882&partId=1. Also, Knauer, *A Quest for the Persian Riding-Coats*, 10.



Figure 8. Kublai Khan on the Hunt, details of the painting on silk, Liu Guandao, China, 1280, National Palace Museum, Taipei (photo © National Palace Museum, Taipei)

caftan with overlong sleeves whose appearance coincides with the caftans excavated in the necropolis of Antinoopolis from the 5th to the 7th century which were wrapped over the shoulders of the deceased as well.⁷³ With the spread of Persian conquest of the southeastern Mediterranean in the time of the Sassanids,⁷⁴ *candys* fashion was also widespread⁷⁵ so prominently that it served as a symbol of non-Christians in early medieval Christian art. On an ivory diptych from the Carrand collection in the Bargello Museum in Florence,⁷⁶ the pagan inhabitants of Malta (fig. 1a) are clad in caftans with overlong sleeves, made of richly-patterned fabrics, which are used as a clear contrast to the solid-color draped costume of St. Paul who heals them. The caftans hung over shoulders served as a symbol of national and religious diversity in Cyprus as well. In the scene *The Birth of Christ* from the Church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati near Platanistasa from 1494, the last of the three kings from the East (Velia) is wearing a brown caftan with empty sleeves hanging from his shoulders.⁷⁷

⁷³ Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe*, 7–8.

⁷⁴ W. Vogelsang, *The Sassanians and Egypt: A Short Introduction*, Riding Costume in Egypt: Origin and Appearance, ed. C. Fluck, G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, Leiden–Boston 2004, 29–36.

⁷⁵ Knauer, *A Quest for the Persian Riding-Coats*, 12–13.

⁷⁶ B. Küllerich, *Diptych: Carrand Two Ivory Relief Panels (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello)*, The Eerdmans Encyclopedia of Early Christian Art and Archaeology, Vol. I, ed. P. Corby Finney, Grand Rapids 2017, 427. Unfortunately, the time (the 4th, 5th, or 6th century) and the place (Byzantium or Rome) of the diptych production is unknown.

⁷⁷ A. Stylianou, J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of*

A local caftan draped over the shoulders with hanging non-functional sleeves is found in many peoples, starting with the Turkic ones, worn as a shepherd's upper garment. That points to the ancient roots of such a custom in the nomadic cultures of the Eurasian steppes and Central Asia, which, possibly, precede the Media. Among the most interesting is the woolen shepherd's caftan with elongated and narrowed sleeves, which, having lost their primary function, are closed at the ends and hung from the shoulders of the Kashka shepherds (a Turkic tribe) from southwestern Iran.⁷⁸ The same way of wearing shepherds' coats is found among the Slavic peoples, possibly received under the influence of the Avars.⁷⁹ In Eastern Europe, the Hungarian *szür* stands out by the beauty of its decorations and embroidery.⁸⁰ The same shepherd's coat, present in Srem, is called *sardum* or *surdum*, in Banat known as a *kabanica* or *gunjac* and in Slavonia and Baranja under the names *kabanica*, *veliki gunj* (fig. 7), and *čoha*.⁸¹ In Serbian terms, there is an intertwining with Old Slavic *gunj* and Turkish *kapaniçe*,⁸² which most directly indicates the similar-

Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art, Nicosia 1997, 190–191, fig. 107.

⁷⁸ P. Rieff Anawalt, *The Worldwide History of Dress*, London 2007, 74, pl. 106.

⁷⁹ For the examples in Slovakia and Moravia see M. Tilke, *Trachten und Kostüme aus Europa, Afrika und Asien in Form, Schnitt und Farbe*, Würzburg 1978, 56, 57.

⁸⁰ V. Gervers, *The Hungarian Szür: An Archaic Mantle of Eurasian Origin*, Ontario 1973; Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe*, 15–16.

⁸¹ Бјеладновић, *Народне ношње Срба*, 84, figs. 93, 114, 123, 126, 128.

⁸² For *kapaniçe* see H. Tezcan, *Furs and Skins Owned*

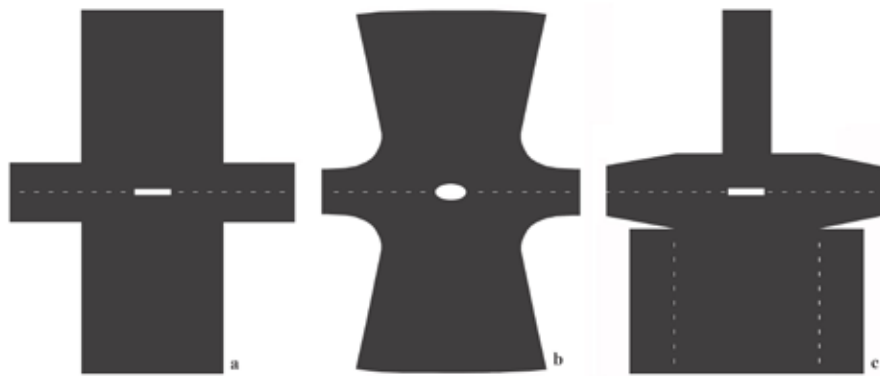


Figure 9. Three different types of basic cut developed by Olga Orfinskaya (drawing: Tatjana Vuleta)

ity of such garments. That is evidenced in southern Serbia by the cut of a shepherd's *kabanica* worn on the shoulders, whose sleeves are also closed to be used for carrying food and various small items.⁸³

The portrait of Panos Arseniou from the Church of the Holy Apostles in Molzvoskepastos⁸⁴ testifies that wealthy merchants in Epirus in the middle of the 17th century wore fur coats of the Turkish *kapaniçe* type also draped over their shoulders.

An unusual version of a hanging caftan may be found in Asia in female clothing. Instead of having them draped over the shoulders, women wear caftans slung over their heads. The first written evidence of such a custom can be found in the description of an unknown Venetian merchant from the reign of Uzun Hasan (1423–1478), who states that all Persian women, especially those from Tauris, wear men's robes over their heads, completely covering themselves.⁸⁵

Among Teke women in Turkmenistan, such a cloak called a *chyrpy* was worn until modern times.⁸⁶ Its extremely narrow sleeves, which have long since lost their original function, are joined at the hem and fixed on the back. The same robe, a longer one called a *paranja* and a shorter one, a *jelak*, also covered women in Uzbekistan,⁸⁷ and under the name *jegde* in Karakalpakstan.⁸⁸ A similar *jangob* with wider,

loose sleeves, worn in the same way on the head, was the designation of ladies from aristocratic circles of Korea during the reign of the Joseon dynasty (1392–1897).⁸⁹

2. Garments with Slits for Pulling Arms Out

The second group of garments with hanging sleeves consists of clothes that were pulled over the body while the sleeves stayed empty, unpulled, or partially pulled over the arms, hanging from the shoulders or arms. The reasons for the appearance of such garments in different cultures were always conditioned by the restricted functionality of the cut of the sleeves themselves – their restraining width and/or length.

In the harsh climate of the Eurasian steppes and Central Asia, caftans had to have narrow, tight sleeves longer than the arms for additional warming of the arms and hands.⁹⁰ In nomadic cultures, especially when using weapons on horseback, such tight, often overly long sleeves were given slits through which the arms were pulled out and released as needed. The way of using such garments can be found in the painting *Kublai Khan on the Hunt*, by Liu Guandao from 1280,⁹¹ in which the participants of the hunt

by the Sultans, Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity, ed. S. Faroqhi, C. K. Neumann, İstanbul 2004, 73.

⁸³ Бјеладиновић, *Народне ношње Срба*, fig. 35.

⁸⁴ E. Moutafov, I. Toth, *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art: Crossing Borders, Exploring Boundaries*, Art Readings, Vol. I–II, ed. E. Moutafov, I. Toth, Sofia 2018, 19, fig. 3.

⁸⁵ *The Travels of a Merchant in Persia, A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the 15th and 16th Century*, ed. C. Grey, London 1873, 172.

⁸⁶ M. Tilke, *Oriental Costumes, their Designs and Colors*, New York 1922, 30, pls. 116, 117; Rieff Anawalt, *The Worldwide History of Dress*, 147–148, pls. 239, 241, 242; S. Meller, *Silk and Cotton: Textile from Central Asia that Was*, New York 2013, 49, fig.5.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 83–89.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 90–91. For all mentioned female caftans also see

Ó. A. Сухарева, *Опыт анализа покроев традиционной „туникообразной“ среднеазиатской одежды в плане их истории и эволюции*, Костюм народов Средней Азии, ур. Ó. А. Сухарева, Москва 1979, 93–95, fig. 3:4–8.

⁸⁹ Rieff Anawalt, *The Worldwide History of Dress*, 183, 184, pls. 296, 297.

⁹⁰ For the same custom in the Pazyryk culture see N. V. Polosmak, *Purple and Gold over Thousands of Years*, Science first hand, 4, 30 Jan 2005, 39; for the same in the Mongol costume see Cho Woohyun, Yi Jaeyoon, Kim Jinyoung, *The Dress of the Mongol Empire: Genealogy and Diaspora of the Terlig*, Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica, 68(3), 2015, 270.

⁹¹ Available at <https://www.npm.gov.tw/english/exhibition/e-ase1010/e02.htm>.

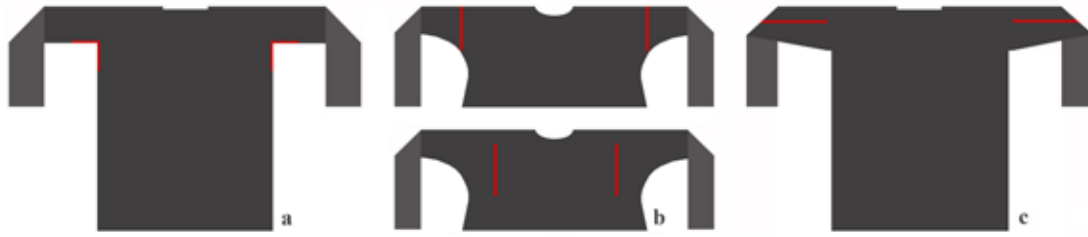


Figure 10. Positions of the arm slits (drawing: Tatjana Vuleta)

wear typical Mongol caftans, and the khan, a fur coat with overlong sleeves, pulled onto the hands due to winter. However, the left hand of the archer with the bow and arrow pointed at the birds is pulled out through the slit on the sleeve of his caftan, in order to better maneuver the weapon (fig. 8).

The need to free hands from the restraining sleeves when performing some demanding physical work can be found in the everyday life of sedentary peoples as well.⁹² Thus, the miniatures of *Ashburnham Pentateuch* (*Codex Turonensis*), created at the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century, show reapers (fol. 40r)⁹³ and masons (fol. 56r, 58r)⁹⁴ with their arms pulled out from their sleeves through the axillary openings of their tunics. The same urge for practicality is noticeable in the illustration of Al-Jazari's machine for pouring water from the Syrian copy of the *Automata* from 1315.⁹⁵ The arms of the maid who controls the mechanism are pulled out through the slits in her caftan with overlong, obviously restraining sleeves that fall empty along the body.

Empty, often overlong sleeves, swinging freely from the shoulders, were inconvenient for working, especially when using weapons, so they were tucked into a belt, buttoned or tied. The means of their fastening also differed in different cultures. In the Mediterranean, during late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, the sleeves of tunics were tied at the back to

each other, like those from the aforementioned miniatures of *Ashburnham Pentateuch*. In the late Middle Ages, the Russians did the same to the overlong sleeves of their caftans.⁹⁶ The ends of the sleeves could also be tied with ribbons or fastened with buttons on the back of the robe, which was typical of Turkic and Mongol caftans (fig. 1b),⁹⁷ or tucked into a belt in Byzantium and its circle of influence – Bulgaria, Serbia (fig. 21) and Albania. In Byzantium in the 14th century, the tucking of the sleeves of court gowns into the belt acquired a protocol character, which marked the official status and court service.⁹⁸ The same custom of tucking sleeves into the belt, but less often, existed for the later Ottoman court caftans,⁹⁹ which must have represented the Byzantine heritage. Nevertheless, in the Turkish costume, it was more common to button up the hanging sleeves, especially the *çepken*, at the back, one after the other.¹⁰⁰

The hanging sleeves from the second group of garments belong to both coats and dresses. The main difference between such robes is their overall

⁹⁶ Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe*, 96–97.

⁹⁷ Вулета, *Страни елементи у одежди каранских ктиторa, I деo*, 228, fig. 5.

⁹⁸ Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux, Paris 1966, 218–219. Wearing the same type of dress, court officials tacked their sleeves into the belt, in which case it was called *lapatzas*, while only the emperor was entitled to loose sleeves in which case this dress was called *granatza*.

⁹⁹ For example, the *caftan* of a janissary from Abraham De Bruyn's costume book, *Diversarlum Gentium Armatura Equestri*, из 1575, available at https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c5/Luitenant_en_hoofdman_van_de_Janitsaren_Ruiterserie_%28serietitel%29%2C_NG-2011-83-16.jpg (accessed on 14.02.2020), or the caftans of Turkish court dignitaries and ladies from an album made in Istanbul in 1618, today in the British Museum in London, No. 1974,0617,0.13.11, fol. 11v, or from the German edition of Nicolas de Nicolay's book with color illustrations – Nicolas de Nicolay, *Der Erst Theyl. Von der Schiffart und Razß in die Túrkey unnd gegen Oriennt. Mit schönen Figuren Wie beede Man vnnd Weib irer Landtsart nach beklezdet seyen*, Nunberg 1572.

¹⁰⁰ Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, 222.

⁹² For a peasant girl represented on a mosaic from Madaba in Jordan of the 6th century see Knauer, *A Quest for the Persian Riding-Coats*, 15.

⁹³ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2334, available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53019392c/f89.item> (accessed on 03/12/2019). Unfortunately, the origin of this manuscript has not been determined – assumptions range from Spain, North Africa, Syria to Italy.

⁹⁴ Available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53019392c/f121.item> and <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53019392c/f125.item> (accessed on 03/12/2019).

⁹⁵ Al-Jazari, *Kitab fi ma'arif al-hiyal al-handasiya*, Siria 1315, a sheet torn from the manuscript, today at the Museum of Asian Art in Washington, no. F1930.75, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Al-Jazari_-_The_Basin.jpg (accessed on 03/12/2019).



Figure 11. Khevsur tunic, Georgia, beginning of the 20th century (drawing: Max Tilke)

cut. By examining the cut of preserved examples of clothes with hanging sleeves from this stylistic group, we concluded that there are significant differences between them, which fit into the modern scientific theories about the history and development of tailoring.¹⁰¹ In that perspective, by applying the methods developed by the Russian researcher Olga Orfinskaya, it was possible to divide further this type of garments with hanging sleeves into three primary pattern groups: garments that were developed from the tunic-cut (fig. 9a),¹⁰² those formed from the felt-cut (fig. 9b),¹⁰³ and finally those that came from the animal-skin-cut (fig. 9c).¹⁰⁴

The differences in the overall cut of these garments determine the location of the slits for passing the arms through, by which it is possible to distinguish three subtypes (fig. 10).¹⁰⁵

2.1. Garments with slits under the armpits (fig. 10a).

2.2. Garments with slits in the seam of the sleeve cap or on the shoulder area of the front (fig. 10b).

2.3. Garments with slits on the sleeves (fig. 10c).

¹⁰¹ For the most recent theories on classification of the cut see О. В. Орфинская, *Три источника, или к вопросу о классификации кроя одежды*, Женская традициональная культура и костюм в эпоху средневековья и в новое время: Материалы международного научно-образовательного семинара (9–10 ноября 2012 г), ур. Ю. В. Степанова, Н. В. Жилина, Тверь 2012, 76–91.

¹⁰² For this type of cut in general see *ibid.*, 85–91.

¹⁰³ For this type of cut in general see *ibid.*, 80–85.

¹⁰⁴ For this type of cut in general see *ibid.*, 77–80.

¹⁰⁵ Compare with Хрипунов, *Одежда с откидывающимися рукавами*, 86.

Connecting the conditionality of the arm slits' position with the overall cut of the garment, enabled us to reverse the process – to determine the type of the overall cut when only the position of the arm openings is known. That, of course, works only for the garments from the 2.1 and 2.2 groups. That is extremely important for determining which type of cut belongs to robes shown in visual sources where the artists ignored presenting the details of the tailoring.

Furthermore, such an approach has opened up the possibility of linking robes from different, temporally and geographically distant cultures into “family trees” that reveal or confirm the ways of their exchange and spread (Tabs. 2–5).

2.1. Garments with Slits under the Armpits

The oldest testimonies about that type of garment with hanging sleeves also reach ancient Media. Pseudo-Kodinos, in the *Offices*, mentioning a garment with slits under the armpits, the Byzantine court *epilorikon* (Gk. *ἐπιλώρικον*),¹⁰⁶ connects its origin to the Media.¹⁰⁷ Under the influence of the Medes, such a garment was also accepted in Persia, from where, through Armenia, it spread in the Caucasus and Byzantium as part of the riding/military equipment.

Byzantine written sources mention the *epilorikon* first as a covering and protective military garment worn over armor and intended for *cataphracts* – horsemen with spears or maces.¹⁰⁸ In the middle of

¹⁰⁶ M. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, Leiden–Boston 2003, 118–119, 345. Also, under *ἐπιλώρικον*, see <http://typika.cfeb.org/index/artefact/576> (accessed on 18/12/2019).

¹⁰⁷ Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 205–206.

¹⁰⁸ *Leonis imperatoris Tactica*, Vol. I, ed. R. Vári, Budapest 1917, 91, 102, 119; *Sylloge Tacticorum, que olim “Inedita Leonis Tactica” dicebatur*, ed. A. Dain, Paris 1938, 39; *Le traité sur la guerilla (“De Velitatione”) de l’empereur Nicéphore Phocas*, ed. G. Dagron, H. Mihăescu, Paris 1986, 53, 164; Nikephoros II Phokas, *Praecepta Militaria*, Sowing the Dragon’s Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century, ed. E. McGreer, Washington 1995, 34; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, ed. J. F. Haldon, Vienna 1990, 142, 148. For a complete list of preserved written sources that mention *epilorikon*, see P. Ł. Grotowski, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints. Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)*, Leiden–Boston 2010, 177–179.

