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MONGOL COURT DRESS, IDENTITY FORMATION, AND GLOBAL EXCHANGE

EIREN L. SHEA

Mongol Court Dress, Identity Formation, and Global Exchange

The Mongol period (1206–1368) marked a major turning point of exchange – culturally, politically, and artistically – across Eurasia.

The wide-ranging international exchange that occurred during the Mongol period is most apparent visually through the inclusion of Mongol motifs in textile, paintings, ceramics, and metalwork, among other media. Eiren Shea investigates how a group of newly confederated tribes from the Steppe conquered the most sophisticated societies in existence in less than a century, creating a courtly idiom that permanently changed the aesthetics of China and whose echoes were felt across Central Asia, the Middle East, and even Europe.

This book will be of interest to scholars in art history, fashion design, and Asian studies.

Eiren L. Shea is Assistant Professor of Art and Art History at Grinnell College.

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Note on Transliteration

For Chinese names and words, I follow the Pinyin transliteration system.

For Arabic and Persian names and words, I follow the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES) translation and transliteration guide – diacritics are only added for words not found in the Merriam-Webster English dictionary, and not to personal names, place names, names of political parties and organizations, or titles of books and articles.

The lack of standardized system for transliteration of Mongolian names is always a challenge, and I have followed Morris Rossabi in *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times*. Rossabi in turn follows Francis Woodman Cleaves's translation of *The Secret History of the Mongols* except in the case of five characters: č = ch, š = sh, q = kh, γ = gh, ǰ = j.

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Introduction

On a vacation in Italy, I spent a day visiting churches in Siena. In the chapter house of San Francesco, a relatively plain, brick building, I came across Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco, *The Martyrdom of the Franciscans* (Plate 1). I was surprised to see figures dressed in what to me looked like the Mongol style depicted in the painting. As a Chinese art history graduate student, I was intrigued and began to research the question of what Mongol-dressed figures were doing in a fourteenth-century painting in Italy when I returned home from my trip. Little did I know at the time that the question of the Mongol impact on Eurasia would become central to my research over the following years.

In the early 1340s, the painter Ambrogio Lorenzetti (ca. 1290–1348) accepted a commission to paint a series of frescoes illustrating Franciscan narrative scenes for the chapter house of San Francesco in Siena, Italy. In the scene that so intrigued me, *The Martyrdom of the Franciscans*, Ambrogio depicted the execution of six Franciscans, possibly at a Mongol court in Almalik (Almalyq, Almaliq).[1] Almalik, located in present-day Xinjiang Province in China, was in the first half of the fourteenth century part of the Chagatai Khanate, the area ruled by Chinggis Khan's (ca. 1162–1227) second son, Chagatai (1183–ca. 1242). Ambrogio seemed to have wanted to specifically evoke Mongols, or Tartars, as they were often referred to in contemporaneous Latin sources, through facial characteristics, hats, and textiles cladding the central figures. What, I asked myself, was an illustration of a recent martyrdom that took place thousands of miles away, possibly in the Mongol Empire, doing in a Franciscan chapter house in northern Italy? More importantly, how was Ambrogio able to portray the facial characteristics, the clothing elements, and the textiles originating in the Mongol world with such detail? As I searched for the answers to these questions, I began to understand that to get to the bottom of the appearance of Mongol figures in this Italian painting, I would need to better understand the role of Mongol dress in their own courts. With this painting in mind, I sought out other key paintings and textiles that highlight the role of dress in the Mongol world.

This book looks at the form and function of Mongol court dress with special interest in the question of how the Mongols, over the course of a century and a half (ca. 1206–1368), were able to create and spread a recognizable and meaningful courtly artistic vocabulary, primarily through dress and textiles, across Asia and into the Mediterranean. It proposes to systematically define what Mongol dress looked like and how it was made in order to understand what meanings dress and textiles conveyed to both populations under Mongol rule and those outside of the Mongol empire. Through this examination, I will answer the question of how Mongol textile patterns and dress ended up being depicted in paintings such as *The Martyrdom of the Franciscans*.

Among the luxury materials produced for the court and exported by the Yuan dynasty and other Mongol polities, textiles and court dress most clearly express the nuances of the changes brought by Mongol rule, and unambiguously show the reach of Mongol culture. Focusing on elite dress and associated material culture, I elucidate the ways in which Mongol leadership constructed a political and cultural identity for themselves, and how this identity was received and understood by previously established cultures.

Beginning in the mid-thirteenth century, Mongol-produced luxury textiles began to spread across the known world and became associated with the Mongol empire, conveying power and prestige alongside their material value. A variety of textiles were produced for the Mongol elite, but the most defining textile of the empire were cloths woven with supplementary wefts in gold, most frequently lampas weaves or gold-brocaded silks called *nasīj*. Gold-woven cloth had an intrinsic value, recognized across Asia and the Mediterranean. Alongside gold-woven cloth, tailored riding coats, boots, and pointed hats became shorthand for Mongols or Tartars in a variety of locales. We find references to both gold-woven cloths and signature pointed hats among certain members of the khan's entourage in *The Martyrdom of the Franciscans*, and the khan himself is in a cinched robe with a golden skirt, clearly evoking Mongol court dress.

The Mongol period saw unparalleled exchange – commercial, cultural, and diplomatic – across the entirety of the known world. In large part, this exchange was due to the Mongol conquests that reached, at their peak, to Liegnitz (Poland) in the West, and as far as the Korean peninsula in the East. In the territories they conquered, the Mongols appreciated and sought out the work of the finest weavers, ceramicists, metalworkers, and painters, among others, and commissioned works from a wide variety of artisans. The forcible bringing together of artisans through recruitment or resettlement was a key reason for the rapid changes in the visual arts that occurred in the thirteenth century. Indeed, the Mongol impact on elite art was felt across the known world during the Mongol period. In part this was caused by the rapid transmission of a specific visual vocabulary across the empire and into locations with diplomatic and trade relations with the Mongol empire. In other words, within a span of only a few decades, artistic motifs were transmitted in recognizable forms across Asia, and certain manufacturing techniques were either transmitted or imitated in a variety of locations. The transmission of materials and the imitation of motifs and techniques is most famously seen in the example of blue and white porcelain, which flourished during the Yuan dynasty, and, it has been argued, was the first "global" brand.[2] Textiles, especially those woven with gold, were highly coveted and spread quickly. Produced in Yuan and Ilkhanid territories, by the early fourteenth century they were imitated both in terms of decorative patterns and weave structures in weaving centers in Italy. As I will show, the textiles that were painted in *The Martyrdom of the Franciscans* were based on Mongol originals, or on Mongol-inspired Italian silks.

Despite the extraordinary innovations of the Mongol period, scholarship into the twenty-first century has often adhered to the view that Mongol artistic patronage and taste were "influenced" by other, better-established cultures.[3] In some studies of the arts of Yuan China, this takes the form of seeing the Mongol period as moving towards increased "sinicization," or, dismissing the Mongol impact on visual culture altogether. Framing Yuan art as moving towards ever-increasing sinicization implies that art produced under Mongol rule was essentially derivative, or only worthy of study when situated in the rubric of Chinese art. Resisting sinicization means an openness toward considering new types of artistic production. Until recently, however, art historical interest in this period has generally been shown to literati painting, which fits more easily into

the Chinese art canon than other media created during the Yuan dynasty.[4] In addition, Yuan literati painting is often approached either as a sort of protest art created within the trope of the "recluse at court" (*chaoyin* 朝隱), or as the traitorous works of disloyal Chinese who served the Mongols.[5] Dismissing the Mongol impact on the arts of China and elsewhere in Asia seems, on the part of certain scholars, to be willful blindness to the important changes that occurred in the visual landscapes of China, and Central and West Asia, and indeed in the last twenty years there has been a modest surge in attempts to reexamine the role of Mongol agency in many aspects of their civilization.[6]

Yuan art is Chinese art, but it is also part of a larger, pan-Asian phenomenon of Mongol culture that could only exist due to the geographic reach of the Mongol empire. To approach the art of the Mongols as a global phenomenon is to emphasize the diverse sources of both materials and artisans that came together to create the Mongol's artistic idiom. The Mongol period was not the first in China that saw a large-scale adoption of non-Chinese dress and other material culture. The Tang dynasty (ca. 618–907) was well-known for its cosmopolitan character in the arts, dress, and also cuisine and music thanks to exchanges with Central Asia along the Silk Roads. Although the dress that was transmitted across the empire during the Mongol period can reasonably be called "Mongol," many of the patterns on textiles, ceramics, and metalwork that influenced the art of these places was in fact Chinese in origin, pre-existing the Mongol period by hundreds of years. During and prior to the Mongol period, Chinese artistic motifs impacted the arts in other places, especially Central Asia. What sets the Mongol period apart is how quickly East Asian motifs were incorporated into the arts of Central and West Asia.

Chapter Summaries

The chapters of this book investigate the establishment and spread of the courtly Mongol visual vocabulary in elite dress. The first three chapters concentrate on East Asia and the Eastern Steppe while Chapter 4 turns to West Asia and Chapter 5 to Europe. The first chapter focuses on origins of and precedents for Mongol rule and the courtly dress system. The Mongol dress system originated in the East Asian cultural sphere, and the practices of the Liao dynasty, Jin dynasty, Tangut state, and Northern and Southern Song dynasties in the eleventh and twelfth centuries are particularly relevant. In Chapter 1, I outline the dress systems for these precursors before turning to how these groups synthesized cultural practices. Both the dress systems and synthesis of cultural practices would be built upon by the Mongols. The courtly use of hunting robes, and the use of gilded silks rather than felt or leather in the context of ceremonies surrounding the hunt, exemplifies this synthesis and contrasts with "traditional" Chinese dynasties such as the Song, for whom the hunt was not a politically significant activity. Other important activities involving dress that I consider in this chapter include ceremonial robing, a practice I argue was the most culturally significant use of dress for the Mongols. The evidence I use for this chapter includes pictorial representations of dress, excavated textiles, and primary source texts. By illuminating the origins of the Mongol aesthetic and ceremonial system, I hope to better understand its spread first through China, and then across Asia in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Chapters 2 and 3 focus on dress at the Yuan court. Chapter 2 defines the courtly dress system and visual vocabulary established during Khubilai's reign, while Chapter 3 turns to women's dress. Chapter 2 considers how the Mongols used textiles and dress at the Yuan court in China, ostensibly the seat of the whole Mongol Empire, to reinforce their political legitimacy and craft an aesthetic idiom that would be recognizable throughout Asia.

The Yuan dynasty saw both the official establishment and full flourishing of Mongol imperial power and associated ceremony in East Asia, much of which revolved around court dress. I consider the reign of Khubilai Khan, who originated and, therefore, set the precedent for the Yuan, to be one of the most important eras for Mongol courtly display as it appears that the visual vocabulary of courtly garb that spread so quickly from East to West was established during his reign. In addition to establishing Mongol-style dress as a symbol of elite power, Khubilai shrewdly manipulated pre-existing formulas for the expression of imperial power in the Chinese sphere and made them his own, in particular the genre of imperial portraiture.

Khubilai's reign saw the dissemination of specific forms of dress and textiles that built upon and responded to the precedents of the Liao and Jin outlined in the previous chapter. In particular, I argue that the social and ceremonial functions of dress at Khubilai's court manifested Khubilai's self-conception as world emperor. To support my argument, I look at the textiles that were being produced for the Yuan court and the form that clothing took. My analysis draws on textiles and dress that were either excavated or preserved in monasteries or churches, alongside imperial portraits and court paintings. By both contrasting these materials with, and building upon, the evidence from the first chapter, I demonstrate that innovations undertaken by Khubilai defined the broader Mongol aesthetic which had such international appeal.

Chapter 3 concentrates on women's dress, in particular on how elite Mongol women employed the vernacular of dress to make culturally specific and political claims. The Song court was a major point of comparison with the Yuan court, ruling as the Yuan did over the entirety of former Song territory. However, the role of women in the Yuan court contrasted with Song precedents. As I discuss in Chapter 3, Mongol women had more autonomy and influence than their counterparts in the Song dynasty. Mongol women ran the home campsite while men left on extended hunting trips or war campaigns, meaning that in addition to domestic affairs, women were in charge of livestock, raised and married off their children, and took part in trade. Excellent equestrians as well, women also sometimes accompanied their husbands on military campaigns. In elite contexts, women played a significant role in the politics of the Mongol Empire, and wives were often consulted as advisors to the khan.

In this chapter, I demonstrate that Mongol women's dress reflected aspects of the role elite women played in the empire and paid homage to their nomadic heritage. While the focus is on the Yuan court and depictions of Chabi, I also look to precedents for women's dress from the earlier Mongol Empire and draw parallels between elite Yuan women and elite women at other Mongol courts in Asia. In particular, I examine Liao and Jin elite women's dress as potential precedents for how women used clothing to express cultural and political capital. The court dress of these two dynasties was in constant dialogue with that of the Song dynasty, and the ways in which Mongol women navigated meanings of court dress both built upon and contrasted with elite women of the Liao and Jin.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the western end of the Mongol Empire in order to evaluate the spread of the Mongol visual vocabulary of court dress. In it, I compare the form and use of Ilkhanid court dress to that of the Yuan, and also bring in evidence from the Mamluk Sultanate in the Eastern Mediterranean (present-day Egypt and Syria). That the dress of the Ilkhans is comparable in specific ways to that of the Yuan points to the existence of a pan-Mongol style of dress, which was imposed in Mongol courts across Asia and was recognizable as the dress of the ruling elite, although the geographic situation of the Ilkhanate in West Asia lent additional meaning and context to clothing and the act of robing as practiced by the Mongols. The challenge when dealing with Ilkhanid material is the lack of extant dress from the Ilkhanate. Due to both Mongol and Muslim

burial rituals, neither of which proscribed burying bodies with funerary goods, dress was not preserved in the funerary context, in contrast to Yuan dynasty dress, which was preserved in tombs. However, some textiles, preserved in European church treasuries and tombs, provide examples of a small sample of elite Ilkhanate textile production. Evidence for Ilkhanid court dress exists through depictions of court scenes in illuminated manuscripts commissioned by the court, and in contemporaneous texts that describe specific textiles and objects (including textiles) exchanged in major diplomatic missions.

In Chapter 5, I argue that the Mongol Empire had a cultural and social impact on late Medieval and early Renaissance Italy, as reflected in textiles and dress. Beginning with an account of the role of *panni tartarici*, or "Tartar cloths," as a trading commodity and culturally significant object, I argue that the introduction of this material impacted the social core of different urban areas in the Latin West. I illustrate this impact first through a discussion of sumptuary regulations that responded directly to imports and imitations of *panni tartarici*, especially in Italian urban centers, but also in England. As further evidence of the broad dissimilation of *panni tartarici*, I draw on examples of textiles preserved in tombs and church treasuries in present-day Italy, Germany, and Spain, historical inventories of local churches, and depictions by Northern Italian artists such as Simone Martini in altarpieces and other religious paintings.

Panni tartarici not only had an impact on artistic production, but also caused major changes in the social hierarchy of cities at the beginning of the Renaissance. Merchants grew wealthy from east–west trade facilitated by the Mongols, and the large number of silks imported into the Latin West meant that fine eastern cloths were no longer restricted to the aristocracy or the clergy. In addition, the idea of the Tartar, linked to luxury textiles but also to travel accounts such as Marco Polo's *Divisement dou monde*, affected urban notions of self and "other," as people from different social classes engaged with ideas of the Christian West and the "East." To elucidate this point, I consider how the term "Tartar" was used in the early fourteenth century context, to whom it referred, and how this was connected to imaginaries of the Mongol Empire in Italy and elsewhere in Europe. I do this with the help of pictorial and textual evidence, such as paintings and sculpture produced in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries depicting "Tartars," such as Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Martyrdom of the Franciscans* (Plate 1), and widely circulated travel accounts, such as that of Marco Polo. Finally, I turn to the role of Italian merchants and the Black Sea slave trade in contemporaneous understandings of the Mongol Empire and "Tartars."

The Mongol impact on artistic and cultural production was not restricted to the period of actual Mongol rule but lived on in a variety of Mongol successor states including, most notably for Ilkhanid and Yuan impact, the Timurids in Central Asia and the Ming dynasty in China. Echoes of the definitive shift that occurred in Asian art during Mongol rule continued to reverberate in different ways in subsequent centuries. Even the age of European maritime powers were to a certain extent motivated by the memory of the Mongol Empire – Christopher Columbus, for example, following Marco Polo, sought a sea route to the East, believing, upon arriving in Cuba, that he had in fact arrived in "Cipangu" (Japan) off the coast of China during his initial foray West from Portugal.[7]

The focus of this book on textiles and dress necessarily leaves out other artistic production from the Mongol Empire, but it is my hope that it will fill some of the gaps in the study of Mongol textiles and shed further light on the implications of a shared courtly visual vocabulary between Mongol courts. By situating Mongol court dress in both a historical and comparative context, I aim to draw out observations about the Mongols and their impact on the arts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that may remain hidden if studied in isolation.

Notes

1 Scholars disagree both over the date the fresco was painted and the location of the martyrdom depicted in the fresco. A 1342 date is proposed by S. Maureen Burke in S. Maureen Burke, "The 'Martyrdom of the Franciscans' by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 65. Bd., H. 4 (2002), 491. However, other scholars have suggested the martyrdom represents that of Franciscans in Thane, India in 1321, or Marrakesh, Morocco in 1220, or Ceuta, North Africa in 1227. See Anne Dunlop, "Artistic Contact between Italy and Mongol Eurasia: State of the Field." 梨花史學研究 [Ewha Sahak Yeongu: Bulletin of the Ewha Institute of History], No. 57 (Dec. 2018), 22–24. Andrew Peter gives 1329 as the *terminus ante quem* for both of Ambrogio's paintings in the chapter house. Andrew Peter, "Giotto and Ambrogio Lorenzetti," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 76, No. 442 (Jan. 1940), 7. Almalik was also a stop on Marco Polo's route to China, see René Grousset, *The Empires of the Steppes: A History of Central Asia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1970), 304.

2 McCausland, *The Mongol Century: Visual Cultures of Yuan China, 1271–1368* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 209.

3 Hong Zaixin with Cao Yiqiang, "Pictorial Representation and Mongol Institutions in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*," in *Arts of the Sung and Yüan: Ritual, Ethnicity, and Style in Painting*, ed. Cary Y. Liu and Dora C.Y. Ching (Princeton: The Art Museum, 1999), 193–194; Gong Yuanjun and Huang Lijun, "Longhua Gezidong Yuandai jiaocang cixiu nangdai de yishu tese," in *Longhua gezidong yuan dai jiaocang*, ed. Sun Huijun (Hebei: Hebei People's Publishing House, 2010), 154.

4 This kind of analysis welcomes a kind of sinicization, even if it is not intentional, by making the "classic" Chinese arts (painting and calligraphy) the standard by which other art is judged.

5 Maxwell Hearn aptly describes this as "the ideal of 'reclusion at court,' becoming an official but detaching [oneself] from political intrigue and maintaining the moral purity of a hermit." Maxwell Hearn, "Painting and Calligraphy under the Mongols," in James Watt et al., *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 190.

Zhao Mengfu is the best-studied example of an artist whose work was neglected by the traditional cannon until the twentieth century for his role as a bureaucrat under the Mongols. See Chu-Tsing Li, "Recent Studies on Zhao Mengfu's Painting in China," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 53, No. 1/2 (1993), 195.

6 Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Linda Komaroff, ed., *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, eds., *The Legacy of Genghis Khan* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002); Shane McCausland, *The Mongol Century*; Anne E. Wardwell and James C.Y. Watt, *When Silk Was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998); James Watt et al., *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010). Morris Rossabi also explicitly reevaluates the role of the Mongols on artistic production in Morris Rossabi, "The Mongol Empire and Its Impact on the Arts of China," in *Nomads as Agents of Cultural Change: The Mongols and Their Eurasian Predecessors*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015).

7 Valerie I.J. Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 115–120.

1 Felt, Leather, Silk, and Gold

On the Origins of Mongol Court Dress

The painting *Khubilai Khan Hunting* (Plate 2), attributed to the court artist Liu Guandao (ca. 1258–1336), shows the founder of the Yuan dynasty (ca. 1271–1368) with his empress by his side, surrounded by his entourage of richly clad figures in a stark landscape.[1] This painting is a new form of imperial portraiture in China and conveys much information about the figure of Khubilai Khan (r. 1260–1294), his accomplishments, and the extent of the territories under his control. What first strikes the viewer is the setting, an imperial hunt, and the detail accorded to the dress of each figure, not least Khubilai, who sits astride his horse in imperial splendor at the center of the painting. This novel representation of the emperor is connected to two specific customs whose origins can be traced to the centuries prior to the founding of the Yuan dynasty: the hunt and court dress. This chapter will investigate the origins of Mongol dress and its relevance to the hunt, and lay the foundations for approaches to Khubilai's court, the subject of Chapter 2.

The Mongol period in Eurasia marked a major turning point culturally, politically, and artistically. Evidence for these changes is found in the archaeological, artistic, and textual record in China, where the nominal seat of the Mongol Empire, Dadu (present-day Beijing), the supreme capital of the Yuan dynasty, was located. This chapter investigates how in less than a century, a group of newly united tribes from the Steppe conquered one of the most sophisticated societies in existence and created a courtly idiom that shifted the decorative vocabulary of the Chinese court. Chinggis Khan (or Temüjin, 1162–1227) confederated the Mongols at the famed *khuriltai* (a sort of princely congress) of 1206, where he was declared supreme leader.[2] By his death in 1227, Mongol armies had conquered areas of north and central Asia, including parts of present-day north and northwest China, and reaching as far west as the Caspian sea. Under Chinggis's sons and grandsons, portions of West Asia including Persia and the region around the Black Sea were subsumed into the empire (Figure 1.1).

While no other Inner or East Asian group had ever conquered territories so far west, the Mongols were not the first foreign group to conquer parts of China. Other groups, in particular those from the Steppe north and west of present-day China, controlled large sections of what is now considered North China from the earliest periods of state formation (Table 1.1, Figures 1.1–1.4).[3]

The Mongols were preceded by the Khitans, who formed the Liao dynasty (ca. 906–1125), and the Jurchen, who formed the Jin dynasty (ca. 1115–1234). However, while the Liao and Jin shared rule over parts of China with the Song dynasty (ca. 907–1279) (Figures 1.3, 1.4), the Mongols (ruling as the Yuan dynasty) conquered all of Song territory, along with most of the surrounding areas. In establishing rule over China and its

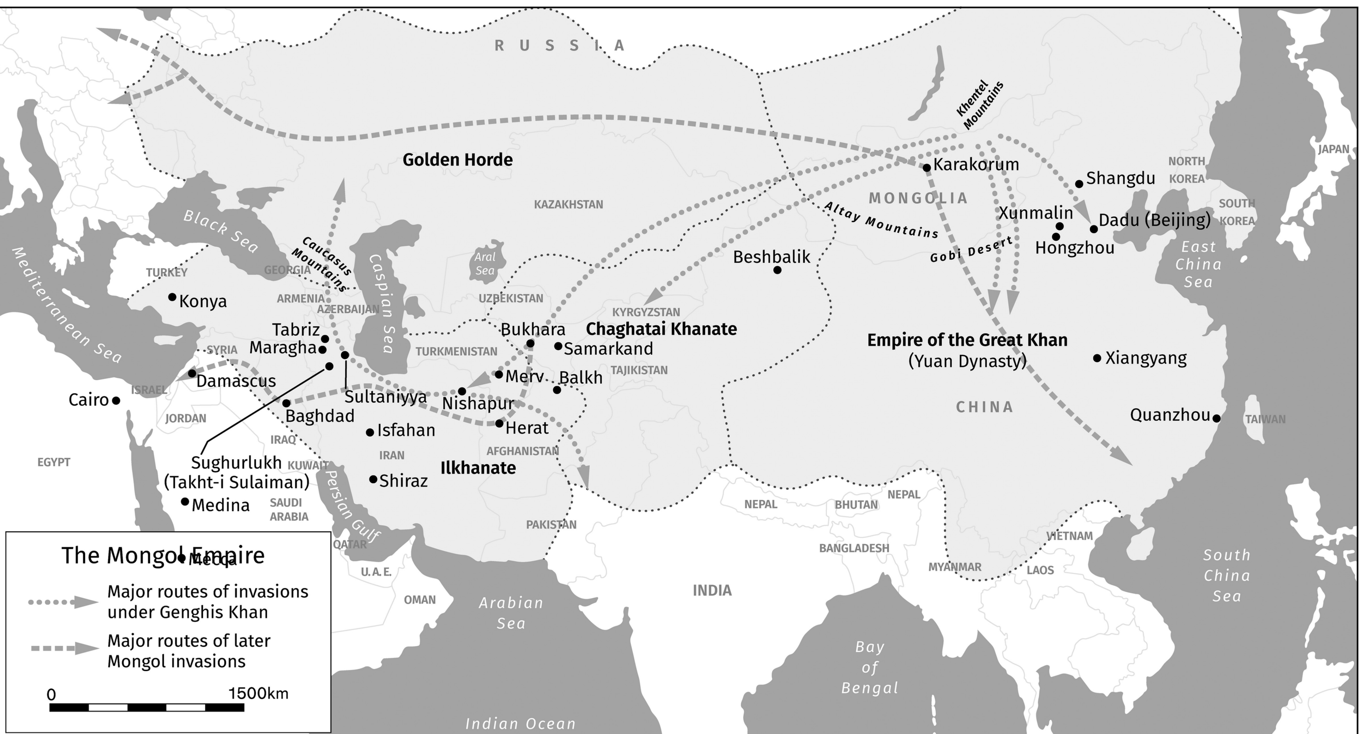

Figure 1.1 Map of Mongol Territories after 1260. Map by Ardeth Anderson.

Table 1.1 List of States in China ca. ninth—fourteenth Centuries

Name	*Dates*
Uighur Khaghanates	ca. 840–1209
Liao Dynasty (Khitan people)	ca. 907–1125
Northern Song Dynasty	ca. 960–1127
Tangut State (Xixia)	ca. 1038–1227
Jin Dynasty (Jurchen people)	ca. 1115–1234
Southern Song Dynasty	ca. 1127–1279
Yuan Dynasty	ca. 1271–1368

surrounding regions, the Yuan benefited from the precedents set forth for them by the Liao, the Jin, and the Song. The incorporation of Tangut (Xixia), by force, and Uighur territories, by capitulation, into the Mongol Empire also impacted aspects of Yuan rule. To approach the Mongol courtly dress system, which was formed and flourished shortly after the initial conquests, it is therefore helpful to look to precedents set by these earlier ruling polities alongside pre-imperial Mongol material.

In this chapter, I delineate the types of clothing that were worn by the early Mongols and their precursors – the Tanguts, Liao, and Jin – before turning to examples of how each group synthesized cultural practices. Specifically, I focus on hunting dress (Figure 1.5, Plate 3) since, as I demonstrate, it epitomizes this synthesis. I then turn to other examples of how dress was used to produce a courtly visual vocabulary. Here, I look at the act of ceremonial robing as the practice with the greatest cultural significance for the Mongols and their precursors. The investigation of the origins of the Mongol visual idiom and ceremonial system will help us better understand its spread first in China, and then across Asia in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

From Steppe to Sown: The Mongol Conquests in China

Before invading the Jurchen-ruled Jin state in 1211,[4] Chinggis Khan incorporated as many peoples from the Steppe region as possible into the burgeoning Mongol Empire.[5] He recruited Jurchens, Khitans, Tanguts, and Chinese, among others, who had served the Jin, into his forces. The most famous of these Jin recruits was Yelü Chucai (耶律楚材1189–1244), who was a descendant on his father's side from the Yelü royal family of the Liao dynasty. Yelü Chucai was recruited sometime after 1218, and became a high-level administrator under the Mongols, sometimes even described as "prime minister."[6] He was responsible for a number of influential reforms during the reigns of both Chinggis and Ögödei Khan (Great Khan, r. 1229–1241). Yelü Chucai, and other highly placed administrators and advisors like him, familiar with the customs of the people being conquered by the Mongols (here the Song and the Jin), were one of the reasons that the Mongols transitioned so easily from their nomadic lifestyle to rule over well-established cultures in China and Persia.[7]

There are many similarities between some types of early Mongol clothing and the dress of the Yuan dynasty; however, Khubilai's ascent to power marks a natural break between the formative and state-building stages of the Mongol Empire. From 1206 to about 1260, the Mongol Empire was relatively united under the khans who ruled from

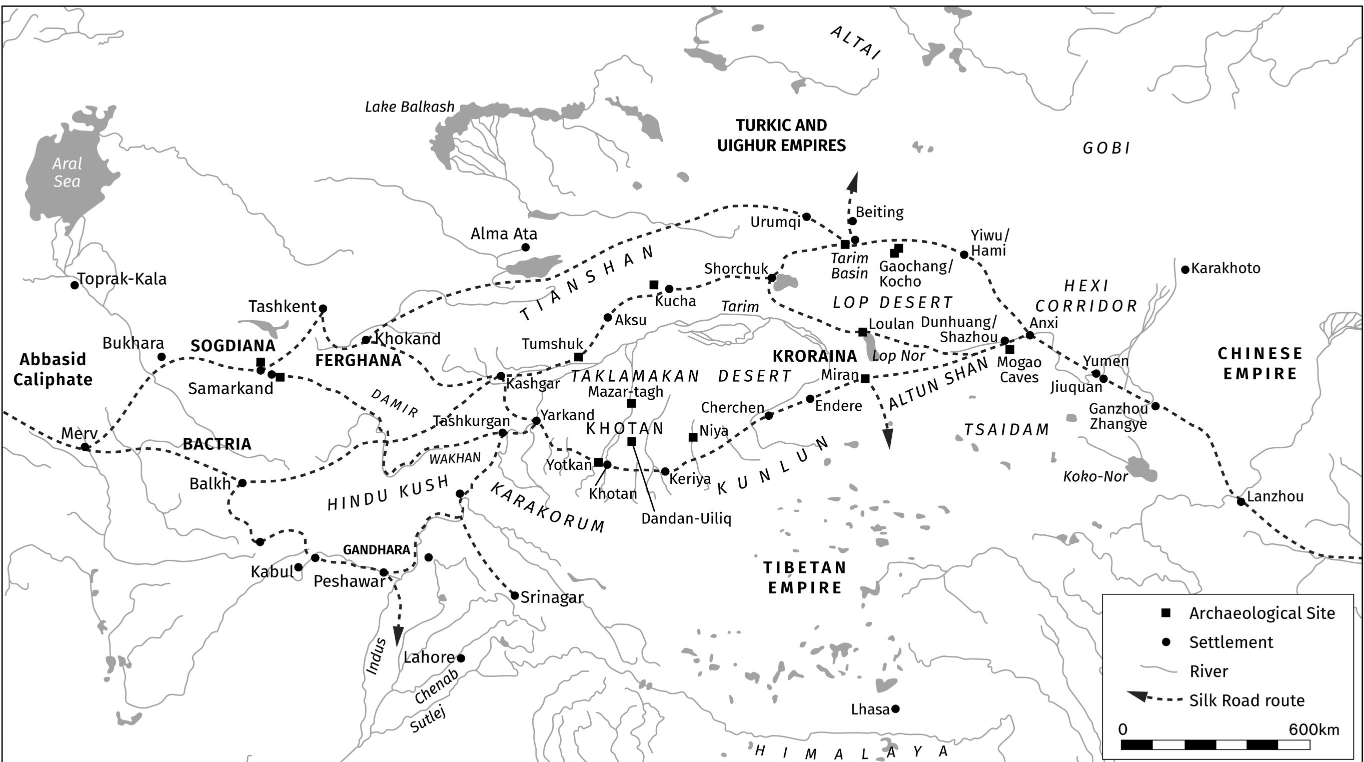

Figure 1.2 Maps of Uighur Khaghanates, showing the Tarim Basin in the mid-ninth century. Map by Ardeth Anderson.

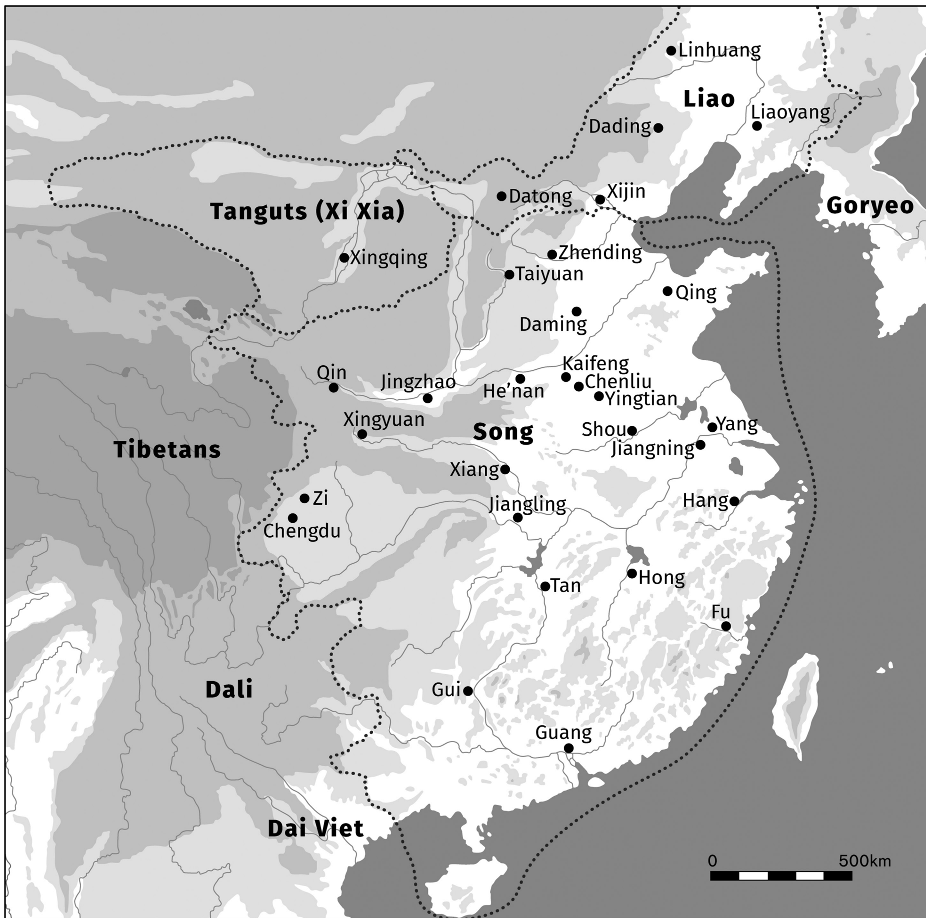

Figure 1.3 Map of Tangut, Liao, and Northern Song Territories. Map by Ardeth Anderson.

the capital in Karakorum; after 1260, four major and autonomous khanates, or *ulus*, emerged, who were, in some cases, actively hostile to one another.[8] The early period was also a time of transition, when the Mongols were shifting from a nomadic life on the Steppe to rulers over increasingly large portions of well-established cultures across Asia. During this period, they adopted traditions of dress from non-Chinese groups such as the Liao, Tanguts, and Jin, as well as textiles and patterns from Central Asia, which were incorporated into pre-existing costume, thereby creating a truly hybrid dress system. Khubilai built upon the earlier use of textiles in Mongol court ceremonial and ritual when he eventually founded the Yuan dynasty. To understand how Yuan court dress reached its apex under Khubilai, a thorough understanding of the dress of these precursors along with early Mongol dress is imperative.

In pre-modern East Asia, "China" was the metric by which culture and power were judged, and the Liao, Jin, Mongols, and others were acutely aware of their need to position themselves relative to China. Therefore, precedents from "Han" Chinese dynasties,[9] particularly the Tang (ca. 618–906) and Song, are also relevant. The Liao, the Jin, and

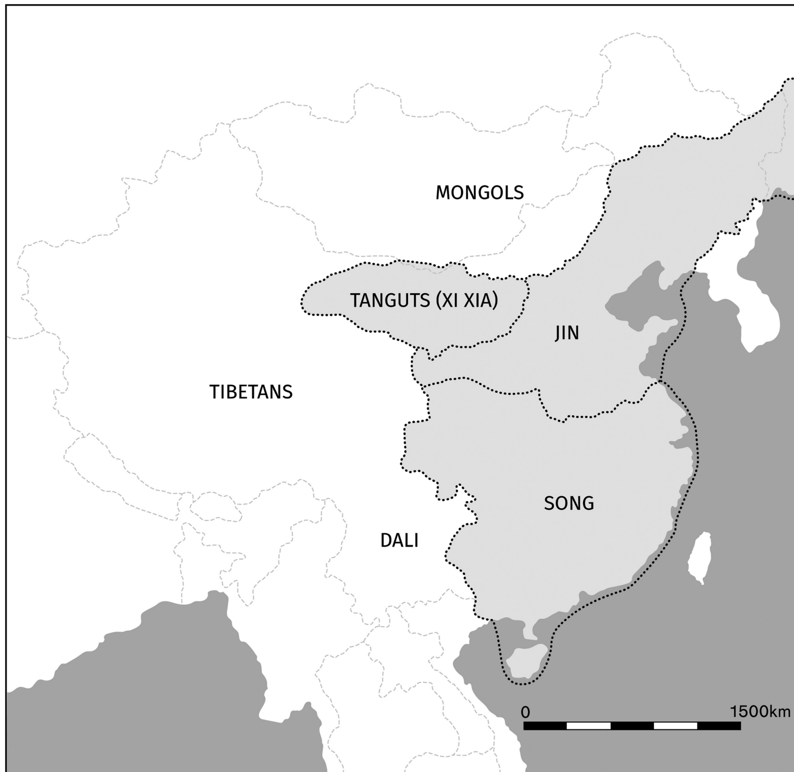

Figure 1.4 Map of Tangut, Southern Song, and Jin Territories. Map by Ardeth Anderson.

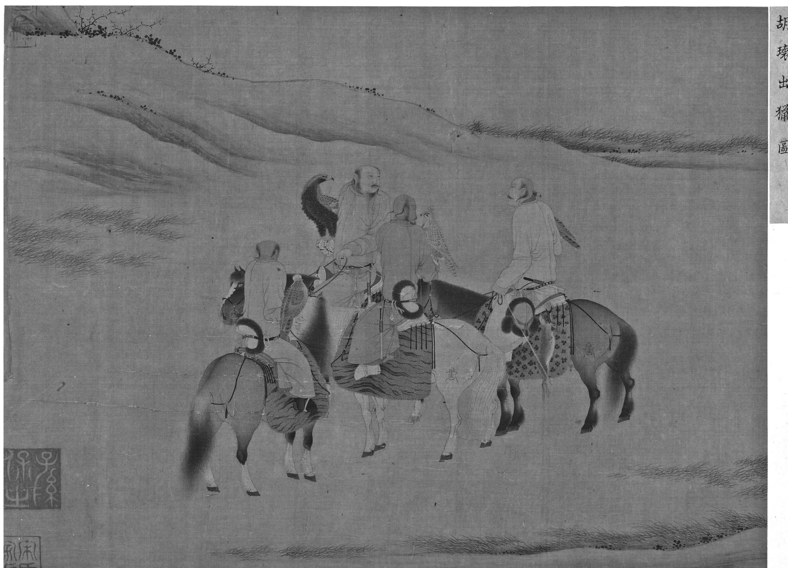

Figure 1.5 Hu Gui 923–935 (Chinese) Liao, *Going Out on the Hunt*, before 937, 33 × 44.5 cm. Image source: National Palace Museum, Taipei.

the Yuan co-opted the vocabulary of Tang-Song court ritual and dress.[10] By alluding to recognizable sartorial custom, these three dynasties demonstrated and enhanced their claims to legitimacy in the East Asian cultural sphere.

Additionally, many of the textual sources for the dynasties ruling China were written in Chinese by Confucian scholar-officials. Although important as sources, these official histories should be used with caution. Understanding the context for these sources is essential in evaluating their relevance to the Liao, Jin, and Yuan. Many of the descriptions of the dress of Chinese dynasties, including the Liao, Jin, and Yuan, are generalized and follow an established pattern. Descriptions of non-Han dress in the Chinese official histories are often similar to generic descriptions of Chinese court dress, and to nonspecific descriptions of "barbarian" clothing. In other words, the official histories adhere to tropes rather than reflect specific realities, as I explain in my introduction to Liao court dress below. Nevertheless, these histories provide a point of departure for a study of dress in and around China in this period. Usually at least one chapter (*juan*) in a standard history is devoted to descriptions of court dress, although Liao, Jin, and Yuan descriptions are much shorter than those of the Tang and Song dynasties.[11] Here, I will briefly give the historical context for these dynastic precursors before defining some of the fabrics and dress types of the Song, Liao, Jin, and Tangut, and their uses in the courtly context, that will serve as the basis for understanding Yuan court dress.

To begin with, the Liao dynasty (Figure 1.3), founded by the Khitan leader Abaoji in 907 CE, was the first of the three post-Tang non-Chinese dynasties to rule major parts of China.[12] The manner in which this semi-nomadic people ruled over substantial areas in what is today north China was likely taken as a prototype for the later Jin and Yuan dynasties. The Liao ruled over its mixed population of "Northern" (Khitan) subjects and "Southern" (Chinese or *hanren* 漢人)[13] subjects by creating a dual administration system that applied different laws, customs, and dress to these different populations.[14] The Liao state's deft mastery of Tang-Song and Khitan systems of government, dress, and culture created a new style of empire in the Chinese cultural sphere, ultimately being the first non-Chinese polity to be considered an equal by a Chinese imperial court.[15] While the Yuan dynasty was not a direct successor state to the Liao, many of the prototypes set forth by the Liao for both political and cultural regulations and institutions seem to have been adopted first by the Jin and subsequently by the Yuan.[16]

The Jin dynasty (Figure 1.4), for its part, was founded by Wanyan Aguda (Taizu 太祖, r. 1115–1123), who had confederated a number of Jurchen tribes in present-day Jilin and Heilongjian provinces and overthrew the Liao dynasty in 1115. The Jin eventually pushed the Song out of north China, causing the Song to establish a capital in the south. This second period of Song rule, when the capital was at Lin'an (modern day Hangzhou) is known as the Southern Song (c. 1127–1279). Like the Liao, the Jin had an explicit hierarchy that gave legal and social advantages to the Jurchen over other groups, including the Bohai (who ranked second after the Jurchen), the Khitan and Xi and other allies (who ranked third), *hanren* (fourth), and *nanren* (fifth).[17] A variation of this hierarchy was adopted by the Mongols at the founding of the Yuan dynasty, as I will explain below. The Jin were eventually overthrown by the Mongols in 1234, and many Jin officials served in the Mongol administration, even prior to the final 1234 victory.[18] Therefore, the Jin dynasty, as the immediate precursor to the Yuan, is important to consider in approaching certain policies and cultural practices in the Yuan, including court dress.

The Tangut, or Xixia (西夏) empire, ruled from c. 1038–1227 in the region of present-day Gansu, Ningxia Autonomous Region, and Western Shaanxi (Figures 1.3, 1.4). They formed the third regional power of the area in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, ruling contemporaneously to the Liao and the Northern Song during the first half of their rule, and to the Jin and Southern Song dynasties in the second half.[19] In 1227 the Tangut empire fell to the armies of Chinggis Khan, and their territory and people were incorporated into the rapidly expanding Mongol Empire. As a major regional power in the centuries leading up to the Mongol conquests with political and cultural ties to the other peoples under consideration in this chapter, Tangut dress should also be considered a prototype for certain Mongol imperial customs.

Clothing of the Steppe

Prior to consolidating power and growing their territories, the Khitan, Jurchen, Tanguts, and Mongols wore sturdy clothing suitable for use on the Steppe – especially felt, leather, and furs. This we know from texts rather than extant material, little of which has survived. These materials were practical for engaging in a number of nomadic activities such as horse riding, hunting, and herding. Their bulk and warmth also provided protection against the low temperatures and high winds of the Steppe. These durable materials continued to be worn after each of these groups had founded their empires, especially in quotidian contexts. In courtly settings, however, the demand for finer materials, especially silks woven with gold (Plate 4, Figure 1.6), increased. In other words, there was

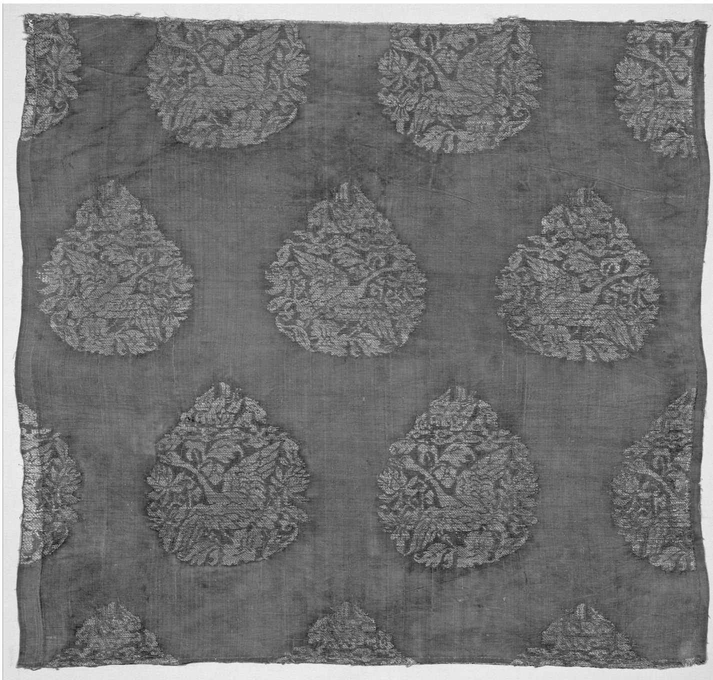

Figure 1.6 *Swan Hunt*, Jin dynasty (1115–1234). Plain-weave silk brocaded with metallic thread, warp 58.5 cm; weft 62.2 cm. Purchase, Ann Eden Woodward Foundation Gift and Rogers Fund, 1989 (1989.282). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

pluralism of dress even when the Liao, Jin, and Yuan courts were fully established and when luxury materials were produced and used at unprecedented levels.

Some notion of the transition between elites wearing dress made primarily of materials typical of the Steppe by elites to the increased inclusion of materials more often associated with the Chinese court in dress is given in contemporaneous Chinese accounts of these groups. For instance, the *Jiutang shu* 舊唐書 ("Old Book of the Tang") notes that prior to establishing the Tangut empire in 1038, the Tanguts dressed in materials typical of Steppe nomads: "Men and women wore coarse cloth (*he* 褐) and draped felt [about their shoulders]."[20] These materials were signifiers of difference from the "Han" mode of dress, and specifically indicated clothing of the Steppe nomads in Chinese historical sources. The *Song shi* recounts a (likely apocryphal) conversation between Li Yuanhao 李元昊, who would become the first Tangut emperor, Jingzong 景宗 (r. 1038–1048), and his father, Li Deming 李得明, wherein Deming proposes adopting some of the *jin* 錦 (polychrome figured silks) and *qi* 綺(monochrome figured silks) that he has seen the Song military officials wearing.[21] Yuanhao dismisses this idea, arguing that the Tanguts traditionally wore leather and wool, and that as military men, they had no use for these finer materials. Whether Yuanhao really rejected Chinese style silks for the wool and leather-based clothing of the Steppe nomads, silks were indeed worn in the Tangut empire during his reign. The *Song shi* recounts that it was during Yuanhao's reign that official dress was regulated, and "Han" style and Tangut style (what the *Song shi* labels "foreign" *fan* 番) clothing was distinguished. The former was worn by officials, and the latter by the military.

The dynastic histories adhere to standard modes of categorization and description for court dress. The *Liao shi* provides an instructive example. In it, court dress is divided into two major categories, "Khitan state" dress (*guofu* 國服) and "Han" dress (漢服 *hanfu*) – echoing the administrative separation between "Northern" and "Southern" and codifying the difference between Khitan and Song dynasty styles of dress. The descriptions of Khitan dress in the *Liao shi* are challenging to interpret, as the vocabulary of Chinese court dress overlaps with that of Khitan state dress. Additionally, while materials are specified for the Han-style dress, they are often left out in descriptions of Khitan state dress. I believe that Khitan state dress combined practical (felt, leather) and luxury (silk) materials, as I demonstrate below in my discussion of hunting dress. Both styles of dress were worn at court, subject to restrictions based on the rank of various officials and the geographical location of officials. The most specific descriptions of clothing are reserved for that of the emperor and empress, while dress of officials is designated in more generalized terms.[22] I list all six types of Khitan state dress and four types of Han dress identified in the *Liao shi* because, with a few exceptions, some combination of these general categories are used to designate court dress in all official Chinese histories, examples of some of the tropes I referenced earlier: (1) ceremonial or sacrificial dress (*jifu*祭服),[23] (2) court dress (*chaofu*朝服), (3) official dress (*gongfu*公服), (4) ordinary dress (*changfu*常服), (5) hunting dress (*tianliefu*田獵服), and (6) mourning clothing (*diaofu*弔服).[24] Han dress in the *Liao shi* on the other hand has four categories: (1) ceremonial or sacrificial dress (*jifu*祭服), (2) court dress (*chaofu* 朝服), (3) official dress (*gongfu* 公服), and (4) ordinary dress (*changfu*常服).[25]

Finding precise pictorial or excavated evidence for each type of dress is a challenge, although some scholars of Chinese dress have attempted to do so.[26] There is pictorial evidence for Liao, Jin, and Yuan hunting dress (Plates 2, 3, 5, Figure 1.5), but I am not sure that distinct types of dress actually existed for each officially recorded category,

especially in the dress of non-"Han" groups. These categories often seem to have more value as tropes of Chinese historical writing than as actual evidence. Changing the meanings of words also complicate things. For instance, the *Liao shi* notes that Khitan state official dress (*gongfu*) was purple (*zi* 紫), and the emperor wore a purple black turban, a narrow purple robe, a jade belt, and sometimes a red overcoat.[27] Purple robes were apparently standard attire for both Liao officials and the emperor, a tradition which continued into the Jin dynasty. However, I am not aware of any depictions or excavated evidence showing fully purple robes from this period. Rather, officials, emperors, and servants are frequently depicted wearing red-colored robes, for example in all of the Liao dynasty Xuanhua tombs,[28] in some depictions of Tanguts (Plates 6, 7),[29] and in portraits of Song dynasty emperors (Figure 1.7). There are many

Figure 1.7 Portrait of Song Huizong, ca. late twelfth century. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. Height: 188.2 cm; width: 106.7 cm. Image source: National Palace Museum, Taipei.

words in Chinese used to designate red in the dynastic histories (including *hong*紅， *fei* 緋，*chi*赤), so on the one hand it seems that "purple" or "violet" (*zi* 紫) in the dynastic histories probably did not refer to red. On the other hand, historic understandings

of what constituted "purple" are much less clear-cut than modern understanding of what range of shades can be considered purple.[30] Thus, the textual evidence and visual evidence likely indicates that such robes were, if anything, a shade of what we would now call red (Plate 4) or red-brown.

The most commonly cited categories in official histories are ceremonial dress, court dress, official dress, and ordinary dress. It is no coincidence that these are the four types of Han dress listed in the *Liao shi*. Indeed, many of the descriptions of dress from the *Liao shi* are almost identical to corresponding sections from the *Song shi* and the *Jin shi*.[31] Because the compilers of these histories use these terms so often, and so repeatedly, the descriptions might be interpreted as signs of imperial power – "this is how the emperor and his court dresses" – rather than of concrete evidence for imperial dress at a given moment in time. That the Khitan appropriated Han court dress and codified "state" style court dress more than likely indicates a desire to legitimize themselves to the Chinese courts to the south (first those of the Five Dynasties, then of the Northern Song) as well as create an equivalent courtly aesthetic. The categories that are the most revealing are those that are not found in every dynastic history list of court dress, however. Hunting dress is an important instance of this. The discrepancies in the traditional descriptions of court dress highlight characteristics that, I argue, allow the reader of dynastic histories to differentiate types of garb and the use of costume among ruling groups.

The Tanguts were not granted an official dynastic history and determining what constituted Tangut imperial and court dress presents different challenges than those posed for Liao, Song, and Jin dress. Images of donors from Buddhist paintings unearthed at Khara Khoto, descriptions from the *Song shi*, and regulations from the legal code, *Tiansheng gaijiu xinding lüling* 天盛改舊新定律令, provide some evidence for elite dress. According to the authors of the *Song shi*, the informal dress (*bianfu*便服) of Tangut officials was a "purple *xuan* 旋 [full-length robe] with embroidered rosettes and floral patterns and a tie belt," while common people wore green.[32] Possible representations of this common green robe are in depictions of musicians and entertainers at the lower right corner of a large hand scroll, *Guanyin, Moon in Water*, from Khara Khoto and now in the collection of the Hermitage (Plate 6). The entertainers wear simple, narrow-sleeved robes that fall to the mid-calf, belted at the waist with a tie-belt, with leather boots, and a white undershirt or robe visible at the cuffs and collar. The robe appears to have a slit in the back to facilitate movement. The donor, shown at the lower left of the painting, also wears a green robe, though his is clearly of higher quality and shows a pattern of large roundels or rosettes, possibly in gold (Plate 7). His robe also has wide sleeves and is generally ampler. The white sashes hanging from his waist may denote rank – this may be a representation of a type of sash called *shou* 綬 used as a rank marker and described in the dynastic histories.[33] The donor's tall black hat appears to have a metallic decoration on the front and may correspond to a type described in the *Song shi*: "Those with a military post wore a hat with metal on it called an 'engraved' (*lou* 鏤) hat."[34]

A more detailed rendition of a similarly clad man is found in a woodblock print of an official and a servant from Khara Khoto, also in the collection of the Hermitage (Figure 1.8). The print is black and white with remnants of green pigment and has more visible details than the depiction of the donor in Plate 7. The official sits in a chair and wears delicate black shoes rather than the boots worn in *Guanyin, Moon in Water*. His tall hat has a floral decoration, while his robe features a pattern of highly stylized dragon roundels (the face of the dragon is visible in the center of the pattern), and a high, round

Figure 1.8 Tangut Emperor and a Boy. China, Tangut State of Xi-Xia, Khara Khoto. Twelfth—thirteenth century. Woodblock print, Indian ink, 45 × 20.3 cm. Inv. no. XX-2531. Image source: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

collar. The inclusion of dragons as a decorative motif indicates the status of the wearer, as explained in the legal code, *Tiansheng gaijiu xinding lüling*:

> Imperial relatives, greater and lesser officials, [Buddhist] monks, Taoist masters, and others, both male and female are all alike restricted from wearing bird's foot yellow (mineral yellow), bird's foot crimson (mineral red), apricot yellow, decorative embroidery and gold designs with the sun and moon, as well as dress woven with decorations in one color, with the sun and the moon, as well as mixed colors with dragon roundels.[35]

Dragon roundels appear as a high-status decorative motif on clothing in other Tangut art, such as a depiction of an imperial donor in Mogao Cave 409 in Dunhuang (Figure 1.9),

Figure 1.9 Donor portrait, detail. Cave 409, Dunhuang, Tangut period (1032–1227).

from the middle Tangut period.[36] Although the central figure bears resemblance to Uighur donors also found in the Mogao Caves (Figure 1.10), this is in fact a representation of a Tangut emperor.[37] The confusion with Uighur dress is not misplaced; Uighurs lived in Tangut territory, and Susan Huang has pointed out their role in helping to shape Tangut visual culture as well as their patronage of Tangut-produced sutras.[38] In addition, the tiara worn by the Tangut emperor is very similar to Uighur examples, and the cut of the robe and belt and its accessories are similar to the front-closing robes depicted on Uighur donors. However, the lack of visible hair and the patterns of the robe indicate that the donor depicted is not Uighur. The emperor's robe is ankle length, with a high round collar and narrow sleeves, patterned with large dragon roundels, of which eleven are visible on a black background. Since the motif appears symmetrical, there is probably a twelfth

Figure 1.10 Three male donors. Bezeklik Cave 20 [old 9]. Uighur period, mid-ninth–early twelfth century, Xinjiang Province, China. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst/Jürgen Liepe.

roundel on the emperor's right side. The decoration of his robe and the canopy and fans carried by the attendants that follow behind him wearing simpler green and blue robes with foliate repeat patterns on them identifies him as the Tangut emperor.[39] As noted in the *Tiansheng gaijiu xinding lüling*: "When the emperor comes to present at the hall, the holder of the umbrella must hold the umbrella carefully for the duration of the presentation."[40] In front of the emperor is a diminutive person who wears a tiara and robe very similar to that of the emperor, although lacking dragon roundels. Chen Gaohua and Xu Jijun identify this figure as the heir apparent, which is possible, but without cartouches identifying the figures it is difficult to give a definite attribution.[41]

As with Liao, Song, and Jin dress, the Tangut emperor had a variety of dress styles available to him, depending on the occasion and season. However, a systematic description of these different types of dress has not been preserved, if one ever existed. Based on the titles of chapters and sections of contemporary category books in Chinese that describe Tangut dress, Chen Gaohua and Xu Jijun identify the imperial dragon roundel robe as a type of formal dress (*fafu* 法服);[42] certainly it was deemed appropriate for ceremonial occasions, as evidenced by the garb of the imperial donor in Mogao Cave 409. Chen and Xu conclude that Tangut clothing adheres to the same system as Chinese clothing, based on the fact that familiar Chinese terms for types of dress were used in these (Chinese language) books.

Another depiction of imperial dress is found in a picture from a scroll unearthed in Khara Khoto, now in the collection of the National Library of Beijing, *Xixia Translating Sutras* (*Xixia yi jing tu* 西夏譯經圖).[43] The Tangut Emperor Huizong (r. 1067–1086) and his mother, the Empress Dowager Biangzhi, wear another type of formal dress (*fafu*).[44]

In the print, the two principle figures, identified by cartouches, sit facing each other. The emperor wears an ample robe with decorations on the shoulders and the skirt partially covered by a *bixi*-style apron skirt. The robe has wide sleeves and closes to the right, creating a v-neck. He wears a wide girdle, which appears to have floral decorations, and a pointed crown also with floral decorations.

A different type of imperial dress may be depicted in a painting, now lost, found in Khara Khoto by Koslov.[45] The painting, called *Portrait of a Tangut Emperor*, in the Russian archives shows a large seated figure flanked by an entourage, including a concubine, a military official, and a falconer.[46] The emperor wears a full-length white robe with narrow sleeves fastened with a dark belt and a tall black hat of the sort worn by the official in the woodblock print in Figure 1.8. Its white color and narrow sleeves may correspond to a description of Yuanhao's robe, mentioned above.[47] The description of this robe in the *Song shi* is vague. It notes only that the white, narrow-sleeved robe was first worn during the reign of Yuanhao and was worn with a felt hat lined with red, with red pendants hanging from the back.[48] Thus, it is difficult to determine with certainty if this is a depiction of an emperor or of a very high-ranking official.

In addition to the combination of traditional nomadic fabrics and fine quality silks, Tangut, Khitan, and Jurchen men had unique and easily identifiable hairstyles which they continued to sport, as far as pictorial evidence shows, throughout their periods of rule. These hairstyles were as important as costume as an identifying characteristic. The Khitan hairstyle, called *kunfa* 髡髮 in Chinese texts, is depicted in Hu Gui's album leaves, *Going Out for the Hunt* (Figure 1.5) and *Returning from the Hunt*.[49] The Jurchen version of this hairstyle, called *bianfa* 辮髮, or "braids," is similar to the Khitan, although in painted representations the hair often falls behind the ears, in contrast to the Khitan locks, which fall in front of the ears.[50] The Tangut iteration of this hairstyle is illustrated in painted depictions of donors or entertainers (Plate 6). The male Tangut figures have the standard hairstyle referred to in Chinese as *tufa* 禿髮, the same term used in the *Song shi* for other groups such as the earlier Xirong (contemporary to the Zhou Dynasty, eleventh—third centuries BCE).[51] This hairstyle consisted of a tonsure in the front of the head, with hair hanging down the back and in front of the ears. The Jurchen also tonsured their heads and braided their hair (Plate 8). Lest the reader assume these various tonsured hairstyles were indistinguishable, the unofficial Jin dynasty history, *Da Jin guozhi*, assures us that the hairstyle of the Jurchen, who sported braids hanging down their backs, was different from that of the Khitan.[52]

Now that I have given some notion of the male dress of these Mongol precursors, I turn briefly to Mongol dress. The clothing of the early Mongols can be understood in their pre- and early dynastic period through travel accounts and excavated material. Travel accounts describe what the Mongols were wearing before the founding of the Yuan dynasty, noting the form and fabrics of Mongol dress. As was the case with many Steppe nomads, the Mongols wore clothing made from animal products such as leather, felt, and fur. As Li Zhichang observed during his 1221 visit to Chinggis Khan's court, "[The Mongols wear] clothes made of hides and fur; they live on meat and curdled milk. The men wear their hair in two plaits that hang behind the ears."[53] The description of this coif, called *pojia* 婆焦 in later sources, recalls the *kunfa*, *tufa*, and *bianfa* hairstyles.[54] The Mongols wore finer materials, such as silk and plant-based textiles, during the pre-Yuan period, and production of these materials increased after the founding of the Yuan dynasty. The report of Southern Song envoys Peng Daya, who visited the Mongol court in 1232, and Xu Ting, who visited between 1235 and 1236, reflects the difference in how rank was manifested sartorially in Song China and the Mongol court. Peng's initial

report was elaborated on by Xu in 1236 and published as *Heida shilüe*. In it, Peng and Xu observed,

> [The Mongols'] robes close to the right and have square collars. In the past they used felt, furs, and leather; nowadays they use ramie, silk, and gold thread. As for colors they use red, purple, violet, and green, and for patterns the sun, moon, dragon, and phoenix. They do not distinguish between upper and lower classes [in their dress].[55]

Excavated and otherwise preserved material confirms that luxurious fabrics, including gold-woven *nasīj*, which will be discussed below (Plates 9, 10), were in demand by the Mongol court, and they were produced specifically for court use in the pre-imperial Mongol period.

Production and Consumption of Silks in the Liao and Jin Dynasties

The origins of Mongol silk and luxury fabric production, especially silks woven with gold, also have roots in earlier periods. The Liao used textiles produced within their territory as well as those imported from Song China for their dress. According to the *Liao shi*, both captured Han weavers and Khitan weavers produced textiles within Liao territory.[56] Han subjects came into Liao territory in three principle periods: (1) during the first years of the dynasty as a result of Abaoji's raids; (2) as refugees from the chaos surrounding the fall of the Tang dynasty; (3) or during the reign of the second Liao emperor, Deguang 德光 (Liao Taizong 遼太宗, r. 927–947). During Deguang's reign, the Sixteen Prefectures, an area of Northern China, was given to the Liao as a reward for supporting the short-lived Later Jin 後晉 dynasty (ca. 936–946), bringing with it the Han subjects who lived there.[57] Trade with Song China existed from the founding of the Liao, and the traffic of textiles from the Song to Liao territory only increased after the Treaty of Shanyuan or Tanyuan in 1005, which, among other concessions, guaranteed that the Song send the Liao two hundred thousand bolts of silk every year.[58]

The desire for Song silk continued during the Jin dynasty. In a 1142 treaty, the Jin state demanded that the Southern Song pay two hundred and fifty thousand bolts of plain-weave silk annually.[59] Over the course of the dynasty, Jin silk-weaving centers produced ever-increasing numbers of silks, of ever-higher quality. According to the *Jin shi*, by 1206, the Jin were trading on an annual basis at least one hundred thousand bolts of plain-weave silk, presumably produced in Jin workshops, in exchange for tea from the Song.[60] The *Da Jin guozhi* records that although the Jin did not cultivate silkworms, they nonetheless produced both coarse and fine woven cloth, including silks.[61] Its authors also note that the Jin wore different types of fabric according to the seasons, with silks worn in the spring and summer.[62] Even with some knowledge of Jin silk production and consumption, specific aspects of Jin court dress are difficult to define. In part, this is due to a relative lack of material securely datable to the Jin dynasty. The major source for elite Jin excavated textiles is the tomb of the King of the Qi State (d. after 1163), which, while impressive in terms of its contents, does not provide sufficient material for historians to fully understand what characterized Jin court dress more broadly.[63] Only three paintings showing Jurchen or Jin clothing have been convincingly dated to the Jin dynasty, and tomb murals and relief carvings, while sometimes showing dress in detail, still give an incomplete picture.[64]

Additionally, the Jin dynasty production is often conflated artistically and culturally with the Liao or the Song, with a standard explanation being some variation of

the fact that the Jin assimilated Chinese cultural practices toward the beginning of their dynasty.[65] Jin textiles preserved in museums are often confused with Liao-era materials, and many of the descriptions of court dress in the *Jin shi* are similar to those in the *Liao shi* and the *Song shi*, seemingly giving further evidence of the Jin's lack of distinctive clothing.[66] A further point of confusion for Jin dress in particular is the idea that there were two different "types" of Jurchen – those who continued to live on the Steppe as semi-nomadic tribespeople, referred to as "raw" (*sheng* 生, i.e. perceived as barbaric or uncivilized) Jurchen, and those who established and lived in southern parts of the Jin empire, so-called "cooked" (*shu* 熟, i.e. civilized, Sinicized) Jurchen. While these terms for the Jurchen originated in Chinese sources during the Liao dynasty, some scholars argue that this difference was perceived by the Jin (the "cooked" Jurchen) themselves, and duly expressed sartorially.[67]

What is clear from the extant material for both the Liao and the Jin dynasties is that high-quality silks were used by both the Liao and Jin courts. Among the most luxurious of these were silks woven with gilded and silvered threads. Scholars have argued that silk textiles woven with a supplementary weft in gold were most representative of the Jin dynasty, citing a relative lack of such textiles from the Liao and Song periods.[68] While this assessment is perhaps true, the existence of such textiles in the Liao should not be dismissed – textiles excavated from dated Liao tombs and carbon-14 dated textiles indicate that these types of cloths were also woven in the Liao.[69] A distinguishing feature of gold-woven textiles in the Jin dynasty, however, was the variety of weaving techniques employed to create both the gold threads and the textiles themselves. For example, Jin-era gold thread could be made by applying a thin gold foil layer to either a paper or animal substrate, which was then cut into strips. Gold threads on paper substrate may have been produced in southern Jin territories.[70]

This technique for producing gilded and silvered threads was employed by both Liao and Jin workshops, with animal substrate more prevalent than paper substrate. Metallic threads were often woven as a supplementary weft into tabby or twill-weave silks, although they were sometimes found on gauzes as well.[71] The use of metallic threads as a decorative weft on tabby or twill weave silks continued into the Yuan and co-existed with more complex uses of the metallic, and especially gold, supplementary wefts in the form of lampas weaves. In both Liao and Jin examples, patterns include evenly spaced round, teardrop, or palmette shapes featuring asymmetrical zoomorphic and floral motifs woven with a supplementary weft using gilded threads.

An example of a supplementary weft of metallic thread on tabby silk is AEDTA no. 3270 in the Musée Guimet, Paris, which shows a pattern in gold thread of coiled dragons on a red background and was radiocarbon dated to 720–1010 CE and argued to be typical of the Liao period based on both stylistic and technical grounds.[72] This textile is very similar to a piece dated to the Jin dynasty, also on stylistic and technical grounds, in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Plate 4),[73] and illustrates the difficulty of differentiating some Liao and Jin textiles, especially when provenance is lacking.[74] These textiles are likely Jin in date, as are others like them because, to my knowledge, none of the Liao textiles that have been excavated in dated tombs contain this type of gold patterning or weaving, whereas Jin textiles of comparable, even higher quality, gold weaving have been excavated, notably in the tomb of the King of Qi State.[75] A depiction of such textiles might be depicted on servant figures in a Jin tomb from 1169 Lingchuan, Shanxi,[76] potentially complicating our understanding of the diversity of people wearing these textiles. On the other hand, this funerary scene may show servants wearing idealized fabrics rather than giving evidence for servants wearing luxury

materials. Based on the number of surviving examples, textiles with a supplementary weft made of gilded threads appear to have been popular among the Liao elite, although the general consensus among textile specialists is that this technique was more representative of Jin and Yuan textiles.[77] Textiles of this kind often fall into the rubric of "brocade" or "brocaded" (Chinese: *jin*錦) textiles in both Chinese and English publications. This appellation, which many textile historians view as problematic, is used to describe textiles woven with a brocading weft, which often uses metallic threads.[78]

Hunting Dress as Synthesis: The Hunt in Eurasia

The rituals surrounding hunting, as well as other court ceremonies, began to be performed on an imperial scale beginning in the Liao and Jin and continued into the Yuan dynasty. The ceremony of the spring hunt (Liao: *chun nabo* 春捺鉢) is a prime example of how both the Liao and Jin combined their own traditions with elements borrowed from the Song. In particular, the use of ceremonial hunting dress (Liao: *tianliefu* 田獵服; Jin: *chunshui zhi fu* 春水之服, *qiushan zhi fu* 秋山之服) reveals how an activity important to a relatively small nomadic group was elaborated upon by the Liao and the Jin. Woven of silk with patterns of animals and floral motifs in a supplementary weft of gold and silver threads similar to those described above, Liao and Jin hunting robes signaled new levels of courtly luxury that began to be applied to a traditional form of Steppe dress, historically regarded by the Chinese as "barbarian." The hunt continued to be a centrally important activity during the Mongol period as well, although there is no mention in the official histories of specific hunting dress. It appears, based on pictorial evidence, the Mongols wore a variation of a riding outfit for imperial hunts which was similar in form to Liao and Jin hunting dress, as we will see in Chapter 2.

Precedents are informative, yet again. Both the Khitan and the Jurchen were semi-nomadic groups who practiced animal husbandry and small-scale farming alongside hunting before they formed the Liao and Jin dynasties. With the formation of their states and the increasing control of territory, the necessity of hunting as a form of subsistence became less important for survival and its ceremonial import increased substantially. This shift follows a pattern in pre-modern societies in Eurasia. As Thomas Allsen has shown, when the domestication of plants and animals grows within a given society, that is, when a society becomes more sedentary, the hunt decreases in economic importance but increases in political significance.[79] The type of hunting under consideration here, ceremonial hunting, falls under the rubric of hunting for sport and ceremony rather than for food, although the game caught during these occasions would almost certainly have been eaten at banquets. The hunt as practiced by the Liao and Jin took several forms. One of the most important types of hunts involved the court taking trips to hunting areas located some distance from a capital city. These trips would range from a few days to several months. There was likely a correlation between the length of these trips and the political import of the hunt – if a hunting trip only lasted a few days, hunt was probably the main activity of the trip, whereas on trips lasting weeks or months, political and ceremonial concerns may have been the most important aspect of the event.[80]

Long, seasonal hunting trips were a central part of the Liao court's practice. The spring hunt, which focused on swan hunting, seems to have been of particular importance to the Liao, and it is described in detail in *juan* 32 of the *Liao shi*.[81] The spring hunt began in early spring. Prior to the arrival of either the swans or the emperor, the imperial entourage erected tents and went ice fishing. When the emperor arrived at the hunting site (a 60 day journey from his capital), the hunting would begin – with the release of

falcons to bring down the swans, which were finished off by attendants. The emperor sacrificed the first of these swans to the ancestors in a ceremony that was followed by a party including music and drinking. Finally, the emperor distributed swan feathers to his entourage to stick in their hair. The painting *Banquet at the Khitan Camp* by Hu Gui may relate to such a banquet (Plate 5). In it, two figures sit on a mat, and are attended by servants and officials and with a dancing figure in the foreground. The male figure on the left drinks while the female figure looks on. Women are not mentioned in descriptions of the hunt, but the fact that one is depicted in *Banquet at the Khitan Camp* may indicate that they were present at the campsite and took part in the banqueting. The male attendants, dancer, and central seated male figure wear robes similar to those depicted in other Liao hunting scenes.

The swan hunt was perhaps the most important hunt of the year for the Liao. Although to date I have only been able to find examples from the Jin or Yuan dynasties, there may have existed Liao objects such as belt buckles that took the swan hunt as their motif (Figure 1.11). The *Liao shi* describes the emperor's hunting dress (*tianliefu*田獵服) as

Figure 1.11 Belt buckle, Jin or Yuan dynasty, twelfth–fourteenth century, Jade (nephrite), l. 6.9 cm. Purchase, Florence and Herbert Irving Gift, 1991 (1991.483). The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image in Public Domain.

consisting of a cap, armor, and marten or goose neck and duck head feathers as a girdle.[82] It also notes that when the upper-level officials, both Khitan and Han, dressed for the hunt all of their clothing closed on the left and was dark green or blue.[83] In contemporaneous depictions of hunting scenes, the color of the robe appears to range from light blue to grey or beige. In the album leaf paintings *Going Out for the Hunt* (Figure 1.5) and *Returning from the Hunt*, both also attributed to Hu Gui and introduced above in

relation to Khitan hairstyles, the figures, mounted on horseback, wear long, light blue, grey, and beige robes over red robes. A close examination of these paintings reveals a gold border design at the collar, cuffs, hem, and left-side closing of the robe, which I believe to be a geometric design evocative of script, or a decorative script.[84] That these hunters are shown wearing high-quality textiles woven with gold details confirms that, at least in idealized representations, luxurious rather than practical materials may have been used for hunting robes, a feature also found in ceremonial Jin dynasty hunting robes.

In another example of a hunting party from a mural from the Lamagou tomb located in Aohan Qi, Kelidai County, the members of the hunting party are dressed in long over-robes with round collars; an under-robe peaks out in the same manner as those depicted in Hu Gui's paintings.[85] Each member of the party is equipped with a belt with various useful objects hanging from the waist. This depiction is certainly not of the same quality as Hu Gui's album leaves, but characteristics present in the clothing of figures in both paintings confirm certain details likely considered essential to the portrayal of Liao-era hunting scenes, including the robe type, belt type, and presence of certain animals, such as falcons, used for the hunt.

Elites in the Jin dynasty practiced several types of hunting, and the central role thereof seems to have increased in ceremonial, and therefore, sartorial, importance in comparison with the Liao. In addition to engaging in Liao-style long-term hunts at a distance from the capital city, the Jin built large-scale hunting parks close to their capitals where game could be caught at the leisure of the rulers.[86] One example of such a park was the Shanglin suo 上林所 outside of one of the Jin capitals, located at present-day Kaifeng.[87] In addition to the variety of hunts practiced by Jin dynasty elites, material evidence has survived for the types of robes they wore for the ceremonial hunt.