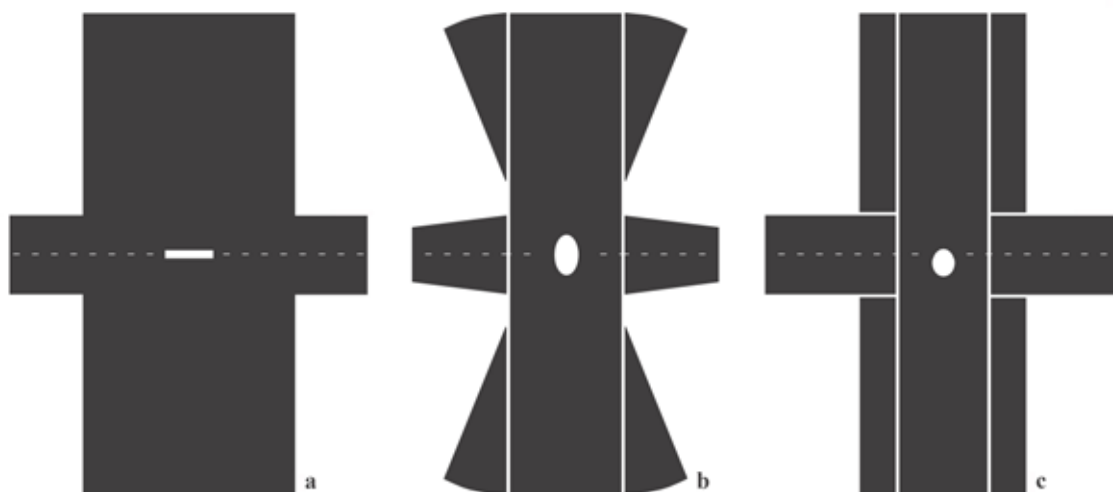


Figure 12. Development of the tunic-cut (drawing: Tatjana Vuleta)

the 10th century, it was mentioned as part of the navy equipment,¹⁰⁹ but also as a triumphal costume of the Byzantine emperors.¹¹⁰ Thus, during the triumphal entry into Constantinople, Emperor Basil I wore an *epilorikon* woven with gold and embroidered with pearls. The *Offices* mentions the use of *epilorikon* as a military robe in the 14th century as well, which testifies to the centuries-long continuity of its use in Byzantium. As the uniform of the emperor's guard, it was made of gold-woven silk.¹¹¹

Civil *epilorikon*, as well as all garments with hanging sleeves from the second group, worn in the region of Asia Minor, the Middle East, the Caucasus, and Byzantium, came into vogue under the influence of riding/military *epilorikon*.¹¹² The first known mention of *epilorikon* as a civil robe in Byzantium is from the will of Kale Pakouriane of 1098.¹¹³ She intended two *epilorikons* of different details and styles for her nephew and one freed slave. The first was red with decorative crosses.¹¹⁴ The second, which is clearly defined by the adjective “Antiochian” (ἀντιοχίτικον)¹¹⁵ and, given the year of the will, most likely indicates

the Middle Eastern or Persian style. At the end of the XI century, Antioch was known for producing imitations of Iraqi and Persian clothing.¹¹⁶

Unfortunately, the mentioned written sources do not give information on whether the *epilorikon* was a type of tunic or coat. Therefore, at this moment, it is not possible to determine which pattern type of garment with slits under the armpits it belonged to.

The opening of the slits for releasing the arms just under the armpits was directly conditioned by the cut of such robes. It depended on the original type of material from which the clothes were made, shaped by the need to use that material as economically as possible.¹¹⁷ Depending on the cut, garments with openings under the armpits can be divided into two groups:

Garments with openings under the armpits whose cut was created on the basic pattern of a tunic sewn from woven textile (fig. 9a).

Garments with openings under the armpits whose cut was created on the pattern that originates from animal skin (fig. 9c).

The first group includes garments made on the basic cut of the tunic, conditioned by the production of woven materials. As the original form of tunics worn in the Mediterranean was obtained in one piece

¹⁰⁹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions, The Book of Ceremonies*, Vol. II, ed. A. Moffatt, M. Tall, Canberra 2012, 670.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 444–508.

¹¹¹ Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 273.

¹¹² Compare: O. B. Орфинская, *История кроя. Версия появления отрезного рукава*, The Fourth International Conference on History and Political Sciences. Proceedings of the Conference (November 9, 2014), ed. K. Orzechowska, Vienna 2014, 7–8.

¹¹³ *Actes d'Iviron*, Archives de l'Athos, Vol.16: Du milieu du XIe siècle à 1204, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, D. Papachryssanthou, Paris, 1990, No. 47.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, No.47:28.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, No.47:36-37.

¹¹⁶ D. Jacoby, *Silk Crosses the Mediterranean*, Le vie del Mediterraneo. Idee, uomini, oggetti (secoli XI–XVI), ed. G. Airdi, Genoa 1997, 63–64; M. G. Parani, *Intercultural Exchange in the Field of Material Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Evidence of Byzantine Legal Documents (11th to 15th Centuries)*, Diplomats in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication, ed. A. D. Beihammer, M. G. Parani, C. D. Schabel, Leiden–Boston 2008, 360–361.

¹¹⁷ Орфинская, *Три источника*, 76–77.



Figure 13. Armenian princes, detail of the miniature, *Gospel of Queen Keran*, Jerusalem no. 2563, fol. 380r, 1272 (photo: Claude Mutafian, source: Wikipedia)

shaped directly in the weaving process (fig. 9a), they had only one seam on each side that connected the front and back halves from the hem to the end of the sleeves.¹¹⁸ Holes for pulling the hands out could be left only in those seams, in part under the armpits (fig. 10a). Examples can be seen in the early medieval mosaics in Italy and Jordan from the 5th century¹¹⁹ and the already mentioned miniatures of *Ashburnham Pentateuch* from the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century.¹²⁰ Archaeological finds from children's tombs in Egypt from the early Byzantine period testify that children tunics also had slits under the armpits, leaving freedom of movement when playing.¹²¹ Khevsur (Georgia) male woolen tunics,¹²² worn until modern times, have the same opening un-

der the armpits as the ancient ones (fig. 11), which confirms that this kind of fashion was widespread in the Caucasus as well.

During the Middle Ages, the pattern of such dresses had been developed from the original cut of ancient tunics (fig. 12a) into a more complex form (figs. 12b, 12c). The change occurred due to the transition from vertical to horizontal loom, which significantly narrowed the width of the fabrics. The reduced width of the fabrics caused the basic pattern to be divided into smaller pieces.¹²³ Another reason for the new, more complex cut of dresses from the 11th century, was the need for them to fit better to the upper part of the body. The changes had developed in two parallel directions.

The first change went toward separating the sleeves from the body of the dress, narrowing the body, and adding triangular gussets, which formed a bell shape, giving the dress the necessary width for walking and riding (fig. 12b). That type of cut was developed and mainly used in Europe from the 10th century.¹²⁴ The openings under the armpits remained in the same position as on the basic tunic-cut (fig. 10a).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 85–86, fig. 6; C. Fluck, *Dress Styles from Syria to Libya, Byzantium and Islam: The Age of Transition 7th–9th Century*, ed. H. C. Evans, B. Ratliff, New York 2012, 160, fig. 69. For the preserved tunics from the Dumbarton Oaks textile collection, acc. nums. BZ.1933.44, BZ.1953.2.1, BZ.1953.2.2, BZ.2017.011 see online catalog available at <https://www.doaks.org/resources/textiles/catalogue>.

¹¹⁹ Knauer, *A Quest for the Persian Riding-Coats*, 11, figs. 8, 9.

¹²⁰ *Ashburnham Pentateuch*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2334, fols. 40, 56, 58. For more on openings under the armpits on ancient and medieval tunics with additional examples see Knauer, *A Quest for the Persian Riding-Coats*, 13–16.

¹²¹ A. Karagianni, *Children in Byzantium: written sources and archaeological findings*, Βυζαντινός δομος, 27, 2019, 282.

¹²² Tilke, *Trachten und Kostüme aus Europa, Afrika und Asien*, 89, pl. 1.

¹²³ Орфинская, *Три источника*, 77–80.

¹²⁴ For more on that type of the cut see K. Kania, *Kleidung im Mittelalter: Materialien – Konstruktion – Nähtechnik*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2010, 257–303.

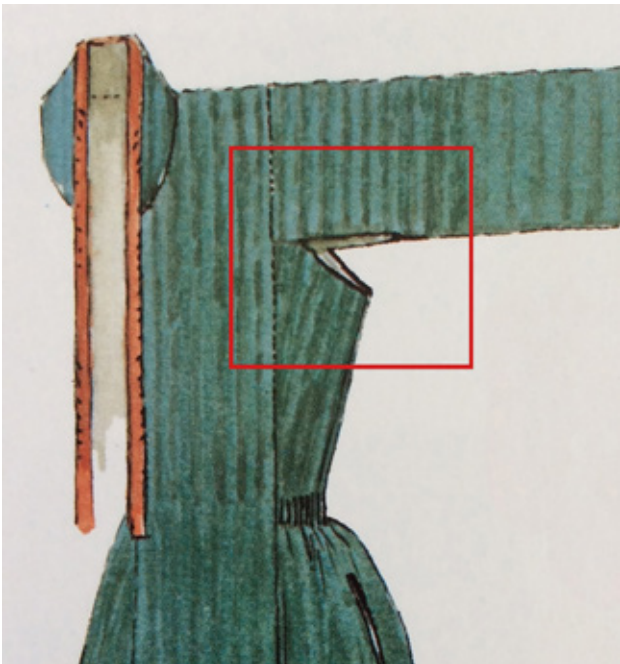


Figure 14. *Beshmet, Caucasus, beginning of the 20th century (drawing: Max Tilke)*

Garments with openings under the armpits from this group can be found in an Armenian male costume in Cilicia from the 13th century (fig. 13).¹²⁵ These are long dresses with a front central slit that climbs from the hem to the groin, similar to Western *surcote*. Three-quarters length sleeves, worn empty, fall from the shoulders, and the arms are pulled through openings made in the side seam under the armpits. The English King Richard I is represented in the same garment, only knee-length, in a miniature from the *Liber ad Honorem Augusti* by Peter of Eboli, BBB Cod. 120.II, fol. 129r, from 1194–1196.¹²⁶ It is also the earliest preserved representation of a garment with hanging sleeves related to Europe, which indicates the Middle and Near Eastern influences on the emergence of such fashion in the West.

¹²⁵ For example, portraits of King Levon III's sons in the *Gospel of Queen Keran*, Jerusalem no. 2563, fol. 380r, of 1272 – S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, Vol. 2, Washington 1993, fig. 641, Marshal Oshin's sons, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 1111 – *ibid.*, fig. 646, Prince Vasak's sons, Jerusalem no. 2568, fol. 320 – *ibid.*, fig. 647, and a prince in a miniature from Matenadaran, MS 979, fol. 7 – I. Rapti, *Featuring the King: Rituals of Coronation and Burial in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia*, Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean, ed. A. Beihammer, S. Constantinou, M. Parani, Leiden–Boston 2013, 335, fig. 11.11.

¹²⁶ Today in the Berne Municipal Library, available at <http://web.archive.org/web/20050120194356/http://www.renfroana.150m.com/history/liberadhonoremaugusti/129r.jpg> (accessed on 26/01/2020).



Figure 15. *Wife of Voivode Radivoi, detail of the fresco, Kremikovtzi Monastery, Bulgaria, 1493 (photo: Gordana Kelić)*

These two examples represent an excellent case of cultural exchange. The cut of these dresses belonged to European fashion, brought to the Near East by crusaders. Still, the custom of opening armholes under the armpits and wearing empty sleeves was Armenian and Middle and Near Eastern, borrowed by the crusaders and brought to Europe.

The second direction of changes in the basic tunic-cut belongs to the Asian way of tailoring. It also went toward separating the sleeves from the body of the dress and narrowing the body. But in this case, the body of the gown is cut from several panels – the central one to which the sleeves are attached and the side ones, the width of which determines the final width of the gown (fig. 12c). With such a tailoring solution, the openings under the armpits are created by not attaching the sleeves to the side panels (fig. 14).

That type of cut shaped a large number of garments worn in the Caucasus – Azerbaijan, Armenia, Dagestan, Tatarstan, and Georgia, but also in Persia, Central Asia, and India since the 11th century.¹²⁷ It is a pattern that characterizes not only dresses but also coats and jackets worn in those communities until modern times. The same type of openings has Albanian male jackets worn among Christians in the Scu-

¹²⁷ Tilke, *Costume Patterns and Designs*, pls. 68, 74, 75, 85.

tari area,¹²⁸ reflecting pre-Ottoman influences in the Balkans that were coming from the Caucasus.

The next phase in the development of this cut is the complete vertical opening of the sleeves. Also, the upper free ends of the side panels are rounded and deepened in the armpit (fig. 18a). In Azerbaijan, such short female jackets are named after the open sleeves – *çepken*.¹²⁹ In Persia, the open sleeves of the same type of jacket have buttons and loops that could be closed at the elbow.¹³⁰ The same type of open sleeves was worn in Bulgaria at the end of the 15th century, as an example of the Turkish influence on clothing already spread in the Balkans (fig. 15). The wife of Voivode Radivoi, represented on the donor's composition in the Kremikovtzi Monastery in 1493,¹³¹ wears an upper red dress made of costly Turkish *kadife*, whose sleeves are open along their entire length and buttoned at the wrist, which reveals the soft white sleeves of the lower dress (fig. 15).

The second group of garments with a slit under the armpit includes those whose cut was conditioned by the shape of the animal skin (fig. 9c). The cut of this type of gown was composed of two seams that connected the front with the back, moved from the sides further to the back, and seams that connected the front and back of the sleeves.¹³² The openings for the arms were left in the axillary part of these seams so that they flow obliquely from the sleeves and briefly along the back (fig. 16).

The most famous example of such a tailoring solution is a caftan found in one of the tombs of Antinoopolis in Egypt, made some time between 443 and 637 (fig. 16).¹³³ The appearance of such coats in Antinoopolis is interpreted as a Persian influence

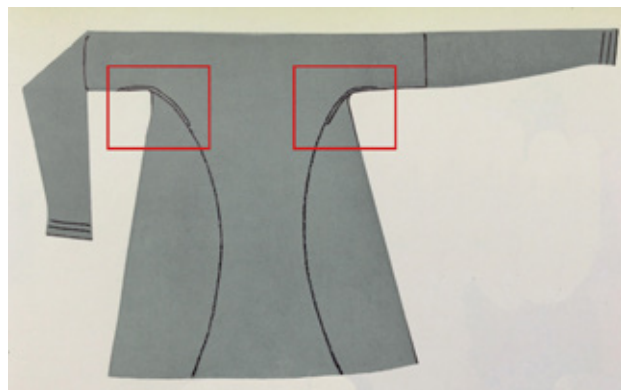


Figure 16. Back side of the riding coat from Antinoopolis, Egypt, 443–637, after Max Tilke (drawing: Tatjana Vuleta)

that came to Egypt during the Sassanid conquests.¹³⁴ The same solution was applied to the Khevsur female *cherkeska* called *koklo*, worn in Georgia until modern times.¹³⁵ The back of the *koklo* has a large bell-shaped width gathered in folds at the waistline.

A developed version of the same cut can be found on a Polish *kontusz* worn from the middle of the 16th century.¹³⁶ The cut of the front became complex during time, with added darts, and the sleeve has a fully developed cap. The opening for pulling the arms out is left, therefore, on the upper part of the inner seam of the sleeves, from the armpits to the elbows.¹³⁷ The sleeves were often turned over and shifted to the back, revealing a silk or fur lining. Judging by the pattern, the Polish *kontusz* is a relative of the riding coat from Antinoopolis, worn a thousand years later.

The pattern connection that bridges the caftan from Antinoopolis and the Polish *kontusz* may be found in the Turkish long male garment *dolama* with open *çepken* sleeves.¹³⁸ In the lithograph of Giovanni

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 61.3.

¹²⁹ A. Rustambayova, *Kinds of Upper Body Clothing of Azerbaijani Women in 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, IRS, 1 (24), spring 2016, 33, 35.

¹³⁰ Scarce, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East*, pl. 116.

¹³¹ К. Паскалева, *Църквата „Св. Георги“ в Кремиковския манастир*, София 1980; К. Хаджиев, *Още веднъж за датировката на Кремиковския надпис*, Археология, 1–2, 2000, 66–70.

¹³² О. В. Орфинская, *Анализ кроя мужских кафтанов и женских платьев алан Северного Кавказа*, Поволжская археология, 2(20), 2017, 174, fig. 1.

¹³³ Today in the Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin, SMB inv. no. 9695; for a detailed description see Knauer, *A Quest for the Persian Riding-Coats*, 10–22, fig. 1. For the cut of that caftan see Орфинская, *Анализ кроя мужских кафтанов*, 174, fig. 1b; K. Colburn, *Materials and Techniques of Late Antique and Early Islamic Textiles Found in Egypt*, Byzantium and Islam: The Age of Transition 7th–9th Century, ed. H. C. Evans, B. Ratliff, New York 2012, 161, cat. no. 114.

¹³⁴ The composition and weaving technique of the green caftan fabric in question, made of wool and cashmere, indicate that it was imported from Persia – N. A. Hoskins, *A Green Riding Coat Fragment in the Henry Art Gallery, Seattle*, *Riding Costume in Egypt: Origin and Appearance*, ed. C. Fluck, G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2004, 129–136, especially 133–134.

¹³⁵ M. Tilke, *National Costumes of Caucasian People*, Tbilisi 2007, 26, 106, fig. 10.

¹³⁶ Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe*, 74–79.

¹³⁷ The cut is available at https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/files/70_toiowo-pic-wy kroje-kontusz_z_zielonej_tafty.jpg, (accessed on 06/02/2020).

¹³⁸ Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, 172; Jean (Giovanni) Brindesi, *Osmanli Kiyafetleri*, ed. H. Ahmet Arslantürk, M. Mert Sunar, İstanbul 2013, 24–29, 40–41; A. Jasienski, *A Savage Magnificence: Ottomanizing Fashion and the Politics of Display in Early Modern East-Central Europe*, Muqarnas, 31, 2014, 173–205.