The *Jin shi* records two types of robes worn by the emperor's entourage for hunting ceremonies. First, the "spring water" (*chunshui* 春水) style, often embroidered or woven with a pattern featuring a bird of prey hunting a goose.[88] This description corresponds to a green silk textile with a "swan hunt" motif in a teardrop pattern, variations of which are preserved in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 1.6) and the Musée Guimet (AEDTA no. 3233). The green silk is in plain weave, with the motif of the swan pursued by a hawk formed by gilded supplementary weft threads. These "swan hunt" textile fragments may have been used as a type of ceremonial hunting dress, probably by officials outside the royal family as these, and examples like them, are of a lesser quality than comparable royal examples from the Jin dynasty.[89]

A second robe, the "autumn mountains" (*qiushan* 秋山) robe, was decorated with embroidered patterns of bears and deer in the forest and mountains.[90] An extant robe with a pattern corresponding to the "autumn mountains" motif is in the Chris Hall Collection (Plate 3). The robe is made of dark blue silk twill with a large repeat pattern woven with a gold supplementary weft showing two deer in a forest with a stylized central cloud in the shape of a *lingzhi* fungus, and four geese flying above. The robe appears to have been made with two loom widths of the silk, with the top and skirt made of the same piece. The skirt flares out from a defined waist which would have been belted; an approximately 4–5 cm wide section remains that is visibly darker than the rest of the robe. The sleeves are narrow, the collar high and round, in the same style as those in pictorial depictions of Khitan hunters by Hu Gui. Rather than a script or geometric decoration at the borders as in the Hu Gui paintings, however, a *kesi* border of ducks and aquatic plants adorns the collar, wrists, hem, and side closing of the robe.[91] The robe closes to the right at the waist with a series of frogs.

These types of fine silk and gold textiles do not seem to be appropriate for hunting. However, depictions of elite hunting scenes, such as those represented in the Hu Gui album leaves, contain figures wearing fine textiles featuring gold elements. The description of the swan hunt in the Liao period also leaves much of the work of pursuing and killing the swans to the falcons and the imperial attendants. In the context of the spring swan hunt, therefore, it would not be out of place for royal participants and their entourage to be dressed in finery. The hunting robes under consideration here were likely worn specifically in the context of a formal occasion, such as a ceremony and banquet that took place after the emperor offered the first swan as a sacrifice to the ancestors, rather than at hunts occurring in the imperial hunting park, or even the hunts taking place after the opening ceremonies during the spring hunt. Although there is a lacuna of evidence for patterned textiles being worn in the context of the hunt from the Liao period, the description of hunting robes in the *Liao shi* as blue or green in color corresponds to the Jin evidence. Perhaps these fine hunting robes were developed out of the context of the Liao spring hunt and elaborated on during the Jin dynasty.

The ceremonies surrounding the hunt, including the genesis and development of specific types of court dress worn during the hunt in both the Liao and the Jin dynasties, reveal the adaptation of a significant practice to an imperial scale. As much as the Liao and Jin adopted certain customs from Tang and Song China to achieve legitimation vis-à-vis their southern neighbors, the importance granted to hunting traditions exemplifies the continued resilience of Steppe practices to the Liao and Jin and argues strongly against "sinicization." The most immediate legacy for these large-scale, politically and ceremonially vital hunts is found in the pre-Imperial Mongol period and Yuan dynasty, culminating in the hunting park at Shangdu, the upper capital of the Yuan. The court painting of Khubilai Khan and his consort, Chabi, in Liu Guandao's *Khubilai Khan Hunting* (Plate 2), introduced at the beginning of the chapter, reveals that the hunt was an imperial activity for the Yuan. Indeed, the Yuan spring and fall hunts were occasions celebrated by mass robing ceremonies and feasting, as the *Yuan shi* and other sources, such as Marco Polo's *Description of the World*, detail, and to which we will return in Chapter 2. The robes used during the spring and fall hunts in the Mongol period differed from those used in the Liao and Jin in form as well as pattern. However, textiles with animal motifs continued to be produced during the Yuan, and gold thread-woven textiles were more pervasive in the Yuan dynasty than they had been in the Liao and Jin.

Investiture and Gifting at the Early Mongol Court (1206–1260)

The ceremonial uses of clothing in the Yuan dynasty, such as the mass robing ceremonies accompanying the spring and fall hunts, have their roots in the early period of Mongol rule (ca. 1206–1260). The gifting of clothing and belts by the khan to his subordinates, which would become part of more elaborate ceremonial occasions such as the *jisün* banquets of the Yuan dynasty, were important markers of the khan's power and relationship to his officials. William of Rubruck (ca. 1220–1293), the Flemish Franciscan who traveled to Mongol territory in the mid-thirteenth century, notes in his *Itinera* (1255) that Möngke (Great Khan, r. 1251–1259) made biannual gifts to Mongol nobles in the spring and at the end of summer, requiring all of them to assemble in Karakorum: "[Möngke] bestows upon them garments and presents and displays his great glory."[92] In the *Secret History*, when the leader of the Uighurs first swears his allegiance to Chinggis Khan, he mentions both his "crimson coat" and his "golden belt."[93] The golden belt in question indicates one of the most significant pieces of clothing worn by the Mongols.

Belts, or girdles, are, in fact, frequently described by visitors to the Mongol court. For example, John of Plano Carpini (Italian: Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, ca. 1182–1252), who was sent to Karakorum by Pope Innocent IV and published his *Ystoria mongolorum* in 1247, notes them as part of ambassadorial tribute: "So many gifts were bestowed by the envoys that it was marvelous to behold – gifts of silk, samite, velvet, brocade, girdles of silk threaded with gold, choice furs and other presents."[94]

Adding to its ceremonial significance, the golden girdle was a metaphor for the khan's power, as the *Secret History* describes:

> After that, as Cinggis Qa'an's one hundred envoys with Uquna at their head had been help up and slain by the Sarta'ul people, Cinggis Qa'an said, 'How can my "golden halter" be broken by the Sarta'ul people?' And he said, 'I shall set out against the Sarta'ul people.'[95]

Here, "the 'golden halter' refers to the firm bond uniting the Mongol khan to other rulers who owed him allegiance."[96] Historical texts about non-Chinese groups reference golden belts or girdles, and archaeological sites have yielded excavated golden belts. A thin, gold-woven belt was found in the Jin dynasty tomb of the King of the Qi State.[97] It appears to be woven with an all-over geometric motif in gold, perhaps a variant or precursor of the "silk girdles wrought with gold" described by Carpini.

Belts played an important symbolic role in investiture ceremonies centuries prior to the Mongol period in the Steppe region, West Asia (the Persian cultural sphere), and are attested in China from at least the Han dynasty.[98] Belts with hanging objects, essential parts of Liao, Jin, and Uighur dress, had been worn for centuries in the Central Plain, the Steppe, Central Asia, and China, although their popularity in China faded during the Tang dynasty.[99] In the Liao dynasty, both the civil officials and military officials of rank five and above wore specific items hanging from their belts.[100] The civil officials hung a handkerchief (*shoujing* 手巾), a brush bag (*suandai*算袋), a knife, a whetstone, and a gold fish pouch from their belts.[101] The military officials wore seven articles on their *diexie* (蹀躞) belts including a hanging blade, a knife, millstone, a rod case, and a bag with flint in it.[102] Depictions of Uighur donors from the ninth–twelfth centuries in the Buddhist caves at Bezeklik in present-day Xinjiang Province (Figure 1.10) and those of Sogdian merchants from the seventh–eight centuries in Panjikent in present-day Uzbekistan,[103] both groups who lived and traveled in the North Chinese cultural sphere, illustrate similar items hanging from belts. The *diexie* belt, which was a thin belt made of leather with short leather straps hanging from it, was worn by Liao court officials as part of their ceremonial dress.[104] An excavated example of a *diexie* belt was found in the Liao dynasty Princess of Chen tomb (from 1018).[105] This example, which is embellished by eleven square gold plaques, five gold plaques in the shape of peaches, and a gold finial, in addition to silver and gold plaques attached to the hanging straps of the belt, likely is far more elaborate than those worn as part of official or military dress.[106] The two purses on the belts are likely iterations of the gold fish pouch described in the *Liao shi*, inherited from the dress of high officials in the Tang dynasty.[107]

The belt was both an essential and symbolic article for the Mongols and their precursors, and it is no surprise that belts played a significant role in Mongol investiture ceremonies. In *Tarikh-i jahan gusha* (*History of the World Conqueror*), the historian Juvaini (1223–1286) details Ögödei's investiture ceremony (1229), noting that those surrounding Ögödei, "In accordance with their ancient custom … removed their hats and slung their belts across their backs."[108] At Güyük's investiture ceremony (1246), "the princes gathered together and took off their hats and loosened their belts."[109] The belt's

importance to the Mongols may have its roots in West Asian custom, although belts existed in East Asia and played a crucial role in Chinese diplomatic dealings with Turko-Mongol groups from a very early period.[110] As with gifts in other societies, where gifting implied a reciprocal action of some sort,[111] the golden girdle marked the ruler's might and generosity in exchange for servitude of his officials.[112]

As with belts, the gifting of clothing was also an integral part of Mongol ceremony, and a binding contract between the khan, the gifter, and his officials, the receivers. This custom was not unique to the Mongols, and in fact appears to have been prevalent across Central Asia from the early centuries of the Common Era.[113] Indeed, the traditions of honorific robing practiced by nomadic and semi-nomadic groups in northeast Asia seem to have originated in Central Asia.[114] The six main features of Central Asian robing include: (1) personalized presentation, that is, from the leader to his men; (2) public presentation, from the leader to the individual in front of the rest of the group; (3) robes made of fine materials given as gifts alongside other war booty; (4) a connection between robing and gifting of one or more horses; (5) the tailoring of the robe – a garment fit for an equestrian rather than a wrapping or draped textile; and (6) the accompaniment of the robe and a gold object.[115] Mongols practiced at least the first, second, and fifth features consistently, with the sixth present if we consider the fact that gold and textiles were combined into single objects in the Mongol period. Horses were key to the Mongol lifestyle and war machine, and the third and fourth features were probably more prevalent prior to the founding of the Yuan, when expansionist policies were still at the core of the Mongol rule.

Personalized presentation does not necessarily refer to a gift of a freshly made robe from the khan to the subject. In most pre-modern societies, bathing was practiced irregularly, such that clothing worn would be imbued with the scent of the wearer. Further, particular to Turkic peoples of the Steppe, including Mongols, was the taboo against using water to bathe, and the prohibition of bathing, which would result in more strongly scented clothes.[116] In the Mongol context, it appears that the scent of the individual was intimately connected to the aura or soul of the person, so that an article of clothing that was worn by an individual would in fact possess a part of the wearer, and could be transmitted to another person through the donning of a robe, for example.[117] The gifting of a previously worn robe between the ruler and his subjects in this context was thus especially significant.

Arguably, the most important male garment of the Yuan dynasty was the *jisün* (Mongolian) or, in Chinese, *zhisun* 質孫, also called *zhama* 詐馬 suit, which was both gifted from the emperor to his officials and worn by the emperor as well. These were monochrome in color and described in detail in the *Yuan shi* and other historical accounts.[118] *Jisün* robes and banquets became more elaborate after Khubilai Khan founded the Yuan dynasty, but they likely originated in the early period of Mongol rule. First introduced under Chinggis, the practice of wearing *jisün* robes may have been transmitted from Central Asia via the Uighurs.[119] Juvayni describes dress, likely corresponding to *jisün* robes, worn by officials at Ögödei's election and investiture, noting, "for full forty days they donned each day new clothes of different color."[120] Carpini corroborates that the same rotation of monochrome clothing was practiced at the election and investiture of Güyük: "On the first day they were all clothed in white velvet, on the second in red … on the third day they were all in blue velvet and on the fourth in the finest brocade."[121] It is my contention that *jisün* robes were not cut or tailored in a specific way different from other forms of Mongol official dress, but in fact derived their name and significance from the fact that they were worn at *jisün* banquets. We will return to the form and function of *jisün* robes in Chapter 2.

Nasīj, Mongol Cloth of Gold

By the Yuan dynasty, *jisün* robes were often woven with gold threads, as recorded in Marco Polo's *Description of the World* and the *Yuan shi*. Many luxury fabrics produced in the Liao, Song, and Jin dynasties, including *kesi*, figured silk textiles, and silk tabby with patterns in gold and silver gilded threads woven using a supplementary weft, continued to be produced in the Mongol period. However, the most striking fabric characteristic of the Mongol period was *nasīj*, an Arabic word[122] transcribed as *nashishi* (納失失 / 納石失) in Chinese, a silk textile with a continuous overall pattern in gold or on plain ground with an offset motif in gold.[123] *Nasīj* falls into the category sometimes referred to as "brocaded" textiles, as it is decorated with a supplementary weft in gold. *Nasīj* is made using a lampas weave, wherein the supplementary decorative weft is held in place by a binding warp.[124] It is important to distinguish between the tabby or twill ground silks woven with repeat patterns in a supplementary gold weft (called "gilded silk," *jin duanzi*金段子in Chinese) (Plates 3, 4, Figure 1.6),[125] and lampas weave textiles with an all-over gold pattern referred to in this study as *nasīj* (Plates 9, 10). A third category of gold textiles produced in the Mongol period is gold weft-faced compound *jin* 錦 ("brocade") weave in tabby or twill, called *anjiaxing zhijinjin* 暗夾型織金錦 in Chinese.[126] This third category distinguishes textiles woven with a lampas weave from textiles lacking a binding warp. Here, I note the difference between lampas-woven *nasīj* and brocaded *anjiaxing zhijinjin* when specifics are available about the weave structure of particular pieces but will treat them together under the broader heading of *nasīj* as questions about their production, use, and decoration generally overlap.

Where did Mongols acquire their *nasīj* during this early period? Extant evidence indicates that pre-Yuan Mongols used it, but it is unclear where *nasīj* was produced prior to the Yuan dynasty. The weavers who made the textiles used by the Mongols were by and large artisans who had worked at the last Jin dynasty capital of Bianjing (present-day Kaifeng), including Chinese, Khitan, Jurchen, and Tangut weavers and Central Asians captured during military campaigns.[127] The Mongols usually spared the lives of artisans when they captured cities, and as the Liao and Jin had done before them, they put these artisans to work for the court. The first record of Mongol clemency dates to the Jin campaigns in 1216 when the only Jin subjects spared were "artisans and actors."[128] The Mongols continued this practice, resulting in the production of various luxury goods for the Mongol court by the captured artisans. The hybrid motifs and spread of artistic techniques resulting from this policy are nowhere seen more clearly than in the manufacture of textiles woven with gold.

The use of artisans from a diversity of backgrounds immediately brought new techniques of textile production into the geographical areas historically most impacted by the arts and designs of China. Under the Mongols, motifs favored by other northern groups such as the Liao and the Jin, including patterns of Tang-Song Chinese origin, were brought into immediate contact with Central Asian and Persian designs. The exchange of decorative motifs between China and Persia and Central Asia was not new; textiles and other decorative art objects moved overland across the Silk Road(s) from the early centuries of the Common Era. The Mongol period stands out from these past artistic exchanges for the rapidity of absorption of designs and techniques from a wide variety of geographical locations.

The diverse origins of artisans responsible for textile production make the task of discerning the exact sites of manufacture very difficult. The majority of the techniques used in the Eastern Mongol Empire to produce textiles patterned with a supplementary weft in

gold came from either the Jin dynasty or the eastern Persian weaving traditions, two very different locations both geographically and culturally.[129] While the techniques used by Jin and Persian artisans to make gold thread may differ, there was no consistent way of manufacturing gold thread in either Central Asia or in West Asia.[130] As noted above regarding Liao and Jin metallic threads, one way of making it was to apply thin layers of gold onto an animal substrate with an adhesive and cut this into thin strips to form threads or "lamellas."[131] This technique was common to Central Asian and northern or Steppe metallic thread production. Extant examples, such as those in Plates 3 and 4 and Figure 1.6, exist from at least the Jin dynasty, and production continued through the Yuan dynasty.[132] Chinese gold thread was manufactured in a similar way, but on paper rather than animal substrate.[133] Both paper and animal substrate-based metallic threads were used in the Jin and Yuan dynasties.[134] The gold and silver lamella could also be wrapped around a silk thread, creating round rather than flat threads, as was the case, for example, in a Mongol-era (mid-thirteenth century) gold textile in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Plate 9) showing a pattern of felines and eagles.[135] Another section of this same textile is found in the David Collection in Copenhagen (32/1989). In her analysis of CMA 1990.2, Anne Wardwell highlights the use of both flat and wrapped gold threads in a single area, which gives a "three-dimensional effect."[136] Comparably dated textiles in the David Collection such as 4/1993, 15/1989, and 14/1992 (Plate 10) also feature this technique.[137] The use of two types of gold threads may correspond to mid-thirteenth century tents given to Hülegü described in Rashid al-Din's *Jami' al-tawarikh* as made of "gold on gold."[138] Juvayni describes several tents made of *nasīj*: a tent erected for Ögedëi on his way to a hunt by Minister Yalavach; another near Samarkand in 1255 for Hülegü by the Minister Mas'ud Beg; and a third erected by Emir Arghun on the orders of Mönke Khan for Hülegü near Tus (Iran).[139] It is possible that CMA 1990.2 and the David Collection pieces 4/1993, 15/1989, and 14/1992 were used as tent panels of the sort described in the *Jami' al-tawarikh*. All feature a large repeat motif and a band at the top with pseudo-calligraphic script, more suitable for hanging than tailoring into a robe.

These textiles were made using similar techniques and feature gold threads made with a gold lamella on an animal substrate. While animal substrate-based threads are generally associated with a northern or western provenance (Steppe, Central Asia, or West Asia), and paper with China, exceptions always exist. Thus, it is difficult to determine a precise origin of a textile-based metallic thread substrate. However, determining how gold thread was made while also considering weaving techniques and the patterns portrayed on the textile allows scholars to hypothesize on the place of production.[140]

Where were textiles and *nasīj* produced in the early Mongol period? In his 1221 account, Li Zhichang describes a silk-weaving center, likely located near the Upper Yenesei River in present-day Siberia:[141] "numerous Chinese craftsmen are settled there, occupied in weaving fine silks, gauze, brocade, and damask."[142] This description is intriguing but vague; the reader cannot assume that *nasīj* was actually produced there, although it is not out of the question.[143] This site likely refers to the city founded by the Uighur, Kereit, or possibly Önggüt[144] Mongol general, Chinqai (鎮海Zhenhai, c. 1169–1252), called Chinqai Balaqsun, "City of Chinqai."[145]

The authors of the *Yuan shi* describe another site of pre-Yuan textile production associated with Chinqai, the textile production center in Hongzhou 弘州, which produced luxury textiles prior to 1229:

> Prior to [the election of Ögödei in 1229], they gathered together young boys, young girls, and artisans from throughout the realm and established an office [*ju* 局] at

> Hongzhou. Lastly, they obtained some three hundred weavers, goldsmiths, gold textile and patterned twill and tabby weavers [*zhijin qiwen gong* 織金綺紋工] from the Western Regions and three hundred weavers and coarse woolen cloth-makers [*zhi mao he gong* 織毛褐工] from Bianjing [present-day Kaifeng], all [of whom] were attached to the Hongzhou [office]. Chinqai was ordered to hereditarily superintend [them] in that place.[146]

Although more detailed, this description also does not explicitly mention the production of *nasīj*; while *zhijin* signifies textiles woven with gold, this is a general term and could signify Jin-style silks decorated with a gold supplementary weft (*jin duanzi*), gold embroidery, or *nasīj*. Yet thanks to surviving textiles, there is proof that *nasīj* was used for Mongol dress in this period. *Nasīj* may not have been produced within China or Mongolia until the Yuan dynasty, and the *nasīj* used in dress prior to the founding of the Yuan dynasty was imported from production sites in Central Asia. However, a variety of patterns and weaves, as well as gold-woven textiles, were likely coming out of the center in Hongzhou, with its combination of Central Asian and Chinese weavers, during this early period. The forcible resettlement and mixing of weavers go some way in explaining the variety of weaves and motifs that became popular during the Mongol period. The processes of resettlement of artisans prior to and during the Yuan dynasty may help explain why the origins of *nasīj* used at the Mongol court are difficult to locate.

The success of the early Mongols in conquering vast territories in Eurasia and quickly consolidating power has long been attributed to their openness to borrowing governing techniques from pre-existing cultures and adapting these to suit their own purposes. The ability to synthesize characteristics from a variety of sources partially explains how the Mongols created a distinctive courtly aesthetic vocabulary, adapted to their traditional cultural practices and ceremonies with astonishing speed. This is seen through ceremonies surrounding the hunt, robing at court, and the introduction of luxurious materials, gold-woven silks – *nasīj* in particular. While the Mongol conquests were on a much greater scale than those of the Liao and Jin, who had restricted their conquests to North China, the Mongols built upon elements of synthesis practiced by the Liao and the Jin, among others, to quickly assert themselves as supreme rulers over well-established and sophisticated civilizations. By the 1220s, the Mongols had elaborated on their historical practices of investiture, expanding the gifting of individual robes and belts from the khan to his officials, to the gifting of multiple suits of clothing made of fine materials to hundreds or perhaps thousands of officials during multi-day *jisün* banquets. The hunt, too, took on imperial proportions, beginning in the Liao and Jin dynasties, and expanding under the Mongols, with gold, rather than felt tents, occasionally used by the khan. The apex of this courtly splendor, however, occurred not during the first few decades of Mongol rule, but under the rule of Khubilai Khan and his court at Dadu, capital of the Yuan dynasty, and seat of the larger Mongol Empire, to which we now turn.

Notes

1 Although there has been some debate over whether *Khubilai Khan Hunting* is an authentic Yuan painting by Liu Guandao or a Ming copy, I follow Roslyn Hammers and am convinced that it is a reflection of Yuan production. See Roslyn Lee Hammers, "*Khubilai Khan Hunting*: Tribute to the Great Khan," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (2015), 5–44. For an overview of the debate over the authenticity of this painting see Hong Zaixin with Cao Yiqiang, "Pictorial Representation and Mongol Institutions in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*," in

Arts of the Sung and Yüan: Ritual, Ethnicity, and Style in Painting, ed. Cary Y. Liu and Dora C.Y. Ching (Princeton: The Art Museum, 1999), 181–184.

2 The term "Mongol" in this book refers to a confederation of diverse groups, mostly of Turkic origin, from the Steppe region of present-day Mongolia and parts of North China.

3 Victor Mair, "The North(west)ern Peoples and the Recurrent Origins of the 'Chinese' State," in *The Teleology of the Modern Nation-State: China and Japan*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 46–84.

4 The Jin did not fall to the Mongols until 1234.

5 For an explanation of the political structure and early administration of the Mongol Empire see David Morgan, "Who Ran the Mongol Empire?" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1 (1982), 124–136, especially 126–129; Igor de Rachewiltz, "Personnel and Personalities in North China in the Early Mongol Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 9, No. 1/2 (Nov. 1966), 96; Igor de Rachewiltz et al., eds., *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol – Yuan Period* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), xi–xiv; Paul D. Buell, "Tribe, 'Qan,' and 'Ulus' in Early Mongol China: Some Prolegomena to Yuan History," (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1977), 29–40.

6 He is referred to as such in the first colophon appended to *Poem of Farewell to Liu Man*, written by Song Lian (宋濂 1310–1381), the editor of the *Yuan shi*. See the translation of the colophon on the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Collections, "Poem of Farewell to Liu Man, Yelü Chucai (Khitan, 1190–1244)," www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/40105?img=4 (accessed November 29, 2018).

7 Thomas Allsen has discussed the important role of "cultural brokers" in the Mongol Empire in several publications, though his focus is on exchange via people such as Bolad Aqa and Marco Polo across the already established Mongol khanates. See Thomas Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 63–71; Thomas Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 71; Thomas Allsen, "Biography of a Cultural Broker. Bolad Ch'eng-Hsiang in China and Iran," in *The Court of the Il-khans 1290–1340*, ed. Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 7–19; and Thomas Allsen, "Two Cultural Brokers of Medieval Eurasia: Bolad Aqa and Marco Polo," in *Nomadic Diplomacy: Destruction and Religion from the Pacific to the Adriatic*, ed. Michael Gervers and Wayne Schlepp (Toronto, 1994), 63–78.

8 Peter Jackson, "From *Ulus* to Khanate: The Making of the Mongol States, c. 1220–c.1290," in *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 12–38.

9 "Han" is a problematic term, but I will use it here when it is used in the historical sources. As Mark Elliott points out, "the historical use of the term *Han* is highly unstable, and even in the contemporary world the term can be slippery. Sometimes it is used synonymously with "Chinese," sometimes not; people who might be considered Han in some contexts might not be in others." Elliott address the term and its implications in Mark Elliott, "Hushuo: The Northern Other and the Naming of the Han Chinese," in *Critical Han Studies: The History, Representation, and Identity of China's Majority*, ed. Thomas S. Mullaney et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 173–190.

10 Tang-Song ritual and court dress continued fashions for the emperor and his court that had been codified in the Han dynasty (ca. 206 BCE —220 CE). As Xinru Liu has shown, clothing was codified over the course of the dynasty, and the regulations recorded in the *Houhan shu* (History of the Later Han) were a summary of four centuries of regulations. See Xinru Liu, "Silk, Robes, and Relations between Early Chinese Dynasties and Nomads beyond the Great Wall," in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. Stewart Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 24.

11 The *Liao shi* (遼史 "History of the Liao Dynasty"), for instance, only has one six-page-long *juan* (*juan* 56) devoted to the description of court dress, while the *Song shi* (宋史 "History of the Song dynasty") provides six *juan* on costume (*juan* 149–154), totaling 123 pages. See Tuotuo, *Liao shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) hereafter *LS*; Tuotuo, *Song shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1977) hereafter *SS*.

12 For historical background on the Liao see Denis Twitchett and Klaus-Peter Tietze, "The Liao," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, ed. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 43–153. For Abaoji see Victor Mair, Sanping Chen, and Frances Wood, *Chinese Lives: The People Who Made a Civilization* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2013), 100–101.

13 Linda Cooke Johnson defines *hanren* as "The Chinese population living north of the Yellow River and resident in Kitan territory since Tang times," see Linda Cooke Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties: Gender and Identity in Liao and Jin China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 41. Another category of Chinese, originally from the Northern Song, was *nanren* 南人, see Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties*, 42.

14 Birgitte Birge, *Marriage and Law in the Age of Khubilai Khan* (Cambridge (MA) and London: Harvard University Press, 2017), 17. The Liao differentiated between Khitan and their allies such as the Xi, and *haner* or *hanren* populations beginning in Abaoji's reign (in 921), with Khitan peoples given higher status and legal advantages over *hanren* populations, see Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties*, 42.

15 David Curtis Wright, *From War to Diplomatic Parity in Eleventh Century China: Sung's Foreign Relations with Kitan Liao* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 2.

16 For example, David Morgan proposes that both the office of *darughachi* (imperial commissioner) and the *yam* postal relay system used under the Mongol Empire were Khitan innovations. See Morgan, "Who Ran the Mongol Empire?" 129.

17 Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties*, 57.

18 Morris Rossabi notes that there had been Jin defectors to the Mongols as early as 1211. Morris Rossabi, *The Jurchens in the Yüan and Ming* (Ithaca, NY: China-Japan Program, Cornell University, 1982), 1.

19 For historical background on the Tanguts, see Ruth Dunnell, *The Great State of White and High: Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-Century Xia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 1996), especially 12–18. See also Ruth Dunnell, "The Hsi Hsia," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, ed. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 154–214.

20 Liu Xu, *Jiu Tang shu* (Taipei: Chenwen chuban she, 1971), 198: 5291. My translation.

21 This and the following information about Tangut dress is from *SS*, 485: 13393. My translation.

22 The following information about clothing is based on *LS*, 56: 905–911. My translation.

23 John Vollmer refers to this as "semiformal dress" in the Ming context, see Vollmer, *Silks for Thrones and Altars: Chinese Costumes and Textiles from the Liao through the Qing Dynasty* (Paris: Myrna Myers, 2003), 56. However, since this dress seems to have been worn for various rites and rituals primarily, I have chosen the term "ceremonial dress," or "sacrificial dress" as one definition of *ji* 祭 is to offer sacrifice.

24 *LS*, 56: 905–907.

25 *LS*, 56: 907–911.

26 Shen Congwen, ed., *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu* (Xianggang: Shangwu yinshuguan xianggang fenguan, 1981); Zhou Xibao, *Zhongguo gudai fushi shi* (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chuban she, 1984).

27 *LS*, 56: 906.

28 A music band, Zhang Shiqing's tomb (M1) at Xiabali in Xuanhua, Hebei. 6th Year of Tianqing Era (1115), Liao Dynasty. Excavated in 1974, preserved at the original site. Reproduced in Xu Guangji, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua quan ji* (Beijing: Kexue chu ban she, 2012), vol. 1, fig. 158.

29 See also male donor in *Greeting the Soul of the Righteous Man on the Way to the Pure Land of Amitabha*, Tangut (late twelfth century). Scroll on linen, h. 84.8 cm, w. 63.8 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Reproduced in Mikhail Piotrovsky, ed., *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X–XIIIth Century)* (Milan: Electa, 1993), pl. 41.

30 Regarding early (pre-Tang) dyes, Zhao Feng and Xu Zheng focus on plant-based blues, reds, yellows, and whites. Blue dyes were made using indigo and woad, among other plants. Red dyes were extracted from safflower (the red has to be separated from the yellow dye in the plant) or madder. In their account, they also mention the origins of safflower, which was said to come from Central Asia and was brought to the Western Han dynasty by Zhang Qian (d. c. 114 BCE). It was not until the Tang dynasty that the yellow and red pigments of safflower were properly extracted, which explains the often-orangey hue of earlier textiles.

Zhao Feng and Xu Zheng, *Jin xiu hua fu: Gudai sichou ranzhi shu* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2008), 73. An example of purple damask gauze from the Tang dynasty is found on a square fragment (possibly a pillow end) in the collection of Chris Hall in Hong Kong. Elena Phipps discusses the use of purple dyes in Elena Phipps, "Cochineal Red: The Art History of a Color," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series, Vol. 67, No. 3 (Winter, 2010), 4–48. Phipps points out that the only truly bright red/purple colors that were used in Chinese textiles were imported from India and South East Asia, made from *lac* (*Kerria lacca*) (Phipps, 9). However, it does not appear that this was used as a dye for entire robes. Cochineal dyes were imported from America to China during the Qing dynasty (Phipps, 40). However, the period that we are considering here is not addressed. Nonetheless, evidence is lacking for truly "purple" colors being produced as overall dyes for textiles during this time.

31 I discuss the similarities in descriptions of imperial dress in the dynastic histories in more detail in Chapter 2, see Notes 13–14.
32 *SS*, 485: 13393. My translation.
33 For example, in a description of "Han" sacrificial dress in *LS*, *56*: 908.
34 *SS*, 485: 13393. My translation.
35 Shi, Jinbo, Nie Hongyin, Bai Bin, eds., *Tiansheng gai jiuxin ding lüling* (Beijing: Falu chuban she, 2000) no. 7, 282. My translation.
36 Anne E. Wardwell and James C.Y. Watt, *When Silk Was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles* [hereafter *WSWG*] (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 116.
37 Shi Jinbo, "Xixia xingshi he Dunhuang gaoku chuyi," *Xixia xue*, vol. 4 (July 2009), 167; Chen Gaohua and Xu Jijun eds., *Zhongguo fushi tongshi*, (Ningbo: Ningbo chuban she, 2002), 383.
38 Susan Huang, "Reassessing Printed Buddhist Frontispieces from Xi Xia," *Zhejiang University Journal of Art and Archaeology* 1 (2014), 140.
39 Chen and Xu, *Zhongguo fushi tongshi*, 383.
40 Shi Jinbo et al. "Xixia xingshi," no. 12: 431. My translation.
41 Chen and Xu, *Zhongguo fushi tongshi*, 383.
42 Citing Shi Jinbo, *Xixia wenhua* (Changjun: Jilin jiaoyu chuban she, 1986), see Chen and Xu, *Zhongguo fushi tongshi*, 382, Note 5.
43 Reproduced in Chen and Xu, *Zhongguo fushi tongshi*, 383, fig. 8–35.
44 Chen and Xu, *Zhongguo fushi tongshi*, 383.
45 Reproduced in Piotrovsky, *Lost Empire of the Silk Road*, fig. 67.
46 Kira Fyodorovna Samosyuk, "The Art of the Tangut Empire: A Historical and Stylistic Interpretation," in *Lost Empire of the Silk Road: Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X–XIIIth Century)*, ed. Mikhail Piotovsky (Milano: Electa, 1993), 85.
47 Chen and Xu, *Zhongguo fushi tongshi*, 383.
48 *SS*, 485: 13393. My translation.
49 For a discussion and categorization of Khitan hairstyles see Li Meng, "Lüelun Liaodai Qidan kunfa de yangshi," *Kaogu yu wenwu*, no. 1 (2011), 86–91. For a reproduction of *Returning from the Hunt* see Lin Boting, ed., *Da guan: Bei Song shu hua te zhan* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2006), 264.
50 For a comparative study of Khitan, Jurchen, and Mongol hairstyles in paintings see Yu Hui, "Jindai renmahua kaolue ji qita: minzuxue, minsuxue he leixingxue zai guhua jianding zhong de zuoyong," *Meishu yanjiu*, no. 4 (1990), 40.
51 *SS*, 295: 9833.
52 Yuwen Maozhao [ca. 1160]. *Da Jin guozhi xiao zheng* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), *juan* 39: 552. My translation.
53 Li Chih-Ch'ang [Li Zhichang], *The Travels of an Alchemist: The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang Ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan*, trans. Arthur Waley (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1979), 67.
54 Zhou Xibao, *Zhongguo gudai fushi*, 354.
55 My translation from Peng Daya and Xu Ting,*Heida shilüe*, in *Xu xiu Siku quanshu*, ed. Gu Tinglong, v. 423, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 534 B.
56 Both Han and Khitan weavers worked in the *Ling jin yuan* 綾錦院 in Zuzhou 祖州. See *LS*, 37: 441–442.
57 Naomi Standen, *Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossing in Liao China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 8.

58 Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-Shêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1949), 326.
59 Tuotuo, *Jin shi* (Taipei: Chengwen chuban she, 1971), hereafter *JS*, 4: 78.
60 *JS*, 49: 1108.
61 Yuwen, *Da Jin guozhi*, 39: 553.
62 Yuwen, *Da Jin guozhi*, 39: 553.
63 Zhu, "Royal Costumes of the Jin Dynasty," *Orientations*, 21 (Dec. 1990), 59–64.
64 The three paintings are: Zhang Yu (att.), *Lady Wenji Returns to Han* from ca. 1200 in the Jilin Provincial Museum; Liu Yuan, *Dream of Sima Yu* in the Cincinnati Art Museum; Ma Yunqing, *Vimalakirti Expounds Buddhist Sutras* in the Palace Museum, Beijing. See Susan Bush, "Five Paintings of Animal Subjects or Narrative Themes and Their Relevance to Chin Culture," in *China under Jurchen Rule: Essays on Chin Intellectual and Cultural History*, ed. Hoyt Cleveland Tillman and Stephen H. West (Albany: State University of New York, 1995), 183–215.

Known Jin tomb murals (as of 2012) are reproduced in Xu, ed., *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua quan ji* Vols. 1–10.
65 Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties*, xviii. This interpretation is an improvement on the theory that the Jin were simply sinicized. For examples of the sinicization of the Jin see Hok-lam Chan, *Legitimation in Imperial China: Discussions under the Jurchen-Chin Dynasty (1115–1234)* (Seattle: University of Washington Press), 1984, x; Hoyt Cleveland Tillman and Stephen H. West, ed. *China under Jurchen Rule: Essays on Chin Intellectual and Cultural History* (Albany: State University of New York, 1995), 1.
66 With the possible exception of "Ordinary Dress," which according to Chen Gaohua and Xu Jijun, *Zhongguo fushi tongshi*, 374, was characterized by more distinctive Jin elements than the court dress described in the second section of *juan* 43, the *Jin shi* chapter on dress.
67 Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties*, 56; Hang Lin, "Wenji Returns to China: A Jin Handscroll and Its Relevance to Changing Jurchen Cultural Identities," in *Face to Face: The Transcendence of the Arts in China and Beyond – Historical Perspectives*, ed. Rui Oliveira Lopes and Fernando António Baptista Pereira (Lisbon: Centro de Investigação e Estudos em Belas-Artes, 2014), 268–269. For the use of the terms "cooked" and "raw" Jurchen in a contemporaneous text see Xu Mengxin [1194], *Sanchao beimeng huibian* (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1962), for example 37:16b.
68 *WSWG*, 108.
69 For excavated textiles see the Princess of Chen's tomb in Zhu Qixin, "The Liao Dynasty Tomb of Prince and Princess of the Chen Kingdom," *Orientations*, 22.10 (1991), 53–61. For carbon-14 dated textiles see Regula Schorta, *Dragons of Silk, Flowers of Gold: A Group of Liao-Dynasty Textiles at the Abegg-Stiftung* (Switzerland: Abegg-Stiftung, 2007).
70 *WSWG*, 108.
71 Distinctions between Jin, Central Asian/Eastern Iranian, and Mongol weaving traditions of silks with a supplementary weft in gold are explained in *WSWG*, 107–111.
72 See Krishna Riboud, "A Cultural Continuum, A New Group of Liao and Jin Dynasty Silks," *Hali* 17 (Aug./Sept. 1995), 119 (for carbon dating), see 99–104 (for stylistic and technical analysis).
73 *WSWG*, 116.
74 Textiles purchased on the art market often lack provenance as they were likely looted from tombs in China. The only way to date them, other than by technical and stylistic analysis, is through radiocarbon dating, which is not 100% precise and can only give a probable date range. This costly process has been undertaken by the Abegg-Stiftung on their Liao textile collection. Krishna Riboud, whose collection is now in the Musée Guimet, also had a few of her textiles radiocarbon dated, as has Chris Hall, whose collection is in Hong Kong and Singapore. As of a visit to the Guimet in May 2014, it appeared to me that there may be some Jin or even Yuan pieces categorized as Liao pieces in the collection located in Guimet storage; my impression was based on known similar textiles that have been dated to the Jin or Yuan dynasties. The curator agreed that there needed to be some reevaluation of the dates of the collection as a whole.
75 Zhu, "Royal Costumes," 60.
76 See detail of figures from the Southeast corner of the Jin tomb at Yuquancun, Fuchengzhen in Lingchuan, Shanxi, 1169. Excavated 2007, preserved at the original site, reproduced in Xu, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua quan ji*, vol. 2, 149, fig. 141.

77 Regina Krahl, James Watt, and Anne Wardwell believe that textiles woven with a supplementary weft in gold thread, or gold brocaded textiles, are more representative of the Jin and Yuan dynasty than the Liao dynasty. See Regina Krahl, "Medieval Silks Woven in Gold: Khitan, Jurchen, Tangut, Chinese or Mongol?" *Orientations*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (April 1997), 51 and *WSWG*, 108. However, in addition to mentions of gold textiles in the *LS*, evidence of Liao-era textiles woven with gold exists from the tomb of the Princess of Chen, as well as radiocarbon dated examples from the AEDTA (Musée Guimet) and Abegg-Stiftung collections.

78 "Brocade" is problematic as a term because it is unspecific and is often applied to a wide variety of unrelated weaves. "Brocaded" is defined in the CIETA vocabulary (the standard in the study of textiles) as "an additional weft, introduced into a ground weave, the movement of which is limited to the width of the area where it is required, and which does not travel from selvage to selvage." See CIETA, *Vocabulary of Textile Terms* (Lyon: Publications du CIETA, 2006), 15. This definition applies to the examples discussed above. In historical documents (in both English and Chinese) "brocade" (*jin* 錦) might refer to any textile with a woven pattern, "especially one with a pattern in gold or silver," CIETA, *Vocabulary*, 15.

79 Thomas Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 2.

80 Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, 21.

81 The following description is from *LS*, 32: 373–374. My translation.

82 *LS*, 56: 907. My translation. Wittfogel and Fêng translate 扞腰 as "loin-protector," see Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society*, 284.

83 *LS*, 56: 907. My translation.

84 For pseudo script on textiles during this period see Eiren Shea, "Textile as Traveler: The Transmission of Inscribed Robes across Asia in the Twelfth through Fourteenth Centuries," *Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. 73 (2018), 97–112.

85 Detail from a hunting scene. Liao dynasty (907–1124 CE), from a tomb in Dahabaqilacun, Beizifuzhen, Aohao Banner, Inner Mongolia. Reproduced in Xu, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua quan ji*, vol. 3, 168.

86 Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, 43.

87 Allsen, *The Royal Hunt*, 43.

88 *JS*, 43: 984.

89 Such as the materials from the tomb of the King of Qi State, see Zhu, "Royal Costumes," 60; Zhao Feng, *Treasures in Silk* (Hong Kong: Costume Squad Ltd., 1999), 188.

90 *JS*, 43: 984.

91 *Kesi* is often translated as Chinese silk tapestry or silk pictorial tapestry. See Schuyler Cammann, "Notes on the Origin of Chinese K'o-ssŭ Tapestry," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 11, No. 1/2 (1948), 90; Angela Sheng, "Chinese Silk Tapestry: A Brief Social Perspective of Its Early Development," *Orientations*, Vol. 26, No. 5 (1995),70; *WSWG*, 53. CIETA defines k'o-ssu: "The Chinese term for slit tapestry woven of silk, or of silk and metal threads. It is in general use for Chinese tapestry-woven fabrics." CIETA, *Vocabulary*, 43. Liao *kesi* used both silk and gold threads and is characterized by a regular weave with fine threads used in the weft, which creates a smoother overall surface and a finer design than is seen in contemporary Northern Song or Central Asian *kesi*. See *WSWG*, 60.

92 Rubruck in Christopher Dawson, *Mission to Asia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 175. See also William Woodville Rockhill, trans. and ed., *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253–1255, As Narrated by Himself, with Two Accounts of the Earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1900), 207.

93 "The *idu'ut* of the Ui'ut [i.e. ruler of the Uighurs] sent envoys to Cinggis Qa'an. Through the envoys Atkiraq and Darbai, he had the following petition conveyed to him: 'As if one saw Mother Sun/ When the clouds disperse;/ As if one came upon the river water/ When the ice disappears,/ So I greatly rejoiced when I heard of the fame of Cinggis Qa'an. If through your favour, O Cinggis Qa'an, I were to obtain/ But a ring from your golden belt,/ But a thread from your crimson coat,/ I will become your fifth son and will serve you." Igor de Rachewiltz (trans.), *The Secret History of the Mongols* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 238: 163.

94 Carpini in Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 64. See also Manuel Komroff, ed., *Contemporaries of Marco Polo* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1928), 44–45.

95 Rachewiltz, *The Secret History*, section 254, 181.

96 Rachewiltz, *The Secret History*, section 254, 181, Note 4.
97 Zhu, "Royal Costumes," 62, fig. 6.
98 Investiture practices using belts allegedly started between the Han and the Xiongnu as early as 174 BCE. In Sui and early Tang China, investiture rituals involving belts and robes, and particularly riding coats, were practiced when investing "outer clients," that is foreigners, a practice criticized by the Confucians. See Jonathan Karam Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power, and Connections 580–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 162–166. See also Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 84.
99 See Zhu, "Liao Dynasty Tomb," 59. For early use of the *diexie* belt see Sun Ji, *Zhongguo gu yufu* (Shanghai: 2013), 258–271. For belts from the Han through Ming see Emma Bunker and Julia White, *Adornment for Eternity: Status and Rank in Chinese Ornament* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1994), 20, 21–22, 132–139. For Sui-Tang period see Skaff, *Sui-Tang China*, 162–166. For Liao *diexie* belts see Bunker and White, *Adornment for Eternity*, 164–168; Sarah Laursen, "Leaves That Sway: Gold Xianbei Cap Ornaments from Northeast China" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania: 2011), 183.
100 All information about Liao belts is from *LS*, 56: 910 unless otherwise noted.
101 The fish pouch, along with the "seven articles" that hung from the belt, were introduced in the Tang dynasty beginning in 651, see Skaff, *Sui-Tang China*, 165.
102 The entire section of the *LS 56* beginning from the description of military officials until the flint bag is the same as a section describing Tang dress in the *Xintang shu, juan* 24 according to the editors. See *LS*, 56: 911, n. 7.
103 For a reproduction of this image see Pierre Chauvin, *Les arts de l'Asie Centrale* (Paris: Citadelles & Mazenod, 1999), fig. 185.
104 *LS*, 56: 906.
105 For an image see Zhu, "Liao Dynasty Tomb," 58, fig. 16; Hsueh-man Shen, ed., *Gilded Splendor: Treasures of China's Liao Empire (907–1125)* (New York: Asia Society), 142, cat. 21.
106 Zhu, "Liao Dynasty Tomb," 59.
107 Zhu, "Liao Dynasty Tomb," 59.
108 Ala al-Din 'Ata Malek Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, trans. from the text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini by John A. Boyle (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 187.
109 Juvaini, *History of the World-Conqueror*, 251.
110 Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 84; Skaff, *Sui-Tang China*, 162–166.
111 Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W.D. Halls. (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), especially "The Exchange of Gifts and Obligation to Reciprocate (Polynesia)," in 10–23.
112 Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 85.
113 Stewart Gordon, "A World of Investiture" in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. Stewart Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 7–8.
114 Gordon, "A World of Investiture," 5–6. Thomas Allsen posits Mongol desire for gold textiles as coming from Central Asia as well in Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 11–12.
115 Gordon, "A World of Investiture," 5–6.
116 Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 89.
117 Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 90.
118 Song Lian, *Yuan shi* [1370], Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976, hereafter *YS*, 78: 1929–1930, 1938. See also *WSWG*, 138.
119 Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 77–78.
120 Juvaini, *History of the World-Conqueror*, 186.
121 Carpini in Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 61.
122 According to Dozy: "the term *nasīj* stands in for the phrase *nasīj al-dhahab wa-l-ḥarīr* [textile woven of gold and silk] … a textile woven with gold, a brocade … in Marco Polo as noted by M. Defrémery (J.A. 1850, II, 166), *nassit* and *nascisci*." See Reinhart Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, vol. II, 3rd edition (Leiden: Brill, and Paris: G.- Maisonneuve et Larose, 1967), 666. Thanks to Elias Saba.
123 Joyce Denney, "Textiles in the Mongol and Yuan Periods," in James C.Y. Watt, *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum

of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 249, 255, and 257; Zhao Feng, "Silk Artistry of the Yuan Dynasty," 334, 335–338.

124 Dorothy Burnham defines lampas as "a figured weave in which a pattern, composed of weft floats bound by a binding warp, is added to a ground weave formed by a main warp and main weft. The ground weave is variable. The weft threads forming the pattern may be main, pattern, or brocading wefts; they float on the face as required by the pattern, and are bound by the ends of the binding warp in a binding which is ordinarily tabby or twill and is supplementary to the ground weave." Dorothy K. Burnham, *Warp and Weft: A Textile Terminology* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1980), 82; See also Dieter Kuhn and Zhao Feng, eds., *Chinese Silks* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 525.

125 Zhao, "Silk Artistry," 334.

126 Zhao, "Silk Artistry," 334.

127 *YS*, 120: 2964. See also Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 43.

128 *YS*, 119: 2932. See also Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 31–32; Anne Wardwell, "Two Silk and Gold Textiles of the Early Mongol Period," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Vol. 79, No. 10 (Dec. 1992), 354. Yelü Chucai famously saved the lives of the people of Bianliang by arguing that the Mongols should put them to use, asking "if we obtain the land without the people, what use are we going to make of it?" This resulted in the sparing of lives of artisans. See Igor de Rachewiltz, "Sino-Mongol Culture Contacts in the XIII Century: A Study on Yeh-Lü Ch'u-Ts'ai" (Australian National University, 1960), 109–111.

129 *WSWG*, 107.

130 Anne Wardwell divides Central Asian and Middle Eastern textiles woven with metallic threads into eight categories based on characteristics of the weave. See Anne E. Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici:* Eastern Islamic Silks Woven with Gold and Silver (13th and 14th Centuries)." *Islamic Art* 3 (1988–1989), Appendix I, 133.

131 Lamella: "A flat strip of precious or base metal, or gilt or silvered leather, membrane, metal, or paper used for yarn. It may be used flat, or wound around a core." CIETA, *Vocabulary*, 45.

132 For example, AEDTA 3086, a tabby weave blue silk with a motif of soaring phoenixes in gold from the Jin dynasty analyzed by Marie-Hélène Guelton and Lian Liang in May 1992, from "Archives of Marie-Hélène Guelton and the AEDTA," unpublished manuscript. AEDTA 3086 appears to be identical to a piece in the Cleveland Museum of Art (1994.292), published in *WSWG*, 118–119, cat. 31.

133 The earliest evidence of gold thread in China dates from the Sui and Tang dynasties (late sixth–early tenth century), including wrapped gold threads, and gold foil without a substrate. See Zhao Feng, "Silks in the Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties," in *Chinese Silks*, ed. Dieter Kuhn and Zhao Feng (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 224–227, 253.

134 An example from the Mongol period is AEDTA 3246, which is a tabby-weave light green silk featuring a pattern of confronted birds in roundels on a dense floral background in gold (with a paper substrate); the pattern is bound by 1/5 twill weave. Analyzed by Marie-Hélène Guelton and Lian Liang in May 1992, from Guelton, "Archives of Marie-Hélène Guelton."

135 For a reproduction of CMA 1990.2 see *WSWG* cat 43. Wardwell also contrasts the gold threads in CMA 1990.2 with those in CMA 1989.50, pointing out that CMA 1989.50 features gold foil on a paper substrate wrapped around a silk core. Anne Wardwell, "Two Silk and Gold Textiles," 362. A similar technique (gold foil on an animal substrate wrapped around a silk core) was used to form the gold threads on AEDTA 3729, according to an analysis by Donald King, see Guelton, "Archives of Marie-Hélène Guelton."

136 Wardwell, "Two Silk and Gold Textiles," 362.

137 Kjeld von Folsach, "A Set of Silk Panels from the Mongol Period," in *God Is Beautiful and Loves Beauty: The Object in Islamic Art and Culture*, ed. Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 232. For a reproduction of 4/1993 and 15/1989 see the David Collection online: www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/materials/textiles/art/4-1993-15-1989 (accessed August 29, 2019).

138 Wardwell, "Two Silk and Gold Textiles," 362–363; Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici*," 104.

"In the month of shaban in the year 653 [September, 1255], the prince arrived in Samarkand and stopped in the prairie of Kan-ghul. It was there that the emir Masud-beg erected a tent which was made of a fabric of gold on gold." Based on Quatremère's French translation: "Au mois de shaban de l'an 653, le prince arriva à Samarkand, et s'arrêta dans la

prairie de Kan-ghul. Ce fut là que l'émir Masoud-beigh fit dresser une tente, formée d'un tissu d'or sur or." Raschid-Eldin (Rashid al-Din), *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, trans. Etienne Quatremère (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1968), 149. Thackston translates the same passage: "There, Mas'ud Beg had erected a tent of gold-spun brocade." Rashid al-Din, *Jami'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles – A History of the Mongols*, trans. and annotated by W.M. Thackston (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998–1999), Vol. 2, 480. "At the beginning of the spring, Arghun Aqa prepared a tent that was fastened by a thousand nails and made of a fabric of gold on gold." Based on Quatremère's French translation: "Au commencement du printemps, Argoun-aka fit preparer une tente attachée par mille clous, et formée d'un tissue d'or sur or." Rashid al-Din trans. Quatremère, 159. Thackston translates this passage: "When spring came Arghun Aqa erected a thousand-pegged tent of gold-on-gold stuff equipped with all the accoutrements of such a monarch's court." Rashid al-Din trans. Thackston, 480.

139 Juvaini, *History of the World-Conqueror*, 218, 612, 616. The two tents erected for Hülegü correspond with the description in Rashid al-Din cited above. See Rashid al-Din, trans. Quatremère, 149, 159; Rashid-al-Din trans. Thackston, 480.

140 Kjeld von Folsach and Anne-Marie Kerblow Bernsted, *Woven Treasures: Textiles from the World of Islam* (Copenhagen: The David Collection, 1993), 55–57.

141 Waley in Li Chih-Ch'ang, *Travels of an Alchemist*, 124, Note 1.

142 Li Chih-Ch'ang, *Travels of an Alchemist*, 124.

143 Timothy May hypothesizes that the site described by Li Zhichang (which in Waley's translation is noted as a location near the Upper Yenisei River in Siberia) produced *nasīj*, citing its proximity to gold deposits in the Altai Mountains and the Yenisei River. See Timothy May, *The Mongol Conquests in World History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 217–218.

144 On Chinqai's ethnicity see Waley, "Chinkai's origins" in Li Chih-Ch'ang, *Travels of an Alchemist*, 36–37; Paul Buell 'Činqai,' in *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)*, ed. Igor de Rachewiltz et al. (Asiatische Forschungen, 121. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 97.

145 Buell notes that Chinqai Balqasun is more accurately translated "granary of Chinqai." Buell, 'Činqai,' 100.

146 *YS*, 120: 2964. This translation is based on Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 43. See also *WSWG*, 111, Note 21 and James C.Y. Watt, "A Note on Artistic Exchanges in the Mongol Empire," in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 63–65.

2 Robing at Khubilai's Court

The portraits of Khubilai Khan (1215–1294, the Shizu 世祖 Emperor, r. 1260–1294) and his chief consort, Chabi (ca. 1227–1281), attributed to the Nepalese artist Anige (阿尼哥 1245–1306), (Plates 11, 12), show the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) founder and his consort in their prime. At first glance, the portraits seem to be simple, bust-length depictions of the imperial couple in the style of Chinese ancestor portraits. A closer inspection, however, reveals that the artist paid close attention to every detail of the imperial countenances, executing the jewels and fabrics Chabi wears with particular precision. Anige was painting in the context of, and in response to, Chinese imperial portraiture, while simultaneously introducing novel painting techniques from the Nepali tradition.[1] This imperial double portrait, taken alongside Liu Guandao's *Khubilai Khan Hunting* (Plate 2), introduced in Chapter 1, is visual evidence of Yuan dynasty court dress, but more significantly, of how the Yuan emperor, who saw himself as the head of the vast Mongol Empire, wished to be depicted. This chapter investigates the ways in which Khubilai shaped his identity as a world-ruler through dress and ceremony, and how this impacted the ways in which he was represented. It also identifies changes in the Yuan dynasty of trends that began in the early Mongol period, such as mass robing, the hunt as a key ceremonial event, and the production of gold-woven luxury textiles.

The form and design of Mongol court dress was established during the reign of Khubilai Khan, although it would not be officially codified until after his death. Khubilai became Kaghan (Great Khan) after a succession of battles from 1259–1264 with his brother, Arigh Böke (1219–1266).[2] The son of Tolui (1292–1232) and Sorghaghtani Beki (d. 1252) and grandson of Chinggis Khan, Khubilai was raised surrounded by a coterie of multiethnic advisers, including Uighurs and Chinese.[3] As mentioned in Chapter 1, the beginnings of a courtly artistic vocabulary were established by the time Khubilai took power, and the Mongol court based in Karakorum had been a center of demand for luxury goods for at least two decades.[4] During the Yuan dynasty, with its new capital at Dadu 大都 (present-day Beijing), demand for *nasīj*, lampas weave silk woven with a supplementary weft in gold thread, increased, and the *Yuan shi* records court production sites in Yuan territory, which were strictly regulated by the central government. Although a clothing code was not formally introduced until after Khubilai's reign, his tenure as Great Khan ushered in a period of elaborate court ceremonial that set the tone for the rest of the dynasty and was transmitted westward where it was adopted into the court dress of the Ilkhanate. In this chapter, I investigate the social and ceremonial functions of dress at Khubilai's court, and how the dress of Khubilai and his officials manifested Khubilai's status as world emperor.

Ethnic Identity in Yuan China

From its inception under Chinggis Khan, the Mongol Empire was a multiethnic enterprise, with the Mongols drawing on the knowledge and experience of a variety of peoples. In the Yuan dynasty, imitating the Liao and Jin dynasty official hierarchies,[5] an official ethnic hierarchy was introduced consisting of Mongols (*Menggu ren* 蒙古人) at the top; "people of various kinds" (*semu ren*色目人) in the place of secondary importance; Northerners (*Han ren* 漢人), or peoples living in the north of China in third place; and at the bottom Southern Chinese (*nan ren*南人). The "Mongols" category included the initial peoples confederated under Chinggis, different groups, such as the Kereits, who were "atomized" and thus incorporated into the greater Mongol population.[6] The makeup of the *semu ren* remains a source of debate for scholars.[7] For example, in one legal case cited by Funada Yoshiyuki recorded in the *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章 ("Statutes of the Yuan dynasty") regarding the tattooing of criminals, Uighurs, Muslims, Naimans, and Tanguts were counted among the *semu ren* while Jurchens and Khitans were considered *Han ren*.[8] If Funada is correct, this did not preclude Jurchens, Khitans, and Chinese from holding high-ranking office, although Yelü Chucai held office prior to this ruling (which occurred after the founding of the Yuan dynasty).[9] Paul Buell's term "steppe intelligentsia" is useful to consider the assortment of peoples who helped run the Mongol Empire.[10]

Codification and Production of Court Dress

Who was allowed to dress as a Mongol, and what did it signify? Mongol court dress was regulated in a different way than it had been in the Song, Liao, or Jin dynasties. The general population was not forced to wear Mongol clothing, as would be the case with Manchu clothing at the Qing (1644–1911) court in China. Sumptuary laws, too, differed at Mongol courts from traditional Chinese courts. While the Chinese court followed a strict code regarding robe color and design, in the Mongol court, these attributes did not initially signify rank in the Mongol system. The seeming lack of legible distinction in dress was observed by visitors to the pre-Yuan Mongols court such as the Southern Song envoys Peng Daya and Xu Ting, and reflected a difference in how rank was manifested sartorially in Song China and the Mongol court. In fact, there were legible differences (from a Mongol standpoint) in status based on dress. Most crucially, Mongol court officials were distinguished from the greater mass of the population through fine materials gifted to them by the khan such as silk, and most importantly, *nasīj*. Status was further indicated by quality of the dress – the costlier and more elaborate the fabric and design, the greater the status it implied. Add to this the weighty significance given to articles of clothing worn by the khan and subsequently gifted, which marked a bond between the khan and his officials, both symbolically and politically, and the outlines of a Mongol courtly dress system began to cohere. This dress system was not a fashion system as such, which implies individual choice and expression, but rather more related to an honorific robing system, such as those practiced in Central and West Asia (particularly the giving and receiving of *khil'a*, robes of honor), which will be addressed in Chapter 4.[11] However, that individuals chose to be associated through dress with the Mongols, rather than with another group, gives Mongol dress during the Yuan a sense of individual identity fashioning within a larger honorific robing system.

The challenge here, related to the challenges raised in Chapter 1 regarding non-"Han" dress more broadly, is to understand a Mongol classification of materials that eluded

Chinese criteria for clothing regulations, when the main textual sources for Yuan court dress are Chinese texts. Imperial dress (*mian fu*冕服) is described in detail in the *Yuan shi*. The description, however, does not depart from those in previous dynastic histories such as *Song shi* or *Jin shi* with a few exceptions such as the inclusion in the *Yuan shi* of *jisün* suits – suits gifted to officials from the khan that were worn to specific imperial banquets. The descriptions of imperial dress in the *Yuan shi* are an instance of Chinese compilers following protocol for the definition of courtly dress, as pictorial and excavated evidence point to a markedly different style of dress for both the Yuan emperor and his officials than that found in prior dynasties. For example, the *mian* crown, which took the form of a horizontal board with pendants hanging from both ends, is described in detail, something the Yuan emperor neither wears in pictorial evidence nor is said to have worn in travel accounts by visitors to the Yuan court.[12] Descriptions of imperial dress in the *Yuan shi* include mentions of *nasīj*, and a wider variety of jewels are included as adornments for robes and hats; but these descriptions are otherwise markedly similar to that of previous dynasties. This is especially clear in descriptions of the emperor's crown and robe – the dimensions of the *mian* crown, for example, are identical in the *Yuan shi* and *Jin shi*,[13] as are the style, material, and decoration of the imperial robes in these dynastic histories.[14] Perhaps the Yuan emperors did occasionally dress in the style of their predecessors, during Chinese-style ceremonies at the court, for example, but this was not the official clothing of the dynasty. Imperially commissioned portraits, such as those attributed to Anige (Plates 11, 12) show that the Yuan emperors did not wish to be portrayed in a Chinese idiom. With this in mind, the reader might question the utility of consulting the *Yuan shi* for a study of Khubilai's court, and indeed it is important to consider this text in light of how scholars of the early Ming, who compiled the text, viewed the Yuan and their dress. Nonetheless, the *Yuan shi* does contain some useful information, especially regarding the systematization of textile workshops, and in descriptions of particular court ceremonies at Khubilai's court. I give particular weight in this chapter to overlaps in textual, pictorial, and excavated material concerning Khubilai and his court.

Excavated and pictorial evidence shows a basic silhouette of men's robes at the Yuan court which did not differ substantially from pre-Yuan male Mongol dress. Robes generally closed to the side and were long-sleeved, with high collars, cinched waists, and flared out skirts, practical for equestrian activities (Figure 2.1). Sometimes a short-sleeved robe was worn over a long-sleeved robe. These robes were paired with trousers, boots, hats, and occasionally, fur coats. Three attributes on variants of this type of robe appear to have been specific to elite Mongol dress across the empire and were worn at the Yuan court by Khubilai and his courtiers. The first was a braided waist, called *bianxian*. Robes with braided waists were worn throughout the Mongol period, spreading as far as Korea in the fourteenth century (Plates 13, 14).[15] The second was a central motif or badge, called *xiongbei* 胸背, the predecessor for the "Mandarin square" in the Ming and Qing dynasties (Figure 2.2). The third was an exterior robe featuring overly long sleeves and underarm openings (Plate 15). Pictorial evidence exists of these three variations, and examples of each have also been excavated. A potentially separate category of clothing, the *jisün/zhisun/zhama* suit, briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, played a central role in Yuan banqueting. There was overlap in these attributes – central badge designs could be woven on a robe with underarm openings, for example. However, by acknowledging the variations that existed at Khubilai's court, I hope to give some clarity not only to the diversity of styles worn at the Yuan court, but also their function and meaning.

In addition to the fact that the Mongol court had a system distinct from that of the Chinese for understanding the meaning conveyed by costume, dress at the Mongol court

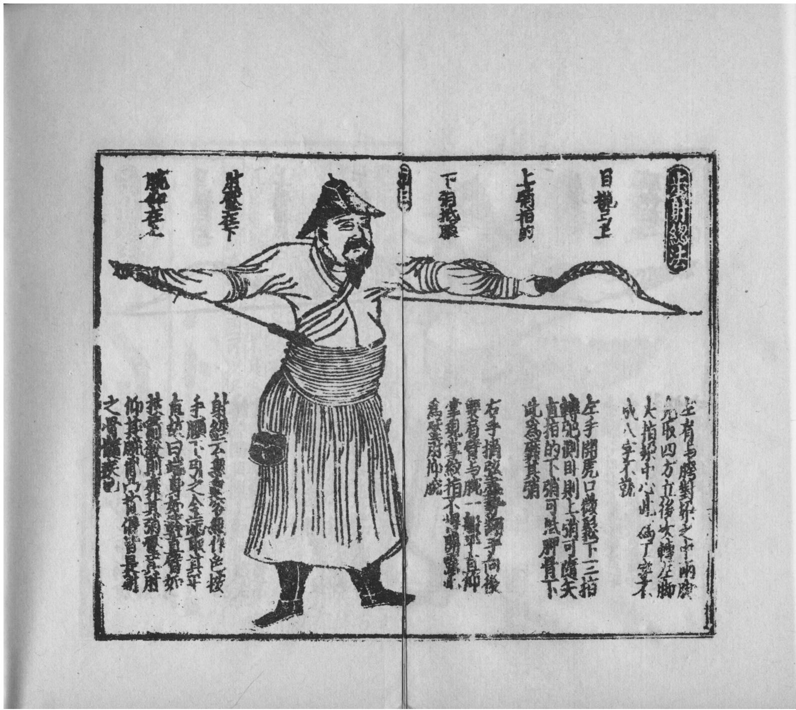

Figure 2.1 Illustration of a Mongol archer, *Shilin guangji*. After Chen Yuanjing 陳元靚 (thirteenth century), *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記 (Beijing: Zhong hua shu ju: Zhongguo shu dian fa xing, 1963).

Figure 2.2 Drawing of a robe with badge with design of falcon chasing a hare. Gold brocaded lampas on silk twill damask. Height: 140 cm; width (sleeves): 222 cm. Private Collection, China Drawing by author.

was defined in written sources by Chinese standards from an early period. The *Yuan shi* records that Möngke Khan (Great Khan, r. 1251–1259) first wore "imperial dress" (*gunmian* 袞冕) in 1252.[16] However, it was only after Khubilai's reign, under Temür Khan (Yuan Chengzong 成宗, r. 1294–1307) that clothing was first codified and even later, during the reign of Ayurbarwada Buyantu Khan (Yuan Renzong 仁宗, r. 1285–1320), that sumptuary regulations, which applied to textiles, materials, and patterns rather than the form of dress, were enacted.[17]

The use of animals as decorative patterns on textiles in the Mongol period in general and Yuan dynasty in particular was distinguished from the Chinese tradition both in terms of form and significance. The correlation between pattern and rank was implemented by at least the Tang dynasty, with depictions of dragons and other animals restricted to use by high officials and the imperial family by the reign of Empress Wu Zetian (690–705 CE).[18] While some textile historians argue that the Mongols did not use animal and floral motifs as markers of rank,[19] this did not apply to imperial dress. The Yuan-era legal code, *Tongzhi tiaoge* 通制條格 (Legislative articles from the *Comprehensive Regulations*) records that the use of the dragon as a central textile pattern or badge (*xiongbei*) was restricted in the first year of Dade (1297) during Temür Khan's reign.[20] Specific sumptuary regulations were not enacted until the first year of the Yanyou era (1314) during the reign of Buyantu Khan.[21] These limited the five-clawed, two-horned dragon and the phoenix to imperial use and regulated the types of textiles and other materials that could be worn by officials and their wives.[22]

Khubilai's reign pre-dated these restrictions, and officials and their wives dressed in relative finery even after the restrictions were put into place. The designs of the dragon and phoenix were off limits to officials after Khubilai's reign, but the *Yuan shi* informs the reader that officials of the first and second rank were permitted to wear robes with all-over use of gold (not specifically called *nasīj* here, but likely the type of textile referred to); those of third rank were permitted to use repeat patterns in gold; fourth and fifth rank were permitted "cloud sleeves" and belted full-length robes; six and seventh rank could wear patterns with six-petal flowers; eighth and ninth rank were allowed four-petal flowers.[23] In addition, officials in the fifth through ninth ranks were allowed to use silver and iron in their belts.[24] The regulations continue, detailing the materials permitted to the wives of officials, (Mongol) commoners, and "people of various categories" (*semu ren*).[25] So, while restrictions on the form of dress were not strictly regulated, the materials appear to have been, at least in theory.

The Organization of Official Yuan Textile Production Offices

Silk in the Yuan dynasty was produced in large quantities in the traditional weaving centers of the Jiangnan region (south of the Yangzi river), the territory of the Southern Song, although it was woven in both that area and in centers closer to the capital in the north.[26] The central Yuan government levied taxes in the form of silk from the general population which complemented official production.[27] While both private and official silk manufacturing and commerce co-existed in the Yuan, the focus here will be on the production of silks for imperial use. During Khubilai Khan's reign, the imperial workshops that produced court dress and accessories were ordered into at least fourteen departments established approximately between the years of 1261 and 1278 (Table 2.1).[28]

The workshops fall under two broad categories: silks produced for official use, and silks produced for the use of the imperial family.[29] Four of these offices were founded in 1261, the year after Khubilai came to power, and three years before he officially won the

Table 2.1 Official Yuan Textile Production Offices

Name of Office	*Date Established/Named*
Originally: Directorate-General of the Office of Rare Textiles *Yiyang ju zong guanfu*異樣局總管府	1261
After 1269: Intendancy of the Office of Rare Textiles *yiyang ju ti diansuo* 異樣局提點所	1269
Gauze, Gold, and Dyestuffs Treasury *Shajin yanliao zongku*紗金顏料總庫	1261
Gold Thread Office *Jin sizi ju*金絲子局	1287 (when two separate gold thread offices, both of which had been founded in 1261, were combined into one)
Originally: Office for Rare Embroideries *Yiyang wenxiu ju*異樣紋綉局	1261
From 1277: Superintendency for Rare Embroideries *Yiyang wenxiu tijusi*異樣紋綉提舉司	1277
Imperial Clothing Office *Yuyi ju*御衣局	1263 (first officers were not appointed until 1265)
Imperial Wardrobe Office *Shang yi ju*尚衣局 (specialized in weaving clothes for the emperor)	1265
Shi Dao'an's Imperial Clothing Office *Yuyi Shi Daoan ju*御衣史道安局 (named after Shi Dao'an, a weaver who was said to have organized silk weaving for the Mongols in 1214)	1265
Directorate-General of Civil Artisans in Dadu and Other Circuits *Dadu denglu minjiang zongguanfu*大都等路民匠總管府 (oversaw numerous workshops which wove textiles and made clothes for the emperor)	1270
Originally: Gauze Office *Shaluo ju*紗羅局 After 1275: Gauze Superintendency *Shaluo tijusi*紗羅提舉司	1275
Bureau for the Imperial Dress *Beizhang zongyuan*備章總院 (composed of eight other offices, only one, Yang Lin's Office, *Yang Lin ju*楊藺局 identified in the *Yuan shi*)	N/A
Bureau for Imperial Manufactures *Jiang zuo yuan* 將作院 (coordinated the production of a variety of artisans working with precious metals, jewels, minerals, feathers, rhinoceros horn, ivory, as well as weaving and embroidering textiles)	1278
Belt Leather Office *Tingdai xiepi ju* 鞓帶斜皮局	1278
Lacquered Gauze Caps Office *Qisha guanmian ju* 漆紗冠冕局	1278
Originally: Brocade Weaving and Dyeing Office *Lingjin zhiran ju*綾錦織染局	1287
From 1287: Brocade Weaving and Dyeing Superintendency *Lingjin zhiran tijusi* 綾錦織染提舉司	

succession battle with Arigh Böke. Three more were established between 1263 and 1265. That seven of fourteen workshops were established so early in Khubilai's reign evinced his desire to exploit certain Chinese institutions for the benefit of the Mongol Empire. This is indicative of Khubilai's larger interest in balancing the preservation of "Mongol" customs with the advantages of certain "Chinese" elements, such as the bureaucracy. Khubilai clearly recognized the importance of establishing a courtly dress vocabulary for

his court, if not a full-fledged dress system, even before he conquered the Southern Song and founded the Yuan dynasty.

Textiles of the Yuan Dynasty

The list of imperial workshops and storehouses gives some clues about the production of *nasīj*. Both the Gauze, Gold, and Dyestuffs Treasury (*Shajin yanliao zongku*紗金顏料總庫) and two Gold Thread Offices were founded in 1261.[30] *Nasīj* is not named specifically in this list of workshops, but the *juan* 89 of the *Yuan shi* notes that *nasīj* was officially produced in two major centers by the third quarter of the thirteenth century.[31] These were Xunmalin 尋麻林,[32] west of the Yuan capital of Dadu in present-day Hebei province; and Hongzhou 弘州,[33] about 180 kilometers west of Dadu, the same site as the luxury textile center established by Chinqai in 1229, referenced in Chapter 1.[34] In addition to these two production centers, Beshbalik, the former Uighur capital, also produced *nasīj* during Khubilai's reign. The authors of the *Yuan shi* record:

> The Beshbalik Office was ordered into seven levels headed by a Commissioner-in-Chief, and a Vice Commissioner. It supervised the production of the weaving of imperial collars and cuffs made of *nashishi*, and other materials, and was established beginning in the thirteenth year of the Zhiyuan period of the Yuan dynasty [1276].[35]

The *Yongle dadian* (永樂大典Yongle Encyclopedia, compiled in 1408) clarifies that the Beshbalik office was not established in 1276, but in fact was moved from Beshbalik to Dadu in 1276 due to war with the Chagadids (the Mongol ruling house in Central Asia), thereby creating a third textile production center that directly served the needs of the court in Dadu.[36]

The official Yuan workshops appear to have been staffed largely by workers displaced from locations in China and Central Asia, including Herat in present-day Afghanistan, continuing the same practice used by weaving centers established in the pre-Yuan period.[37] The *Yuan shi* notes, "in the fifteenth year of the Zhiyuan period of the Yuan dynasty [1278] displaced families, freed slaves, and other households were recruited and all these people were trained as artisan weavers to make *nashishi*; [they were sent] to the two offices at Hongzhou and Xunmalin."[38] These "patterned brocade offices" were established in the seventh year of the Zhiyuan period (1271).[39] *Nasīj*, the defining textile of the Yuan dynasty, was therefore produced in large quantities near the capital city from early in Khubilai's reign, a practical choice in view of the quantities of *nasīj* used to make the suits Khubilai and his courtiers wore during court ceremonies.

Nasīj may have been the definitive fabric of the Mongol court, but it was only one of many textiles produced for courtly consumption. In addition to the *kesi*, embroidery, silk damasks, and gauzes, all weaves produced for the Liao, Song, and Jin courts, the *Yuan shi* records another new material, called *sadalaqi* 撒答剌欺, a word probably borrowed from the Persian *zandanījī*.[40] Textile historians have debated the meaning of *zandanījī* since the mid-twentieth century.[41] Dorothy Shepherd and Walter Bruno Hermann Henning put forward a tentative hypothesis about the material form of the textile *zandanījī* based on an inscription that they interpreted as a Sogdian language inscription reading "*zandanījī*," found on the reverse side of a Central Asian silk in a church in Huy, Belgium.[42] After the publication of their article, samite-woven silks with large roundels from Central Asia (from *circa* the seventh-tenth centuries) were often referred to as "*zandanījī*" by historians and art historians describing such pieces, despite the lack of evidence for *zandanījī* being made of silk in seventh–tenth century texts. In the last fifteen years, scholars have called this identification into question, citing the consistency of

period texts referring to *zandanījī* as a type of cotton.[43] Although I agree with these more recent conclusions regarding Central Asian *zandanījī*, namely, that it was probably not silk, seventh–tenth century Central Asian *zandanījī* may not have been the same fabric as *sadalaqi* produced for the Mongol court. So, what was Mongol *sadalaqi*?