Figure 17. Albanian female garment of the *anteriya* type, 1900–1909, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (photo © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Brindesi,¹³⁹ such a long coat is worn by the major of the newly-formed army of Sultan Mahmud II, whose uniforms were inspired by the uniforms of the army of Sultan Selim III from the end of the 18th century. The same coat is worn by a janissary in Bellini's drawing from the end of the 15th century, so it is possible to conclude that such caftans were part of the Ottoman military equipment from where, in the Balkans, they passed into civilian use in both female and male clothing. The same pattern solution is found on the goat fur coats worn in the Athens region of Greece until modern times.¹⁴⁰

The *dolama* also had the same cut as the female *anteriya* (from Turkish *anteri*, although it is not the same type of dress) worn in the Balkans. The difference in the way of cutting the male *dolama* and the female *anteriya* was in the fall of the fabric when cutting the front. For the *dolama*, the edges of the

front opening followed the straight line of the weave, forming a vertical front opening. For the *anteriya*, the front had a bias cut, which gave the garment a bell shape. Consequently, the front opening was oblique, overlapping from the waist down. With the bias cut, the tight front side got the elasticity needed for a better and more comfortable fit around female breasts. Extraordinary examples of the Albanian long female robes of the same cut with *çepken* sleeves from the 19th century are in the Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna,¹⁴¹ and the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York (fig. 17). In Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was called *anterija čepkenlija* and was worn until modern times.¹⁴² The dress of the same cut was

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pls. 24–25.

¹⁴⁰ Tilke, *Trachten und Kostüme aus Europa, Afrika und Asien*, 7, pl. 2.2.

¹⁴¹ Available at http://www.museumwnf.org/thematicgallery/thg_galleries/database_item.php?id=clothing_and_costume&itemId=objects;EPM;at;Mus21;50;en (accessed on 06/02/2020).

¹⁴² С. Бугарчић, И. Терзић, *Народне ношње Срба*, Београд 2006.

part of the female court attire in Wallachia and Moldavia during Turkish time (fig. 19).¹⁴³

Thus, the coat from Antinoopolis, the Georgian *koklo*, the Turkish military *dolama*, the Greek goat fur coat, the Balkan *anteriya*, and the Polish *kontusz* belong to the same pattern “family tree”. All of them owe the basis of their cut to the hunting cultures of prehistoric times. The same pattern type of these garments confirms the moving path of such a cut from Turkey, through Greece and the Balkans, to Eastern Europe, which covered the time period from the 14th to the 16th century.

In this group, it is possible to follow the further development of *çepken* sleeves. The already mentioned Azerbaijani female jacket *çepken* has sleeves that are attached to the body along the entire length of the cap but are, at the same time, completely open along their full length (fig. 18a).¹⁴⁴ In Turkish costume, the same type of *çepken* adorned long male *dolama* and short *mintene*,¹⁴⁵ as well as the Albanian, Serbian, and Romanian long female coats of the *anteriya* type mentioned above.¹⁴⁶ The sleeves had buttons and loops and could be buttoned at the elbow, the wrist, or one along with the other on the back. However, the *çepken* of these garments were not always attached to the front of the robe, but only to the back (fig. 18b).

A particular type of that kind of the *çepken* sleeves on caftans was worn in Wallachia and Moldavia (figs. 18c, 19). The fully open sleeves were overly long, reaching ankles and buttoned with buttons or rows of froggings at elbow height and the lower edge. Sometimes, the sleeves were entirely closed from the elbow down, creating a tubular shape that fell from the elbow to ankles.¹⁴⁷ The upper, open part of the sleeve cap protruded behind the arm in the form of a triangular wing. The appearance of such sleeves is best seen on the caftan of Maria de Mangop, on the embroidered grave cover with her posthumous portrait from the Putna Monastery, created around 1476 (fig. 19).¹⁴⁸ The same just shorter sleeves are found on the jackets worn in the area of Mirdita in Alba-

¹⁴³ For more examples see C. Langa, *Interwoven Boundaries: Various Stylistic Influences in Romanian Court Costume*, *The Journal of Dress History*, 2(1), Spring 2018, figs. 4, 10–12, 15, 21.

¹⁴⁴ Rustambayova, *Kinds of Upper Body Clothing*, 33, 35.

¹⁴⁵ Jean (Giovanni) Brindesi, *Osmanli Kiyafetleri*, pls. 6–8, 14, 17, 24–25.

¹⁴⁶ Available at http://www.museumwnf.org/thematicgallery/thg_galleries/database_item.php?id=clothing_and_costume&itemId=objects;EPM;at;Mus21;50;en (accessed on 06/02/2020).

¹⁴⁷ See the representations of donors in Langa, *Interwoven Boundaries*, figs. 4, 10–12, 15, 21.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.21.

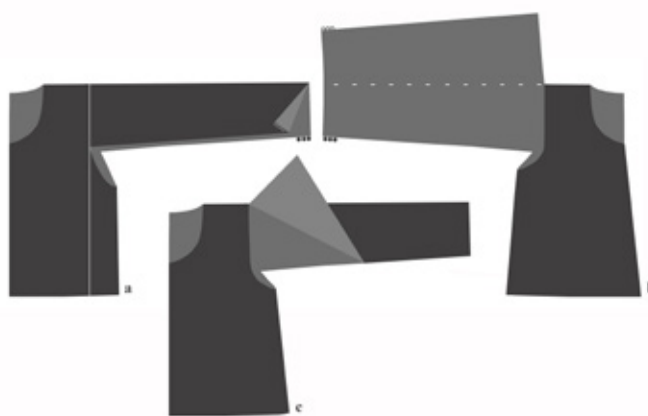


Figure 18. Three different types of *çepken* sleeves (drawing: Tatjana Vuleta)

nia¹⁴⁹ and on goat fur coats worn in the Athens, mentioned above, until modern times.¹⁵⁰ The opening in the front side of the sleeve cap seam on these jackets is extended along the inner sleeve seam, whereby the front slit is connected to the one under the armpit (fig. 18c). The front opening of the Greek coat has a teardrop shape, which further increases the comfort and functionality of the entire garment. Garments with the *çepken* sleeves that are not attached to the front but only to the back, thus, represent a combination of garments with slits under the armpits and those with slits in the seam of the sleeve cap. This is a beautiful example of combining two different pattern types of garments with hanging sleeves, created, again, for very practical reasons.

2.2. Garments with Slits in the Seams of the Sleeve Caps or on the Shoulder Parts of the Front Panel

There are three types of cut of the garments from this group:

Garments whose cut was created on the basic tunic-cut.

Garments whose cut developed from the primary animal-skin-cut.

Garments whose cut developed from the primary felt-cut.¹⁵¹

As we have already pointed out, over time, the basic cut of the tunic, originally obtained directly in weaving on vertical looms,¹⁵² was changed with the

¹⁴⁹ Tilke, *Costume Patterns and Designs*, pls. 61.4, 61.5.

¹⁵⁰ Tilke, *Trachten und Kostüme aus Europa, Afrika und Asien*, 7, pl. 2.2.

¹⁵¹ For the examples of such cut see idem, *Costume Patterns and Designs*, pl. 5.

¹⁵² Орфинская, *Три источника*, 85–90.



Figure 19. Maria de Mangop, detail of the embroidered grave cover, Putna Monastery, Romania, ca. 1476 (photo © Putna Monastery, Romania)

development of the loom and/or the reduction of the width of the textile used for its tailoring. The first changes can be found on the tunic from tumulus 2 in Pazyryk, from the 4th to the 3rd century BC.¹⁵³ Due to the narrower width of the fabric used, its cut is more complex than the cut of the tunics worn in the Mediterranean. The front, as well as the back, is made of two rectangular panels connected in the middle, and the sleeves are cut separately and sewn to the front and back (fig. 20a). The openings for the arms

¹⁵³ S. I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen*, Barkley – Los Angeles 1970, pl. 63.

are left in the seams that connect sleeves to the body of the robe (fig. 20a). Given the greater width of the tunic from those times, the opening for the arms fell above the elbow. We find such a dress on the medieval Georgian elite. It is worn by Ia, the donor of the Kvabiskhevi church from the 13th century,¹⁵⁴ as well as two donors of the Mkheri church from the 14th–15th centuries.¹⁵⁵

The openings in the seam of the sleeve cap existed in the Arab cultural circle as well, in which the tunic was also the basis of clothing. A traditional Moroccan hooded garment, the *djellabah* (or *djellabia*), worn up to modern times, has the same openings.¹⁵⁶

The same type of tunic with hanging sleeves was also worn in the Byzantium. When he describes Byzantine court dresses *granatza* and *lapatzas*¹⁵⁷ with hanging sleeves in the *Offices*, Pseudo-Kodinos emphasizes that their origin belongs to ancient Assyria.¹⁵⁸ The basis of the Assyrian costume was a tunic.¹⁵⁹ Its pattern, if we accept the Pseudo-Kodinos' data as correct,¹⁶⁰ must have been the basis of the cut of both the *granatza* and *lapatzas*. That is confirmed by the representation of the luxurious *lapatzas*, which, following the regulations of the Byzantine court codices, adorns the Serbian Young King Stefan Uroš IV Dušan in the portrait at the St. Dimitrios Church of the Patriarchate in Peć, from 1322–1324 (fig. 21).¹⁶¹ His arms are pulled through the openings left on the front side of the sleeve cap seams. The overlong sleeves are fastened to the belt, following the Byzantine court codices as well.

¹⁵⁴ T. Gogoladze, *The Historical and Architectural Monuments of the Borjomi Gorge*, Tbilisi 2014, 63–64, 206, fig. 25.

¹⁵⁵ E. Kavlelashvili, *The Wall Paintings of Mkheri Church, Svaneti*, Georgian Art in the Context of European and Asian Cultures, Proceedings of the 1st International Symposium of Georgian Culture, ed. P. Skinner, D. Tumanishvili, A. Shanshiashvili, Tbilisi 2004, 265.

¹⁵⁶ Tilke, *Costume Patterns and Designs*, 28.3, 29.6.

¹⁵⁷ For the *granatza/lapatzas* see B. Cvetković, *Prilog proučavanju vizantijskog dvorskog kostima – γρανάτζα, λαπάτζας*, Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta, 34, 1995, 143–156; Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, 59–60, 345, 346; T. Dawson, *There and Back Again: Cross-cultural Transmission of Clothing and Clothing Terminology*, Intellectual Transmission in the Medieval Mediterranean, ed. S. L. Hathaway, D. W. Kim, London – New York 2012, 208–209.

¹⁵⁸ Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 218.

¹⁵⁹ Kim Moonja, *A Study on the Assyrian Costume*, Journal of Fashion Business, 14(3), 2010, 5–6.

¹⁶⁰ Cvetković, *Prilog proučavanju vizantijskog dvorskog kostima – γρανάτζα, λαπάτζας*, 147.

¹⁶¹ Б. Тодић, *Српске теме на фрескама XIV века у цркви Светог Димитрија у Пећу*, Зорграф, 30, 2004–2005, 135–138, figs. 6, 9.

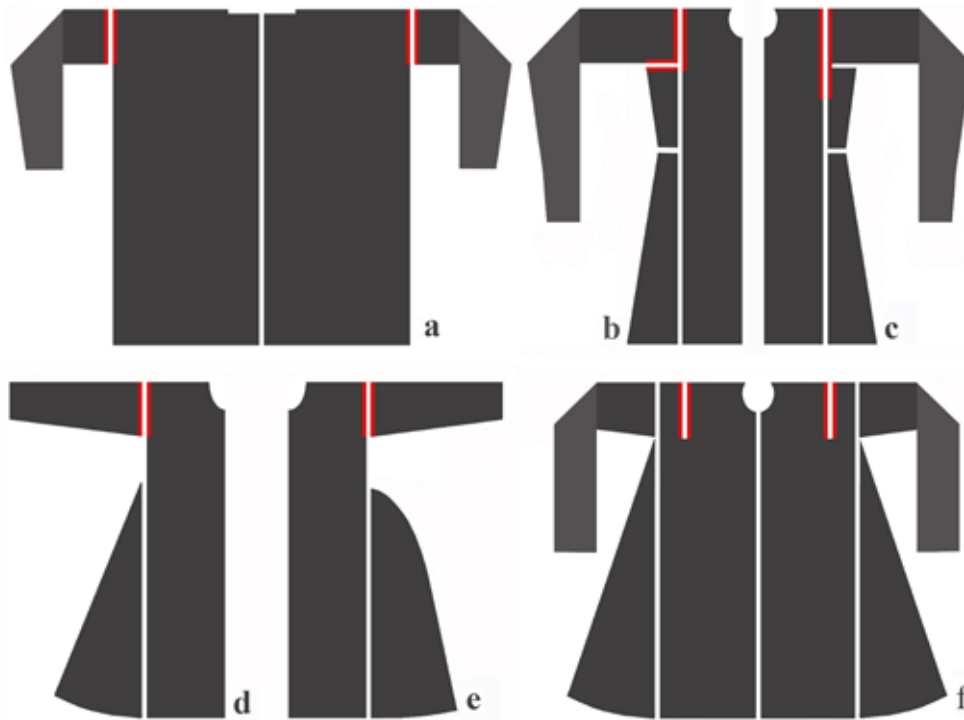


Figure 20. Positions of the arm slits (red color) on the garments with the tunic-cut from the 2.2. group (drawing: Tatjana Vuleta)

Further development of the basic tunic-cut (fig. 12a) resulted, as we have already pointed out, in the creation of a European cut with triangular gussets (fig. 12b) and an Asian one with side panels (fig. 12c). Both cuts also affected the design of garments with openings in the sleeve cups, dividing them into two different subgroups.

The European cut with triangular gussets (fig. 20d) was used to shape the dresses of Armenian princesses shown on the miniature in the *Gospel of Queen Keran*, Jerusalem no. 2563, fol. 380r, from 1272.¹⁶² Upper dresses with hanging sleeves with the same type of arm openings are also visible on the donors of Cypriot churches of the 13th century, as a mixture of Middle Eastern and crusader fashion, such as a donor's dress in the Church of the Transfiguration in Sotera.¹⁶³ The same dresses served on the Cypriot frescoes as a symbol of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who stand behind Emperor Heraclius in the scene of the *Ascension of the Holy Cross* from the Church of the Holy Cross Agiasmati near Platanistasa, from 1494.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, Vol. 2, fig. 641.

¹⁶³ E. Moutafov, *The Testimony of Inscriptions in Their Iconographical and Historical Context in the Church of the Transfiguration at Sotera (Famagusta District, Cyprus)*, in print, 10–11, fig. 9.

¹⁶⁴ Stylianou, Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*, 204–205, fig. 116.

The slightly modified European cut – with longer triangular gussets starting under the armpits (fig. 20f) or side gussets rounded at the hips (fig. 20e), was adopted for Ottoman coats.¹⁶⁵ The ones lined with fur and closed with *çaprast*, called *kapaniçe*,¹⁶⁶ had longer triangular gussets (fig. 20f), as seen on the one from Topkapı Palace Museum, inv. no. 13/932, of the second half of the 16th century.¹⁶⁷ As the width of these fur-lined coats was large, the arm slits were opened on the shoulder part of the front. The caftans with rounded gussets on the hips (fig. 20e) were tighter and had arm openings in the sleeve cup seams. They were worn in the Balkans during the Turkish rule as well. An exceptionally luxurious one is worn by a Bulgarian nobleman George on a portrait in the Bachkovo Monastery from 1643.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ For Ottoman coats see H. Tezcan, S. Delibas, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: Costumes, Embroideries and other Textiles*, Ed. John M. Rogers, Little, Brown and Co, Boston 1986; *Style and Status: Imperial Costumes from Ottoman Turkey*, Catalog of the exhibition Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (Smithsonian Institution) October 29 2005 – January 22 2006, London 2005.

¹⁶⁶ Tezcan, *Furs and Skins Owned by the Sultans*, 73.

¹⁶⁷ For example see G. Necipoğlu, *Early Modern Floral: the Agency of Ornament in Ottoman and Safavid Visual Cultures*, *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, ed. G. Necipoğlu, A. Payne, Princeton 2016, 148, fig. 11.7.a.

¹⁶⁸ Преображенский, *Ктиторские портреты средневековой Руси*, 35.



Figure 21. Serbian Young King Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, detail of the fresco, St. Demetrius Church, Peć, 1322–1324 (photo: Zoran B. Jovanović)

Caftans based on the Asian cut with side panels worn in Asia Minor during the late Middle Ages had a different solution for hanging sleeve openings. The arm openings were in the seams that connected the central panel of the front, upper side panel, and the sleeves (fig. 20b). The openings were sometimes extended along the seams with side panels (figs. 20c, 22).¹⁶⁹

Turko-Mongolian garments with hanging sleeves significantly influenced female fashion in Bulgaria in the first half of the 14th century. The same type of the

cut with arm openings in the sleeve cup seams can be seen on the Cuman type female dresses and caftans¹⁷⁰ with the Mongol fashion of hanging sleeves and Cuman three-quarter length sleeves¹⁷¹ that adorn female donors of St. Marina Church¹⁷² and St. Nicholas Chapel¹⁷³ near Karlukovo, churches in Donja Kamenica,¹⁷⁴ Staničenje,¹⁷⁵ Kalotino,¹⁷⁶ Pološko,¹⁷⁷ and Zemen.¹⁷⁸ The three-quarter sleeves are similar to the Armenian one worn in Cilicia during the 13th century. That shows the presence of such a fashion in the Caucasus in the times prior to Mongol conquest and its spread to the Near East. These openings on the mentioned Cumano-Bulgarian female caftans are often very long, being extended from the sleeve cup seams along those between front and side panels, almost reaching the waistline. That connects the female garments with hanging sleeves worn in Bulgaria at the end of the 13th and during the first half of the 14th century with the later Ottoman ceremonial *kaftans* worn from the 15th to the 19th centuries, obviously the heirs of earlier Seljuk garments. The most luxurious *kaftans* of this type, made of velvet (Tur. *kadife*), lampas (Tur. *kemha*), or taqueté (Tur. *serâser*), belonged to the Turkish sultans (fig. 22).¹⁷⁹

Ottoman fashion also resonated with the clothing of the Georgian elite. Caftans of the same cut with openings in the caps of the sleeves are worn by King Leon of Kakheti and his son Alexander on the 16th-century donor's portraits in the Nekresi Monastery.¹⁸⁰

The same place of the openings for arms can be found on Romanian and Hungarian upper garments worn from the 15th century also under the Turk-

¹⁷⁰ For Cuman female garments see C. A. Плетнёва, *Пловецкие каменные изваяния*, Москва 1974, 49–52.

¹⁷¹ For examples see *ibid.*, 51, 195, таб. 79, inv. no. 1287, 1288; 198, таб. 82, inv. no. 1303.