To answer this question, we turn to the *Yuan shi*, which explains:

> The Supervisorate of *Sadalaqi* [撒答剌欺提舉司*Sadalaqi tiju si*] was ordered into five levels headed by a Supervisor-in-Chief, a Vice Supervisor, and a Record Keeper.[44] This was established in the twenty-fourth year of the Zhiyuan period of the Yuan dynasty [1287]. Introduced by Zhamalading 札馬剌丁 [possibly Jamal al-Din ibn Muhammad al-Najjari, fl. 1251–1290],[45] this was the leading [center] for artisans producing *sadalaqi*, and was manufactured in conjunction with the Silk Office [*sichou tongju* 絲紬同局]. [The offices] were later reorganized into the Supervisorate of Silk Producing Artisans [練人匠提舉司 *lian renjiang tiju si*] and the Supervisorate of *Sadalaqi*.[46]

The association of the *Sadalaqi* office with the Silk Office may indicate that *zandanījī* in the Yuan context was indeed made of silk, rather than cotton. However, that *sadalaqi* was supposedly introduced to the court by a Central Asian, Jamal al-Din, might indicate that *sadalaqi* was either an exceptional weave of silk, heretofore unknown in China, or a material such as finely woven cotton, which was rarer than silk during this period in China.[47] On the origins of Yuan *sadalaqi*, Thomas Allsen follows Francis W. Cleaves, who traces *sadalaqi* to an unattested Mongolian word, *sardragh*, from the Turkic *sädräk*, defined in the eleventh century as "loosely woven cloth."[48] However, I believe that it is worth considering that the Chinese word *sadalaqi* more closely imitates the word *zandanījī*. Crediting a Central Asian with introducing this cloth to the court may indicate that the *Yuan shi* compilers were signifying a specific Central Asian cloth that was then imitated in Yuan textile workshops.

The *Yuan shi* mention of *sadalaqi* is not the unique reference to *zandanījī* in a Mongol-period text. Juvayni records *zandanījī* as one of the types of cloths, which included "gold-embroidered fabrics, cottons, *zandanichi*," brought to Chinggis Khan by a trio of Central Asian traders.[49] The story, wherein the traders attempt to sell their fabrics to Chinggis Khan for a high price and are jailed for this affront, ends with one of them offering the entirety of the textiles to Chinggis as a gift. Chinggis, pleased with this offer, frees the traders, and "commanded that for each piece of gold-embroidered fabric they should be paid a *balish*[50] of gold and for every two pieces of cotton or *zandanichi* a *balish* of silver."[51] The distinction made here between cotton and *zandanījī* is further evidence that *zandanījī* may not have referred to a cotton product in the Mongol context, but had an equivalent worth to cotton, and was worth less than gold textiles. Based on this evidence, I hypothesize that *zandanījī* in the Mongol context referred to either Central Asian silk textiles, or some sort of fine woven cotton, which would have been distinguished from plain weave cotton by the merchants. Without more specific evidence, however, I can only speculate on the material, patterns, and weaves of this fabric.

Khubilai's Courtiers

With some idea of the textiles produced for court use in the Yuan period, we turn to dress. As we know from texts on Mongol dress regulations, who wore what did not follow the same protocol as preceding Chinese dynasties. In fact, Khubilai probably wore outfits similar to those of his courtiers, although of finer material and more elaborate decoration.

The particular types of Yuan dress were introduced earlier in this chapter, namely braided waists, central badges, and underarm openings paired with long sleeves. Here we will look at extant and painted examples of each of these styles of dress. This will allow us to both understand what Khubilai and his courtiers were wearing, and also how these three characteristics ended up as signifiers of Mongol dress pictorially in the fourteenth century.

Bianxian

The *bianxian*, or braided waist robe, is the archetypal male Mongol robe.[52] It features a cinched waist created by a wide, braided or ribboned band, a side closure with ties, long, narrow sleeves, and a calf-length skirt. Its importance, which is manifested in how frequently it was depicted pictorially in both East and West Asia, is enhanced due to the fact that examples of complete *bianxian* robes have been unearthed from the pre-1260 period, signifying the early origins of this style of dress. These include a robe unearthed at Mingshui,[53] and robes in collections such as the China National Silk Museum (CNSM) (Plate 13), the Chris Hall Collection in Hong Kong,[54] the David Collection in Copenhagen (Plate 14), and two variations in Rossi and Rossi London,[55] among other examples. The *bianxian* robe is also pictorially depicted in a large-scale painting from the Yuan dynasty, *Hunting Geese* (*sheyan tu* 射雁圖) in the National Palace Museum in Taipei,[56] and in the woodblock-printed Yuan dynasty version of the encyclopedia *Shilin guangji* 事林廣記 ("A Guide through the Forest of Affairs"), as an example of the dress of a Mongol archer (Figure 2.1).

The robes in the collections mentioned above are made using a variety of weaving techniques. The Mingshui robe along with those in the Chris Hall Collection, the David Collection, and one of the Rossi and Rossi robes, are *nasīj*, while the second Rossi and Rossi robe is twill damask, and the CNSM robe is gilded tabby (that is, tabby-weave cloth with supplementary decorative pattern wefts of a lamella of gilded, probably animal, substrate, like *jin duanzi*). Three of the *nasīj* robes, from the Chris Hall Collection, the David Collection (Figure 2.3), and Rossi and Rossi, have pseudo-inscriptions on their shoulders.[57] The robes also feature skirts attached to the upper part of the garment with a series of tiny pleats just under the braided waist. The patterns on the robes are similar as well, with a tiny background design – cloud-like elements, swastikas, or other geometric repeats – and larger repeats of palmette-shaped elements with either vegetal or zoomorphic motifs in the center. These three robes and the Mingshui robe close on the right with ribbon ties. The closing for the CNSM robe is unclear; if it had ribbons once, they are gone now. The ribbon-waisted robe from Rossi and Rossi closes to the left, although the waist appears to close in the front with frogs. In the painting *Hunting Geese* at the National Palace Museum, the *bianxian* robe on a rider with his back to the viewer appears to close in the back with frogs, which may indicate that the robe portrayed here has a wide fabric belt that closely resembles a *bianxian* robe, rather than an actual *bianxian* robe.

Peng Daya and Xu Ting describe something worn by thirteenth-century Mongols that may have a relationship to such wide belts, or to the *bianxian* robe:

> Around their waist they [wear] a meticulously thin pleated [garment]– the [pleats] are countless. If the ceremonial robe is made of more than twelve lengths of cloth, then the Tatar's pleated [garment] has more. They also use red and purple silk twisted into a horizontal belt across their waist which they call a threaded waist-cover. This is desired on horseback; fastening [it] tightly around the waist really makes the colors stand out in an attractive way.[58]

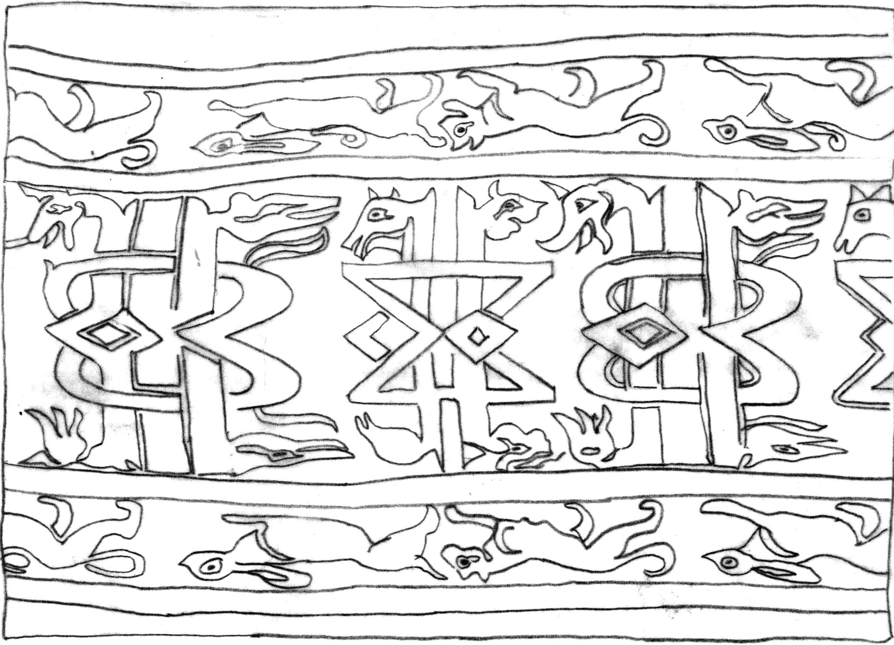

Figure 2.3 Detail of pseudo-inscription from a lampas-woven caftan. Eastern Islamic world or China, first half of the fourteenth century. David Collection, Copenhagen, 23/2004. Drawing by author.

This description does not correspond exactly to any of the examples mentioned above, other than perhaps the attire depicted in *Hunting Geese*. If the robes Peng Daya and Xu Ting saw were woven with gold, assumedly they would have mentioned it. The intertwined silk making up the stomach sash may have some relationship to the braided waist, perhaps in the style of those robes depicted in the painting, though no examples survive in either red or purple silk.

The basic form of the *bianxian* robe remained unchanged from the early to later Mongol periods in China, and ribboned and braided waist variations of this robe likely coexisted.

A practical style of dress, the *bianxian* robe may have been favored by Khubilai's courtiers for use in a quotidian context, although the numerous examples made of *nasīj* show that, as with other types of dress, the model might be dressed up or down, depending on the material. This explains the widespread wearing of the *bianxian* by different classes of people, including those close to the khan. The authors of the *Yuan shi* note that the *bianxian* robe was worn by musicians as well as the imperial bodyguard (*keshig*), noting: "The *bianxian* robe consists of a narrow-sleeved upper section, with the waist made up of braided lines and fine pleats."[59] It is unsurprising, given how widespread the robe became during the Yuan dynasty, that they became increasingly common in Korea, where they were called *chulpi*.[60] A close connection existed between the Goryeo dynasty in Korea and the Mongols. Korean princesses were frequently married off to Mongol khans, and Mongol court dress and hairstyles were adopted at the Korean court in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[61]

Central Badges and Cloud Collars

Central badges (*xiongbei*), a pattern later enclosed in a square or circle with animal and vegetal motifs always placed on the chest and back of the robe (Figure 2.2), were a characteristic decorative pattern of Yuan court dress.[62] Related to the central badge is another pattern called *yunjian* (雲肩, literally, "cloud shoulder"), or "cloud collar," which fell around the collar of robes onto the chest and shoulders.[63] I will first discuss central badges before turning to cloud collars to clarify differences between the two patterns. The central badge's role as a central feature of court dress outlasted the Yuan dynasty; indeed, one of the clearest examples of a Mongol legacy in the dress of the Ming and Qing dynasties is the "Mandarin square," a badge which denoted rank.[64] As with other types of specific dress, in the Yuan dynasty, central badges were not tied to rank, rather, the material with which they were made indicated social status.[65] Extant examples of central badges were made with a variety of materials. For example, they could be woven into the fabric of the robe with a supplementary weft in gold or in twill damask or embroidered.[66] The technique of weaving them into the fabric of the robe with a gold supplementary weft connects Yuan central badges to both *jin duanzi* and metallic thread embroidery of the Liao and Jin dynasties, and indeed central badges likely evolved from the central animal patterns on the chests and backs of robes common to court dress of these earlier dynasties. A Liao robe in the Cleveland Museum of Art (1995.20) with two embroidered phoenixes forming a central roundel (Plate 16) and the round Liao or Jin embroidery made with gilded threads of two dragons chasing a flaming pearl in the collection of the Musée Guimet (AEDTA 3912)[67] are two examples of designs that were featured as a central pattern on a robe.[68] The phoenixes are formed with satin stitch, with remnants of couching visible outlining the birds.[69] The dragons on the other hand seem to be mostly formed with gold and silver couching; each scale is carefully delineated, which gives a three-dimensional effect.

As with braided waist robes, robes with central badges became synonymous with depictions of Mongols in a court setting, as evidenced by depictions in Yuan court paintings and Ilkhanid illuminated manuscripts where they are an essential detail of official and imperial dress. In addition to the eight extant Yuan central badges which have been discussed in detail by Zhao Feng,[70] central badges appear on figures in Liu Guandao's large hanging scroll *Khubilai Khan Hunting* (Plate 2) in the National Palace Museum, on figures in an anonymous court painting called *Judging Horses* in the Jilin Provincial Museum,[71] and on the imperial donors in the large *kesi*-woven Yamataka Mandala at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 2.4). They also abound in the illuminated manuscripts of Rashid al-Din's *Jamiʿ al-tawarikh* produced in the Ilkhanate, which will be discussed in Chapter 4. These works were all court-commissioned. I point out this detail because I do not know of any occupant portrayals in tomb murals which show robes featuring central badges, although many other details of dress may be present. Five figures in *Khubilai Khan Hunting* wear robes depicting distinct central badges or elaborate cloud collars: three attendants, the central figure of Khubilai, and Khubilai's consort Chabi. In *Judging Horses*, two figures wear robes with central badges, an attendant figure leading a horse and a central figure seated on a mat made of a lion-skin and edged in black, probably the emperor or khan. The emperors in the Yamataka mandala, Tugh Tëmur (Wenzong 文宗, r. 1328–1329, 1329–1332) and Khutughtu Khan Khoshila (Mingzong 明宗, r. 1329) wear robes with matching central badges. The attendant figures in both *Khubilai Khan Hunting* and *Judging Horses* have central badges with floral motifs. The variety of robe types on which central badges appear is striking:

Figure 2.4 Detail of Emperors Tugh Tëmur and Khoshila from *Yamantaka-Vajrabhairava*. Yuan dynasty, ca. 1330–1332. Silk tapestry (*kesi*). Total warp: 245.5 cm; weft: 208.9 cm. Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1992 (1992.54). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

short-sleeved robes worn over long-sleeved robes; robes with long sleeves that cover the hands; and long-sleeved robes with underarm openings. Central badges, it appears, were not limited to a specific kind of vestment.

The emperors/khans in each of these portrayals are depicted with a large central dragon motif. The dragons featured on the robes of Wenzong and Mingzong clearly have five claws. The centrally placed dragons on the robes of the emperor in *Judging Horses* and *Khubilai Khan Hunting* are more difficult to discern, although the dragon in *Judging Horses* also appears to have five claws. In other words, these representations illustrate the type of decorative motifs restricted to imperial use by the 1297 regulations recorded in the *Tongzhi tiaoge*.[72] Dragons were important symbols in China from centuries before the Common Era, as well as in Central Asia. The use of dragons as an imperial pattern in central badge-patterned robes during the Mongol period can be seen as the continuation of Jurchen practice of incorporating an animal that had cultural significance across East Asia into a specific iteration of northern dress. As we recall, at the Chinese court, the use of the dragon was restricted to use on the robes of high officials and the imperial family during the reign of Empress Wu Zetian (690–705 CE), and were used to decorate robes of royalty in the Liao, Jin, and Tangut courts. In particular, the coiled dragon motif seems to have been regularly featured on elite dress in the pre-Mongol period, such as the red silk textile woven with a supplementary weft of gold threads (Plate 4), and the representation of Tangut emperors (Figures 1.8, 1.9). More directly relevant to the centralized dragon badge of the Yuan dynasty is the embroidered Musée Guimet fragment from the Liao or Jin dynasty (AEDTA 3912).

Yunjian, the cloud collar, also had origins in the Jin dynasty and became a signature pattern of the Yuan dynasty,[73] found on men's and women's dress as well as on ceramics and metalwork.[74] The pattern, which on clothing falls around the collar of the robe, covering the chest and shoulders, consists of a four-lobed design, cruciform in shape.

It is thus distinct from central badges, but potentially related in its origins. A series of examples of cloud collar motifs in *kesi* with a purple background from the Mongol period are in the Chris Hall Collection in Hong Kong,[75] the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1987.8), and the Cleveland Museum of Art (1988.33), all from the thirteenth century or earlier and made in Central Asia.[76] Each of the examples only show half of a cloud collar. As the selvage runs down the center of the cloud collar pattern, two loom widths would have been required to complete the pattern, which was probably part of a robe.[77]

The dragons on the examples of *kesi* cloud collars are comparably executed, with winding bodies, stag-like horns, and five claws executed in a pinwheel shape. The background on all of the pieces is purple with a design of tiny clouds in a variety of colors. The dragons, their scales, and the clouds are outlined in gold thread. The Central Asian origin of these fragments and their early date indicates that while they may have been made for elites of the Mongol Empire, they were not necessarily for imperial use, as the five-clawed dragon was not restricted to imperial use until 1314. The *kesi* dragons are similar to both those depicted on Yuan central badges (Figure 2.4) and the embroidered dragons circling a flaming pearl in the Musée Guimet (AEDTA 3912) from the Jin dynasty. The embroidered dragons only have three claws, but their bodies are sinewy and twisted in a comparable fashion to the *kesi* dragons, which have similar heads with long tongues sticking out through rows of pointed teeth. The dragons of the Yuan dynasty thus connect to earlier iterations of the Central Asian dragon (which ultimately had originated in China centuries before), rather than being a straightforward adaptation of Song dragons.[78]

The use of purple dye as a background color is typical of *kesi* produced in the Mongol period, and indeed purple appears to have been more widespread as a clothing color for court dress at this time, although many of the dyes used in textiles remained the same as those used in earlier centuries.[79] While there were few examples of what we consider purple today used as a textile dye on a large scale from the Tang, Song, Liao, and Jin dynasties (these were probably more reddish or brown-red in hue), in the Mongol era we can assume when a robe was referred to as *zi* 紫-colored, it was indeed a shade that we would today consider purple, mauve, or violet and not a shade of red.

Textiles woven with a purple ground in the AEDTA collection today in the Musée Guimet have been chemically analyzed and the dyes used are, as in earlier periods, plant-based. Two fragments of purple silk probably used as robe material in the Mongol period are AEDTA 3746 (Plate 17) and AEDTA 3269. The warp and weft threads of AEDTA 3746, a dark purple tabby weave silk with a pattern of coiled dragons woven by a supplementary decorative weft in gold, were dyed using something similar to madder (*Rubia tinctorum*) along with dye from the plant known in Japanese as *shinkon* 紫根 or *murasaki* 紫 (*Lithospermum purpurocaerula*).[80] The second piece, AEDTA 3269, a purple tabby weave silk with a supplementary decorative weft in gold of hares in an arch-shaped repeat, also has warp and weft threads dyed with something like *Lithospermum purpurocaerula*.[81] Analogous pieces to AEDTA 3269 are in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art (1991.113)[82] and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1998.438).

Robes with Underarm Openings

The third type of distinctive male Mongol court dress are robes with underarm openings. In the Yuan context these are portrayed on three figures in Liu Guandao's *Khubilai Khan*

Hunting (Plate 2), including Chabi. They also survive from a funerary context, such as a robe in the China National Silk Museum in Hangzhou (Plate 15), and another in the collection of Rossi and Rossi in London.[83] These robes are called *haiqing* 海青 in post-Yuan Chinese texts, but the term *haiqing* in the Yuan dynasty seemed to refer only to imperial tallies given to official messengers using the *yam* postal system, or to gyrfalcons, a favorite hunting animal (incidentally, also represented in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*).[84] The function of these underarm openings is not entirely clear. Zhao Feng calls them "all-weather" robes, the idea being that in hot weather the wearer might be able to slip his arms through the openings to create a sleeveless version of this robe, attaching the sleeves at the back of the robe to get them out of the way.[85] The openings on the robe in the CNSM appear large enough to slip an arm through. This use of the underarm slit seems to be corroborated in the Ilkhanid context, where, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, the wearer's arm was often slipped through the underarm slit. Practical uses aside, robes with underarm openings are likely tied to a broader, more symbolic, Central Asian use.

Elfriede Knauer traces the origins of robes with over-long sleeves and underarm openings to "Indo-European peoples roving the Asian Steppe sometime at the end of the second millennium BCE."[86] The robes on which Knauer focuses, excavated in the cemetery at Antinoöpolis in Egypt, which historians tentatively date to the fourth through sixth centuries CE , predate the Yuan robes by several centuries. However, Knauer links these to thirteenth through fifteenth-century depictions of coats with underarm openings in Western and Eastern Europe, Anatolia, and West Asia, illustrating how widespread they were prior to and during the Mongol period.[87] While these coats may have originated from the same ancient Indo-European source, they varied in form and function. Most significantly, the sleeves of the Antinoopolis coats were far too long and thin to be actually used. In this style of coat, an arm could not physically fit through the opening, and in some cases the sleeve was sewn shut at the end.[88] Such coats were likely worn over the shoulders, in cape-like fashion, with the arms left to dangle down the sides.[89] Pre-Mongol evidence for this type of robe in China only exists on tomb figurines from the Tang dynasty,[90] but this style does not appear to have been adopted by East Asian groups.[91]

In contrast to these earlier Central Asian robes, all the sleeves of robes with underarm slits depicted in *Khubilai Khan Hunting* fit on the arms of the figures. On one attendant, and on Chabi, the sleeves are over-long, covering both hands of the attendant, and one of Chabi's hands. This does not impede the attendant's ability to hold a stick (or riding crop), with which he gestures skyward, in his right hand, and the reigns of his horse in his left hand. Chabi, likewise, holds onto the reigns with her covered hand, gripping them more firmly with her uncovered hand. The only indication of the openings is the under-robe that peaks through in contrasting color at each armpit. Over-long sleeves are also a feature of the robe of the equestrian figure in the Yuan literati painter Zhao Mengfu's (1254–1322) *Man Riding a Horse* (Figure 2.5). There is no indication in this depiction that the figure's robe has underarm openings but shows a different context – a Chinese official wearing a simple, red robe than the more elaborate robes worn by members of the emperor's inner circle in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*.

The two preserved examples of robes with underarm openings appear to have sleeves that could be worn on the arms, like those in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*. The robe with underarm openings preserved in the China National Silk Museum (Plate 15) has a repeat pattern of teardrop-shaped motifs that is now faded, which was probably woven with a gilded lamella of animal substrate. It has a round collar and closes to the right with a set of ties at the waist. The sleeves do not appear to be overly long, nor are they excessively thin. In fact, in general appearance, this robe looks like a typical Mongol-era man's

Figure 2.5 Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), *Man Riding a Horse* (detail), 1296, Yuan dynasty. Ink and colors on paper, height: 31.5 cm; total width: 620 cm. Image source: Palace Museum, Beijing.

long-sleeved robe with the addition of underarm openings. The robe in the Rossi and Rossi collection is woven of twill damask with couched appliqué designs on the shoulders of a flower in a roundel with a pattern of scrolling cloud or vine-like elements. It, too, has a round collar, and closes on the right with ties. At a total width of 224 cm, the sleeves are quite long (the *nasīj* braided waist robe from the Chris Hall Collection has a width of 189 cm, as a comparison), and might well have fallen over the hands when worn. A button located in the center of the back of the robe where the sleeves might have been attached further supports Zhao Feng's hypothesis of the "all weather" function of the robe; the wearer might have pinned the sleeves back in warm weather.[92]

A robe from Moskavaja Balka in Central Asia, from the ninth or tenth century and currently in the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg, Switzerland (Inv. No 5357), may be a predecessor for Mongol robes with underarm openings.[93] The Moskavaja Balka robe has sleeves that might have been worn on or off the arm, and is woven of samite, another name for weft-faced compound twill. This robe would have fit tightly on the upper body, with a flaring skirt slit at the back to facilitate movement. Decorated with roundels with confronted birds on a luminous yellow silk background, it resembles Liao dynasty robes with roundels in weave (the Liao favored samite), tailoring, and design. Despite seeming commonalities with Liao designs, there is no evidence that the Liao wore robes with underarm openings. Thus, such robes may have come to the Mongols via Central Asia rather than through a Liao precedent. The Central Asian connection may explain why robes with underarm openings are much more frequently depicted in an Ilkhanid setting, usually on the figure of the khan. While there is no apparent correlation between underarm openings and the emperor or khan in the Yuan environment, in the Ilkhanid context this style was reserved mostly for royalty, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.[94]

The Emperor's Dress

As aforementioned, the distinction between the form of Khubilai's dress did not differ substantially from that of his courtiers, but rather was characterized by the use of materials of the highest quality, including *nasīj*, silks, and furs. Khubilai likely also wore a central badge design with a dragon, which we recall was restricted to imperial use later

in the Yuan. Of interest here then is not the particularities of imperial dress compared to the dress of Khubilai's courtiers, but rather how Khubilai fashioned himself as a world emperor, distinct from the traditions of the Song dynasty, yet responding to aspects of Chinese imperial dress. Comparison between imperial portraits of prior dynasties and Yuan era representations sheds light on how Khubilai responded to and built upon these traditions in his self-fashioning as the khaghan of the Mongol Empire.

From at least the Tang dynasty, and probably earlier, Chinese emperors were represented pictorially in standard ways that correspond by and large to descriptions of imperial dress in the dynastic histories. To my knowledge there are no surviving depictions of Liao or Jin emperors in imperial dress. Extant official memorial portraits of Song emperors show the emperor seated wearing either a monochrome white or red robe, such as in the portraits in the National Palace Museum (Taipei) of Song Taizu (927–976) (Figure 2.6) and Song Huizong (r. 1100–1126) (Figure 1.7). These monochrome robes

Figure 2.6 Portrait of Song Taizu, second half of tenth century. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk. Height: 191 cm; width: 169.7 cm. Image source: National Palace Museum, Taipei.

probably approximate "ordinary" or "court dress" described in the dynastic histories and give a humble feel to the portraits, as if the imperial clients who commissioned these portraits wished to emphasize imperial modesty over imperial splendor.

The pictorial depiction best-approximating descriptions of the more elaborate and impressive imperial ceremonial dress from the dynastic histories (including the *Yuan shi*) is the *Thirteen Emperors* scroll attributed to Yan Liben (ca. 600–673), but which is likely an eleventh-century copy.[95] The dress worn by seven of the thirteen emperors was based on Tang imperial dress regulations which, according to dynastic histories, was the model for Liao, Jin, and Yuan imperial dress.[96] The same seven emperors wear the *mian* crown. The imposing figure of Emperor Wu of Jin (Figure 2.7) wears a leather belt, and his robe

Figure 2.7 Emperor Wu of Jin from *Thirteen Emperors*. Song dynasty copy (ca. eleventh century) of Tang original attributed to Yan Liben (ca. 600–673). Ink and colors on silk. Total height: 51.3 cm; width: 531 cm. Denman Waldo Ross Collection, 31.643. Image source: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

includes depictions of many of the patterns listed in the dynastic histories including a sun, moon, stars, and a mountain (Figure 2.8).[97] Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou clearly wears a leather belt on top of a girdle; his sash (*shou*), complete with a dragon, parallels the sword sheath that hangs from the other side of his belt. The robes of these seven emperors have scrolling vegetal patterns recalling *lingzhi* fungus on the sleeves and match the collars of their outer robes. This, or some variation of this pattern, may correspond to one of the patterns (such as the *fu*黼or the *fu* 黻) that were reserved for imperial

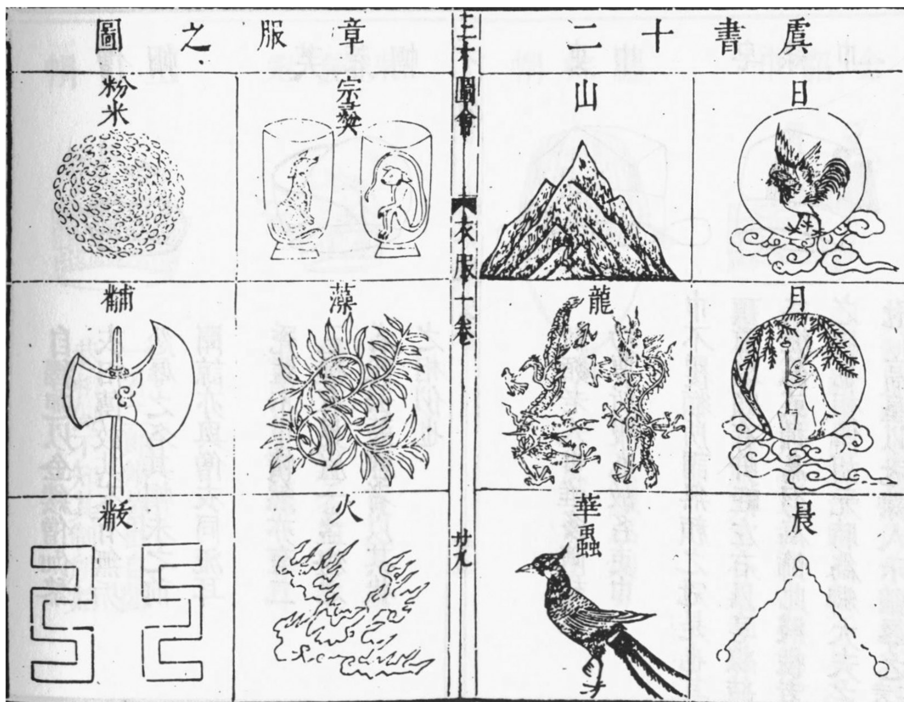

Figure 2.8 Illustration of imperial insignia, woodblock print, *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會. After *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, zi bu yi jiu yi* 四庫全書存目叢書。子部一九一 (Jinan: Qi Lu shu she, 1995), 636.

use and represented right and wrong.[98] A late Ming representation in the *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會 "Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms" (1609) of *fu* and *fu* resembles these patterns to a certain extent (Figure 2.8). Imperial donor portraits from Dunhuang round out the possible depictions of the emperor from the pre-Yuan dynasties. One of the Tang emperors and his entourage in Mogao Cave 220 from 642 conforms to the dress of the seven emperors in *Thirteen Emperors*.[99] The Tangut imperial donor in Mogao Cave 409 in Dunhuang (Figure 1.9) contrasts with these representations mainly in terms of the emperor's dress, illustrating an example of differences between emperors represented in a "Chinese" fashion and those choosing a more culturally specific idiom.

Khubilai's Dress

There are only two extant portraits of Khubilai from his lifetime, *Khubilai Khan Hunting*, attributed to the Chinese artist Liu Guandao from 1280, and a bust-length portrait attributed to the Nepali artist Anige, possibly made the year Khubilai died, 1294 (Plate 11).[100] Even with this small corpus, we can draw conclusions about how Khubilai, along with his court artists, responded to the prior traditions of Chinese imperial portraiture and innovated new ways of imperial representation. In the portrait of Khubilai attributed to Anige, which forms a pair with a portrait of Chabi (Plate 12), the emperor wears modest attire, a white robe and a white hat trimmed with fur. His hair is braided in loops that fall behind his ears and his beard and mustache are carefully

executed. The pair of paintings were based on tapestry-woven originals, which ties them to the Buddhist woven images such as mandalas and in particular, the Tibetan tantric tradition.[101] The paintings have also been shown to have definite Nepalese and Tibetan attributes in their careful details, and are also clearly connected to the Song imperial portrait tradition.[102] This bust-length painting was probably a study for a full-length seated portrait,[103] which would enhance its similarity to Song imperial portraits such as that of Song Taizu (Figure 2.6). Both Khubilai's portrait and Song Taizu's portrait show the emperor in three-quarters profile, wearing white robes. Both emperors have round, ruddy faces signifying good health, and appear to be shown late in life. However, the headgear of each emperor – Song Taizu wears the official Song "spreading wings" hat (*zhanchi futou*展翅幞頭) while Khubilai wears a variant of a Yuan imperial hat with a tight-fitting crown and a neck flap (*dazi nuanmao* 答子暖帽) – shows their cultural difference, as does Khubilai's braided hair.

Khubilai Khan Hunting departs more decisively from the Chinese imperial painting tradition. As Roslyn Lee Hammers has shown, this painting relates pictorially to paintings of foreigners bringing tribute to the Chinese court (*fanzu*).[104] The idea of foreigners bringing tribute to the Chinese court had appeal from at least the Han dynasty.[105] A prime example of this type of painting is the recently rediscovered *Five Tribute Horses* by the Northern Song dynasty painter Li Gonglin (1049–1106),[106] although the genre flourished in the earlier Tang dynasty, for example in the painting of foreign officials in Prince Zhanghuai's (653–684, reburied 706) tomb outside of present-day Xi'an.[107] Foreigners in Chinese paintings are generally depicted in three ways, as tribute bearers, as noble hunters, or as barbarians juxtaposed with civilized Chinese.[108] Hunting, while practiced among Chinese elites to greater and lesser extents throughout the centuries prior to the Mongol period, was associated with northern nomadic groups. In depictions from the Tang dynasty of members of the imperial family hunting, for example, they are dressed in northern garb, as if this allowed them to assume a certain identity to perform this activity. In Prince Zhanghuai's tomb, for example, figures on horseback play polo (a game originally from Central Asia), dressed in belted riding coats with trousers and boots, identifiably Central Asian or Steppe-style garb. Another instance of a hunting painting that showcases the idea of the "noble hunter" is *Going Out on the Hunt* by Hu Gui (Figure 1.5), which shows Liao elites embarking on a hunt wearing very fine robes. *Khubilai Khan Hunting* combines these three genres, while also turning the formula on its head. The accuracy of the depiction of the foreign elements in this painting does not showcase Chinese superiority, but rather the extent of Khubilai's vast realm through his richly clad multiethnic entourage.[109] China is no longer the standard of civilization; it has been literally excised from the painting. The imperial hunt as a genre of imperial portraiture lived on during the Ming and Qing dynasties, and paintings such as those of the Ming Xuande emperor (r. 1425–1435) hunting explicitly referenced Mongol hunting culture and paintings such as *Khubiliai Khan Hunting*.[110]

The figure of Khubilai is at the center, with Chabi to his left and eight members of his imperial bodyguard (*keshig*) surrounding the royal couple. In the background of the painting are some barren, brown hills with a small camel train passing through. Two birds fly above the camel train. The principle ten figures of Khubilai and his guards are in an ambiguous space in the painting, what might be considered either the foreground or middle ground. The ten figures are divided into two groups of five, although there is no clear size differentiation to show that the figures in the back (painted higher on the silk of the scroll) of the group are further into the space of the painting than the figures that are in the front (painted lower on the silk of the scroll). The figures turn in space, some

have their backs to the viewer, some are in partial profile, and Khubilai and Chabi are depicted twisting to the right as their horses stand facing left. This allows the viewer to encounter the couple head on, showcasing their importance while also lending a sense of movement to the composition. The five figures in the back of the foreground, Khubilai, Chabi, and three attendants, all direct their attention toward an archer, who is poised to release an arrow from his bow in the direction of the distant birds. The five figures in the front direct their gaze upward as well, but into the space directly above their heads which is invisible to the viewer. The scene represents a hunt, but not in a naturalistic or realistic way. The painting should be approached not as an illustration of an actual event, but a symbolic composition that showcases a significant activity with important figures. The year this painting was allegedly finished was the year after Chabi had died, so it might be read as a memorial representation while also showcasing activities important to Khubilai and the vast extent on his empire. Three of the figures in the foreground, on the viewer's left, are accompanied by hunting animals, two with a falcon on their arm, and one with a cheetah riding on his saddle behind him. One of the falconers also has a dead goose splayed over the back of his saddle, connecting this hunt to the spring swan hunts undertaken by the Liao and the Jin described in Chapter 1. That Khubilai has chosen a court artist to portray him in such a moment testifies to the importance of the hunt as imperial activity for Khubilai, but also shows him as an active participant in a culturally significant activity.

Most of the figures wear clothes with attributes associated with Mongol dress, including central badges and over-long sleeves and underarm openings. As in the portrait by Anige, Khubilai wears a fur-lined hat, as do several of his attendants. The robes worn by the party correlate with the silks woven with gold that were standard courtly garb in the Yuan. However, silk and *nasīj* were not the only significant textiles of the Yuan. Indeed, ermine and sable conveyed prestige and power throughout the dynasty, as it had for the Liao court.[111] This is illustrated in the figure of Khubilai, who wears an ermine coat over his luxurious gold-woven red silk robe. Fur coats are not mentioned specifically in *Yuan shi, juan* 78, regarding imperial dress, but we find them listed as part of other lavish rewards for meritorious military service under Khubilai. For example, the *Yuan shi* describes an event where a company of soldiers were gifted "coats made of ermine, sable, and leopard furs" alongside precious metals, paper currency (*chao* 鈔), and textiles.[112] In addition, furs had their own office: the Superintendency for the Office of Ermine and Sable (*diaosu ju tijusi* 貂鼠局提舉司) was established in 1283, around the same time that several of the textile offices and superintendencies were established.[113]

By co-opting a type of painting from the Chinese court painting tradition that was normally reserved for the depiction of foreigners, Khubilai depicts himself in a Chinese idiom while highlighting his difference. The gaze of the imperial viewer does not other the figures, but rather identifies with them. The hunt as central activity, the phenotypical diversity of the entourage, and the particularity of clothing all serve to underscore this. The clothing, especially, is revelatory. It both serves as an illustration of the textual descriptions of Yuan court dress, and of the imperial process of gifting. Each one of the figures depicted in this painting is wearing a suit of clothes that would have been gifted to them from Khubilai. The unseen context of *Khubilai Khan Hunting* may have been the banqueting and gift exchange that characterized the beginnings of important imperial hunts, simply implied by the outfits each person is wearing. To get closer to an understanding of this context, we now turn to an examination of gifting and ceremony in the Yuan court.

Courtiers, Ceremony, and Gifting

I introduced the notion of the significance of the personal gift of clothing or a belt from the khan to his men in Chapter 1. In the Mongol model, as with gifting among other groups, these clothing items and objects of adornment were not given freely, and the receiver of the gift was expected to reciprocate with a promise of loyalty and service to the ruler.[114] The central role played by the granting of clothing from the khan to his men was, however, as symbolic as it was essential. The Mongol system of organization of armies was based on a decimal system, from the ten men directly serving the ruler and moving outward to a *tümen*, or 10,000 men. The *khuriltai*, the meeting at which the next khaghan, or Great Khan, was elected, was nominally an election by the khans, although in practice it resulted in battles that might last months or years. Thus, having the support of soldiers counted in groups of 10,000 was crucial for this bid to power. Therefore, the gift of the robe, and the mass robing of the *tümen*, as described later by Marco Polo at Khubilai's court in the context of ceremonial banquets, was not simply a symbolic gesture, or one of practicality (outfitting the troops with uniforms), but key to the success of any would-be khan.[115] While robes, and full suits of clothing, especially in the context of *zhisun* banquets, which will be detailed below, were certainly of great importance as gifts, belts deserve special mention due to their wide-ranging importance.

The significance of the gifting and receiving of belts that occurred in the early Mongol period continued in the Yuan dynasty. We recall that for the Mongols, the belt was literally a symbol of the khan's power. Both practical and ceremonial belts formed part of Yuan court dress. In Khubilai's time, the type of belt most commented on by European travelers was a wide belt woven with gold. Marco Polo notes that at Khubilai's birthday feast, "[Khubilai] has also given to each of [his] twelve thousand barons a belt of gold."[116] These continued to be worn later in the dynasty: Odoric of Pordanone records that all of the khan's "barons" are "girt with golden girdles half a foot broad."[117] No pictorial or archaeological evidence of these wide golden belts has surfaced to my knowledge, although they may have been about the size of the red cloth belt worn by one of the figures on horseback in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*. The male tomb occupant in Yuan tomb M1 at Shazishan, in Chifeng, Inner Mongolia, also appears to be wearing a broad sash-like belt along with a thinner belt (Figure 2.9). As with robes, belts were made using a variety of materials. For example, in addition to descriptions of the golden belts in the texts, the *Yuan shi* notes that the emperor's "large belt [*da dai* 大帶] was made of red and white *luo* gauze that was sewn together."[118]

Belt types worn in the Mongol period continued into the late fourteenth century, the early Ming dynasty. *Lao qida*老乞大 (Korean: *Nogeoldae*), the Korean guide to colloquial Chinese, includes a detailed description of what one should wear when traveling to China. For the section on belts, the author is very specific:

> As to girding the waist, it should also be according to the four seasons. In the spring wear a gold belt. In the summer wear [a belt with] a jade hook. The lowest [quality] is green jade, the highest is white jade. In the autumn wear [a belt with] a gold alloy hook. Do not use the ordinary kind, always [use] ones with elegant designs. In the winter wear [a belt made of] gold and ornamented with precious stones; also wear a belt with holes [made of] black rhinoceros hide.[119]

The description of these belts echoes the more elaborate types of belts worn by the emperor, described in the *Yuan shi*. In the *Yuan shi* there is a distinction made between

Figure 2.9 Painting of tomb occupants, north wall, Yuan dynasty (ca. 1279–1368), excavated from the Sanyanjing tomb, Chifeng, Inner Mongolia. After Xu Guangji, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua quan ji*, vol. 3, fig. 222.

ivory and jade – the former perhaps confused or conflated with "white jade" in the *Lao qida*. Jade and ivory were especially favored as pendants and belt hooks, while precious metals such as gold and silver were hammered into zoomorphic forms:

> The ivory pendant was attached with a semi-circular jade pendant, under the fine gem placed at the top of the belt there were zoomorphic faces made from silver, gilded in yellow gold, and a pair of semi-circular jade pendants in two layers. Each was hung in order, with the ivory pendant at the bottom. They were hung closely together in pairs in order to chime together and were made of jade.[120]

Examples of jade belt hooks have survived from the Yuan dynasty, one still attached to its thin silk belt was uncovered in the tombs of the Wang Shixian clan in Gansu.[121] The jade hook that serves to clasp the belt at the front is zoomorphic in shape, corresponding to the description in the *Yuan shi*.

Robing as a central act for the Mongols prior to the founding of the Yuan was discussed in Chapter 1. However, honorific robing in the Yuan dynasty must be understood in context. That is, how it was transformed from a practice of basic gifting as an allegiance marker to an elaborate display of imperial majesty at Khubilai's court. When the Mongols became rulers of China (and other well established, sophisticated societies), they understood the necessity of establishing a system of majestic ritual and ceremony for their newly founded courts. One of the simplest ways of establishing such a system

was by co-opting elements from the courts of the places they had conquered and adapting Mongol traditions to a much larger scale. The best way of understanding how the Mongols manipulated visual spectacle for political means is by parsing out the origins of large-scale ceremonies implemented by Khubilai. To this end, I focus on the role of the *zhisun/zhama/jisün* banquet.

Jisün – Zhisun – Zhama Banquets

As with dress and other culturally specific customs, Yuan court ceremonies are described in contemporary Chinese and European sources. The most important of the Yuan court ceremonies was the *jisün* or *zhisun* (質孫/只孫) banquet, which began in the pre-Yuan period and were practiced across the Mongol Empire, as noted in the previous chapter. These banquets were named for the suit of clothes (hat, belt, and robe) that each of the attendees wore, which had been gifted prior to the banquet by the khan.[122] These robes are described in detail in the *Yuan shi* and were worn by officials and by the emperor.[123] *Jisün* means "color"[124] in Mongolian and in the *Yuan shi*, *jisün* robes are defined as being of one color.[125] The emperor had eleven such suits for winter and fourteen for summer, while high officials had nine for winter and fourteen for summer.[126] They were made from various fine materials, including *nasīj*, and embellished with pearls and precious stones.[127] The words used to describe these jewels, *yahu* (牙忽Persian: *yāqūt*, hyacinth [stone])[128] and *dana* (答納Persian: *dāna*, pearl),[129] are derived from Persian revealing their West Asian origins. The foreign sources of these valuable stones were a physical reminder of the reach of the Mongol Empire.

While *zhama* banquets originated with Chinggis Khan, they gradually became more elaborate and systematic, as descriptions of these events from Khubilai's reign convey. Khubilai and his advisers adopted the scale and spectacular aspect of the Song dynasty imperial ceremonies and processions, while emphasizing the tradition of honorific feasting and robing so central to groups from the Steppe and Central Asia, thereby retaining important cultural aspects of the tradition while giving it the magnificence necessary to the Mongol Empire.

Jisün banquets were held to celebrate a variety of occasions, including imperial birthdays, the ascension of a new emperor to the throne, the bestowing of certain honorific titles on a minister or someone in the imperial family, New Year's Day, the spring hunt, and the fall hunt.[130] This brings us back to *Khubilai Khan Hunting*, which clearly depicts an imperial hunting party. Are the outfits worn by Khubilai's entourage in this painting *jisün* suits? To answer this question, we must first establish their form. Marco Polo describes a birthday feast of Khubilai Khan in which he details the suits of clothing gifted to the khan's "twelve thousand barons":

> [Khubilai has given to each of these twelve thousand men] thirteen robes, each of a color different the one from the other; and they are decked with pearls and with stones and with other rich things very nobly, and they are of very extremely great value. He has also given to each of these twelve thousand barons a belt of gold, very beautiful and of great value. And again he gives to each [boots made of] camut [camlet],[131] worked very cunning with silver thread, which are very beautiful and dear. And at each feast of the thirteen it is ordered which of these robes must be worn. And also the great lord has thirteen of them like his barons, that is in color; but they are more noble and of greater value and better adorned.[132]

This description of *zhisun* suits fits that of the *Yuan shi* in both form and quantity and connects with the descriptions in Chapter 1 of accompanying ceremonies or banquets described in the investitures of Ögödei and Güyük.

The *jisün* banquet was also known during the Mongol period as the *zhama* 詐馬 banquet, from the Persian word *jāmah*, which meant "garment" or "robe."[133] Scholars of the Mongol period have written about the connection between the Mongol court and Persian words for textiles and clothing elements.[134] Two of the textiles discussed above, *nasīj* and *zandanījī*, have Arabic and Persian-derived names, as do the hyacinth [stones], *yahu*, and pearls, *dana*, that adorned the *zhisun* suits. In addition to *nasīj* and silks, in the description of imperial dress in the *Yuan shi*, the emperor's *zhisun/zhama* suits are made from *sufu* (速夫Arabic: *ṣūf*, wool).[135] As with the Persian origins of the jewels adorning the *jisün* suits, these appellations reflect the Western or Central Asian origin of many of these products and the people who produced and sold them, and served as a reminder of the extent of the Mongol emperor's reach.[136] Ceremonial robing was part of a larger, Central Asian tradition, and many parts of Central Asia used Persian at least as an administrative language in the centuries prior to Mongol rule, but there is no evidence for direct transmission of the particular *zhisun/jisün/zhama* ceremony from Central Asia. Rather, the size and scale of this type of banquet was a Mongol innovation.

Robing at the Chinese court was distinct in two principal ways from Central Asian and Mongol traditions. First, dress in the Chinese court was highly regulated by rank, which as aforementioned was not a feature of Mongol court dress until the early fourteenth century. Second, the ceremonial aspect of the act of robing was absent from the Chinese court. At the Northern Song court, for example, while a distinction between "official" and "court" dress was mandated, the actual gifting of robes was less important than the use of such robes to outwardly express the hierarchy of the court officials.[137] During Northern Song court ceremonies, especially those including processions, officials would gather according to rank, wearing robes of a specific color, as we see depicted in such paintings as the *Illustration of the Imperial Guard of Honor* (*Lubu tu* 鹵簿圖) in the collection of the National Museum of History in Beijing from 1053.[138] The parade of the Imperial Guard of Honor, which would accompany the emperor to sacrifice at the Imperial Ancestor Temple, was reinstated in the Yuan dynasty during the reign of Yingzong (Gegeen Khan, or Shidebala, r. 1320–1323).[139] I suggest that the visual effect of this style of courtly parade may have been co-opted earlier, however, during the reign of Khubilai Khan, for his *zhisun* ceremonies. The spectacle of thousands of officials in robes of various colors was undoubtedly impressive, and perhaps has a connection to the monochromatic element of the *jisün* robes – while the individual robes were monochrome, the variety of colored silks used would have made the overall effect highly polychromatic. Such an effect must simply have been increased in the Mongol period with the use of gold thread on *jisün* robes.

Understanding the appellation "*zhisun*" or "*zhama*" of these suits as an indicator of the circumstances in which they were worn – as gifts to high officials from the khan, for special courtly events, rather than specifying a particular cut of robe – explains the seeming lacuna of archaeological or pictorial evidence for these suits. I believe they were likely a variation of a *bianxian*, or some related, fitted, riding coat, made from *nasīj*, silk, or other luxury materials and paired with a matching hat and belt.[140] This correlates with the hypothesis that Khubilai and his entourage wear *jisün* suits in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*. While not a depiction of the actual *jisün* banquet, where far more people would have been present, Liu Guandao's painting rather serves as a visual synecdoche for Khubilai's rule and court. In it, the viewer understands not only the representation of

the geographic extent of Khubilai's realm, wealth, and power, but also the *jisün* banquet, the most important ceremony at the Yuan court.

Court dress in the Yuan dynasty was systematized under Khubilai Khan. This systematization did not take the form of clothing regulations or specific tailoring but involved the large-scale production and gifting of specific materials from the emperor to his court. The central act of gifting, and its ceremonial aspect, were retained from earlier tradition; they simply happened on a majestic scale. In order to robe thousands of officials for various occasions, the offices in charge of production had to produce an enormous quantity of material. The huge demand for luxury goods was not economically sustainable and in the decades after Khubilai's rule contributed to increased financial strain at the Yuan court. The Yuan period was also a time of intense cultural exchange with Central and West Asia, reflected in the language used for many luxury items and the diversity of Khubilai's *keshig* in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*. This cultural exchange resulted in a number of innovations at Khubilai's court and impacted everything from dress to cuisine to astronomy. Khubilai's ability to build upon preexisting customs and synthesize these with Mongol innovations was at the crux of the unique court culture that flourished during his reign.

Notes

1 Wen C. Fong, "Imperial Portraiture in the Song, Yuan, and Ming Periods," *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 25 (1995), 50; Anning Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan and Chabi by Anige (1245–1306), a Nepali Artist at the Yuan Court," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 54, No. 1/2 (1994), 76.

2 Morris Rossabi, "The Reign of Khubilai Khan," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 6, ed. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 422–424.

3 Rossabi, "The Reign of Khubilai Khan," 415–416.

4 See John W. Dardess, "From Mongol Empire to Yüan Dynasty: Changing Forms of Imperial Rule in Mongolia and Central Asia," *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 30 (1972–1973), 118.

5 Linda Cooke Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties: Gender and Identity in Liao and Jin China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 57.

6 Anne F. Broadbridge, *Women and the Making of the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 103.

7 Funada Yoshiyuki shows the confusion that existed throughout the Mongol period as to what constituted a *semu ren* in "The Image of the Semu People: Mongols, Chinese, and Various Other Peoples under the Mongol Empire," unpublished paper given at "Mobility and Transformations: Economic and Cultural Exchange in Mongol Eurasia," held at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, July 2014, unpublished manuscript. This paper was based on Funada, Yoshiyuki, 1999, "Genchō chika no Shikimoku-jin ni tsuite." *Shigaku zashi*,108/9 and Funada, Yoshiyuki, "Semu-ren yu Yuandai zhidu shehui: Chongxin tantao menggu Semu Hanren Nanren huafen de weizhi," *Mengguxue Xinxi*, 91.

8 Funada, "The Image of the Semu People," 9.

9 Paul Buell questions whether Yelü Chucai "was too sincicized to qualify as a genuine representative of the frontier zone." Paul D. Buell, "Činqai," in Igor de Rachewiltz et al. eds., *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)*, Asiatische Forschungen, vol. 121 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 95–96.

10 Buell, "Činqai," 95–96.

11 Sarah Grace Heller compares a fashion system and an honorific robing system and provides a useful definition of the differences between the two: "Both are based on a theatrical logic of display, require an audience to appreciate the codes involved, and use fine adornment to gain attention or seduce; both encourage production and consumption and foster artisanal creativity in the culture; both develop complex semantics of details. However, in a fashion system personal choice is cultivated and valued, while in an honorific system the individual graciously accepts the choice of an authority. In a fashion system value lies in novelty and the

old is constantly discarded. In an honorific system, value lies in tradition: *khil'a* literally signifies something taken off one person and put on another." See Sarah Grace Heller, "Fashion in French Crusade Literature: Desiring Infidel Textiles," in *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images*, ed. Désirée G. Koslin and Janet E. Snyder (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 109–110.

12 Song Lian. *Yuan shi* [1370], Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976, hereafter *YS*, 78:1931.

13 The text in both *Yuan shi* and *Jin shi* reads, "the *mian* crown [should be] one *chi* and six *cun* long, eight *cun* wide, 8 *cun* and 5 *fen* high in the front, nine *cun* five *fen* high in the back, one *chi* eight *cun* and three *fen* in diameter and use blue-green silk gauze (*luo*) on the outside and red silk gauze (*luo*) as the lining; the band around it should be yellow gold." My translation. See *YS*, 78: 1932 and Tuotuo, *Jin shi* (Taipei: Chengwen chuban she, 1971), hereafter *JS*, 43: 976. The dimensions in the *Song shi* are slightly different: "the heavenly board [of the *mian*] used to be 1 *chi* 2 *cun* wide and 2 *chi* 4 *cun* long, presently it is 8 *cun* wide and 1 *chi* and six *cun* long." See Tuotuo, *Song shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1977), hereafter *SS*, 151, 3524.

14 The phrasing is slightly different in the *Yuan shi* and *Jin shi* but the description of the emperor's robe is identical, such as in this excerpt: "The imperial robe is made of a double layer of blue-green silk *luo* gauze, using five colors including gold for paintings of the sun, moon, constellations, mountains, dragons, flowers and insects, and ancestral wine vessels. On the front there is one sun, one moon, four ascending dragons, twelve mountains, with the upper and lower parts of the front featuring flowers and insects, and flames on each of the six sides, and monkeys and tigers on each side. The back has one star, four ascending dragons, twelve mountains, flowers and insects, flames on each of the twelve sides, and tigers and monkeys on six sides. The under-robe is made of a single layer of white silk gauze (*luo*); the collar, cuffs, and geometric motifs (*zhuan*) were made of silk gauze (*luo*). There is one skirt, and its belt and the hems were completely decorated with geometric motifs and it was made of eight lengths of double layered red silk gauze (*luo*)." My translation. See *YS*, 78:1931; *JS*, 43: 976. The *Song shi* and *Liao shi* also have similar descriptions in terms of type and quantity of patterns on the imperial robe, see *SS*, 151: 3525 and Tuotuo, *Liao shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), hereafter *LS*, 56: 908.

15 Monsook Kim, "The Mongol Costumes Adopted in Koryo Costumes from the Thirteenth to the Fourteenth Century," in *Sichou zhi lu yu yuandai yishu* 丝绸之路与元代艺术 (*Silk Road and Mongol Yuan Art*), (Hong Kong: ISAT/Costume Squad Ltd., 2005), 301.

16 *YS*, 78: 1935.

17 *YS*, 78: 1942–1943. The same passage is found in Huang Shijian, *Tongzhi tiaoge, juan* 9, in *Yuandai shiliao congkan* (Series of Yuan Materials and History), (Zhejiang: Zhejiang guji chuban she, 1986), 134–137.

18 The *Tang huiyao* (Institutional History of the Tang or Records of Tang Institutions) notes that in the third year of the Tianshou era (694 CE, during Empress Wu Zetian's reign) new embroidered robes were given to the high officials, and later that year the coiled dragon (盤龍 *panlong*) and phoenix motifs were restricted for use of officials of the third grade or higher and the imperial family. See Wang Pu, *Tang huiyao* part 1, (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1968), 32: 582. The authors of *WSWG* also mention this passage, 110 (Note 15). Schuyler Cammann suggests that robes with dragon designs were first truly restricted to imperial use in a decree of 1111 CE during the Song dynasty. See Schuyler Cammann, *China's Dragon Robes* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1952), 5.

19 See Zhao Feng, "Meng Yuan xiongbei jiqi yuanliu," in *Sichou zhi lu yu yuandai yishu*, ed. Zhao Feng and Shang Gang (Hong Kong: ISAT/Costume Squad Ltd., 2005), 154.

20 On the twelfth day of the third month of the first year of Dade [1297 CE] it was memorialized: "Regarding the cloth that is sold in the marketplace, the great dragon may only be worn by the emperor, [this includes dragons] with one claw to [dragons with] four claws … the *xiongbei* central dragon [motif] are of no consequence, and weavers are instructed [to weave them]. Likewise, due to the fact that so many people have started wearing woven robes with large dragons, let a written prohibition [on dragon robes] be spread [throughout the land]; weavers will [also] be instructed to stop [weaving them]." My translation from *Tongzhi tiaoge* (Zhejiang: Zhejiang guji chuban she, 1986), 134. The same passage is found in *Yuan dianzhang*, although in the *Yuan dianzhang* the date is the 11th day rather than the 12th day. The editors of the *Yuan dianzhang* highlight this and defer to the *Tongzhi tiaoge*. See Chen Gaohua et al., eds., *Yuan dian zhang*, vol. 4 (Tianjin: Zhonghua shuju, 2011) *juan* 58, 1963.

Zhao Feng writes that this is the earliest reference to Mongol imperial restrictions on the dragon pattern, as well as the first time the term *xiongbei* is used. See Zhao, "Meng Yuan xiongbei," 143.

21 *YS*, 78: 1942.
22 *YS*, 78: 1942.
23 *YS*, 78: 1942.
24 *YS*, 78: 1942.
25 *YS*, 78: 1942–1943.
26 Zhao Feng, "Silk Artistry of the Yuan Dynasty," in *Chinese Silks*, ed. Dieter Kuhn and Zhao Feng (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 328–329.
27 Zhao, "Silk Artistry," 328.
28 Table compiled from *YS*, 88: 2225–2229. See also David M. Farquhar, *The Government of China under Mongolian Rule* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1990), 82–87; Zhao, "Silk Artistry," 328–329.
29 Zhao, "Silk Artistry," 328.
30 The two offices were combined into a single Gold Thread Office, *Jin sizi ju* 金絲子局 in 1287. See Farquhar, *The Government of China*, 83 and 86; *YS*, 88: 2226–2227, 2229.
31 *YS*, 89: 2263.
32 Paul Pelliot agrees with Emil Bretschneider's argument that Xunmalin was located approximately at the site of the present city of Ximalin (洗麻林). It is likely the city called Sīmalī in Rashid al-Din's *Jami' al-tawarikh*. See Paul Pelliot, "Une Ville Musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols," *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 211 (1927), 261–279. See also Thomas Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 41–43.
33 *YS*, 89: 2263.
34 *YS*, 120: 2964.
35 *YS*, 85: 2149. My translation. See also Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 41.
36 *WSWG*, 130–131 and Note 17.
37 In the *Tarikh Nama-i-Harat* (The History of Herat), Sayf ibn Muhammad ibn Ya'quub al-Harawi wrote that one thousand households of weavers from Herat were sent by Prince Tolui to Beshbalik. See translation of *Tarikh Nama-i-Harat* 106–107 in Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 39. Anne Wardwell also cites Allsen's translation of Sayf as well as Boyle's translation of Juvayni, who mentions the forcible resettlement of Central Asian textile workers by the Mongols in Anne Wardwell, "Two Silk and Gold Textiles of the Early Mongol Period," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Vol. 79, No. 10 (Dec. 1992), 364.
38 *YS*, 89: 2263. Thomas Allsen quotes the passage as, "when the Hung-chou and Hsün-ma-lin Gold Brocade Offices were established in 1278 they 'gathered together displaced persons, freed slaves, and other households to train them as civil artisans to weave and prepare *nashishi*.'" Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 96.
39 *YS*, 89: 2263.
40 The word *zandanījī* comes from the name of a place, Zandana, in Central Asia, near Bukhara. See Richard N. Frye, "Bukhara and Zandanījī," in *Central Asian Textiles and Their Contexts in the Early Middle Ages*, Riggisberger Berichte 9, ed. Regula Schorta(Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2006), 77. There are various Persian definitions of *zandanījī*, including, "a wide garment of white thread," and "extremely coarse, tight, white, textile." See discussion in Frye, "Bukhara and Zandanījī," 75.
41 Dorothy G. Shepherd and Walter Bruno Hermann Henning, "Zandanījī Identified?" in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst* (Berlin: Festschrift Ernst Kühnel, 1959), 15–40; Dorothy G. Shepherd, "Zandanījī Revisited," *Documenta Textilia*. Festschrift Sigrid Müller-Christensen Forschungshefte 7 (Bayerischen Nationalmuseum, München, 1981), 105–122; Boris I. Marshak, "The So-called Zandanījī Silks: Comparisons with the Art of Sogdia," in *Central Asian Textiles and Their Contexts in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Regula Schorta, Riggisberger Berichte 9 (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2006), 49–60; Nicholas Sims-Williams and Geoffrey Khan, "Zandanījī Misidentified," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, Vol. 22 (2008), 207–213.
42 Shepherd and Henning, "Zandanījī Identified?" 17.
43 See Marshak, "The So-called Zandanījī Silks," 49; Sims-Williams and Khan, "Zandanījī Misidentified," 207.

44 See definition of *Tikong andu* "Record Keeper," in Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985) 6453, 496.
45 Jamal al-Din was an astronomer from Central Asia who worked for Khubilai in the 1250s and 1260s and is credited with the introduction of a series of astronomical instruments to China from West/Central Asia. See Nancy Steinhardt, "Eurasian Impacts on the Yuan Observatory in Haocheng," in *Eurasian Influences on Yuan China* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2013), 105–106; "*Zhamaluding*: Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Sahir ibn Muhammad al-Zaydi al-Bukhari," in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, ed. Thomas Hokey (New York: Springer, 2007), 1262–63l; *YS*, 97: 2297.
46 *YS*, 85: 2149. My translation.
47 For the spread of cotton cultivation in China in the Song-Yuan period see Nishijima Sada, "The Formation of the Early Chinese Cotton Industry," in *State and Society in China: Japanese Perspectives in Ming-Qing Social and Economic History,* ed. Linda Grove and Christian Daniels (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1984), 19.
48 Francis W. Cleaves, "The Vocable *Sa-ta-la-ch'i* in the *Yuan shih* and the *Yuan tien-chang*," *Ural-Altaische Jarbücher*, n.s. 10 (1991), 128–135. See also Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 73.
49 Juvaini, 'Ala' al-Din 'Ata Malek, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, by 'Ala-al-Din' Malik Juvaini, trans. John A. Boyle (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 77.
50 The value of the *balish*, the "money of account" during the Mongol period, is uncertain. Boyle notes that a *balish* is "An ingot of gold or silver. It is the *iascot* of Rubruck, which, as Pelliot has shown…is a misreading of **iastoc*, i.e. *yastuq*, the Turkish name for these ingots. Yastuq, like the Persian *balish*, means literally 'cushion'. An *iascot* according to Rubruck (Rockhill, 156) was 'a piece of silver weighing ten marks'; he does not seem to have known of the gold *balish*," Boyle in Juvaini, *History of the World-Conqueror*, 23, Note 14.
51 Juvaini, *History of the World-Conqueror*, 78.
52 For additional information on the *bianxian* robe see Dang Baohai, "The Plait-line Robe. A Costume of Ancient Mongolia," in *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (2003), 198–216.
53 *Bianxian* ("braided waist") robe, silk and metallic thread lampas with silk and metallic thread samite underflap, excavated from the tombs of the Wanggu clan, Mingshui Damaoqi, Inner Mongolia. Mongol Period (early thirteenth century), Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum, Hohhot. Reproduced in James C.Y. Watt, ed., *The World of Khubilai Khan Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 74, fig. 102.
54 See Eiren L. Shea, "Fashioning Mongol Identity in China (c. 1200–1368)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2016), Lampas-woven (nasīj) robe, silk and metallic threads, China or Central Asia, Mongol Period (thirteenth–mid-fourteenth century), length (collar to hem): 128.5 cm; width (sleeve to sleeve): 189 cm, fig. 2.44.
55 *Bianxian* robe, silk and metallic thread lampas (*nasīj*), China or Central Asia, Mongol Period (thirteenth-–mid-fourteenth century); Robe with ribboned waist decoration, twill damask. China (?), Mongol Period (thirteenth–mid-fourteenth century). Reproduced in Zhao Feng and Jin Lin, eds., *Gold/Silk/Blue and White Porcelain: Fascinating Art of Marco Polo Era* (Hong Kong: Costume Squad, 2005), pls. 28 and 32.
56 Anon., *Hunting Geese* (*sheyan tu* 射雁圖). Yuan dynasty (fourteenth century), Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, National Palace Museum, Taipei. Reproduced in Shi Shouqian and Ge Wanzhang, *Da Han de Shiji* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2001), pl. 1–13.
57 For pseudo inscriptions on robes in the Mongol period see Eiren Shea, "Textile as Traveler: The Transmission of Inscribed Robes across Asia in the Twelfth through Fourteenth Centuries," *Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. 73 (2018), 103–107.
58 Peng Daya and Xu Ting, *Heidai shilüe* in *Siku quanshu*, vol. 423 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 534 B. My translation.
59 *YS*, 78: 1941.
60 Kim, "The Mongol Costumes," 301.
61 Kim, "The Mongol Costumes," 297–304.
62 Zhao, "Meng Yuan xiongbei," 144–149.
63 For further discussion of *xiongbei* and *yunjian* on "dragon robes" of the Mongol period see Zhao Feng "*Meng yuan longpao de leixing ji diwei*" 蒙元龙袍的类型及地位. *Wenwu*, No. 8 (2006), 85–96.

64 Schuyler Cammann, "The Development of the Mandarin Square," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Aug. 1944), 71–130.
65 See Zhao, "Meng Yuan xiongbei," 154.
66 Zhao, "Meng Yuan xiongbei," 154.
67 For an image see Shea, "Fashioning Mongol Identity," fig. 1.21.
68 Zhao Feng posits that *xiongbei* derived from central patterns on Jin robes, rather than from any central animal patterns on Liao robes, arguing that the Liao robe patterns were tied to rank, unlike the Jin and Mongol robes with central patterns. The Jin robes he cites as evidence include the "Spring Water" and "Autumn Mountains" robes from *Jin shi* 43 that I discuss in Chapter 1. Zhao cites the description of the patterns being on the "chest, shoulders and sleeves of the robe." See Zhao, "Meng Yuan xiongbei," 155. I do not believe that Liao robes with central animal patterns should be dismissed as precursors for the *xiongbei*. In addition, I am not convinced that the "Spring Water" and "Autumn Mountains" robes only featured central patterns. The examples I suggest in Chapter 1 as illustrative of these descriptions from *Jin shi* 43 feature all-over patterns of animals in a gold supplementary weft.
69 For a full analysis of the CMA piece see *WSWG*, 178.
70 Zhao, "Meng Yuan xiongbei," 144–149.
71 Anonymous, *Judging Horses*, detail, Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368), ink and color on silk, 27.0 cm x 211.8 cm, Jilin Provincial Museum. Published in Zhejiang da xue, *Yuan hua quan ji* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2012), vol. 3, part 2, fig. 65.
72 *Da Yuan Tongzhi Tiaoge* (Beijing: Falü chuban she, 2000), 134.
73 In the Jin dynasty, the term *yunjian* is used to describe imperial dress, see *JS*, 43: 980. It is also illustrated in the Jin dynasty painting *Lady Wenji Returns to Han*, which will be discussed in Chapter 3.
74 Schuyler Cammann argues that the origins of the "cloud collar" motif derive from the cosmological ornamentation on the backs of Han dynasty mirrors, and then in the Medieval period from the form of the eight-petal lotus and Buddhist Mandala. He also notes that the first use of cloud collars on robes is attested in the Jin dynasty. See Schuyler Cammann, "The Symbolism of the Cloud Collar Motif," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Mar. 1951), 1–9. See also Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie: The Art of Mongol Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 32.
75 This piece was formerly in the collection of Dennis R. Dodds (Philadelphia). Published in *WSWG*, fig. 26, 75.
76 See *WSWG*, 75–79, cat. 17, 18.
77 *WSWG*, 75, 77.
78 *WSWG*, 68.
79 According to Zhao Feng, dyes used during the Mongol period included the plant-based safflower, sapanwood, indigo, yellow fustic tree, *Sophora japonica*, and oak, though imported dyes such as madder from the northwest (of China) and buckthorn flowers (for a green) from the northeast (of China) were also used. See Zhao Feng, "Silk Artistry," 333. The use of these dyes are confirmed by the chemical analyses performed on pieces from the AEDTA collection in the mid-1990s by Mr. Jan Wouters at the IRPA in Brussels. The dyes used on these silk pieces include madder, safflower, *Lithospermum pupurocaerula*, *Sophora japonica*, indigo, and yellow larkspur (or equivalent). All technical information from the Guelton, "Archives of Marie-Hélène Guelton." Guelton, along with Gabriel Vial, performed technical analysis on most of the pieces from the Liao, Jin, and Yuan dynasties in the collection.
80 Chemical analysis by Mr. Jan Wouters at the IRPA in Brussels. Guelton, "Archives of Marie-Hélène Guelton."
81 Chemical analysis by Mr. Jan Wouters at the IRPA in Brussels. Guelton, "Archives of Marie-Hélène Guelton."
82 Published in *WSWG*, 124–125, cat. 34.
83 Robe with underarm openings. Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Twill damask with couched appliqué. Length: 119 cm; width: 224 cm. Collection of Rossi and Rossi, Ltd. See Zhao Feng in Zhao and Jin, eds., *Gold/Silk/Blue and White*, 52–53, cat. 27.
84 See *YS*, 4: 73, 74; 118: 2917 for example.
85 Zhao and Jin, eds., *Gold/Silk/Blue and White*, 53.

86 Elfriede R. Knauer, "A Quest for the Origin of the Persian Riding Coats: Sleeved Garments with Underarm Openings" in *Riding Costume in Egypt: Origins and Appearance*, Studies in Textile and Costume History, vol. 3, ed. Cacilia Fluck and Vogelsang-Eastwood (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 10.
87 Knauer, "A Quest," 16–19.
88 Knauer, "A Quest," 9.
89 Knauer, "A Quest," 8–10.
90 See "Pair of Men," Tang dynasty, ca. eighth–ninth century, white pottery with "straw-colored" glaze pigments, height 19.5 cm. Published in Janet Baker, *Appeasing the Spirits: Sui and Tang Dynasty Tomb Sculpture from the Schloss Collection* (Hempstead, NY: Emily Lowe Gallery, Hofstra Museum, 1993), fig. 18.
91 Knauer, "A Quest," 10.
92 Zhao and Jin, eds., *Gold/Silk/Blue and White*, 53.
93 For an image see Shea, "Fashioning Mongol Identity," fig. 3.15.
94 See Corinne Mühlemann, "Die Darstellung von textilen Objekten in den Miniaturen des Grossen Mongolischen Šāhnāme: Überlegungen zu ihrer Funktion am Hof der Īlḫāniden zwischen 1323–1335," University of Bern, (MA thesis, 2013), 75.
95 Attributed to Yan Liben (c. 600–673), *Thirteen Emperors*, detail. Song dynasty copy (c. eleventh century). Handscroll, ink and colors on silk. Height: 51.3 cm; width: 531 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 31.643. For a reproduction see the University of Chicago East Asian scroll paintings website: https://scrolls.uchicago.edu/view-scroll/61 (accessed August 29, 2019).
96 Ning Qiang, "Imperial Portraiture as Symbol of Political Legitimacy: A New Study of the 'Portraits of Successive Emperors,'" *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 35 (2008), 113.
97 Zhao Feng points out that "The actual motifs of the sun, moon, dragon and phoenix [on clothing] only appeared during the Yuan dynasty," by which I assume he means we only have evidence for these patterns on robes existing from the Yuan dynasty. Zhao identifies a Yuan robe from the Arthur Leeper collection in the United States as the earliest example of this type of robe. See Zhao Feng, "Symbols of Power and Prestige: Sun, Moon, Dragon and Phoenix Motifs on Silk Textiles," in *Power Dressing: Textiles for Rulers and Priests from the Chris Hall Collection*, Chris Hall et. al. (Singapore: Asian Civilizations Museum, 2013), 42–43.
98 Fong, "Imperial Portraiture," 57.
99 For a digital reproduction of cave 220 and this painting see the Digital Dunhuang website: www.e-dunhuang.com/cave/10.0001/0001.0001.0220 (accessed August 29, 2019).
100 Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan," 75.
101 Fong, "Imperial Portraiture," 50; Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan," 70.
102 Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan," 76–77.
103 Jing, "The Portraits of Khubilai Khan," 75.
104 Roslyn Lee Hammers, "*Khubilai Khan Hunting*: Tribute to the Great Khan," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (2015), 7–8, 10–11.
105 Hammers, "*Khubilai Khan Hunting*," 7–8.
106 For a reproduction see Hammers, "*Khubilai Khan Hunting*," fig. 5.
107 For a reproduction see Xu, ed., *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua quan ji*, vol. 7, 275, fig. 255.
108 Hammers, "*Khubilai Khan Hunting*," 8–12.
109 Hammers, "*Khubilai Khan Hunting*," 15.
110 Craig Clunas and Jessica Harrison-Hall, eds., *Ming: 50 Years that changed China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 134–143. For paintings of the Xuande emperor hunting see figs. 120, 124, 125.
111 Ermine, what stoats (*Mustela ermine*) are called when their coat turns white during the winter, and sable (*Martes zibellina*), a type of marten, are indigenous to Mongolia and the Steppe region and are the type of animals used in the finest fur coats described in the *Liao shi*. See *LS*, 56: 905, 907. For historical background on the use and symbolism of furs in Yuan China, see Hammers, "*Khubilai Khan Hunting*," 37–39.
112 *YS*, 9: 193. Furs are also listed as part of rewards in *YS*, 139: 3146; *YS*, 139: 3351; *YS*, 169: 3973; *YS*, 172: 4022. Thanks to Geoffrey Humble for guiding me towards some of these references.
113 *YS*, 90: 2294.
114 Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W.D. Halls. (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 4.