¹⁷² Л. Мавроудинова, *Скалните скитове при Карлуково*, София 1985, fig. 15.

¹⁷³ *Idem*, *Стенната живопис в България до края на XIV век*, София 1995, fig. 60.

¹⁷⁴ D. Panayotova, *Les portraits des donateurs de Dolna Kamenica*, Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta, 12, 1979, 143–156, fig. 5.

¹⁷⁵ Б. Цветковић, *Ктиторски портрети*, Црква Светог Николе у Станичењу, ed. М. Поповић, С. Габелић, Б. Цветковић, Б. Поповић, Београд 2005, figs. 37–41.

¹⁷⁶ Мавроудинова, *Стенната живопис в България*, fig. 121.

¹⁷⁷ И. Ђорђевић, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле*, Београд 1994, 147–150, fig. 11.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 167–170, fig. 19.

¹⁷⁹ N. Atasoy, W. B. Denny, L. W. Mackie, H. Tezcan, *İpek*, Istanbul 2001, 16.

¹⁸⁰ Available at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nekresi#/media/File:Leon_&_Tinatin._Nekresi_fresco.jpg (accessed on 24/01/2020).

¹⁶⁹ Tilke, *Trachten und Kostüme aus Europa, Afrika und Asien*, 31, fig. 84.1.



Figure 22. Turkish court kaftan, Topkapi Palace Museum, 17th–18th century (drawing: Max Tilke)

ish influence. The *kaftan* of Duke Neagoe Basarab¹⁸¹ was made at the beginning of the 16th century from precious blue Italian velvet interspersed with gold-woven serpentes and lotus motifs. The openings were left in the seam of the caps of overlong narrow sleeves. Caftans with such openings can also be found in Bulgaria during the Turkish rule, like the one worn by Voivode Radivoi on the donor fresco in Kremikovtsi Monastery, from 1493.¹⁸²

Slits made by opening of the sleeve cup seams on this type of the cut were not always functional enough. On female *klašeniks* from the Debar region in North Macedonia from the late 19th century,¹⁸³ the arm openings, also made in the seam between the front panel and the sleeves, were widened into a teardrop shape. This shape follows the anatomy of

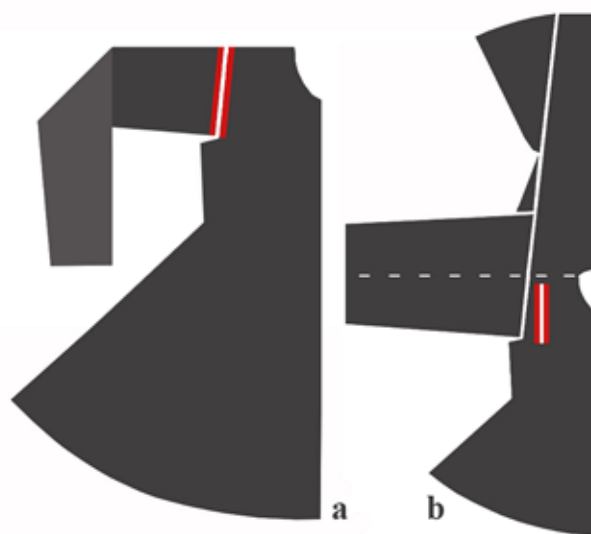


Figure 23. The pattern of the garments based on the animal-skin cut and the places of the arm slits (red color) (drawing: Tatjana Vuleta)

the arm, armpits, and female breasts and allows the arm to be removed from the garment without additional creasing of the front surface. This enables better functioning of the limbs and makes the garment, which is very tight in the upper part, more comfortable and functional.

Garments with arm openings in the sleeve cup were shaped based on the animal-skin cut (fig. 9c) as well. This group includes the male civil caftans worn in the Balkans and Eastern Europe, whose cut

¹⁸¹ Available at <http://clasate.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=FA90476D9A4E4BB5BFBCA83A0C50AA11>, (accessed on 30/01/2020). The same caftans are represented on the portraits of Vlach and Moldavian rulers from the second half of the 15th century – C. Nicolescu, *Istoria costumului de curte in Tarile Romane, secolele XIV- XVIII*, Bucarest 1970, 128–141; Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe*, 42.

¹⁸² К. Паскалева, *Църквата „Св. Георги“ в Кремиковския манастир*; К. Хаджиев, *Още веднъж за датировката на Кремиковския надпис*, Археология, 1–2, 2000, 66–70; Преображенский, *Ктиторские портреты средневековой Руси*, 234.

¹⁸³ Gervers, *The Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles*, 94, fig. 11.

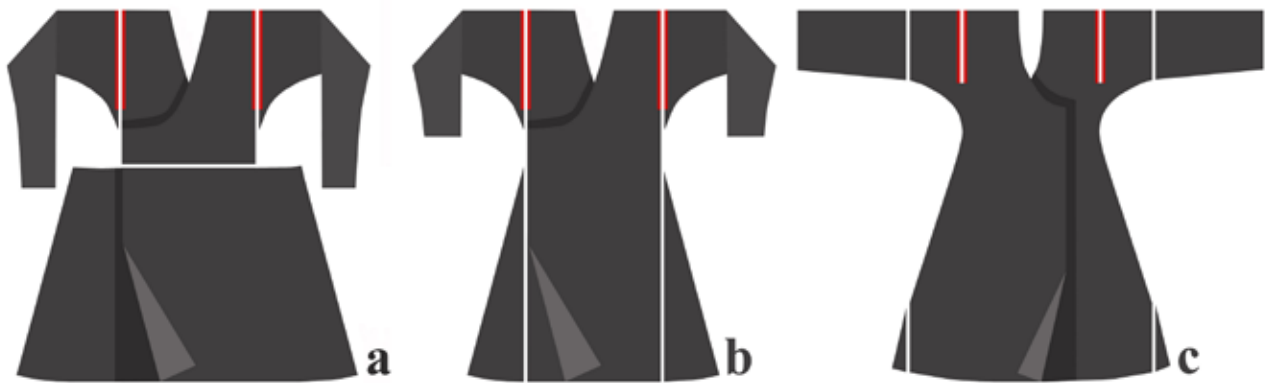


Figure 24. Positions of the arm slits (red color) on the garments with hanging sleeves based on the felt-cut (drawing: Tatjana Vuleta)

was created on the cut of Ottoman military *dolamas* (fig. 23a). That kind of caftan is worn by Serbian nobleman Manojlo on his portrait in Krepičevac, from the second half of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century.¹⁸⁴ Although the cut of his caftan is of Turkish origin, the overlong hanging sleeves are fastened to the belt, according to the Byzantine custom. On the preserved Hungarian children's so-called Miklós Oláh's *mente* from the second half of the 16th century,¹⁸⁵ made of costly Turkish *kemha*, the openings for arms show a new variation of cut. Instead of the one made in the sleeve cup seam, they are cut parallel to it on the front of the caftan, at the root of the arm (fig. 23b), obviously to adapt to the child's body shape. The same type of caftan, only much longer, belonged to the son of Voivode Radivoi represented on the donor fresco in Kremikovtsi Monastery, from 1493.¹⁸⁶

The third pattern type of garments with slits in the sleeve cups or on the front near the shoulders is based on the felt-cut (fig. 9c). It can be traced in the nomadic cultures of the Eurasian steppes in which life on horseback also required the liberation of the whole arm from the uncomfortable sleeve. The place of the arm slits on these caftans also depended on their pattern and the width of the material used (fig. 24).¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Б. Кнежевић, *Две теме из манастира Крепичевца – Ктиторски портрети и Прича о иногору*, Зборник Матице српске за ликовне уметности, 32–33, 2003, 153, 154.

¹⁸⁵ Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe*, 17. For the cut of that caftan see <https://sites.google.com/site/hagyomanyesmultidezo/nyilvanos/katalogus/xvi-szazad/ferfi-viseletek/koeznapi-viselet/felsoruha/mentek/mente-magyarorszag> (accessed on 28/01/2020). Today, the *mente* is kept in the Museum of Applied Art in Budapest. For the Hungarian *mente* see Gervers, *The Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles*, 15.

¹⁸⁶ Хаджиев, *Още веднџ за датировката на Кремиковския надпис*, 66–70; Преображенский, *Ктиторские портреты средневековой Руси*, 234.

¹⁸⁷ On the classification of Asian garments according to

The basis of such a cut was the central panel from which the back and the front side of the garment were formed, without a shoulder seam. The sleeves were attached to the central panel, creating a “bat” shape, and it was in that seam that arm openings were left (figs. 24a, 24b).

The oldest preserved examples of garments from this group can be found on Mongol and Uighur caftans from the 10th and 11th centuries.¹⁸⁸ The preserved Mongol *terlig* from the 11th century¹⁸⁹ confirms that such caftans, thanks to the pattern with the central panel 55–60 cm wide, had slits for the arms in the

the width of the material used see В. Л. Сычев, *Из истории плечевой одежды народов центральной и восточной Азии (к проблеме классификации)*, Советская этнография, 3, 1977, 32–46; Орфинская, *Три источника*, 76–92. Two widths of medieval fabrics were determined: 22–23 cm and 55–60 cm (*idem*, *Анализ кроя мужских кафтанов и женских платьев алан Северного Кавказа*, 176). For the patterns of such garments see *idem*, *Три источника*, fig. 5.

¹⁸⁸ For the earliest preserved examples of Mongol garments with hanging sleeves (the 10th and 11th centuries) see Хрипунов, *Одежда с откидывающимися рукавами*, 86, fig. 6. Unfortunately, the nomadic way of life of the Turkic, Iranian and Mongol tribes of Central Asia did not leave many traces of their material culture from which it would be possible to trace the detailed historical development of their garments with hanging sleeves, their appearance and directions of territorial expansion. Hripunov is of the opinion that the slits on the sleeves reached the Mongol and Turkic costume through the Arabs. Mihail Gorelik, dealing with the same topic, believes that the hanging sleeves arrived in Central Asia via the Silk Road – М. В. Горелик, *Костюм золотоордынца из погребения у хутора Тормосин (проблема монгольской нераспаиной одежды и других элементов костюма)*, Батыр. Традиционная военная культура Евразии, 2, 2011, 63. It is quite certain that the Mongol and Turkic costume had narrow, overlong sleeves from the earliest times. With the restraining shape of the sleeves, there had to be a solution in the appearance of slits for pulling out the arms, which did not have to be someone else's, adopted idea.

¹⁸⁹ Хрипунов, *Одежда с откидывающимися рукавами*, fig. 66.



Figure 25. Mongol silk deel, Central Asia, 13th–14th centuries (photo © Christie's Images Ltd 2011)

seams of the sleeve cups (fig. 24a).¹⁹⁰ By mixing the Turkic contingent into the ranks of the Mongol army during the period of the great invasion from the beginning of the 13th century, another cut of the caftan – *deel*,¹⁹¹ was adopted, which also got slits in the sleeve cup seams (figs. 24b, 25).¹⁹² Becoming a symbol of a large community of peoples united under the auspices of the mighty Mongol Empire, *terlig* and *deel* represented the official attire worn throughout Asia during the 13th and 14th centuries. If the *terlig* or *deel* were cut from two parallel central panels 55–60 cm wide, the sleeve cup seams were much lower than the shoulders. As the use of weapons on the horse required the freedom of the whole arm, they were given vertical slits in the shoulder areas of the front panels (fig. 24c).

Mongol official caftans did not only influence the way of clothing in Asia. With the Mongol domination in Bulgaria and the settlement of the Cumans from the Golden Horde in Hungary, Bulgaria and Serbia in the second half of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, the Turko-Mongol *deel* with hanging

sleeves (figs. 24b, 24c) arrived in those territories, as evidenced by the donors' attire of Staničenje and Karan (fig. 1b) churches.¹⁹³ However, such caftans did not become a part of the general manner of male clothing in the Balkans but remained the official mark of the members of the oriental military mercenaries who were in the service of the local rulers as well as Cuman migrants who settled throughout the Balkan lands moving from the Golden Horde.

By marking the tribes and peoples of the Golden Horde, the Mongol court fashion influenced the appearance of hanging sleeves on local caftans, which were also shaped on the felt-cut basis from two parallel front panels 55–60 cm wide, with a central closure. As the sleeve cup seams on such caftans were also much lower than the shoulders, the vertical arm slits were cut in the shoulder areas of the front panels. Such a solution can be seen on the *besmet* from the Juhta necropolis (fig. 26c)¹⁹⁴ and on a shorter garment from Verb's Log VIII.¹⁹⁵ The same pattern type belongs to the caftans of the Georgian elite from the 13th and 14th centuries – Princess Nateli, wife of the Odishi eristav Shergil Dadiani, painted in the Dadiani chapel of the Khobi Cathedral¹⁹⁶ and the son of Sargis I Jaqeli, amabagi of Samha, represented in a por-

¹⁹⁰ For cut of Mongol caftans see H. H. Hansen, *Mongol Costumes*, London 1993, 33, 36, 42, 46, 49, 56.

¹⁹¹ Caftans of the *deel* type can be found on Uighur art objects (Хрипунов, *Одежда с откидывающимися рукавами*, fig. 6в) and among the preserved Seljuk garments from the 11th century (Вулета, *Страни елементи*, I део, 227, fig. 4). Unlike the Uighurs, it seems that the Seljuk caftans did not have hanging sleeves in this period.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 225–229.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 223–242.

¹⁹⁴ Z. Dode, *Juhta Burial. Chinese Fabrics of the Mongol Period in North Caucasus*, CIETA Bulletin, 82, 2005, 86.

¹⁹⁵ Хрипунов, *Одежда с откидывающимися рукавами*, 90, fig. 4.

¹⁹⁶ G. Kalandia, *ოდიშის საეპისკოპოსოები*, Tbilisi 2004.

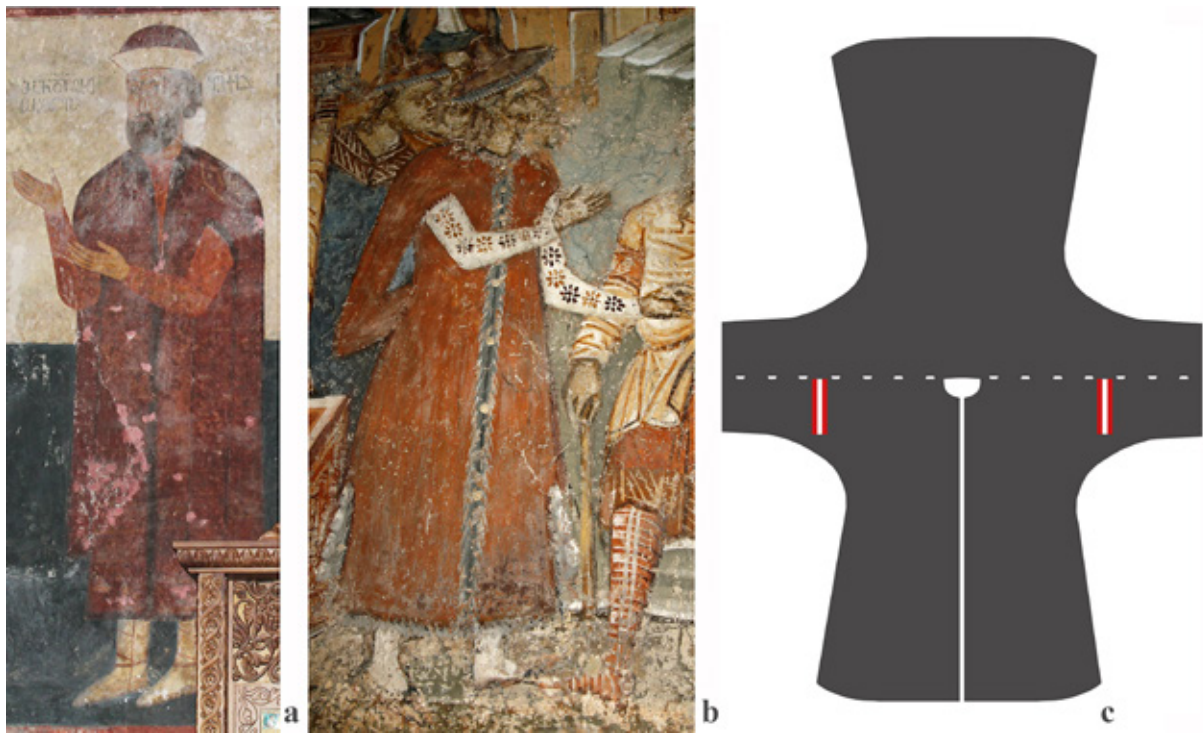


Figure 26. Garments shaped on the felt-cut with arm slits on the front panels a. Son of Sargis I Jaqeli, amabagi of Samha, detail of the fresco, Zarzma Monastery, Georgia (photo: Tatjana Vuleta) b. The Return of the Magi to Babylon, detail of the fresco, Marko's Monastery, North Macedonia, 1376/1377 (photo: Zoran B. Jovanović) c. The pattern of the beshmet from the Juhta cemetery, after the drawing of Zvezdana Dode (drawing: Tatjana Vuleta)

trait from the Zarzma Monastery (fig. 26a).¹⁹⁷ It can be also seen on the caftan of the Trebizond emperor Manuel I Komnenos on a portrait from St. Sophia in Trebizond from the middle of the 13th century.¹⁹⁸ Turkic garments with hanging sleeves and the central closure also influenced the appearance of the fur coat called *šuba* worn among Slavic peoples (fig. 26b).

The earliest mention of the *šuba* is found in Russia, in the *Suzdal gramata* of Archbishop Dionysius from 1382.¹⁹⁹ The etymology of the term indicates that the word was taken from the Altaic-Mongolian base *čuba*, meaning cloak, upper garment, coat,²⁰⁰ which once again reveals clothing influences that arrived among Slavs with the Golden Horde. The same name and the same cut of *šuba* as a fur coat, therefore, existed in all the peoples of Eastern and South-eastern Europe who had contact with the powerful Mongol

empire. The caftan represented on one of the eastern magi from the scene *The Return of the Magi to Babylon*, part of the cycle of the Akathist to the Mother of God from Marko's Monastery of 1376/1377²⁰¹ (fig. 26b), testifies to the origin, but also to the appearance of the *šuba* worn in that region during the 13th and 14th centuries. It was a slightly bell-shaped coat that reached the middle of the calves, with narrow overlong sleeves whose ends were tied or buttoned in the middle of the back, according to the Turko-Mongolian custom of the time.²⁰²

2.3. Garments with Slits on the Sleeves

The not-so-narrow but extremely long sleeves got functional slits for pulling the arms or hands out as well. That made them hang from the shoulders or arms.

In ancient times in China, adopted under the influence of Confucian teachings, overlong sleeves were a symbol of modesty and inconspicuousness.²⁰³ Over

¹⁹⁷ Photo available at [el.wikipedia.org/wiki/Μοναστήρι_του_Ζάρζμα#/media/Αρχείο:Zarzma_monastery_\(22\).jpg](http://el.wikipedia.org/wiki/Μοναστήρι_του_Ζάρζμα#/media/Αρχείο:Zarzma_monastery_(22).jpg).

¹⁹⁸ A. Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium: Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond*, Aldershot 2004, 139–142.

¹⁹⁹ М. Фасмер, *Этимологический словарь русского языка*, Vol. IV, Москва 1987, 482.

²⁰⁰ S. Starostin, A. Dybo, O. Mudrak, *Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages*, Leiden–Boston 2003, 443–444.

²⁰¹ М. Томић Ђурић, *Идејне основе тематског програма цркве Светог Димитрија у Марковом манастиру*, (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Belgrade University, Faculty of Philosophy), Београд 2017, 493, figs. 394, 394а, 394б.

²⁰² Вулета, *Страни елементи, I део*, 228, fig. 5.

²⁰³ The custom of wearing overlong sleeves in China



Figure 27. Mihran Sitad's choice of the noblest bride, detail of the miniature, *The Great Mongolian Shahnama*, Tabriz, 1317–1335, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (photo © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

time, in China, but also throughout Asia, and in the late Middle Ages in Europe, they became a sign of an elite whose social position allowed life without physical work and the use of hands, thus bearing the meaning of a status symbol.²⁰⁴

In Chinese, Korean and Uighur courts, the custom of connecting overlong sleeves on the abdomen by tucking the hands in – the left hand in the right sleeve and the right in the left, was adopted. That was reserved for the highest dignitaries. This custom has spread throughout Asia over time (fig. 27). Under the influence of the Arabic costume, the same custom was introduced in Italy in the 14th century (fig. 28).²⁰⁵ Such symbolism of overlong sleeves served the Persian artist to evoke the sophistication, but also to mark the gradation of the nobility of Chinese princesses, while illustrating the story of Mihran Sitad's choice of the noblest bride on a miniature in the Great

Mongolian *Shahnama* illuminated during the fourth decade of the 14th century in Tabriz (fig. 27).²⁰⁶ Four princesses hold a cup of tea in one hand while the other is dignifiedly covered with a sleeve. However, both hands of the noblest among them – the queen's daughter, are entirely hidden in the joined sleeves. Mihran, therefore, could not make a wrong choice.

According to the testimony of Orderic Vitalis, the overlong sleeves on overlong dresses arrived in Normandy and England through Sicily at the end of the 11th century.²⁰⁷ Arab court costume brought them to Spain in the same period.²⁰⁸ Overlong sleeves marked the European *bliaut* during the first half of the 12th century.²⁰⁹

Apart from signifying social status, garments with overlong sleeves also had other roles. In ancient Persian courts, dignitaries, in the presence of the ruler, had to pull on overlong sleeves sewn at the hem to prevent any aggression against the ruler.²¹⁰ On overlong sleeves pulled over the hands, the courtier could humbly receive (or hand over) a gift or some important object from his superior or from the ruler himself, which was not allowed, desirable, or polite to touch with bare fingers.²¹¹ For the same reasons,

dates back to the end of the 3rd century BC, from the time of the Han dynasty – Zang Yingchun, *Chinese Traditional Costumes and Ornaments*, Beijing 2003, 35, 37.

²⁰⁴ Overlong sleeves, folded along the arms, can be seen in the Parthian lords and rulers during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC – Ghirshman, *Persian Art*, 26–27, pls. 34, 36. The overlong sleeves covering the hands can be seen, for example, in court scenes from the 12th-century Persian mold for a vessel, today at the Museum of Asian Art in San Francisco, No. B60P2142 (*Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs*, ed. S. R. Canby, D. Beyazit, M. Rugiadi, A. S. C. Peacock, New York 2016, 165, fig. 69).

²⁰⁵ For example, see two young men painted in the foreground of Masolino's *The Resurrection of Tabitha*, from 1425–1428, Herald, *Renaissance Dress*, 60.

²⁰⁶ *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, 64, 258, fig. 192, cat. no. 61.

²⁰⁷ Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*, Vol. IV, tr. T. Forester, London 1856, 283.

²⁰⁸ Evans, *Dress in Mediaeval France*, 4.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 6–8.

²¹⁰ Knauer, *A Quest for the Persian Riding-Coats*, 9.

²¹¹ One of the most touching examples are the sleeves



Figure 28. Ivory box, detail, Northern Italy, the end of the 14th century, inv. no. 18A, Bargello Museum, Florence (photo: Tatjana Vuleta)

the court servants in front of the rulers wore gowns with overlong sleeves covering their hands.²¹² Overlong sleeves, often made of transparent fabrics, were a mark of dancers from China to Byzantium, giving to the dance movements additional femininity and seduction.²¹³ In visual sources, there are many situations in which overlong sleeves got an additional, very practical purpose. Thus, with the sleeves pulled over their hands, the unfortunate ladies wiped their tears after sending their loved ones to a military cam-

paign or battle.²¹⁴ Pulled over the hands on which the head was then gently laid, they contributed to a more comfortable and warmer sleep.²¹⁵ Like a pocket or purse, in overlong sleeves at the ends tied in a knot, gathered by ribbons, or even sewn together, a handkerchief, coins,²¹⁶ or food could be worn.²¹⁷ Their depiction in numerous miniatures of the Middle Ages and Renaissance paintings gave the illustrations a breath of elegance, sophistication, sometimes a mystery, exoticism, poeticism, tenderness or sensuality, and sometimes even a dash of fine humor.²¹⁸

pulled over hands with which the righteous Joachim holds the little Virgin Mary on the fresco from the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin in Dirbi, Shida-Kartli, from 1340–1370 (Д. В. Белецкий, С. В. Свердлова, *Фрески Турского монастыря. Грузинская роспись второй половины XIV века*, Россия – Грузия: Диалог культур, Сборник статей по материалам конференции 2013 года и научных чтений 2014 года, посвященных памяти Давида Ильича Арсенишвили, Москва 2015, 216, fig. XXXI).

²¹² S. Blair, *Tabriz: International Enterpôt under the Mongols*, Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–14th Century Tabriz, ed. J. Pfeiffer, Leiden–Boston 2014, 327, 328, fig. 3.

²¹³ One of the most interesting examples is the dress of a dancer depicted in a miniature of Herod's Feast from the manuscript of Luke the Cypriot's *Gospel lectionary*, Walters Ms. W.535, fol.159r, completed in Russia 1594–1596, available at http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W535/data/W.535/sap/W535_000319_sap.jpg (accessed on 23/02/2020).

²¹⁴ *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, 39, fig. 35.

²¹⁵ Abū Muhammad al-Qāsim ibn Alī ibn Muhammad ibn Uthmān al-Harīrī, *Maqamat al-Hariri*, Baghdad 1236–1237, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Arabe 5847, fol.66v, 103r, available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8422962f/f1.image> (accessed on 24/02/2020).

²¹⁶ Garments from Pazyryk (Polosmak, *Purple and Gold*, 39), or Hungarian *szür*.

²¹⁷ For example, in the closed sleeves of a shepherd's coat worn in Srem, Serbia – Бјеладновић, *Народне ношње Срба*, 632.

²¹⁸ In miniatures, which are the most common source for the study of medieval Islamic costume, slits on overlong sleeves are rarely drawn. We find them where it was necessary to emphasize their function, most often on the garments of warriors and hunters on horses, people who perform some more demanding physical work, or as a status symbol on the representations of courtiers. Also, not all garments with overlong sleeves had arm slits. Among the seventeen caftans found in the tombs of Antinoopolis,

The dysfunctionality of the overlong sleeves required the appearance of a slit through which it was possible to pull out a part of the arm or just a hand in order to do some work. In the Middle East, slits on the sleeves had existed since the 13th century. Thus, the sleeves on a Seljuk-type garment in which a spearman on a horse is dressed, shown on a metal box made in Jazeera or Syria during the first half of the 13th century,²¹⁹ have short transverse slits just above the elbows, which cut the sleeves across the width. The same kind of a slit has been opened on the sleeves of the camel riders represented on the miniature from Al-Hariri's *Maqamat*, most probably made in Persia in 1237,²²⁰ the emir depicted on the Mamluk metal vessel, known as the *Baptistère de St. Louis*, from the third quarter of the 13th century.²²¹ The echo of the same fashion could be seen on the Ottoman court coats²²² and, under that influence, in Albania, as seen on the caftan of St. Jacob the Persian painted in the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin in Berat, Albania, in the 16th century. An unusual combination of Turko-Mongolian caftan and Middle Eastern hanging sleeves with a transverse slit at the height of the elbow trimmed with decorative bands can be found in the portrait of the Seljuk vassal Basil Giagoupes from St. George church in Belisirma, Cappadocia, of the 1280s,²²³ which is a clear testimony to the mixing of different cultures and traditions in Asia Minor exposed to frequent foreign conquests and different cultural influences.

Female woolen dresses that were worn in Kashmir until the 20th century²²⁴ also had transverse slits on the narrow, overlong sleeves at the height of the wrist, through which only the hands were pulled, as a reflection of practicality, but also of female modesty. Showing bare arms or shirt sleeves in that community did not fit the social status of women. The overlong sleeves of female caftans in Persia from the 17th–18th centuries had the transverse slits in the same place.²²⁵

only one had arm slits – Knauer, *A Quest for the Persian Riding-Coats*, 7.

²¹⁹ Court and Cosmos, 265, 267, cat. no. 168c.

²²⁰ Abū Muhammad al-Qāsim, *Maqamat*, fol. 41r, available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8422962f/f93.image>. For more examples see Хрипунов, *Одежда с откидывающимися рукавами*, fig. 13.

²²¹ Knauer, *A Quest for the Persian Riding-Coats*, 16–17.

²²² For the 16th and 17th centuries examples see Tezcan, Delibas, *The Topkapi Saray Museum*, cat. nos. 18, 35.

²²³ N, Karamaouna, N. Peker, B. Tolga Uyar, *Female Donors in Thirteenth-Century Wall Paintings in Cappadocia: An Overview*, Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond, ed. L. Theis, M. Mullett, M. Grünbart, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2011–2012, 239–240, fig. 8.

²²⁴ Tilke, *Trachten und Kostüme aus Europa, Afrika und Asien*, p. 36, pl. 109.1.



Figure 29. *Wine Drinking in a Spring Garden*, detail of the miniature, Persia, ca. 1430, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (photo © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

During the 14th century, the slits on the sleeves lengthened and became longitudinal, following the length of the sleeve. They existed on the overlong sleeves of the Caucasian caftans. The long sleeves of the caftan found in one of the tombs of the necropolis near Belorechensk from the 14th–15th century²²⁶ had slits on the upper part of the sleeves, from the shoulder to the elbow. The slits are closed with four rows of *çaprast*. Until the 18th century, the inner side of the sleeves of female caftans from the Caucasus could have shorter longitudinal slits at elbow height.²²⁷ Fe-

²²⁵ Scarce, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East*, pl. 110.

²²⁶ Т. Д. Равдоникас, *Очерки по истории одежды населения северо-западного Кавказа (V в. до н. э. – конец XVII в.)*, Ленинград 1990, fig. 19.

²²⁷ Е. Н. Студенецкая, *Одежда народов Северного Кавказа XVIII–XX вв*, Москва 1989, 48–49, fig. 5.



Figure 30. *The Queen of Sheba Adores the Holy Wood*, detail of the fresco, Piero della Francesca, ca. 1452–1466 (photo: Tatjana Vuleta)

male caftans in Timurid Persia also had longer longitudinal incisions at elbow height – as were the ones on the caftan of the lady shown in the miniature *Wine Drinking in a Spring Garden*, most probably made in Tabriz around 1430 (fig. 29).²²⁸

Under the influence of Asian fashion, slits on hanging sleeves in Europe have been found since the 13th century.²²⁹ A robe with such sleeves – *herigaut*, was first mentioned by Jean de Joinville. During his stay in Accra in 1249, forty knights from Champagne, who were exchanged as prisoners of war, changed into green *cottes* and *herigauts*.²³⁰ The *herigaut* was opened along the entire front. The sleeves were often pleated or folded at the top to get more width. On

²²⁸ Today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, available at <https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/57.51.24/> (accessed on 03/03/2020).

²²⁹ Knauer, *A Quest for the Persian Riding-Coats*, 18.

²³⁰ Evans, *Dress in Mediaeval France*, 19.

the upper part of the sleeves, longer vertical slits were opened for pulling the arms out. The same version of the cut, only in the form of a dress pulled over the head, had the *gardcorp* (Fr. *gardecors*).²³¹ Its central front slit reached only to the groin, like a *surcote*, and full sleeves were partially open with long longitudinal slits. Both garments were winter coats and were mostly worn as travel clothes.

In 1359, the *houppelande* was mentioned for the first time in written sources.²³² It could be long or short (Fr. *haincelin*), buttoned up to the waist, and one of the sleeve variants, especially from the 15th century, had a wider tubular shape that fell at least to the knees, but often even longer. Such sleeves had long longitudinal slits. The entire garment, along with the sleeves, was either lined or trimmed with fur. It was in vogue in France until about 1425.²³³

Italy had its own versions of the *houppelande*. The female *cioppa*, called *pellanda* or *opelanda* in the north,²³⁴ took over Turkish open sleeves – *çepken*, in Italy called *maniche aperte*, which were also sometimes buttoned at the wrists (fig. 30).

The male variant of the same garment – *zimarra*,²³⁵ had richly-pleated sleeves, which could be entirely or

only partially opened. The slits were long and longitudinal. Sometimes such sleeves were gathered at the hem like a balloon – *maniche a gozzo*.²³⁶

The Italian fashion of such garments influenced the way of clothing in Eastern European and Balkan courts in the first half of the 15th century. The funeral *zimarra* of Bohemian Duke John of Görlitz (Jan Zhořelecký) from around 1369,²³⁷ made of Italian

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 19–20, 78.

²³² *Ibid.*, 34, 53–54.

²³³ F. Boucher, *A History of Costume in the West*, London – New York 1987, 195, figs. , 348, 353–355, 373, 390–392.

²³⁴ Herald, *Renaissance Dress*, 49–50, 57, 214–215.

²³⁵ Gallo, *Sacred Vestments*, 19, 22.

²³⁶ For example, see *zimarras* with *maniche a gozzo* of two kings represented on Domenico Veneziano's painting *The Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1440 (Herald, *Renaissance Dress*, 107, 115).

²³⁷ M. Bravermanová, *Pohřební oděv Jana Zhořeleckého*

velvet, is the earliest preserved example of that new cut of upper garments. Sewn from precious Venetian *velutti* and *velutatti*,²³⁸ the *cioppas* and *zimarras* also adorn members of the Serbian Branković ruling family represented on the Esphigmenou Charter from 1429.²³⁹ The *zimarra* of the Hungarian king Louis II Jagiellon, from 1522,²⁴⁰ is made of fine Florentine *lampas* silk and, according to his ruling rank, falls to the ankles, while the back extends into the long trail. The sleeves, as long as the front, are open along their entire length. In a posthumous portrait painted at the bottom of the icon of Saint Johan Prodromos from the Panagia Amasgou Monastery in Monagri, of 1529,²⁴¹ a Cypriot Kyriakos Kazartou also wears a fur-lined *zimarra* with overlong tubular sleeves that each has a long vertical slit.

A similar Italian garment, not opened at the front and shorter in length, called a *giubbone* or *giubberello*,²⁴² could also have overlong wide sleeves with short or long longitudinal slits (fig. 31).

The German and Flemish versions of the *houppelande* got the name *Tap-pert*.²⁴³ During the 15th century, the name was changed into the *Schaube*²⁴⁴ after the aforementioned *šuba* worn in Eastern Europe. A later version of the same garment was called the *Gestaltrock*.²⁴⁵ These were heavier winter



Figure 31. Polyptych of Sant'Elena, detail of the icon, Michele di Mateo, ca. 1435, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (photo: Tatjana Vuleta)

coats lined with fur. Their wide sleeves had longer vertical slits.

At the beginning of the 15th century in Germany, female dresses with bell-shaped sleeves appeared. The sleeves were opened from the elbow downwards and fell almost to the ground. Such fashion spread to Bohemia as well.²⁴⁶ The same type of sleeve adorned both the male *cote-hardi*²⁴⁷ and doublets (Fr. *gipon*).²⁴⁸ From the second half of the 15th century, other garments with hanging sleeves appeared in Europe. In France, such sleeves first adorned clothes worn in the house and the garden, with a full and comfortable cut, also trimmed or lined with fur.²⁴⁹ Fully-opened sleeves dominated female dresses in

z královské hrobky v katedrále sv. Víta na Pražském hradě, Arheologia Historica, 31(6), 2005, 403–412.

²³⁸ T. Вулета, *Трагом народног песника – аздија: плишане тканине у Србији средњег века*, Саопштења, 45, 2013, 157–159.

²³⁹ П. Ивић, В. Ј. Ђурић, С. Ђирковић, *Есфигменска повеља деспота Ђурђа*, Београд 1989, 9, 24–29.

²⁴⁰ Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe*, 17. Today, the *zimarra* is in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, available at <https://mnm.hu/en/exhibitions/history-hungary-foundation-state-1990-middle-ages/ages-matthias-hunyadi-second-half-15th> (accessed on 28.01.2020).

²⁴¹ S. Sophocleous, *Icons of Cyprus, 7th–20th Century*, Nicosia 1994, 101, 183, fig. 49.

²⁴² Tilke, *Costume Patterns and Designs*, 46, pl. 119.18–21.

²⁴³ Köhler, *A History of Costume*, 185–186.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 247–249; M. Bringemeier, *Priester- und Gelehrtenkleidung*, Münster 1974, 44–56.

²⁴⁵ Köhler, *A History of Costume*, 258–259.

²⁴⁶ E. Wagner, Z. Drobná, J. Durdik, *Medieval Costume, Armour and Weapons*, Mineola NY 2000, pl. 7.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 28; Tilke, *Costume Patterns and Designs*, 47, pls. 120.19, 120.21.