115 Marco Polo, *The Description of the World*, trans. Paul Pelliot and A.C. Moule (New York: AMS Press, 1976), 90: 225.
116 Polo, *Description of the World*, 90: 225.
117 "Then the great Khan sitting on his throne, all his barons present themselves before him, with wreaths and crowns upon their heads, being variously attired, for some of them are in green, namely, the principal; the second are in red, and the third in yellow, and they hold each man in his hand a little ivory table of elephant's tooth, and they are girt with golden girdles half a foot broad, and they stand upon their feet keeping silence." Oderic of Pordanone in Manuel Komroff, ed., *Contemporaries of Marco Polo* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1928), 242.
118 *YS*, 78: 1931.
119 Svetlana Rimsky-Korsakoff Dyer, *Grammatical Analysis of the Lao Ch'i-ta: With an English Translation of the Chinese Text* (Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies Monographs: New Series, No. 3, 1983), 465.
120 *YS*, 78: 1931. My translation.
121 Gansu sheng bowuguan Zhangxian wenhua guan, "Gansu Zhangxian Yuandai Wang Shixian jiazu muzang," *Wenwu*, No. 2 (1982), pl. 2.
122 Han Rulin, "Yuandai zhama yan xin tan," in Han Rulin, ed., *Qionglu ji* (Shanghai: Shanghai remin chuban she, 1982), 251.
123 *YS*, 78: 1938; *WSWG*, 138.
124 Han, "Yuandai zhama yan xin tan," 248; Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 19; *YS*, 78: 1938.
125 *YS*, 78: 1938.
126 *YS*, 78: 1938.
127 *YS*, 78: 1938.
128 Francis Joseph Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1892), 1437; Han Rulin, "Yuandai zhama yan xin tan," 250–251; *WSWG*, 138.
129 Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 501; Richardson, *A Dictionary of Persian, Arabic, and English*, vol. 1, 651; Han Rulin, "Yuandai zhama yan xin tan," 250–251; *WSWG*, 138.
130 Han, "Yuandai zhama yan xin tan," 247.
131 "Camlet (chamlett) was associated with camel hair but this may be a false etymology; it was perhaps derived from Arabic *khamlat*, from *khaml* – the nap or pile on a cloth. In the fourteenth century it was used of a silk cloth." Gale R. Owen-Crocker, "Naming of cloths." Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles (Brill Online, 2016) Reference. University of Pennsylvania. http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2609/entries/encyclopedia-of-medieval-dress-and-textiles/naming-of-cloths-COM_468 (accessed February 12, 2016).
132 Polo, *Description of the World*, 89–90: 225–226. I have not included the italicized sections of this version of the text, which are the parts not included in the Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485–1557) or Henry Yule (1820–1899) editions. I made this choice because the italicized parts of the text give editorial explanations that I do not believe are entirely accurate, although I include certain interpretations in brackets.
133 Ke Jiusi 柯九思 [1290–1343], *Liao Jin Yuan gong ci* 遼金元宮詞 (Beijing: Beijing guji chuban she, 1988), 25; Han, "Yuandai zhama yan xin tan," 1982, 248; Thomas Allsen, "Robing in the Mongolian Empire," *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. Stewart Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 305; John Richardson, *A Dictionary of Persian, Arabic, and English with a Dissertation on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations* (London: William Bulmer and Co., 1806), vol. 1, 333.
134 Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 71–72; Han, "Yuandai zhama yan xin tan," 250–252.
135 *YS*, 78: 1938; Han, "Yuandai zhama yan xin tan," 250–251; Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 72; *WSWG*, 138.
136 Han, "Yuandai zhama yan xin tan," 251.
137 Patricia Ebrey, "Taking Out the Grand Carriage: Imperial Spectacle and the Visual Culture of Northern Song Kaifeng," *Asia Major*, Third Series, 12 (1999), 56–57.
138 Ebrey, "Taking Out the Grand Carriage," 41–42 and Note 18. For a reproduction of this scroll see Ebrey, "Taking Out the Grand Carriage," figs. 1–14.
139 *YS*, 78: 1929.
140 James Watt hypothesizes, "it would seem that the difference between an ordinary *nasij* robe and the more formal *zhisun* wear was the addition of pearls and previous stones." See *WSWG*, 138.

3 “Pulling Firmly Her Tall Hat Over Her Head”

Women’s Dress at the Yuan Court

Chabi, as portrayed in *Khubilai Khan Hunting* (Plate 2), was a dynamic partner to her husband. Seated firmly in the saddle, her feet securely in stirrups, and grasping her horse’s reins, Chabi’s pose echoes that of Khubilai, and her position, parallel to Khubilai, conveys to the viewer that Khubilai’s most influential wife was in many ways his equal. Chabi’s status is reinforced in historical texts, and in what we know of the role of women more generally in Mongol society. In her capacity as wife to the Khaghan, Chabi advised her husband on a diversity of topics, from religion to politics to fashion.[1] The public dimensions of Mongol women’s lives stood in stark contrast with the practices in south China under the Song dynasty, and connect to broader nomadic and Steppe traditions, such as those practiced by the Khitan and the Jurchen. This chapter investigates the ways in which dress conveyed the political and cultural capital of Mongol women and puts forth the hypothesis that quotidian women’s dress in the Yuan dynasty resembled men’s dress, reflecting the status of women in Mongol society. The chapter begins with an overview of the social and political status of elite Mongol women in the Yuan, which takes into account historical precedents, before turning to the roles that women played in the Yuan, and the importance of dress in expressing social and political aims.

The difficulties of approaching Yuan women’s dress are analogous to men’s dress – limited archaeological material, few paintings, and vague texts. With women’s dress, however, the challenges are exacerbated. Much of what women did and what they wore was of less interest to the chroniclers of the *Yuan shi* and other historical texts than what men did and wore. A particular problem with Yuan women’s dress is that what we know of the lives of Mongol women does not accord with the material record. What is preserved and depicted in the funerary context are court robes. However, as with male dress, court robes were only one of several types of clothing available to women. Thus, here I work with the extant material and texts to offer some hypotheses about the greater diversity of women’s dress that may have existed in the late thirteenth century.

The Situation of Elite Mongol Women

Due to the structure of Mongol society, Mongol women were relatively autonomous and independent. In their autonomy, the place of Mongol women in society is similar to Khitan and Jurchen practices (and practices of Steppe groups more generally).[2] In contrast to Song Chinese women, Khitan, Jurchen, and Mongol women were adept equestrians, did not bind their feet, and participated in many of the same tasks as men, including warfare.[3] While levirate marriage, or the practice of forcing widows to marry a younger male relative of her deceased husband, was common amongst all three groups,

elite widows could occasionally avoid forced remarriage by remaining chaste and thus maintain control over their own affairs.[4]

Women played a crucial role in the formation of the early Mongol Empire. As the primary occupations of Mongol men were hunting, preparing for war, and warfare, women were often left in charge, ensuring that life in the camp and at home ran smoothly. They managed quotidian tasks in their individual *ger* (tent) such as cooking, making clothing, and raising and marrying off children.[5] In the larger camp they arranged the twice-yearly migration, cared for the herd animals and horses, and engaged in trade.[6] In contrast to Chinese law, which allowed for one principle wife and multiple concubines, Mongol custom allowed men to have multiple wives.[7] Typically, when Mongol rulers went off to battle, one of the ruler's wives would accompany him to set up the camp, while the others would stay behind and manage the home camp.[8]

In short, women took care of nearly all of the practical aspects of daily life in Mongol society. In contrast to Song women, who were ever more cloistered as the dynasty progressed, Mongol women lived active lives within and outside of the home.[9] The impact that women of the ruling class had on Mongol society as managers of the household and the camp was even greater due to their status. In addition to accompanying their husbands on campaigns, or alternatively, managing affairs at home during prolonged absences, women participated in politics. Women played a pivotal role in the complex and often dangerous succession struggles for power at the death of a khan culminating in the *khuriltai* that decided the next khan.[10] They also worked to place their sons in positions of power within the ruling hierarchy and were involved in major commercial dealings that directly impacted the political situation of the Mongol Empire.[11]

Chabi, then, had a place within a social system that gave agency to women, especially the elite women. According to the *Yuan shi*, Chabi was Khubilai's trusted advisor.[12] In particular, she played a role in making sure the agricultural lands around the new capital, Dadu, were not converted into pasture, as suggested by some of Khubilai's Mongol advisors, something that would have been disastrous for the economy of north China.[13] The power that Chabi, and other elite Mongol women had, was thus not only enacted in private or domestic spaces, but also in the public sphere.

The dress that these women wore manifested this outward-looking role. In order to correctly understand the symbolic power of Mongol women's dress, it must not be considered in isolation, but in the greater context of women's dress in the Middle Period in East Asia, especially that of groups with connections to Steppe traditions.[14] With this in mind, I will give an overview of women's dress in East Asia beginning in the Tang dynasty (ca. 618–907), with special attention to garments that connected to Steppe and Central Asian traditions.

Women and Dress in East Asia

The social standing of Mongol women, along with the geographical extent of the Yuan dynasty and larger Mongol Empire, caused women to dress in, and be depicted wearing, clothing different from previous dynasties. In contrast to the Liao or Jin dynasties, Mongol women continued to wear clothing that they had worn prior to the fall of the Song dynasty, rather than absorbing Chinese women's styles. As with male dress, the clothing of power was basically Mongol, although the fabrics (silk, *nasīj*) and patterns (lotus flowers, phoenixes) incorporated practices from China and Central Asia. The continuity of privileging Mongol clothing over Chinese styles contrasts with the dress of elite women in previous non-Chinese dynasties that ruled over parts of China.

The ruling dynasties in China, especially those with capitals in north-central China, participated in cultural and material exchange with groups to the north and west (the Steppe and Central Asia) from at least the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1046–314 BCE).[15] Although ancient in practice, a direct precedent for material exchange between frontier groups during the Song, Liao, Jin, and Yuan is found in the Tang dynasty. During the Tang dynasty, the ruling class selectively absorbed dress and other cultural attributes (for example, polo, musical instruments such as the *pipa*, and horse culture) from northern and western groups, with male elites gradually adopting Turkic or Steppe styles of dress: trousers with a fitted coat and boots.[16] By the same token, peoples living near the northern borders with China also adopted certain Chinese cultural items, for example, silk and tea. We recall that both the Liao, in the Treaty of Shanyuan in 1005,[17] and the Jin, in the treaty of 1142,[18] negotiated large amounts of silk and tea from the Song as annual payments. When it came to dress, however, a particular phenomenon, which continued until the Mongol period, can be observed from at least the Han dynasty: regardless of status or cultural identity, women who lived near Han dynasty territories are often depicted wearing Han-style dress. However, non-Han men are almost never represented in Han-style dress.[19] Similarly, in the Tang dynasty, it was more likely that Tang subjects would dress in a Steppe or Central Asian style than the reverse. Pictorial evidence of this sartorial phenomenon is found in images of Sogdian couples from Sogdian funerary couches, elite Xianbei tombs, and Tang dynasty royal tombs.[20] In pre-Tang times, men's dress signified ethnic identity while women's dress conformed to "Han" styles. This was no longer the case in Tang China. As Kate Lingley has shown, Central Asian clothing had become so widespread among men in Tang China that by the Middle Tang it had become a "naturalized" form of Tang dress.[21] During the Tang, ethnic difference was represented not through dress but through physiological characteristics. Turkic or Central Asian peoples were stereotypically represented with high noses, wide eyes, and beards.[22] Central Asian women during the Tang period continued to be depicted wearing "Han"-style dress, but Tang women's dress incorporated contemporaneous Central Asian women's styles.[23] Sometimes Tang women are painted wearing Central Asian men's dress, in other words, a type of riding coat with trousers, such as in the tomb of Prince Zhanghuai.[24] I believe the practice of women wearing men's-style clothing, in particular, riding outfits, may be tied to Steppe traditions that are continued in later dynasties, as I will discuss below.

The sartorial cosmopolitanism of the Tang dynasty continued in a different guise in the Liao dynasty. Rather than a somewhat ambiguous mixing of different clothing traditions as was the case in the Tang, we recall from Chapter 1 that the Liao government implemented a dual system of dress – Khitan "state style" dress and "Han" (basically a version of Tang or Song dynasty) dress. Tang-Song-style court dress was worn at court after 983 at both the northern and southern courts.[25] By 1020, a Song envoy to the Liao court, Song Shou 宋綬, reported that the emperor and his Chinese officials wore Song-style clothing, while the empress and Khitan officials wore Khitan-style dress.[26]

The pictorial record as preserved in tomb murals offers some insights into the difference between these two styles. Tang-Song-style women's dress, which took the form of Northern Song dress during the Liao, can be found in many images in tombs, usually worn by serving women or musicians.[27] A large group of mural paintings in the Xuanhua tombs in Hebei, made for the Zhang family, a Chinese family living under Khitan rule, provide a number of examples of this style of dress (Figure 3.1).[28] The clothing's material drapes in soft folds as is probably meant to represent silk. Tang-Song style women's dress included an outer long-sleeved jacket with ample sleeves that ranged in length from cropped to waist-length. This jacket was fastened with a sash that tied in a bow just

Figure 3.1 Tea serving scene, seventh year of the Tianqing Era, Liao dynasty (1117CE), Zhang Shigu's tomb (M5) at Xiabali in Xuanhua, Hebei. Height: 156 cm; width: 144 cm. Excavated in 1989, preserved on site. After Xu Guangji, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua quan ji*, vol. 1, fig. 172.

below the breasts (giving the effect of an empire-waist). Under the jacket, women wore a dress that reached the floor, with a sort of apron, or secondary and slightly shorter skirt on top. In the Xuanhua tombs, the women who are depicted wearing this style clothing either have a Tang-style coiffure or headdress, or have their hair done in a Khitan style, with three chignons, two on each side of the head and one on top.[29] If the hairstyles are indicative of ethnic identity, which is possible, given that hair was used in visual representations as a marker of Khitan identity in depictions of men, these images imply that both Khitan and non-Khitan women wore this type of dress in Hebei. The dual dress system, which mandated that residents in the southern Liao territories should wear Tang-Song-style dress, aligns with what is represented in these tombs.

Pictorial examples of women wearing Khitan-style clothing tend to situate the women in settings associated with nomadic life, such as traveling on horseback, rather than being waited on in an idealized interior, as in the Xuanhua tombs. The women in these images are outfitted in warm, practical-looking clothing. The main item of clothing visible to the viewer is a long, long-sleeved outer robe belted at the waist which appears to be the outermost of many layers – as implied by the thickness of the waists of the painted women. Khitan women, like many people who live in harsh northern climates, wore layers of clothing to keep warm, and this necessity would be compounded while traveling. Good examples of this style of dress are depicted in murals in the Kulunqi tombs, located on the border of Inner Mongolia and Jilin Province. These tombs were likely built for the Xiao clan, the consort clan to the imperial Yelü clan.[30] As one of the

most important families in the Liao dynasty, the Xiao clan seemed to want to emphasize their Khitan heritage in the funerary context. In Kulunqi tomb one, which Linda Cooke Johnson argues shows the wedding of a Liao princess, the princess and her attendants are all outfitted in warm-looking long robes with sleeves long enough to cover the wearer's hands, and fur caps (Figure 3.2).[31] As well as being practical for cold-weather travel, the

Figure 3.2 Woman (princess?) looking in a mirror, Liao dynasty (907–1125 CE), tomb M1 at Qianweulibugecun in Nailingagongshe, Kulunqi, Inner Mongolia. Height: 297 cm; width: 160 cm; figure height: ca. 158 cm. Excavated in 1972, preserved in the Jilin Provincial Museum. Replica in Tongliao Museum. After Xu Guangji, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua quan ji*, vol. 3, fig. 169.

funerary context mirrors the wedding scene; we can imagine the princess being brought to the tomb, traveling to her final earthly resting place. Liao burials, while evincing a

variety of funerary traditions, occasionally feature corpses wearing many layers of clothing. In addition to providing the corpse with a multiplicity of fine materials in death, we might also interpret such layering as the corpse being readied for a long journey. The burial attire of the Princess of Chen (1018 CE), a granddaughter of Liao Emperor Jinzong (r. 982–1031), who was buried with her husband, consists of metallic versions of some clothing, such as gilded silver boots.[32] The royal bodies were entombed wearing silver mesh body suits, gold masks, and crowns. Their attire seems to imitate Khitan dress, but the metal that has replaced fabrics (along with the mesh burial suit) shows that these items were made for the burial context. Two sets of clothing in the Abegg-Stiftung collection likely come from an elite Liao burial.[33] Although unprovenanced, the materials in the Abegg-Stiftung probably came from a burial context(s), and the corpses may have been interred wearing layers of clothing consisting of multiple robes, skirts, and leggings.[34] In Kulunqi tomb one, Khitan women are depicted wearing close-fitting black caps with braided hair. This style of dress and headgear is comparable to that depicted in a court painting, *Banquet at the Khitan Camp*, by Hu Gui (Plate 5). In this painting, which was introduced in Chapter 1 for its potential connection to banqueting rituals prior to state-sponsored hunts, the central couple sits on a mat or carpet, the female figure, clothed in a white robe and black cap, looks on as the male figure drinks. The couple is flanked by attendants, several of whom prepare food and drinks, while a male entertainer dances in the foreground. As in the Kulunqi tombs, the female attendants hovering behind the seated woman in this painting wear black caps and long Khitan-style robes with sleeves covering their hands. An excavated version of this cap from the tomb at Daiqintala sumu, now in the Museum of Inner Mongolia in Hohot, is made of silk, *kesi* (silk tapestry), damask, and silk floss padding.[35]

The clear differences between the types of dress that women in a Khitan context wear in these examples can be explained both by the settings of the paintings, their geographical origin, and the political significance of the act of wearing Khitan dress. All of the examples – of which I am aware – of women dressed in recognizably Khitan clothing are representations of elite Liao women and their attendants, that is, the Xiao clan in the Kulunqi tombs and a consort of a central figure (probably a ruler of some sort) in Hu Gui's painting. These elite Liao women also participate in activities traditionally associated with Steppe culture, a culture that may have been identified with pre-Liao lifestyles and customs. The activities of hunting, outdoor banqueting, and traveling with a camp were outwardly marked as Khitan traditions, and likely had political significance. Song Shou's description of the empress dowager wearing Khitan dress at court enhances the likelihood that women of the Liao ruling classes wore Khitan dress as a political statement. While most scenes in the Kulunqi tombs show women in Khitan-style dress, Kulunqi tomb six portrays female entertainers in Song-style dress with Tang coiffures.[36] Representations of women wearing Tang-Song-style dress, on the other hand, such as the Xuanhua scenes, occur in southern Liao territory and in idealized interior scenes associated more with Tang-Song than Khitan practices. In sum, distinctions between Khitan style and Tang-Song-style dress for women in the Liao context are relatively clear and appear to have cultural implications; certain activities are associated with specific forms of dress, and women of the ruling classes may have been represented wearing more classically Khitan outfits for political reasons.

The case of dress in the Jin dynasty has resonances with the dress in the Liao, but there are several important differences. Most significantly, the Jin did not have an officially mandated dual dress system, although we recall from Chapter 1 that the Jin considered Jurchens either "raw" (barbaric) or "cooked" (civilized) depending on if they lived in the

northern or southern part of Jin territory. The small amount of surviving Jin pictorial and archaeological evidence for dress indicates that Jin residents continued Song dynasty modes of representation in a funerary context.[37] As in the Liao, surviving evidence points to specifically Jurchen styles of dress that were worn among the ruling classes although specific styles of dress were not as clearly defined for the Jin. In the mid-Jin period, feeling that Jurchen traditions were being subsumed by Song traditions, Emperor Shizong of Jin (r. 1161–1189) attempted to reclaim Jurchen identity in an official context, developing a writing system for the Jurchen language, and mandating that Jurchen dress be worn at court.[38] In terms of Jurchen dress, this may have taken the form of the clothing worn by the "raw" Jurchen, rather than the Song-style clothing that was worn by southern Jin residents. Clues to the form of women's Jurchen dress is found in the painting *Lady Wenji Returns to Han* (Plate 8), and the garments from the burial of a king of the Qi State which took place sometime after 1163.[39]

The king of the Qi state tomb was excavated in 1988.[40] The two corpses unearthed in the burial were probably those of Wanyan Yan, a grandson of the founder of the Jin dynasty, Wanyan Aguda, or Jin Taizu (r. 1115–1123), and Wanyan Yan's wife.[41] As in the Liao dynasty Princess of Chen tomb, the royal occupants wear layers of clothing, including leggings, wrappers, and girdles, culminating in belted silk outer robes finely woven with gold.[42] The female occupant's clothing includes a padded skirt and a padded outer robe, both made of tabby weave silk (*chou* 綢 silk for the robe, *juan* 絹for the skirt) with repeat motifs of plum blossoms in gold thread.[43] The plum blossom pattern is in four-end weft-faced 1/3 twill woven of flat-gilded threads.[44] The skirt's repeat floral motif, and the robe's repeat motif of cranes among clouds, are reminiscent of the "swan hunt" silks discussed in Chapter 1. Unlike the Princess of Chen and the depictions of Liao women in Khitan dress, the female occupant in this tomb does not wear boots, but delicately embroidered cloth shoes made of silk *luo* 羅 gauze and lined with silk damask.[45] Nor does the female occupant wear a hat, rather her hair was wrapped in layers of silk and floss.[46] The impractical head and footwear might be explained by the burial context but are noteworthy nonetheless. While Liao and Yuan excavated materials compliment the pictorial record, the clothing from this burial contrasts with the single known surviving depiction of an elite woman in Jurchen dress, Lady Wenji in *Lady Wenji Returns to Han*.

Lady Wenji Returns to Han (*Cui Wenji gui Han tu*) (Plate 8) is a prime example of the juxtaposition of the civilized and the barbarian, which I introduced in the context of *Khubilai Khan Hunting* in Chapter 2. It also provides evidence for the overlap in men and women's dress in the Jin. *Lady Wenji Returns to Han* is the story of Cai Wenji, the daughter of Cai Yong, a scholar official who lived in the Eastern (or Latter) Han dynasty.[47] Abducted around 195 CE by the nomadic Xiongnu and taken to Inner Mongolia, Wenji was married to a leader of the Xiongnu and eventually gave birth to two children. Years later, Wenji was ransomed and given the terrible choice of abandoning her children to return to Han or staying a Xiongnu captive for the rest of her life. Choosing to return to Han, Wenji was celebrated for putting her loyalty to Han above her personal feelings and stood as a symbol for the perseverance of Han culture and loyalty even amongst "barbarians." Beginning in the Song dynasty, when the major power to the north was first the Liao and then the Jin, the Wenji story gained renewed currency, with Khitans standing in for Xiongnu in the Northern Song and Jurchen for Xiongnu in the Southern Song.[48] The Wenji painting under consideration here is confusing because it plays to these same stereotypes, yet was a product of the Jin court –why would the Jin be stereotyping Jurchens? Scholars have explained this discrepancy by pointing out the Jin

court was drawing a distinction between themselves and the "raw" Jurchen.[49] I propose to add to this explanation by considering it in the context of Emperor Shizong's policies reinforcing Jurchen tradition, only a decade or two before the painting was completed. Framing the portrayal of Wenji amongst the "raw" Jurchen in this context, I believe she is depicted not only to be able to withstand the "civilizing wind" from the south,[50] but also in idealized Jurchen-style dress, a woman's version of the kind that Emperor Shizong mandated his officials wear at court. She is a civilized embodiment of Jurchen identity, clad in definitively non-Song dress.

Upon close inspection, the viewer is able to identify specific parts of Wenji's clothing. She is dressed for the cold of the Steppe in a warm fur hat, many layers of clothing including a belted outer robe that covers her hands, trousers and boots. Of special interest is the "cloud collar" (*yunjian* 雲肩) that falls around her upper chest and covers her shoulders and the short-sleeved robe worn over the long-sleeved robe, which recall male Mongol dress. The cloud collar design was very popular as a motif decorating the collar and shoulders of robes in the Mongol period and was also used as a motif in other media such as ceramics and metalwork.[51] However, the first pictorial evidence for the cloud collar pattern being used on robes is from the Jin dynasty – in *Lady Wenji Returns to Han*. Additionally, the term *yunjian* is first used in descriptions of imperial dress in the *Jin shi*.[52] As I noted in Chapter 2, the cloud collar persisted in both male and female dress during the Mongol period, such as the *kesi* examples discussed from the Mongol period.[53] A surviving example of a cloud collar woven into the design of a Mongol woman's court robe, confirms that women's dress featured this pattern as well.[54] In this example, the cloud collar pattern is brocaded in gold on a silk twill robe – a type of *nasīj*. In addition to this evidence, Chabi is depicted wearing a cloud collar design in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*.

The resemblance of Wenji's clothing to male Mongol dress reinforces the overlapping styles in men's and women's riding outfits in communities with ties to Steppe and Central Asian traditions that survived into the Mongol period. This explains the occasional depictions of women in Tang settings wearing male Central Asian dress, such as the woman depicted in Prince Zhanghuai's tomb, and connects to Yuan dynasty women's dress as well. Gendered dress certainly had its place, especially in formal settings such as the court, banquets, and other ceremonies like weddings, but male-style dress, more practical for equestrian activities due to the shorter length of the exterior robe, boots, and trousers, would have been an obvious choice in less formal, more active settings. While Wenji is dressed in a more elaborate style than her male escorts, the basics of her outfit are similar to the Jurchen male escorts in the painting, such as the man hunching forward into the wind wearing a fur hat closest to the viewer. In the Mongol period, most of the evidence for women's dress points to a specific type of formal court garment. I will show that an equally important style of dress, that manifested the political relevance of elite Mongol women, was male-style riding outfits. In the following sections, I examine and explain the evidence for pre-Yuan women's dress, which all point to a distinctive formal robe that continued to be worn at the Yuan and Ilkhanid courts. Then, I look specifically at Chabi's dress, which consisted not only of the formal robe, but also of riding outfits resembling the dress of elite men.

Pre-Yuan Mongol Women's Dress

The history of Mongol women's dress before the Yuan dynasty is mainly textual, as neither excavated nor pictorial evidence can be definitively dated to this period. However, according to descriptions from William of Rubruck and others,

the quintessential robe of elite Mongol women appears to have existed prior to the founding of the Yuan dynasty, although pictorial and archaeological evidence for it does not survive from the pre-Yuan period (Figures 2.9, 3.3, Plate 18). This robe

Figure 3.3 Painting of tomb occupants, north, northeast, and northwest walls. Yuan dynasty (1269), excavated in 1998 from the Dongercun tomb, Pucheng county, Shaanxi. After Xu Guangji, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua quan ji*, vol. 7, fig. 414.

was exceedingly ample, closed to the side, and had long sleeves. The ample, side-closing robe not only continued to be worn through the Yuan dynasty but appears to have also been worn by noblewomen at the Ilkhanid court (Plate 19). A formal robe, it was almost always worn with the *boqta* (or *boghta*), called *gugu guan* (罟罟冠 / 固姑冠 / 顧姑冠) in Chinese. With its long cylindrical shaft that flares out at the top, the *boqta* is one of the hallmarks of thirteenth and fourteenth-century Mongol women's dress and is described in most of the thirteenth-century travel accounts used as source material for this chapter.

As with male dress, non-Mongols provide descriptions of women's dress, which allows for some ambiguity in terms of what dress actually looked like. Both William of Rubruck and John of Plano Carpini found Mongol women's and men's dress to be very similar. William of Rubruck notes,

> The costume of the [women] is no different from that of the men except that it is somewhat longer. But on the day after she is married a woman shaves from the middle of her head to her forehead, and she has a tunic as wide as a nun's cowl, and in

> every respect wider and longer, and open in front, and this they tie on the right side. Now in this matter the Tartars differ from the Turks, for the Turks tie their tunics on the left, but the Tartars always on the right.[55]

John of Plano Carpini corroborates Rubruck's observations, elaborating on the materials used to make the robes:

> The clothes of both the men and the women are made in the same style. They do not use capes, cloaks or hoods, but wear tunics of buckram, velvet, or brocade made in the following fashion: they are open from top to bottom and are folded over the breast; they are fastened on the left with one tie, on the right with three, on the left side also they are open as far as the waist.[56]

Chinese descriptions of women's robes mainly focus on the fact that the robe is ample and side closing. As Zhao Hong observes,

> Their clothing is similar to the garments of the Chinese Daoists… Furthermore, they have a jacket with wide sleeves, which resembles the Chinese "crane cloak"; it is wide and long and drags on the ground. When they walk, two female servants carry [the train of the robe].[57]

These accounts seem to describe the ample woman's robe which corresponds to surviving examples of women's court robes from the Yuan dynasty (Plate 18), as well as the pictorial evidence noted above from both the Yuan and the Ilkhanate (Figures 2.9, 3.3, Plate 19). That is, it is side closing, wide sleeved, tapering at the wrists, and made of an abundance of fabric which trailed on the ground. The formal court robe was perhaps related to a Uighur precedent, seen in the robes worn by female donors in Bezeklik Cave 20.[58] Although in the Bezeklik donor portraits these formal robes do not appear to be made from quite as much material as the Mongol women's robes, they nonetheless cover the donor's hands and feet and trail on the ground.

There is some incongruity in the picture of Mongol women's dress given by texts, namely, that both Rubruck and Carpini note its similarity to men's dress, which does not, at first, appear to be true based on the surviving material evidence. In particular, men's dress was shorter, more fitted, and was belted or defined by a *bianxian* waist. Was it simply that the dress of both Mongol men and women did not conform to Carpini and Rubruck's expectations of gendered dress? Or were Carpini and Rubruck eliding different types of women's dress in their descriptions? We will return to these questions after introducing the quintessential article of Mongol women's dress: the *boqta*.

Compared to their terse descriptions of dress, travelers were effusive in their observations about the *boqta*. Peng Daya and Xu Ting, Zhao Hong, William of Rubruck, and Li Zhichang all left detailed descriptions of the *boqta*.[59] Their accounts are very similar, with William of Rubruck providing the most detail:

> They have also an ornament for their heads which they call *botta*, being made of the bark of a tree, or of some such other light material. It is so thick and round that it cannot be held but in both hands together, and it has a square sharp spire rising from the top more than a cubit high and fashioned like a column. This *botta* they cover all

> over with a piece of rich silk: it is hollow within, and upon the spire, or square top, they put a bunch of quills or of slender canes a cubit long and more. This tuft they beautify with peacocks' feathers, and round about its length with feathers of a mallard's tail, and with precious stones. Great ladies wear this kind of ornament upon their heads, binding it strongly with a certain hat, which has a hole in the crown fit for the spire to come through it. Under this ornament they gather up their hair in a knot, and they bind it strongly under their throats. When a great company of such gentlewomen riding together are beheld far off, they seem to be soldiers with helmets on their heads carrying their lances upright.[60]

Li Zhichang reveals additional details – that the *boqta* could be made from felt or silk, and that it was a marker of married women:

> The married women wear a headdress of birch-bark, some two feet high. This they generally cover with a black woolen stuff; but some of the richer women use red silk. The end (of this head-dress) is like a duck; they call it *gugu*. They are in constant fear of people knocking against it, and are obliged to go backwards and crouching through the doorways of their tents.[61]

Like the ample robes, these early descriptions of the *boqta* correspond to archaeological and pictorial evidence from the Yuan and Ilkhanate. In depictions of the wives of officials or consorts of the khan, they inevitably wear the *boqta*, and in the painted renditions of the *boqta* it is the same red of the women's robes. As with felt clothing, felt-covered *boqta* were probably not worn in official contexts, which may explain why they were not preserved in tombs. The only painted versions of the *boqta* that show any sort of detailed decoration are the official portraits of Yuan empresses attributed to Anige (Plate 12). The *boqta*s in these portraits are crowned by a small tuft of quills and decorated with pearls and in some cases feature large jeweled pieces in the center of the hat, corresponding to the description by William of Rubruck. A *boqta* ornament fashioned of gold filigree and precious inlaid stones was excavated in 2001, for example.[62] The jewels that adorn it connect to the precious jewels detailed in descriptions of *jisün* such as hyacinth stones, *yahu*. Several *boqta*s are made of *nasīj* decorated with pearls, potentially illustrating types of *dana* [pearls] similar to those that would have adorned *jisün* suits. These *nasīj* and pearl *boqtas* are from the Yuan dynasty and have been restored in museum and private collections (Plate 20).[63] *Nasīj*, we recall, was the most valued material of the Mongol period. That the majority of clothing and accessories for men and women that have survived are made from *nasīj* speaks not to the frequency with which it was worn, but to how much it was prized. As I will explain below, clothing regulations for women corresponded to those that applied to men. Robes and *boqta* made from *nasīj* were probably worn during specific formal occasions, and only by a limited number of women. Wool and leather were likely more prevalent as clothing materials in quotidian contexts. In a courtly setting, the red silk robes depicted in Ilkhanid and Yuan court paintings were probably more typical than *nasīj*.

The black felt coverings of the *boqta* described by Li Zhichang connect this Mongol headgear to more widespread and ancient Steppe traditions. Examples of towering headgear made of black felt have been uncovered at the site of Subeshi in the Tarim Basin region of present-day Xinjiang Province and date to the fifth to third centuries BCE.[64] However, it is unclear that these have any rapport with the *boqta* as scant archaeological

evidence exists for related examples of women's headgear in the intervening fifteen hundred years between the Subeshi "witches" and the *boqta*.

Another potential precedent for the *boqta* is a type of women's headgear from Central Asia.[65] In 519 CE, the Buddhist Monk Huisheng 惠生 visited the Yeda state 嗕達國, known in western language sources as the Hephthalites.[66] Although chronologically distant from the Mongol period, Huisheng's description of the dress of Hephthalite women seems to predict the descriptions of Mongol women's dress written over seven hundred years later by visitors such as William of Rubruck:

> The royal ladies of the Yeda state wear brocaded [robes] that have a three-*chi*-long train which is held up by attendants. On their heads, they wear a horn eight *chi* in length; three *chi* of this is rose colored and it has multicolored adornments ... The wives of the great ministers also [wear something like this]. A sort of canopy that covers their heads hangs from the horn, like a precious cover. From this cover, we can distinguish between noble and lowly, since dress is regulated.[67]

With the Mongol example in mind, Huisheng's descriptions of "brocaded" patterns and "horns" seem connected to Mongol women's dress, but without archaeological or pictorial evidence this association remains conjecture. Other types of tall headgear existed in the centuries prior to the founding of the Mongol Empire, such as Uighur tiaras (worn by men) (Figure 1.10), Tangut tiaras (worn by the emperor) (Figure 1.9), Tang *heguan* 鶡冠 ("pheasant caps," a type of military headgear for men),[68] and metallic crowns from Korea and the Liao dynasty (worn by men and women), such as those found in the Liao Princess of Chen tomb.[69] Uighur tiaras signified social and military status, while the *heguan* worn by high-ranking Tang military officials may have been conveyed from Central Asia by the Sogdians.[70] A comparison between a Tang dynasty ceramic figurine from the grave of Li Zhen (dating to 717 CE) wearing such a tiara indeed appears to relate in form to the Turkic, and specifically Uighur, versions of the tiara worn by Uighur donors depicted in the caves at Bezeklik (Figure 1.10).[71]

However, although superficially similar, Uighur, Tang, Liao, and Korean high caps or crowns are distinct from the *boqta*, the hats of the Hephtalite women, and the Subeshi "witches" as they are not made from a wooden frame covered in cloth. Liao women's crowns, such as that worn by the Princess of Chen in death, existed in cloth versions, as seen in an example now in the collection of the Abegg-Stiftung, but they are nonetheless very different in form from the *boqta*, as they are caps with winged projections that rise on each side, rather than a tall cap.[72] Ambiguous in its origins, the *boqta* does not seem to have had a lasting impact on elite women's dress in East Asia after the fall of the Yuan dynasty. The crowns worn by Ming Empresses in the succeeding dynasty connect more securely to Song dynasty precedents. It has been suggested, however, that the *boqta* had an afterlife in Europe by inspiring the hennin, the conical hats worn by elite European women in the fifteenth century.[73]

Was the *boqta* a constant fixture on a married Mongol woman's head? The thirteenth-century accounts describe the difficulty women had entering and exiting tents, for example. In Plate 19, courtly ladies assist at the birth of a Mongol prince wearing full court dress and the *boqta*, surely an idealized depiction. Nonetheless, this raises the question of how Mongol women were able to complete so many tasks with this hat in place. These questions bring us back to the discrepancies in Rubruck and Carpini's observations about women's dress. I believe that the ample, long-sleeved robes, worn

almost always with the *boqta*, according to visual evidence, were court dress, rather than quotidian dress. This would explain why Mongol women are depicted wearing such robes, and why the depictions always take place in formal settings such as a court, or in a tomb occupant portrait. Perhaps the birth scene represents an audience of women at the bedside of a newly born prince, but it is more likely an idealized representation of an elite birth. The court robe and *boqta* were probably not worn by women when horseback riding, herding and caring for animals, cooking, or doing many of the other tasks expected of Mongol women.

Elite Mongol women probably wore a diversity of dress, and additionally adapted their clothing to the setting by using belts, for example. Although in surviving depictions Mongol women do not wear belts, contemporaneous texts indicate that women did wear them. In *The Secret History of the Mongols*, for example, when, after the death of her husband Chinggis's mother, Lady Hö'elün, prepares herself to take care of her sons, she is described "Tying tightly her belt to shorten her skirt."[74] Several decades later, William of Rubruck noted that when Mongol women rode on horseback their ample robes were fastened with a system of sashes or belts:

> All the women sit on their horses like men, astride, and they tie their cowls with a piece of sky-blue silk round the waist, and with another strip they bind their breasts, and they fasten a piece of white stuff below their eyes which hangs down to the breast.[75]

Neither *The Secret History* nor Rubruck gives greater details about the specific style of the skirts, only that they are bound with belts or sashes. What Rubruck may have seen was Mongol women in court dress preparing to ride horses; although this would not have been representative of the standard riding outfit of Mongol women, it was much closer in form to men's dress. The only pictorial evidence supporting this hypothesis is the image of Chabi in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*, which will be discussed below.