²⁴⁸ Wagner, Drobná, Durdik, *Medieval Costume, Armour and Weapons*, pl. 45.

²⁴⁹ Evans, *Dress in Mediaeval France*, 63, pls. 62, 63.



Figure 32. Scythian goddess, detail of the gold plate, Nosaki kurgan, 4th century BC, Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine, Kiev (photo © Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine, Kiev)

the 16th and 17th centuries, from Italy to England.²⁵⁰ In the same period in Europe, open sleeves, or those with longer longitudinal slits, adorned the male doublet the *pourpoint*, and coats – the *collet* and the *casaque*.²⁵¹ With the settlement of America in the 16th and the 17th centuries, Europeans brought such garments to the “new continent”.

The slits on the sleeves also varied in length, from quite short, just enough to pull the arm through, to the sleeves that were cut along the entire length, which turned such a garment into a kind of vest or cape. In Persia (fig. 29), Caucasus, Romania, Bulgaria, and Serbia, during the late Middle Ages, such slits were fastened with buttons²⁵² or *çaprast*.²⁵³ The Turkish *çep-*

²⁵⁰ Boucher, *A History of Costume in the West*, figs. 473, 489, 498, 505, 508, 527, 546, 549, 550.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.254, figs. 555–560.

²⁵² The dress found in the necropolis in Juhta has one button with a loop on each slit – Dode, *Juhta Burial*, 86. The slits in the seam that connects the sleeve with the front on the caftans of the nobles in Крепи́чевци are closed with a larger number of buttons and loops – Кнежевић, *Две теме из манастира Крепи́чевца*, 153, 154. The same has the preserved caftan of the Wallachian Voivode Neagoe Basarab from the beginning of the 15th century, today in the Museum of National Art of Romania in Bucharest

ken also had buttons on the ends so that the sleeves could be buttoned around the wrists (figs. 15, 18). The Italian and European completely open sleeves took over the same. On the open sleeves of the Persian female jackets from the 19th century, the buttons could be closed at the height of the elbow, which left the lower half of the sleeves hanging freely.²⁵⁴

3. Garments with Sleeves with Hanging Extensions

On the gold plates from Nosaki kurgan near Balki and Chertomlyk from the 4th century BC,²⁵⁵ a Scythian goddess is represented seated on the throne, clad in a caftan whose short sleeves extend into long open oval panels that fall freely from the elbows (fig. 32). It is the oldest surviving example of sleeves with pendant extensions. The Scythian fashion of such caftans must have had an echo on the clothing of the people of the Caucasus, but, unfortunately, there is no evidence about its spread and development until the 17th century. The same shape of the sleeves with hanging extensions adorn Georgian female garments on engravings from the first half of the 17th century.²⁵⁶ During the 18th and 19th centuries, the sleeves of Georgian female caftans, at different lengths, had square or oval extensions, richly decorated with embroidery, and sometimes with cuffs, which covered the hands, and sometimes fell almost to the ground.²⁵⁷

A similar effect was achieved by total or partial opening of the sleeves of Azerbaijani female *çepken* and *arxaliq*.²⁵⁸ The fully-opened sleeves of the *çepken* have teardrop-shaped hanging extensions that covered the hands. The lower halves of the *arxaliq*'s sleeves are opened, narrowed, rounded, and hemmed with decorative bands. From the 18th century, the same sleeve variation appeared on Turkish female *anteri*. The opened lower part of *anteri* sleeves revealed the wide fluttering sleeves of the *gömlek* shirt.²⁵⁹ In time, the *gömlek* got the same type of partially-opened sleeves. The edges of such sleeves were decorated with lace.²⁶⁰ During the 18th century, the opened parts

– available at <http://clasate.cimec.ro/detalii.asp?k=FA-90476D9A4E4BB5BFBCA83A0C50AA11> (accessed on 30/01/2020).

²⁵³ Равдоникас, *Очерки по истории одежды*, fig. 19.

²⁵⁴ Scarce, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East*, pl. 116.

²⁵⁵ *Gold aus Kiev*, p. 170, Kat.-Nr. 46; Yatsenko, *Early Turks*, fig. 41.

²⁵⁶ Равдоникас, *Очерки по истории одежды*, fig. 22

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 164–170, figs. 27, 28.

²⁵⁸ Rustambayova, *Kinds of Upper Body Clothing*, 33–35.

²⁵⁹ Scarce, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East*, 56–57, pls. 34, 36, 39.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pls. 45, 46.

of the sleeves were gained in length. The same type of sleeves appeared on the male *dolama*.²⁶¹

European fashion testifies that sleeves with long pendant tong-like extensions of Scythian female caftans underwent an evolution of the cut during the Middle Ages (fig. 1c). Male and female *surcote* from the 13th and 14th centuries often had sleeves with oval extensions that, during the 14th century developed into the longer strip-like *tippets* (or *tappets*, *tapets*, *tippits*, *typeitis*, Fr. *coudières*, *poignets*, It. *manicotoli*), hanging from short sleeves of the *cotehardie*.²⁶² The European fashion of such sleeves that came with Normans also nurtured different lengths of the *tippets* – from one inch long to those that fell to the ground, oval or square in shape.²⁶³ Chroniclers from the beginning of the 15th century despised such fashion, believing that sleeves with *tippets* gave the human body a demonic and beastly appearance.²⁶⁴ The exact cut of such sleeves can be seen in the preserved tomb dress of Queen Anna Henrietta of Bavaria, the second wife of Emperor Charles IV, who died in 1353.²⁶⁵ The sleeves with *tippets* entered both female and male fashion in Bohemia during the mid-14th century. The Bohemian *tippets* were usually square, like long strips which sometimes fell directly from the shoulders.²⁶⁶ Sleeves with *tippets* can also be found in frescoes and miniatures of the 14th-century Hungary (fig. 33).²⁶⁷ The same type of extensions, oval in shape and up to the wrists, lined with fur, adorned the sleeves of court garments of the Serbian elite during the middle of the 14th century.

²⁶¹ For examples see Jean Brindesi, *Osmanli Kiyafetleri*, 17, 27, 53, 57.

²⁶² R. Netherton, *The Tippet, Accessory after the Fact*, Medieval Clothing and Textiles, ed. R. Netherton, G. R. Owen-Crocker, Woodbridge 2006, 115–121.

²⁶³ For example, the sleeves of Joan de Ingham's dress from her posthumous portrait in the Trinitarian Priory Church at Ingham, c. 1346 – S. F. Badham, *Beautiful Remains of Antiquity: the Medieval Monuments in the Former Trinitarian Priory Church at Ingham, Norfolk, Part 1: The Lost Brasses*, Church Monuments, 21, 2007, 14, figs. 5, 7–33; for many other examples see Netherton, *The Tippet*, 115–121.

²⁶⁴ *The Brut or Chronicles of England*, Early English Text Society o.s., 138, Vol. II, ed. F. W. D. Brie, London 1908, 296–297.

²⁶⁵ *Koruna království: Katedrála sv. Víta a Karel IV*, eds. M. Bravermanová, P. Chotěbor, S. Pražského, Praha 2016, 103.

²⁶⁶ Wagner, Drobná, Durdik, *Medieval Costume, Armour and Weapons*, 16, pls. 2.2, 2.3, 5.2, 11, 17.

²⁶⁷ For example, see the garment of a young man leading the horse of the first king in the *Adoration of the Kings* from the Church of the Ascension of the Mother of God in Podolinec, today's Slovakia – K. Ilkó, *Nyitra-vidéki falképfestészet a középkorban*, Budapest 2019, 138, fig. 50.

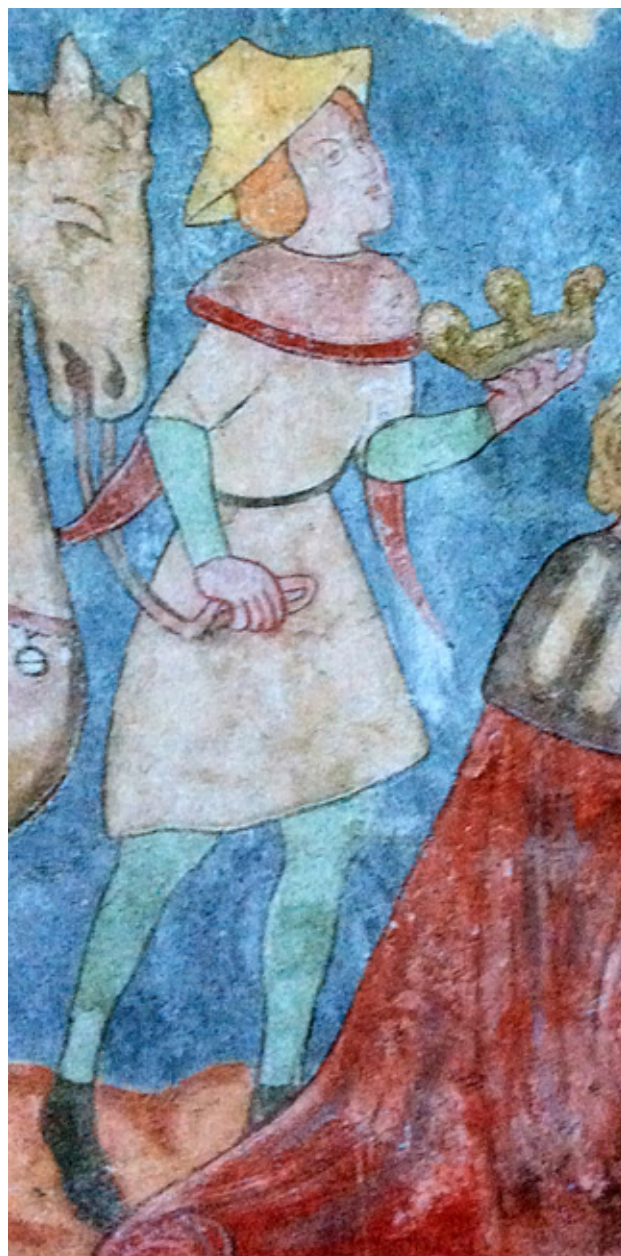


Figure 33. *Adoration of the Kings*, detail of the fresco, Church of the Ascension of the Mother of God, Podolinec, 14th century (photo: Tatjana Vuleta)

* * *

By pulling the arms out of the restraining sleeves, the appearance of garments with hanging sleeves was, thus, primarily useful and practical, and immediately afterwards, by covering the hands with overlong sleeves, both of an ethical and symbolic nature. Over time, the hanging sleeves, in various systems of the beautiful and therefore desirable, also carried an emphasized aesthetic value, becoming an ornament for themselves and often completely losing their original function. We find a pictorial example on Macedonian female *klašenik*, whose long sleeves are so narrow



Figure 34. One of the royal costumes from the *Game of Thrones*, by Michele Clapton (photo: Benjamin Skinstad, source: Wikipedia) and a Sportmax coat, pre-fall 2019, by Grazia Malagoli (photo © Sportmax, source: Vogue.com)

that they have turned into a kind of decorative hanging ribbons.²⁶⁸

As the upper, exposed clothes, the garments with hanging sleeves have been sewn from the most luxurious materials, decorated with various applications, embroidery, and lace, often trimmed or lined with precious fur. In the ambiguous practicality and symbolism lies the secret to the long-lasting presence of hanging sleeves in the way of dressing the people of Asia, and in the status identity and beauty of their fall and movement. Furthermore, the additional emphasis on the beauty of designs and value of materials and decorations is the secret to their entry into European fashion from the 13th century on.

²⁶⁸ Tilke, *Costume Patterns and Designs*, 58. More examples of *klašeniks* from the collection of drawings of Olga Benson, Ethnographic Institute of Serbian Academy of Science and Art, available at http://www.serbia-forum.org/sf/olga_benson/kolekcija. The same type of garment was worn in Bulgaria and Albania as well – Rieff Anawalt, *The Worldwide History of Dress*, 106, pl. 148.

For millennia, nurtured and worn in Asian cultures, robes with hanging sleeves have, over time, grown entangled into the visual identity of many individual peoples, becoming part of the traditional folk and national costume. They were still worn during the 20th century in Georgia, Armenia, Dagestan, Syria, Azerbaijan, Iran, as well as in Kashmir, India, and of course, Turkey.²⁶⁹ The *fermeli* (Gk. φέρμελη) is still worn by the Greek Presidential Guard,²⁷⁰ and the *xhamadani* has been the traditional male clothing in Albania for centuries.²⁷¹ Dresses with hanging sleeves mark both the traditional costumes of Mon-

²⁶⁹ For examples see Tilke, *Oriental Costumes, their Designs and Colors*; idem, *National Costumes of Caucasian People*.

²⁷⁰ M. Lada-Minōtou, I. K. Mazarakēs Ainian, D. Gangadē, *Greek Costumes: Collection of the National Historical Museum*, Athens 1993, 250; I. Papantōniou, *Greek Dress: From Ancient Times to the Early 20th Century*, Athens 2000, 220, 295.

²⁷¹ A. Gjergji, *Albanian Costumes through the Centuries: Origin, Types, Evolution*, Tirana 2004, 290.

tenegro and eastern Herzegovina through a male ceremonial upper jacket called *dušanka*²⁷² and a longer coat *dolama čepkenlija*.²⁷³ Such robes, gradually adopted in the Balkans from the middle of the 15th century, were of direct Turkish origin.

The wearing of garments with hanging sleeves did not decline even before the complete modernization of the way of dressing brought by the 20th century. Losing the practical and symbolic side of their existence, they were resurrected through their aesthetic dimension. As inspiration for fashion designers, they found their way into coats in the sixties and evening dresses during the seventies. They mark screen heroes of modern fictional historical sagas, such as those from the *Game of Thrones* (fig. 34a).²⁷⁴ Under that influence, in the last two fashion seasons in 2019, they have been again conquering designers' collections, shop windows, and pages of fashion magazines and blogs adorning celebrities of all kinds (fig. 34b).²⁷⁵ They have been part of students' and professors' uniforms, like the overcoat worn in Eton College in Windsor, a modern version of the *herigaut*.²⁷⁶ Having traveled a complex mul-

ti-millennial road, the hanging sleeves do not give up, filling relevant pages of dress history and, along the way, persistently erasing geographical, religious, and national borders. Culture does not flourish within boundaries, it is there to overcome and deny them and multiply by that,²⁷⁷ as evidenced by the garments with hanging sleeves as part of the universal clothing and cultural heritage shaped from the beginning of civilization until today. They teach us that there is no closed and isolated human community that can be creatively advanced only within itself. Cultural exchange, permeation, and coexistence, so clearly embedded in the (hi)story of hanging sleeves, embody the idea that only one nation exists on the planet – the human one. Guided by the vision of creativity and creation instead of destruction and disappearance, we should start writing a different history. Instead of the self-centered one that often, in the mists of intricate ownership and worn-out daily politics, seduces and distances us, we ought to see the philanthropic one that, both in time and space, makes us connected, ennobled and united.²⁷⁸

²⁷² Бјеладиновић, *Народне ношње Срба*, 96, fig. 145; 151, fig. 239.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.151, fig. 238; Škaljić, *Turcizmi*, 222–223. *Dolama* was a janissary coat, often worn with ends tucked into the belt, which is why it bears such a name. A realistically presented example of a *dolama* can be found in Bellini's drawing of a Turkish janissary from 1480, and an example of the front ends tucked into the belt on a portrait of an azamoglan, a boy from the Balkans sent as a tribute to the Istanbul court, shown in an engraving by Nicolas de Nicolai from 1555 – G. Calvi, *Across Three Empires: Balkan Costume in XVI Century Europe*, From Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans (XVIth – XXth Centuries), ed. C. Vintilă-Ghițulescu, Cambridge 2011, 35, 36, fig. 1.

²⁷⁴ M. Clapton, G. McIntyre, *Game of Thrones: The Costumes*, San Rafael CA 2019.

²⁷⁵ The fashion season in which this article was written – autumn/winter 2019–2020, is marked by coats, jackets, dresses with hanging sleeves. The collections of Sportmax and Phillip Lim stand out among the most innovative.

²⁷⁶ For example, see photos of the UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson wearing such a robe as an Eton student, taken by Ian Sumner in 1979, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/jul/21/boris-johnson-route-to-number-10> (accessed on 25/06/2020).

²⁷⁷ "Cultural creation does not take place within closed communities or under conditions of consensus, but through competitive social exchange" – D. Noyes, *The Judgment of Solomon. Global Protections for Tradition and the Problem of Community Ownership*, Cultural Analysis, 5, 2006, 32.

²⁷⁸ On the global view of the history of dress and the abandonment of narrow-minded and regional dress-centrism, the approach that is just beginning to awaken in the circles of fashion and dress researchers, see L. Welters, A. Lillethun, *Fashion History: A Global View*, London – New York 2018.

ХАЉЕЦИ СА ВИСЕЋИМ РУКАВИМА: ГЕНЕРАЛНИ ПРЕГЛЕД СА СТИЛСКОМ И КРОЈНОМ КЛАСИФИКАЦИЈОМ

Резиме

Проучавање историје хаљетака са висећим рукавима од бронзаног доба до данас и на свим просторима на којима су они ношени, пружа јасну слику о путевима и начинима њиховог ширења. Сачувани одевни предмети и ликовни и писани извори са тог временског и просторног „путовања“, откривају разлоге њиховог настанка и распрострања те њихову употребну и симболичку вредност у различитим културама које су обележавали. Источници таквих хаљетака припадају номадским и седелачким културама евроазијских степа и централне Азије још од бронзаног и гвозденог доба. Ширење обичаја ношења таквих хаљетака у Азији и на Медитерану везано је за античко доба и рани средњи век. Крсташки походи пренели су такву моду и у Европу крајем XII века. Монголска освајања током XIII века учинила су такве хаљетке службеном одеждом ношеном широм покорене Азије, али и у деловима источне Европе и на Балкану. Заједно са византијским и европским хаљецима са висећим рукавима у том и у XIV веку, они су чинили део глобалне одевне сцене каква није забележена никада пре тога (таб. 7), а која ће се поново појавити тек у XX веку са концептом модерног одевања. Са насељавањем Америке од стране Европљана од XVI века, хаљеци са висећим рукавима досежу и до „новог“ континента. Отоманском царству припада ширење нарочитог облика висећих рукава – потпуно отворених чепкена. Са модерним начином одевања, хаљеци са висећим рукавима губе своју практичну и симболичку вредност али зато опстају на модној сцени захваљујући својој естетској димензији која инспирише модне креаторе током шездесетих и седамдесетих година прошлог века и последње две године овог века. Као одраз традиције, хаљеци са висећим рукавима опстали су и у свету школских и универзитетских униформи и до данас.

Различити типови хаљетака са висећим рукавима указују на три стилске групе у које се они могу сврстати. Прву групу чине хаљеци огрнути преко рамена или главе са којих слободно падају заједно са празним рукавима (таб. 1). Хаљеци огрнути преко рамена обележавали су сточарске културе Евроазије и централне Азије од стварања

људске цивилизације, оставши трајно обележје чобана туркичких и словенских народа. Као одежа намењена религиозним сврхама коришћена је у туркичких и иранских племена и народа централне Азије, Кавказа и Мале Азије, преживевши као дервишки костим и у модерној Турској. Нарочит обичај ношења кафтана пребачених преко главе зарад религиозног прекривања главе и лица налазимо код жена Ирана и туркичких народа централне Азије до модерног доба. Као униформа војника са Кавказа у средњем веку, хаљеци пребачени преко рамена били су обележје нарочитих византијских плаћеничких војних трупа чији је одраз, преко Балкана, широко раширен по Европи у виду хусарског костима. Као део дворског и цивилног костима такве хаљетке пребачене преко рамена налазимо још у старој Медији одакле је исти обичај кандис-модне пресељен и у Персију где је остао вишемиленијумска ознака владара и дворјана. Под персијским утицајем, *кандис*-мода је у раном средњем веку усвојена и на Блиском истоку, у северној Африци и на Кавказу где се, као хиљадугодишње обележје, најдуже задржала у начину одевања владара и властеле у Грузији. Од касног средњег века *кандис*-мода је постала трајно обележје и руских бојара. Пребачени преко главе, такви хаљеци су обележавали и даме из аристократских кругова Кореје током XVII века.

У другу стилску групу улазе хаљеци са разреза кроз које се извлаче руке па празни рукави висе са рамена или руку (таб. 5). Такви хаљеци се даље могу разврстати у три подгрупе: хаљеци са прорезима испод пазуха, хаљеци са прорезима у шаву кугле рукава или на предњицама у делу раменог злоба и хаљеци са прорезима на рукавима. Свака од подгрупа подлеже даљој класификацији према основном кроју (туника-крој, крој од животињске коже и крој од филца) којим су ти хаљеци обликовани што условљава место разреза за руке. Такав начин класификације омогућава да се хаљеци из удаљених временских и географских зона сврстају у иста „породична стабла“ чиме су откривене интересантне кројне везе хаљетака које је иначе временски и културолошки теже повезати (таб. 2–4).

Трећа стилска група састављена је од хаљетака чији рукави имају viseће продужетке (таб. 6). Први примери таквих рукава припадају скитској култури, даље развијани на Кавказу, у централној Азији, Персији и Турској у премодерном времену и у Европи у касном средњем веку и ренесанси. Продужеци који су слободно падали са мишице или испод лакта, могли су бити овални, четвртасти или у виду дугачких трака (Скити, Кавказ, Балкан, Европа). Продужетке су могли чинити и предугачки рукави отворени од лакта наниже, често са додатком нарочитих четвртастих или сузоликих манжетни (централна Азија, Персија, Кавказ, Турска).

Ношени као горње одело, шивени од најдрагоценијих материјала, улепшавани најскупљим украсима и најкомпликованијим и најзахтевнијим техникама израде, хаљеци са viseћим рукавима

откривају нераскидиве уметничке и занатске везе што су се, мимо културних, верских и политичких разлика, несметано шириле и преплитале и у времену и у простору, оцртавајући непорециву слику креативне сједињености људске цивилизације. Они нас уче да не постоји затворена и изолована људска заједница која може бити стваралачки напредна само унутар саме себе. Културна размена, прожимање и суживот, тако јасно уграђени у причу о viseћим рукавима, оваплоћују идеју да на планети живи само једна нација – она људска. Време је да, вођени визијом креативности и стварања уместо деструкције и нестајања, отпочнемо писање другачије историје. Наместо оне самоцентричне која нас често, у замагљу замршеног власништва и излизане дневне политике, завађа и удаљава, сагледавамо ону филантропску која нас, и у времену и у простору, повезује, оплемењује и уједињује.

Татјана ВУЛЕТА

независен истражувач, Виена

НАМЕТКИ СО ОБЕСЕНИ РАКАВИ: ГЕНЕРАЛЕН ПРЕГЛЕД СО СТИЛСКА И КРОЈНА КАЛСИФИКАЦИЈА

Резиме

Студијата за историјата на (халјетки) наметки со обесени ракави од бронзеното време, до денес и во сите области каде што се носеле, дава јасна слика за патеките и начините на нивното ширење. Зачуваните парчиња облека и уметничките и пишаните извори од тоа патување низ времето и просторот ги откриваат причините за нивното потекло и ширење, како и нивната употреба и симболичката вредност во различните култури што ги обележале. Потеклото на ваквите наметки им припаѓа на номадските и седлачките култури на евроазиските степи и Централна Азија уште од бронзеното и железното време. Ширењето на обичајот на носење такви наметки во Азија и Медитеранот е поврзано со античкото време и раниот среден век. Крстоносните војни донесле таква мода во Европа на крајот на 12 век. Монголските освојувања во текот на 13 век ваквите наметки ги направиле официјална облека што ја носеле низ освојената Азија, но и во делови од Источна Европа и Балканот. Заедно со византиските, и европските наметки со обесени ракави во тој и во

14 век, беа дел од глобалната сцена за облека што не била видена досега (Табела 7), која повторно ќе се појави само во 20 век со концептот на модерна облека. Со населувањето на Америка од страна на Еропејците, почнувајќи од 16 век, наметките со обесени ракави стигнаа и до „новиот“ континент. На Османлиската Империја и припаѓа ширењето на посебен облик на обесени ракави - целосно отворени наметки - чепкени. Со модерениот начин на облекување, наметките со обесени ракави ја губат својата практична и симболична вредност, но тие преживуваат на модната сцена благодарение на нивната естетска димензија која ги инспирира модните дизајнери во текот на шесеттите и седумдесеттите години на минатиот век и последните две години на овој век. Како одраз на традицијата, наметки со обесени ракави преживеаја во светот на училишните и универзитетските униформи до денес.

Различни видови наметки со обесени ракави означуваат три стилски групи во кои може да се класифицираат. Првата група се состои од наметки префрлени преку рамената или главата од кои

слободно паѓаат заедно со празните ракави (Табела 1). Наметките префрлени околу рамената се карактеристични за сточните култури на Евроазија и Централна Азија од создавањето на човечката цивилизација, оставајќи траен белег на пастирите на турските и словенските народи. Како облека наменета за религиозни цели, се користела во турски и ирански племиња и народи од Централна Азија, Кавказ и Мала Азија, преживувајќи како дервишка носија и во модерна Турција. Посебниот обичај на носење кафтани што се носат над главата заради религиозно покривање на главата и лицето се наоѓа кај жените во Иран и турските народи од Централна Азија до модерно време. Како униформа на војниците од Кавказ во средниот век, наметките што биле спуштени над рамената биле одлика на специјалните византиски платеници, чиј одраз преку Балканот беше раширен низ цела Европа во вид на хусарска носија. Како дел од дворската и граѓанската носија, таквата наметка што се носи над рамото може да се најде во старата Медија, од каде што истиот обичај на кандис-мода беше преселен во Персија, каде што остана повеќемилениумски знак на владетелите и дворјаните. Под персиско влијание, кандис-модата беше усвоена во раниот среден век на Блискиот Исток, Северна Африка и Кавказ, каде што како илјада години стар симбол, таа остана најдолго во начинот на облекување на владетелите и земјопоседниците во Грузија. Од доцниот среден век, кандис-модата стана трајна карактеристика и на руските болјари. Покриени, таквите наметки означувале и дами од аристократските кругови во Кореја во текот на 17 век.

Втората стилска група вклучува наметки со процепи низ кои се извлекуваат рацете, па празните ракави висат од рамената или рацете (Табела 5). Таквите наметки понатаму може да се поделат на три подгрупи: наметки со прорези под пазувите, наметки со прорези во спојот на шевот на куглата на ракавот или на предната страна во делот на рамениот зглоб и наметки со прорези на ракавите. Секоја од подгрупите е предмет на понатамошна класификација според основниот пресек (сечење на туника, сечење на животинска кожа или сечење на филц) со кој се обликуваат овие наметки,

што го одредува местото на процепот за рацете. Таквиот начин на класификација им овозможува на наметките од далечното минато и различни географски зони да бидат класифицирани во истите „семејни стебла“, што открива интересни кројни врски на наметки кои инаку тешко се поврзуваат во времето и културите. (Табели 2-4).

Третата стилска група е составена од наметки чии ракави имаат висечки додатоци (Табела 6). Првите примери за такви ракави и припаѓаат на скитската култура, понатаму развиени во Кавказ, Централна Азија, Персија и Турција во предмодерното време и во Европа во доцниот среден век и ренесансата. Додатоците што паѓаа слободно од раката или под лакотот, може да бидат овални, квадратни или во форма на долги ленти (Скити, Кавказ, Балкан, Европа). Додатоците исто така може да се состојат од премногу долги ракави отворени од лакотот надолу, често со додавање на специјални манжетни во форма на квадрат или солза (Централна Азија, Персија, Кавказ, Турција).

Носени како горна облека, сошиени од најскапоцените материјали, украсени со најскапите украси и најkomplицираните и најтешки техники на изработка, наметките со обесени ракави откриваат нераскинливи уметнички и занаетчиски врски, кои покрај културните, верските и политичките разлики, се шират и се преплетуваат непречено во времето и просторот, истакнувајќи непобитна слика за креативното единство на човечката цивилизација. Тие нè учат дека не постои затворена и изолирана човечка заедница што може креативно да се унапреди сама од себе. Културната размена, проникнувањето и соживотот, толку јасно вметнати во приказната за обесените ракави, ја отелотворуваат идејата дека на планетата живее само една нација - човечката. Време е, водени од визија за креативност и создавање наместо уништување и исчезнување, да започнеме да пишуваме поинаква историја. Наместо егоцентричната што честопати, во маглата од сложената сопственост и дотраената дневна политика, нè заведува и дистанцира, да ја гледаме филантропската што нè поврзува, облагородува и обединува, како во времето, така и во просторот.

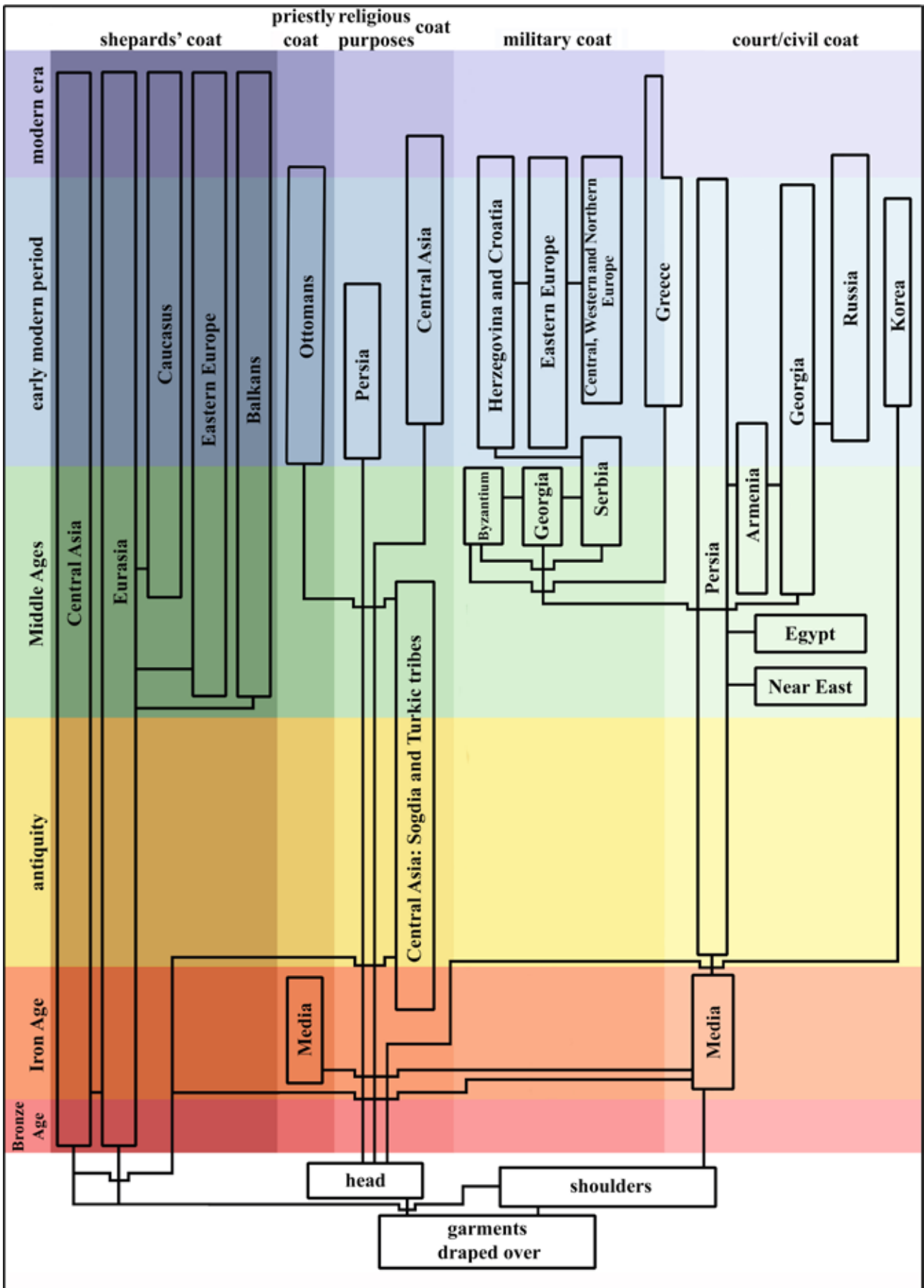


Table 1. Time, space, style and purpose taxonomy of the garments draped over the shoulders or head

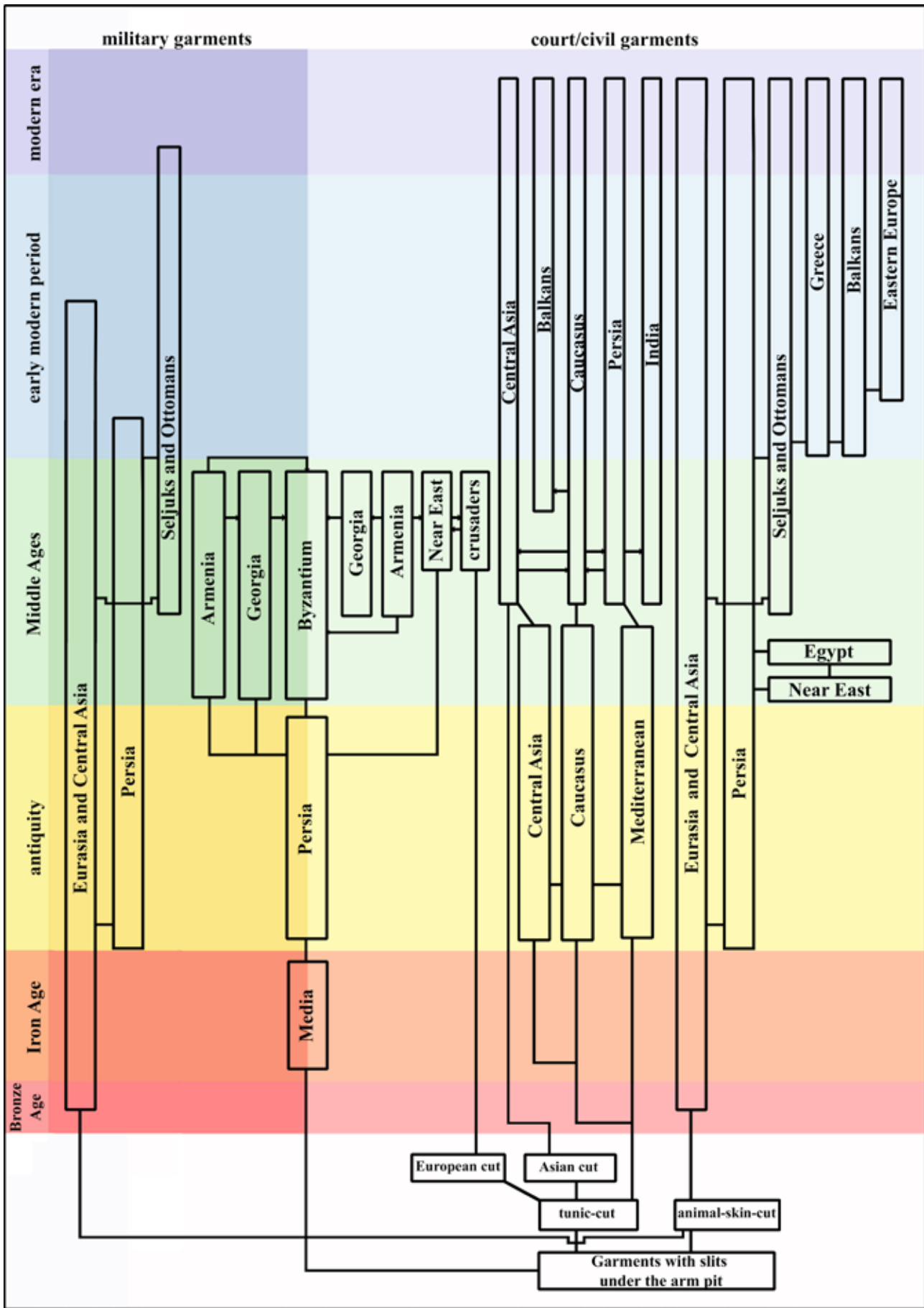


Table 2. Time, space, cut, and purpose taxonomy of garments with hanging sleeves with slits under the armpit

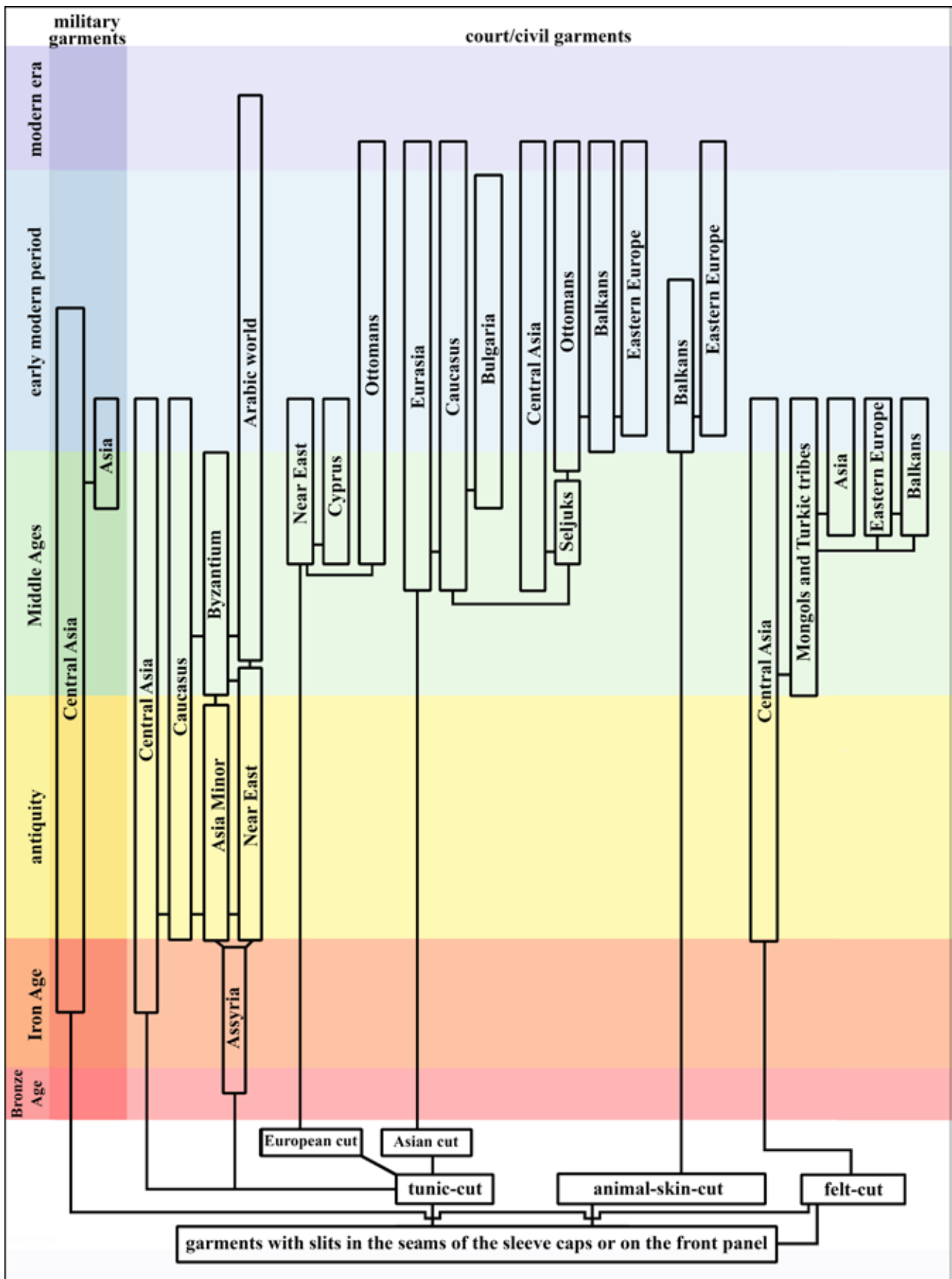


Table 3. Time, space, cut, and purpose taxonomy of the garments with slits in the seams of the sleeve cups or on the front panel

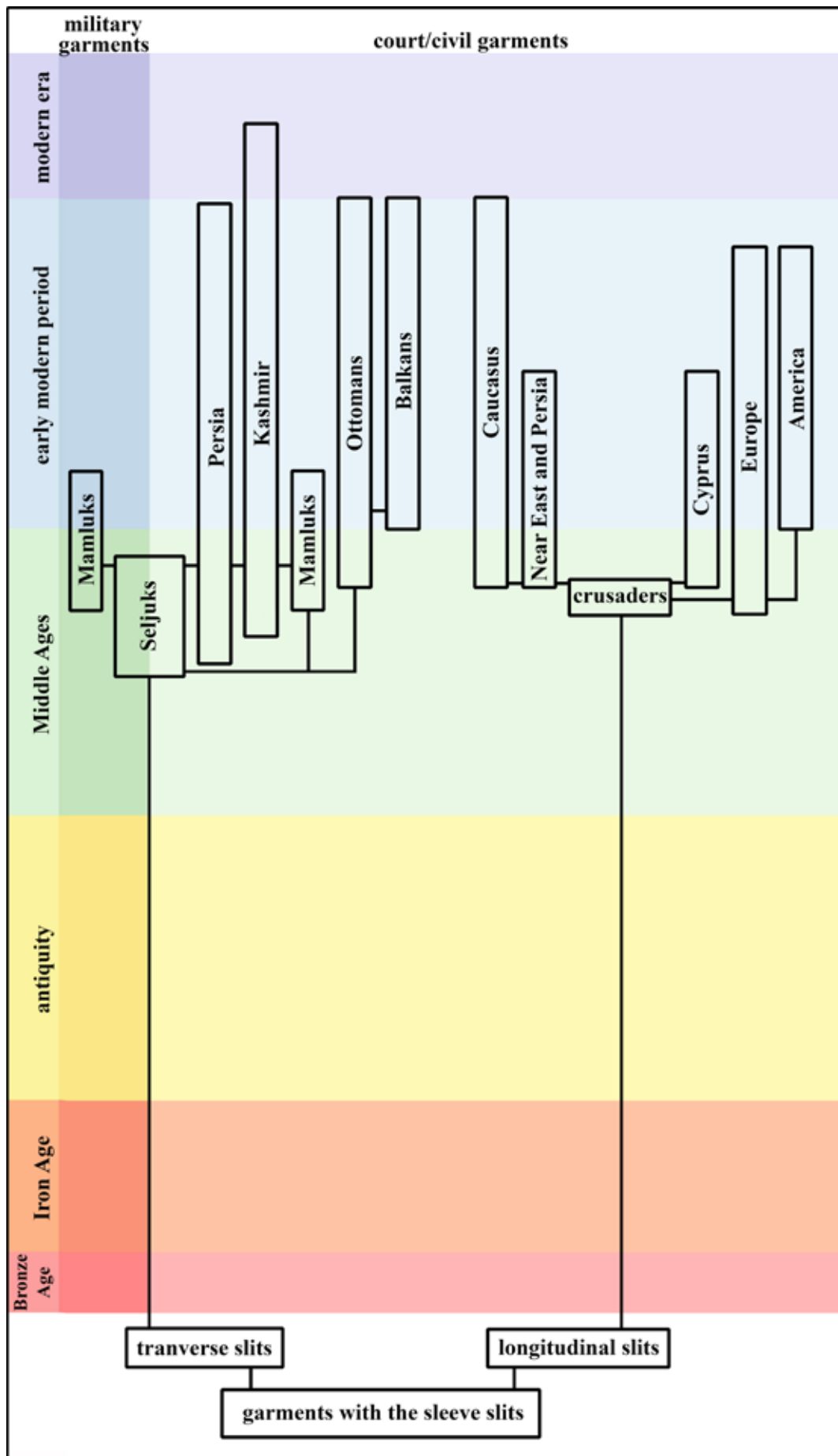


Table 4. Time, space, cut and purpose taxonomy of the garments with slits on the sleeves

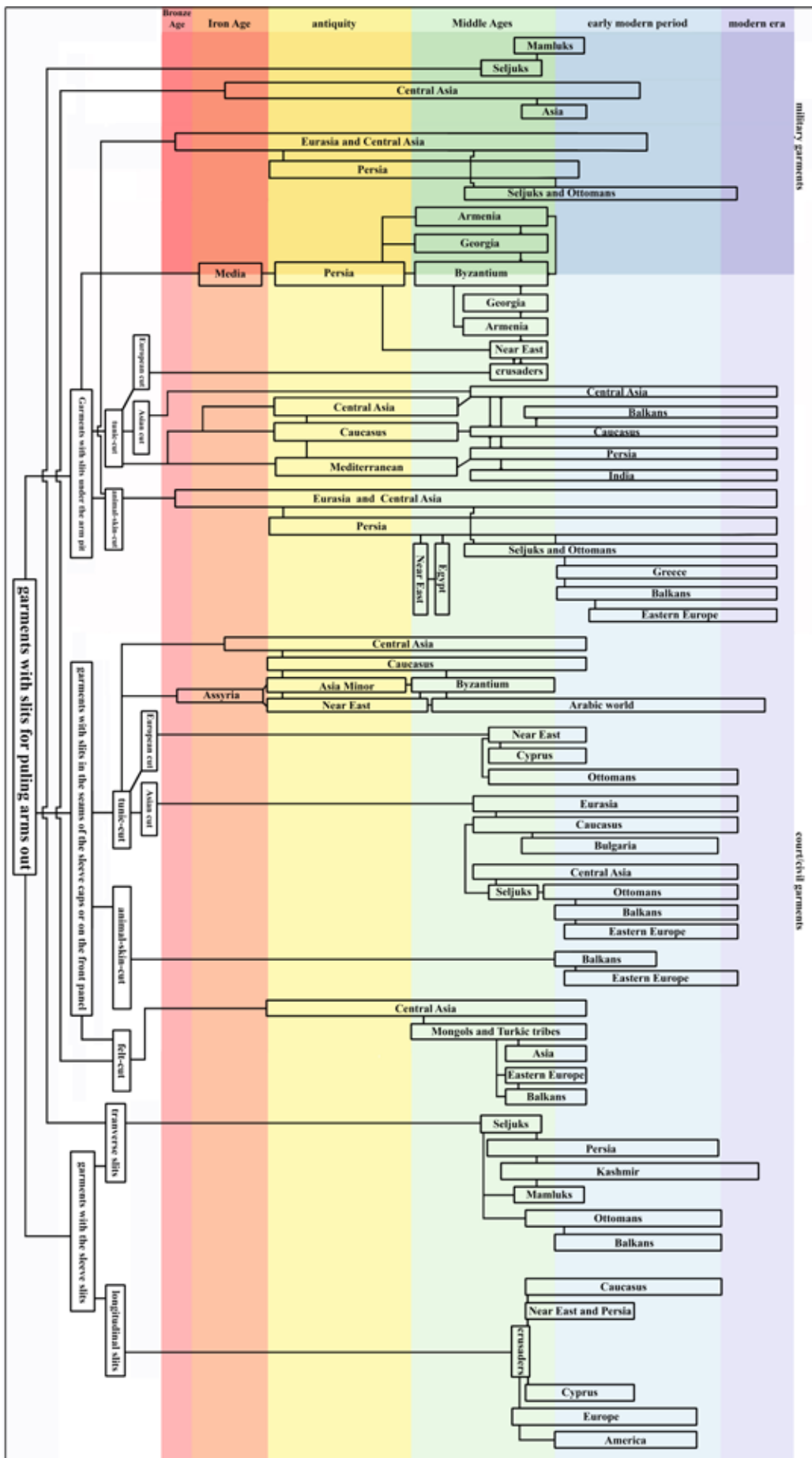


Table 5. Time, space, cut and purpose taxonomy of the garments with slits for pulling arms out

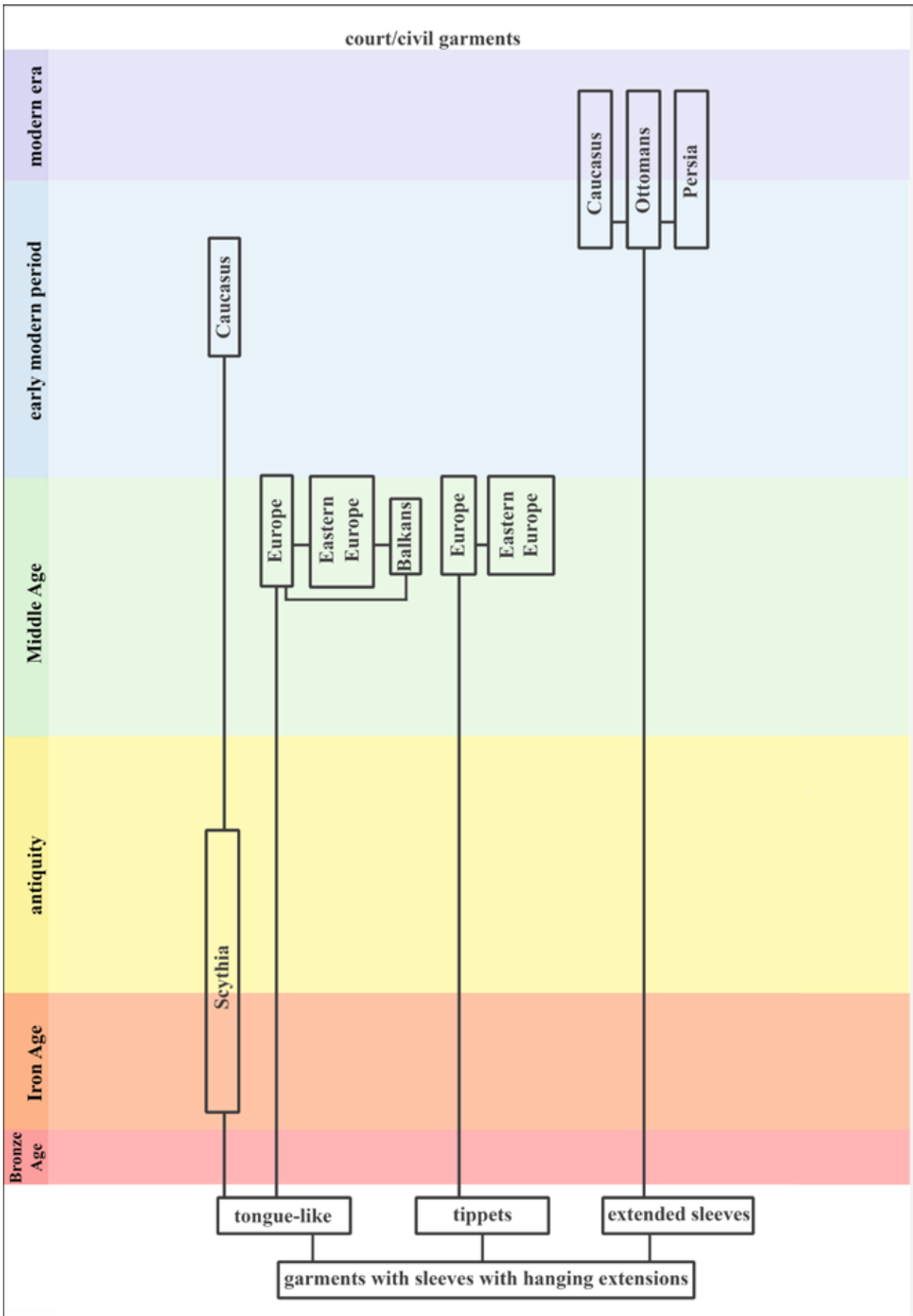


Table 6. Time, space, style, and purpose taxonomy of the garments with sleeves with hanging extensions

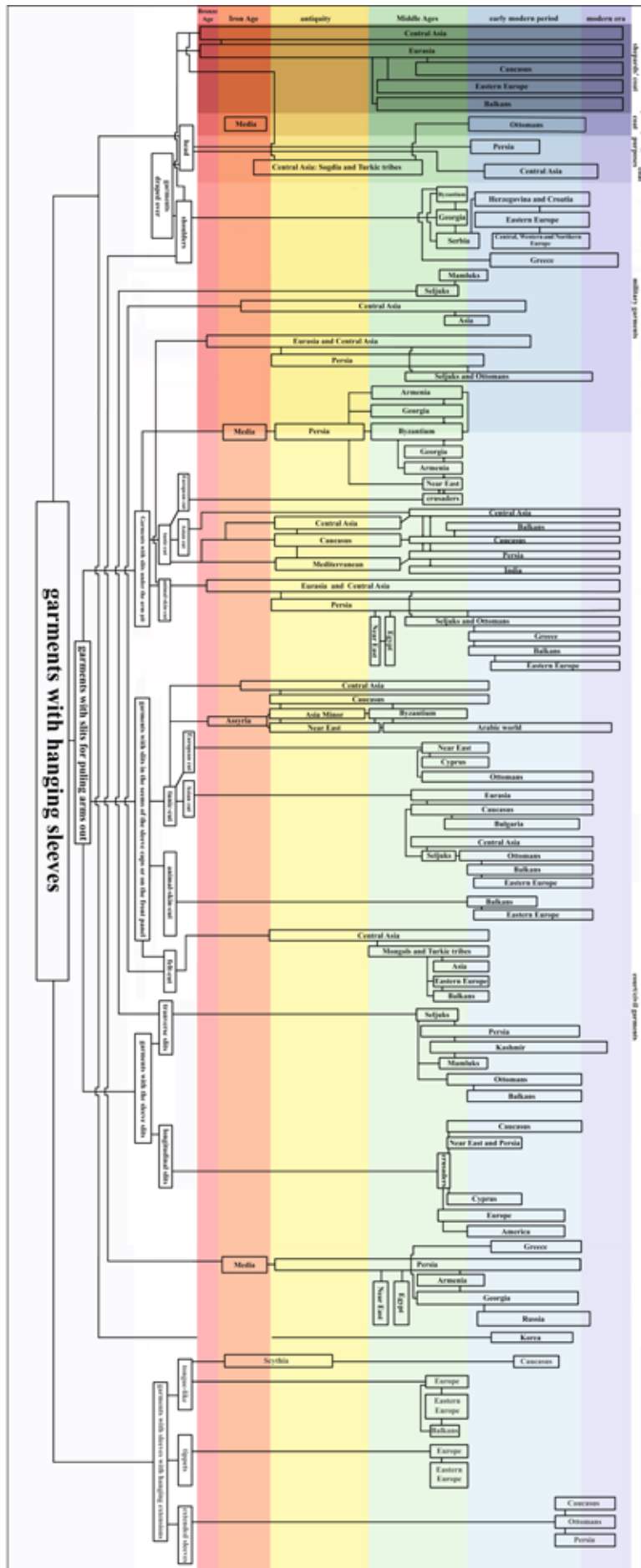


Table 7. Time, space, style, and purpose taxonomy of the garments with hanging sleeves