Yuan Dynasty Women's Dress

Unlike women living in the Jin or the Liao dynasties, the ruling classes of the Yuan dynasty women did not adopt Song-style dress. Rather, as with male dress, Mongol subjects of all backgrounds adopted Mongol styles of clothing to show their political allegiance. Elite Liao women wore Tang-Song-style dress at court and in the southern parts of the Liao dynasty and Khitan-style clothing while performing more traditionally Khitan activities and in the northern parts of the dynasty. In contrast, elite women of the Mongol period favored Mongol-style dress not just in Yuan territories, but across the empire. Song-style dress for men and women continued to be worn in southern Yuan territories, and by those families who continued to resist Mongol rule, but this was not the dress of the ruling elite. The Yuan emperors did not force the "Han" or the *semu* populations to wear Mongol dress. Rather, cultural "cross-dressing" was practiced as markers of political status was likely associated with Mongol style, as they were the ruling elite.[76] Thus, the type of clothing worn in the Mongol period was not necessarily an ethnic marker, but a political statement.[77]

Wang Yehong has classified dress worn by Yuan dynasty women, both Mongol and Song styles, into four basic types of robes, six types of shirts or jackets, three types of

skirts, and two types of trousers.[78] She includes both excavated and pictorial representations of Yuan dynasty women in her classifications. While useful as a starting point, Wang's classifications elide the dress of northerners and southerners during the Yuan dynasty, which should be distinguished from each other. Song-style dress continued into the Yuan dynasty, and tombs of wealthy people unearthed in southern China give evidence of Song-style dress in the Yuan period. Song-style dress among southern elites in the Yuan persisted, although this was not the dress of power during the Mongol period. However, the major difference between the Yuan and previous dynasties, such as the Liao and Jin, was the fact that dress worn by women from the ruling elite was exclusively Mongol in style. In brief, women coded as "Mongol" wore an ample robe, sometimes with an open jacket, with a *boqta* and earrings, while women coded as "Song" or "southern" (*nanren*) continued Tang-Song styles of narrower garments worn in layers.

The Mongol-style robes that have been excavated in north China (i.e. Inner Mongolia, Hebei, Shaanxi), and that are more frequently portrayed in northern tomb murals, are ample robes with wide sleeves that taper at the wrists (Plate 18). This type of robe is the prototypical women's court robe introduced in the pre-Yuan period and described in travel accounts introduced above. When laid flat, we see the silhouette of the robe and sleeves are very wide, but when portrayed on female figures, such as the female occupant in the Dongercun tomb (Shaanxi) from 1269 (Figure 3.3), or the female occupant in tomb M1 in Shazishan in Chifeng (Inner Mongolia) (Figure 2.9), the robe falls in folds around the body, and the sleeves bunch up above the wrist. The female tomb occupant from M1 in Shazishan tucks her hands into her sleeves, while the Dongercun occupant shows her hands. Neither woman wears the robe with a belt, and both portrayals show the robes closing on the left. The female occupant from M1 in Shazishan wears a short jacket over her robe with half-sleeves. It has no collar and opens in the front. Such jackets have been excavated in Shandong, Hebei, and Inner Mongolia.[79] Although the female tomb occupant from M1 in Shazishan lacks a *boqta*, her dress associates her with Mongol style, something reinforced as well by her earrings, traditionally a marker of the non-Han "other" in China.[80] Painted tombs from the Yuan dynasty were commissioned by Chinese or "Han" families (families of Song heritage), continuing a long-standing tradition with origins in the Han dynasty. While their clothing codes the occupants as "Mongol," the inscriptions on these tombs indicate that the occupants were in fact Chinese.[81] Even in death, these occupants show themselves allied to the Mongols via dress, an example of cultural cross-dressing.

The burial vestments and the paintings in tombs in southern Yuan territories (such as present-day Shanxi and Shandong provinces), on the other hand, follow the style of the Song dynasty. The clothing is familiar from Liao depictions of Tang-Song-style dress. For women, this meant a slimmer style of robe than the Mongol court robe, with thin sleeves, and a side closing.[82] The jackets worn with these robes open in the front, but are also narrow in cut, with longer, thinner sleeves. Women also wore sleeveless vest-type jackets with front openings, such as a preserved example in the China National Silk Museum (Figure 3.4). Pictorial representations of women wearing long-sleeved, closer fitting, yet still flowing robes paired with fitted long-sleeved jackets are found in the tomb murals in Shanxi, such as the maids serving tea in tomb M2 at Kangzhuangcun in Tunliu from 1276.[83] The women portrayed wearing this style dress do not have their ears pierced, and wear bows and decorative flower-shaped hairpieces rather than hats, coding

Figure 3.4 Yuan sleeveless garment with "turtle back" (hexagonal) roundel background and brocaded flowers. Length: 68 cm; width: 49 cm; flower roundels diameter: 18 cm (including border); 14 cm (without border). Excavated in Qinghai. National Silk Museum, Hangzhou. No. 2677. Image Source: Chinese National Silk Museum, Hangzhou.

them as Song. A sleeveless vest-type jacket is also portrayed pictorially in tomb M1 at Kangzhuangcun, also in Tunliu, Shanxi from 1306 by a maid lighting a lamp.[84] In these tombs, the representations of women wearing Song-style dress are maids and servants. However, servants in particular were probably not made to wear Song-style dress in the Yuan dynasty; it is more likely that the entire household wore Song-style dress. While Song-style dress would have been interpreted by Mongols as an immediate indication of someone with lower status, the people who wore this type of clothing may have intended it as a political statement of allegiance to the fallen Song. Since this style of dress seems to have been as widespread in the southern Yuan as Mongol dress was widespread in the north, we can interpret the choice of Song-style dress as a cultural marker as much as a political one. Zhao Feng observes that the silks worn in the north and south of the Yuan conformed to these differences as well. Southern textiles were usually made from damask or gauze silks with Song-style patterns, while northern textiles favored polychrome *jin* 錦 (polychrome silks with a brocading weft) and *nasīj*.[85]

A final, major difference in northern and southern women's dress in the Yuan dynasty was the practice of foot-binding, which, according to archaeological evidence, appears to have begun in the Southern Song dynasty.[86] Mongol women did not bind their feet, and in the tradition of other Steppe women, often wore boots, but had other options as well. There are many examples of small and delicate embroidered silk slippers or shoe covers from the Yuan dynasty for unbound feet such as numbers 3238 and 3239 in the China National Silk Museum, which are 26 cm and 18 cm long, respectively.[87] As a comparison, shoes or slippers for bound feet are generally about 13–14 cm in length. Boots, therefore, were not the only footwear available to women with unbound feet during the Yuan dynasty. Presumably, women from non-Mongol families who engaged in cultural cross-dressing were not subjected to foot-binding as this would not allow them to engage

in the variety of activities open to and expected of "Mongol" women. The choice to adopt Mongol-style dress, while politically motivated, literally changed the bodies of the women involved.

In the second half of the Yuan dynasty, the materials that elite Yuan women wore were heavily regulated based on the rank of their husband. Renzong's 1314 decree allowed officials and the women married to them of first through third rank to wear clothing with all-over patterns in gold; fourth and fifth rank were allowed gold repeat patterns; and sixth rank and below only clothing "sprinkled with gold" [*xiaojin* 銷金] and with gilded patterns on gauze.[88] This last category of gold adornment may refer to textiles that were stamped, rather than woven with gold. Produced from at least the Liao dynasty, these stamped textiles feature repeating animal motifs familiar to us from textiles woven with a supplementary weft in gold. They continued to be produced in the Yuan dynasty, as we can see from a fragment with a recumbent stag in front of plants or trees stamped in gold on a green tabby weave background forming a checkerboard pattern (Plate 21). The 1314 regulation continues,

> [Regarding] jewelry, [women] of the first through third rank are permitted to use gold, pearls, jewels, and jade; [those of] the fourth and fifth rank may use jade and pearls; and sixth rank and below may use gold in addition to earrings made of jade and pearls.[89]

The wives of officials of all ranks were thus allowed a certain amount of luxury. Such regulations probably applied to Mongol-style dress in northern Yuan territories, as this was the official dress of the dynasty, and elite court dress favored silks woven with gold.

As Song-style clothing continued to be worn, can we really claim that Mongol dress dominated the Yuan, in a seeming reversal of previous dynasties when Chinese-style dress was adopted by elite women? I believe we can. As with other cultural and clothing practices discussed in Chapter 2, the practice of wearing Mongol women's dress at the Yuan court was implemented during Khubilai's reign, potentially through Chabi. The actual population of people who counted as Mongol (i.e. from one of the early groups living in present-day Mongolia confederated by Chinggis Khan) was very small, yet from funerary evidence and contemporary texts we know the dress of the Mongols was widespread in the northern Yuan territories, where Mongol power was concentrated. Non-Mongol groups, including former Song subjects, adopted Mongol dress. Additionally, Mongol dress was worn by both men and women, Mongol and non-Mongol, in the Ilkhanate. The prevalence of Mongol dress was an insistent reiteration of Mongol power, a unifying symbol of empire recognizable across Mongol territories.

What Chabi Wore

As with Khubilai, the only two extant portraits of Chabi are from Liu Guandao's *Khubilai Khan Hunting* (Plate 2), and a posthumous portrait attributed to Anige which forms a pair with the portrait of Khubilai (Plate 12), both discussed in Chapter 2. Anige's portrait, which became the model for later portraits of Yuan emperors and empresses, gives the most detailed pictorial representation of formal women's dress and complements excavated women's robes nicely. This material fits with what I introduced earlier regarding clothing regulations and tomb occupant portraits. Below, I discuss the implications of Mongol culture and power contained within the specific tailoring and materials used to make Mongol women's dress. First, however, I return to the depiction of Chabi

in Liu Guandao's painting, which provides small but significant evidence of male-style dress being worn by elite women in the Yuan dynasty.

In *Khubilai Khan Hunting*, Chabi wears a white long-sleeved robe that closes to the right in the same direction of Khubilai's robe (Figure 3.5). In a similar style to several of the male attendants in the painting, the sleeves of the robe are long enough to cover her hands, and the robe has underarm slits, revealing that she is wearing something made of a green material beneath her white robe. Her robe is decorated on the chest and shoulders with a design of a cloud-collar in a representation of metallic thread.[90] Her

Figure 3.5 Detail of Chabi from Liu Guandao (active ca. 1275–1300). *Khubilai Khan Hunting*, detail, dated 1280. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. 182.9 cm × 104.1 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. Image source: National Palace Museum, Taipei.

hair is braided in loops that fall behind her ears, and her hat fits snugly on her head and is secured under her chin with a strap. Her legs are mostly obscured by her horse and Khubilai's horse, so it is difficult to tell if she is wearing boots or trousers although it is likely, given the setting. Her robe seems to fall further down the leg than that of the men, as the viewer can make out a bit of white peeking out from behind Khubilai's horse. In an additional contrast with the dress of the men, Chabi's robe is not belted. She appears to have a small bag or purse attached in some way near her waist, perhaps by the brown sash that falls near it. While this robe has differences in length and lack of a belt from the dress of the men in the painting, it is nonetheless much more similar to male dress than to the ample court robes that form the bulk of the surviving evidence for Mongol women's dress.

In Chapter 2 I argued the men in this painting wear forms of *jisün*, or outfits made from fine materials gifted from Khubilai for special banquets. There is no evidence that women wore *jisün* from the texts, but then, women's participation in official events is rarely mentioned in the *Yuan shi*. We know that Mongol women sometimes accompanied their husbands on campaigns and had a say in important political decisions. Perhaps Chabi, especially given her special status, did wear a *jisün* on occasions such

as an important hunt, or during celebrations that happened outside of the court, and is wearing a *jisün* suit in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*. As with the Liao, whose women appear to have worn practical Khitan outfits for outdoor banquets and traveling, it would be logical for Chabi and other elite women to discard court robes for more sensible dress during outdoor ceremonies such as those occurring around seasonal hunts. As I argued in Chapter 2, the outfits worn by all of the participants in *Khubilai Khan Hunting* take the form of Mongol-style dress, while the fine quality of the dress indicates the status of the participants and gives a courtly feel to the scene, despite the outdoor setting. If we accept this explanation of the men's dress, then we can accept that Chabi wears a version of quotidian Mongol women's dress made of fine materials. The depiction of Chabi in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*, alongside Carpini and Rubruck's earlier descriptions of the similarity of men's and women's dress, fills several logical gaps in terms of how Mongol women were able to accomplish all of the tasks they were said to have performed (horseback riding, herding animals, cooking, etc.). In addition, the hypothesis of the quotidian dress of Mongol women resembling that of men is strengthened if we consider it in the context of what seems to be a more widespread and longstanding practice of women of the Steppe or Central Asia dressing in men's-style clothing.

In addition to her many accomplishments, Chabi is also credited with two innovations in dress: adding brims to hats and fashioning a sleeveless garment for archers to wear on horseback.[91] According to the *Yuan shi*, Chabi created the brimmed hat in response to Khubilai complaining that the sun was blinding his soldiers.[92] The sleeveless garment, called a *bijia* 比甲, may have been a vest; it is described as being sleeveless and collarless in the front, long in the back, and connected with two loops.[93] Perhaps the *bijia* had some connection to the robes with underarm openings worn by Chabi and several of the khan's attendants in *Khubilai Khan Hunting*. These anecdotes were clearly intended to enhance Chabi's status as an innovator and right-hand to Khubilai, but that Chabi was seen as someone thinking about practicalities of dress also seems to point to the likelihood of her wearing clothing outside of the cumbersome court robe and *boqta*.

The evidence I have brought together points to sartorial variety among elite Mongol women, and I believe points to a more widespread form of dress. However, the formal court robe represented Mongol women's dress across the empire and was a recognizable symbol of Mongol rule. This was the dress that women tomb occupants wore in representations, that were preserved as precious funerary objects, and shown in court scenes in the Yuan and the Ilkhanate. Chabi's portrait by Anige, which shows Chabi attired in an elaborate version of court dress, sets the precedent for how Yuan empresses were to be represented throughout the dynasty.

As with Khubilai's portraits, representations of Chabi respond to and yet undermine the Chinese imperial portrait tradition. Anige's portrait is just as finely executed as any image of a Song empress. Chabi's *boqta* is covered in pearls, and they along with other precious stones (perhaps sapphires and jade), form floral motifs up the shaft of the hat, anchor the *boqta* in place on the cap and chinstrap, and cascade from her enormous red earrings. The *dana*, or pearls, on Chabi's *boqta* are almost unbelievably large. The huge red stones on her earrings might be *yahu* (hyacinth stones). The precious stones from Central or West Asia that adorned *jisün* only survive in texts; in this painting they pop out at the viewer as a visual manifestation of the richness and geographical extent of the Mongol Empire, embodied on the person of the empress. If the matching portrait of Khubilai gives the viewer a feeling of a man so sure of his power that he does not need to be adorned in jewels or *nasīj*, the portrait of Chabi, his complement, displays the richness of the Empire.

The large collar of Chabi's robe appears to be made from different types of material, two strips of *nasīj* with matching patterns of large birds and scrolling floral motifs, and a wider strip of dark blue fabric decorated with gold and small pearls forming a repeat floral pattern. The *nasīj* portions have been matched with equivalent surviving material.[94] It is unclear whether the gold design is a repeat brocaded motif, but if the later sumptuary regulations can be any guide, the motif is likely brocaded rather than painted on or stamped (reserved as these techniques were for the wives of lesser officials). The red of Chabi's robe, like the robe itself, is a hallmark of Mongol women's court dress – no pictorial examples exist of the robe in other colors. However, no red examples have been preserved. As with surviving examples of the *boqta*, all of the extant robes are made of *nasīj*. We might explain the survival of *nasīj* objects as a logical preservation of the most valued commodities in tombs. But that leads to the question – if *nasīj* was the most highly valued material of the Mongol Empire, why was it not used in representations of the empress or high-ranking *khatuns* (wives of khans) in either the Yuan or the Ilkhanate? It seems that a pictorial convention was created at some point, that red court robes would be the official dress of elite Mongol women. Perhaps *nasīj* was only worn at specific functions, and the red robe was more frequently worn, and thus court artists depicted it more regularly. Perhaps this was because unlike *nasīj*, red silk was available to a greater variety of elite women. Whatever the reason, the choice of red for depictions of elite Mongol women, codified for future empresses by Chabi, was not random, and had a specific meaning.

The red women's court robe became a manifestation of the power of the Mongol Empire. It was the official dress of the ruling elites across the empire, and immediately recognizable, thanks especially to the *boqta*. While in previous dynasties there was always a sense of ambiguity as to whether Tang-Song dress or that of a northern group represented power and dominance, in the Mongol period the answer is clear. In part, this is because the Mongols represented a force that had never been seen before in Asia, with a style of clothing to match. Equally important, however, in the dominance of Mongol dress was the role that Mongol women played in the public sphere – women were seen to a much greater extent than in previous dynasties, and their dress became a symbol of Mongol power.

Notes

1 Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 67–69.

2 The position of Khitan, Jurchen, and Mongol women in their respective societies, especially regarding marriage, has been the subject of several studies. For women in the Liao and Jin dynasties see Linda Cooke Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties: Gender and Identity in Liao and Jin China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011). For Mongol women, see Morris Rossabi, "Kubilai Khan and the Women of His Family," *Studia Sino-Mongolica: Festschrift für Herbert Franke*. Müchener Ostasiatiche Studien, Band 25 (Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden, 1979), 153–180; George Qingzhi Zhao, *Marriage as Political Strategy and Cultural Expression: Mongolian Royal Marriages from World Empire to Yuan Dynasty*, Asian Thought and Culture, vol. 60 (New York: Peter Lang, 2008); Timothy May, "Commercial Queens: Mongolian Khatuns and the Silk Road," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, Vol. 26, Nos. 1–2 (2016), 89–106; Bruno De Nicola, *Women in Mongol Iran: The Khatuns, 1206–1335* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017); Bettine Birge, *Marriage and Law in the Age of Khubilai Khan: Cases from the Yuan dianzhang* (Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 2017).

3 Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties*, xix–xx; Rossabi, "Kubilai Khan and the Women," 154; Bruno De Nicola, "Women's Role and Participation in Warfare in the Mongol

Empire,” in *Soldatinnen. Gewalt und Geschlecht im Krieg vom Mittelalter bis Heute*, ed. K. Klaus Latzel, S. Satjukow and F. Mausbach (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2010), 95–112.

4 Birge, *Marriage and Law*, 5; Rossabi, “Kubilai Khan and the Women,” 155.

5 Rossabi, “Kubilai Khan and the Women,” 153–154.

6 Anne F. Broadbridge, *Women and the Making of the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 2.

7 Birge, *Marriage and Law*, 4–5. For marriage structure in the Mongol period see Broadbridge, *Women and the Making*, 10–18; For concubines in the Song see Patricia Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 218–222.

8 Broadbridge, *Women and the Making*, 19.

9 Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties*, xix–xx; for cloistering women in domestic spaces in the Song see Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters*, 21– 27.

10 Birge, *Marriage and Law*, 25.

11 Timothy May examines the roles that three prominent women, Töregene, Oghul-Qaimish, and Sorqoqtani Beki, played in the 1240s, a crucial time for the Mongol Empire, and how they were remembered. See May, “Commerical Queens,” 89–106.

12 *YS*, 114: 2870–2872.

13 Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1988), 67; *YS*, 114: 2871.

14 East Asia here refers to present-day China, Mongolia, and Korea.

15 Interactions with Steppe cultures date from at least the Zhou dynasty, see Emma C. Bunker and Jenny F. So, *Traders and Raiders on China’s Northern Frontier* (London: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1995); For an overview of studies of relations between the Han and societies at their borders see Nicola Di Cosmo, “Han Frontiers: Toward an Integrated View,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 129, No. 2 (April-–June 2009), 199–214.

16 Kate A. Lingley, “Naturalizing the Exotic: On the Changing Meanings of Ethnic Dress in Medieval China,” *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 38, (2010), 70. BuYun Chen, “Material Girls: Silk and Self-Fashioning in Tang China,” *Fashion Theory*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2016), 14–16.

17 Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-Shêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1949), 326.

18 *JS*, 4: 78.

19 Lingley, “Naturalizing the Exotic,” 61, 65–66.

20 For Sogdian funerary couches see Annette L. Juliano and Judith Lerner, “The Miho Couch Revisited in Light of Recent Discoveries,” *Orientations* (Oct. 2001), 54–61; Lingley, “Naturalizing the Exotic,” 67–69. For Xianbei tombs see Lingley, “Naturalizing the Exotic,” 67; Kate Lingley, “Silk Road Dress in a Chinese Tomb,” *The Silk Road* (2014), 6–10. For Tang royal tombs see Lingley, “Naturalizing the Exotic,” 70–71.

21 Lingley, “Naturalizing the Exotic,” 70–71.

22 Lingley, “Naturalizing the Exotic,” 70; Mark Abramson, *Ethnic Identity in Tang China* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 83–107.

23 Lingley, “Naturalizing the Exotic,” 71; Chen, “Material Girls,” 14–16.

24 Lingley, “Naturalizing the Exotic,” 71–73. For an image see Xu, Guangji, ed., *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua quan ji* (Beijing: Ke xue chu ban she, 2012), vol. 7, fig. 248.

25 Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society*, 227–228; *LS*, *juan* 56: 908.

26 Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese Society*, 228.

27 Musicians (Replica), Liao dynasty (907–1125 CE), tomb M6 at Qianwulibugecun in Nailingagongshe, Kulunqi, Inner Mongolia. In Xu, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua*, vol. 3, 205. For another example see the images of maids in Liao Xu Congyun’s tomb in Xintianbucun in the southern suburbs of Datong, Shanxi. In Xu, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua quan ji*, vol. 2, 124–125.

28 The Xuanhua murals have been reproduced in their entirety in Xu, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua*, vol. 1, 141–193.

29 For an example of a Tang-style coiffeur see Xu, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua*, vol. 1, 160. For a Khitan-style coiffeur see Xu, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua*, vol. 1, 150.

30 *LS*, 107:1471; Linda Cooke Johnson, “The Wedding Ceremony for an Imperial Liao Princess: Wall Paintings from a Liao Dynasty Tomb in Jilin,” *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 44, No. 2/3 (1983), 109; Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties*, 4.

31 Johnson, "The Wedding Ceremony," 109.

32 Zhu Qixin, "The Liao Dynasty Tomb of a Prince and Princess of the Chen Kingdom," *Orientations*, Vol. 22, No. 10 (1991), 53–61; Sun Jianhua, "The Discovery and Research on the Tomb of the Princess of Chen and Her Husband, Xiao Shaoju," in *Gilded Splendor: Treasures of China's Liao Empire (907–1125)*, ed. Hsueh-man Shen (New York: Asia Society, 2006), 66–73.

33 For images and analysis of these garments see Regula Schorta, ed., *Dragons of Silk, Flowers of Gold: A Group of Liao-Dynasty Textiles at the Abegg-Stiftung* (Riggisberg (Switzerland): Abegg-Stiftung, 2007).

34 Schorta, *Dragons of Silk*, 7.

35 Reproduced in Schorta, *Dragons of Silk*, fig. 17, 31; See also excavation report, Nei Menggu bowuguan et al., "Nei Menggu Xing'anmeng daiqintala Liao mu chutu sichou fushi," 内蒙古兴安盟代钦塔拉辽墓出土丝绸服饰 (Silk clothing and jewelry unearthed from a Liao tomb in Daiqintala, Hinggan league, Inner Mongolia) *Wenwu*, no. 4 (2002), 59–61.

36 See Musicians (Replica), Liao dynasty (907–1125 CE), tomb M6 at Qianwulibugecun in Nailingagongshe, Kulunqi, Inner Mongolia. In Xu, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua*, vol. 3, 205.

37 Dieter Kuhn, *A Place for the Dead: An Archaeological Documentary on Graves and Tombs of the Song Dynasty (960–1279)* (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 1996), 44–45.

38 Birge, *Marriage and Law*, 21; Herbert Franke, "The Chin Dynasty," in *The Cambridge History of China*, *Vol. 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, ed. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 281.

39 For the garments from the burial of the King of Qi State, see Zhu Qixin, "Royal Costumes of the Jin Dynasty," *Orientations*, Vol. 21 (Dec. 1990), 60; Zhao Feng, *Treasures in Silk*, 188.

40 Zhu, "Royal Costumes," 59.

41 Zhu, "Royal Costumes," 59.

42 For descriptions of all of the vestments worn by the corpses see Zhu, "Royal Costumes," 59–64.

43 Zhu, "Royal Costumes," 63, fig. 11.

44 Zhao Feng, "Silks in the Song, Liao, Western Xia, and Jin Dynasties," in *Chinese Silks*, ed. Dieter Kuhn and Zhao Feng (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 283.

45 Zhu, "Royal Costumes," 64.

46 Zhu, "Royal Costumes," 60.

47 Poems one and two of the Cai Wenji story are recorded in the chapter on exemplary women in *Hou Han Shu* (History of the Latter Han Dynasty), see Fan Ye范曄 et al., *Hou Han shu*, (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1965), *juan* 84: 2801–2803. For a synopsis of the story in English and discussion of Wenji images in the Liao contexts see Robert A. Rorex and Wen Fong, *Eighteen Songs of the Nomad Flute: The Story of Lady Wen-Chi* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), 1; Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties*, xxv–xxvii; Hang Lin, "Wenji Returns to China: A Jin Handscroll and Its Relevance to Changing Jurchen Cultural Identities," in *Face to Face: The Transcendence of the Arts in China and Beyond*, ed. Rui Oliveira Lopes, Fernando António Baptista Pereira (Lisbon: Centro de Investigação e Estudos em Belas-Artes, 2014), 262–263.

48 Robert Albert Rorex, "Some Liao Tomb Murals and Images of Nomads in Chinese Paintings of the Wen-Chi Story," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 45, No. 2/3 (1984), 174–198. Linda Cooke Johnson points out that the release of the empress dowager of Song after she was captured made the story newly relevant at the beginning of the Southern Song dynasty, see Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties*, xxvi.

49 Johnson, *Women of the Conquest Dynasties*, 59–60; Hang Lin, "Wenji Returns to China," 269.

50 Guo Moruo, "Tan Jin ren Zhang Yu de 'Wenji gui Han tu'" 談金人張瑀的"文姬归汉图" *Wenwu*, no. 7 (1964), 2.

51 Schuyler Cammann argues that the origins of the "cloud collar" motif derive from the cosmological ornamentation on the backs of Han dynasty mirrors, and then in the Medieval period from the form of the eight-petal lotus and Buddhist Mandala. He also notes that the first use of cloud collars on robes is attested in the Jin dynasty. See Schuyler Cammann, "The Symbolism of the Cloud Collar Motif," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (March 1951), 1–9. See also Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie: The Art of Mongol Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 32.

52 *JS*, *juan* 43, 980.

53 *WSWG*, fig. 26, 75.

54 See a Mongol woman's robe with cloud collar pattern and wide sleeves, silk twill brocade, private collection. Published in Zhao Feng and Jin Lin, eds., *Gold/Silk/Blue and White Porcelain: Fascinating Art of Marco Polo Era* (Hong Kong: Costume Squad, 2005), pl. 31.

55 Rubruck in Christopher Dawson, *Mission to Asia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 102. See also Manuel Komroff, ed., *Contemporaries of Marco Polo* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1928), 69.

56 Carpini in Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 7.

57 Zhao Hong, in Meng Gong, *Meng da bei lü* (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan yin xing, Min guo 54–59 [1965–1970]) *shuo xuan* 12. My translation.

58 Two female donors, Bezeklik Cave 20 [old cave 9], mid-ninth–early twelfth century collection of SMB, Museum für Asiatische Kunst in Berlin. See Albert von Le Coq, *Chotscho*, Facsimile-Wiedergaben der wichtigeren Funde der Ersten Königlich Preussischen Expedition nach Turfan in Ost-Turkistan (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer 1913), pl. 30.

59 Zhao Hong: "妻則有故姑冠用鐵絲結成形如竹夫人。長三尺許用紅青錦繡或珠金飾之。"
"The wives of the tribal chiefs all wear the *gugu* headdress. The frame [of the *gugu*] is made of braided iron wire, into the shape of a 'bamboo lady.' It is about three *chi* long. It is covered with a splendid red and blue-green brocade and sometimes ornamented with pearls and gold." (My translation). Zhao Hong in Meng Gong, *Meng da bei lu* 12. See also Meng Gong, *Meng-ta pei-lu*, 79. Peng Daya and Xu Ting: "霆見其故故之制。用畫木為骨包以紅銷金帛頂之。上用四五尺長搠杖或鐵打成杖。包以青氈其向上人則用。我-朝翠花或五彩帛飾之，今其飛動以下人則用野鷄毛。" "Ting saw the arrangement of their *gugu*: they use painted wood for the frame, wrap it with red silk fabric and gold and silk brocade, and on top of the summit, they use willow branches four or five chi long, or else iron beaten into branches, and wrap it with green felt. With those relatively higher in rank, they use our dynasty's banners embroidered with kingfishers or five-colored silk to decorate it, thus making them flutter in the wind, while those of low rank, they use the down of wild fowl." Translation from Johan Elverskog, "Things and the Qing: Mongol Culture in the Visual Narrative," *Inner Asia*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2004), 162.

60 Komroff, *Contemporaries of Marco Polo*, 69–70. See also Rubruck in Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 102.

61 Li Chih-Ch'ang [Li Zhichang], *The Travels of an Alchemist: The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang Ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan*, trans. Arthur Waley (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1979), 67.

62 Ornament from a *boqta* headdress, gold and carnelian, excavated in 2001 from a Yuan tomb near the Eng'er River, Xilin Gol League, Inner Mongolia, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum. Published in James C.Y. Watt, ed., *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010), 82, fig. 114.

63 In addition to Plate 20, other *nasīj* and pearl-decorated *boqta* are in the Mardjani Foundation, Moscow, see Eiren L. Shea, "Painted Silks: Form and Production of Women's Court Dress in the Mongol Empire," *The Textile Museum Journal*, Vol. 45 (Oct. 2018), fig. 3; Private collection, see Zhao and Jin, *Gold/Silk/Blue and White*, 66.

64 Victor Mair, ed., *Secrets of the Silk Road: An Exhibition of Discoveries from the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China* (Santa Ana, CA: Bowers Museum, 2010), cat. 78, 192 and Mallory and Mair, *The Tarim Mummies: Ancient China and the Mystery of the Earliest Peoples from the West* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 220.

65 Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 16–18.

66 Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 16.

67 From Yang Xuanzhi, *Luoyang qielan ji jiaozhu* (Shanghai: Guji chuban she, 2011), 288. My translation. Compare with G. Schlegel and Samuel Beal in G. Schlegel, "Hennins or Conical Lady's Hats in Asia, China and Europe." 422–423; W.J.F. Jenner, *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the Lost Capital (493–534)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 260.

68 *Heguan* were worn at least by the Han dynasty by military officials. The *Hou Han shu* describes them in the dress and regalia section, "The cap has a circular throat band without fringes, dark blue thread forming a band, and on top of this, pheasant tail feathers, standing left and right to form the 'Pheasant cap.'" Translation by Carine Defoort in *The Pheasant Cap Master (He guan zi): A Rhetorical Reading* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 16. The most famous wearer of this type of Han *heguan* was the so-called Pheasant Cap Master (He guan zi), who is said to have lived prior to the Han dynasty in the late Springs and Autumns

period (770–476 BCE) or the Warring States period (475–221 BCE). See Defoort, *The Pheasant Cap Master*, 14–16. By the Tang dynasty, the *heguan* seems to have lost the pheasant feathers but retained the tall form.

69 See Zhu, "The Liao Dynasty Tomb," figs. 8, 10.

70 Sören Stark, "Some Remarks on the Headgear of the Royal Türks," *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*, Vol. 4 (2009), 121, 124. Lilla Russell-Smith also notes while the figures wearing these types of robes and headdresses are usually identified as Uighur princes, this interpretation has been disputed by Jorinde Ebert (in an unpublished paper), who argues the tiara is indicative of military rank rather than noble status. See Lilla Russell-Smith, *Uygur Patronage in Dunhuang: Regional Art Centres on the Northern Silk Road in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 25.

71 For the Tang figure see: Military official Tang (717) from Grave of Li Zhen, 112 cm × 27 cm, clay with painting and gilding, Zhaoling Museum, Shaanxi. Published in Stark, "Some Remarks," 129, fig. 4. For another depiction of donors at Bezeklik see Three male donors. Bezeklik Cave 20, mid-ninth–early twelfth century, Xinjiang Province, China, collection of SMB, Museum für Asiatische Kunst in Berlin [old numbering system, cave 9]. Published in Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 30.

72 Reproduced in Schorta, *Dragons of Silk*, 181, cat. 5.

73 Schlegel, "Hennins," 423–424.

74 Igor de Rachewiltz, trans., *The Secret History of the Mongols* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 74: 18–19.

75 Rubruck in Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 102. See also Komroff, *Contemporaries of Marco Polo*, 69–70.

76 Cultural "cross-dressing" has to do with a larger trend of assuming a Mongol identity by Han subjects. Non-Mongols were barred (at least legally if not in reality) from specific high-ranking political positions (such as *darughachi*), and the adoption of a Mongol persona would almost certainly have helped non-Mongols achieve higher status. Mongol names were adopted by non-Mongols; earlier in the Yuan these were bestowed on subjects by the emperor and later, some Chinese subjects took Mongolian names voluntarily. See Elizabeth Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China: Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Council on East Asian Studies, 1989), 80–83. For examples of the adoption of Turco-Mongol names by people whose inscriptions describe them as "Han" see: Biography of Jia Shira, *YS*, 169: 3969; Yu Ji, 'Xuanhuiyuanshi jiagong shendaobei," in *Daoyuan xue gulu* (Electronic Siku quanshu ed.), 17.9b–17a.; Wang Yun, "Dayuan jiayi daifu qianshu xuanhuiyuan shi jiashi shide zhi bei," in *Quanyuanwen*, ed. Li Xiusheng, 60 vols. (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1999), vi, 394–97. Thanks to Geoffery Humble.

77 The issue of cultural "cross-dressing" in the Mongol period appears to have been widespread at least in North China. In view of the depictions of non-Mongol tomb occupants dressed as Mongols and later bans against Mongol dress in the Ming dynasty see Henry Serruys, "Remains of Mongol Customs in China During the Early Ming Period," *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 16, No. 1/2 (1957), 148, 151–153, 159. It is distinct from earlier iterations, such as the practice of Tang men and (earlier in the dynasty) women dressing as Xianbei, discussed in Lingley, "Naturalizing the Exotic," 50–80, which started as a fascination for the exotic in China and changed into a form of acceptable dress later in the dynasty. In the Mongol period, Han, Khitan, Jurchens and others who dressed as Mongols were not doing so out of a desire to present as exotic, but more likely as a show of political allegiance.

78 Wang Yehong, "Menguyuan nüzhuang de jiben leixing ji chuanzhuo fangfa," in *Sichou zhi lu yu yuandai yishu*, ed. Zhao Feng and Shang Gang (Hong Kong: ISAT/Costume Squad Ltd., 2005), 175–182.

79 For example, woman's jacket (back and front) with pattern of lotus pond and other vignettes, silk embroidery on silk gauze. 58.1 × 107 cm, excavated from Jininglu Ancient City (dated 1312), Chayouqian Banner, Wulanchhabu, Inner Mongolia, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Museum. Reproduced in Watt, *World of Khubilai Khan*, 81: fig.113.

80 Tsao Hsingyuan shows that while Neolithic excavations demonstrate that earrings were worn in what is now considered China, they were always a "symbol of non-Chineseness." See Tsao Hsingyuan, "From Hair to Ear: Head Ornaments Represented in Chinese Art as Signs of Cultural Identity," *Orientations*, Vol. 28, (March 1997) 79–87, 81.

81 Nancy Steinhardt, "Yuan Period Tombs and Their Inscriptions," *Ars Orientalis* 37 (2007), 140–174.

82 For excavated examples of women's dress from the Yuan tomb of Li Yu'an, dated 1350, Zou county, Shandong Province see Shandong Zouxian wenwu baohu guansuo, "Zouxian Yuandai Li Yu'an mu qingli jianbao," *Wenwu*, no. 4 (1978), fig. 21.
83 Maids serving tea, wall mural, tomb M2 at Kangzhuangcun, Shanxi, 13th Year of Zhiyuan Era (1276 CE), Yuan dynasty, Changzhi Museum, China. Reproduced in Xu, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua*, vol. 2, fig. 194.
84 Maid lighting a lamp, tenth Year of Dade Era, Yuan dynasty (1306 CE), tomb M1Kangzhuangcun, Tunliu, Shanxi, Changzhi Museum. Reproduced in Xu, *Zhongguo chu tu bi hua*, vol. 2, fig. 200.
85 Zhao, "Silks in the Song," 340.
86 Dorothy Ko, *Every Step a Lotus: Shoes for Bound Feet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 23; Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 110–111.
87 Measurements from personal observation.
88 *YS*, 78: 1942. My translation.
89 *YS*, 78: 1942. My translation.
90 I have identified the motif on Chabi's robe as a central badge elsewhere, but access to more detailed images of *Khubilai Khan Hunting* make clear that the pattern is a cloud-collar. See Shea, "Painted Silks," 44.
91 Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, 67; *YS*, 114: 2872.
92 *YS*, 114: 2872.
93 *YS*, 114: 2872.
94 *WSWG*, 131.

Plate 1 Ambrogio Lorenzetti (ca.1290–1348). *Martyrdom of the Franciscans*, ca. 1326, fresco. Chapter House, Basilica di San Francesco, Siena, Italy. Photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

Plate 2 Liu Guandao (active ca. 1275–1300). *Khubilai Khan Hunting*, dated 1280. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. 182.9 cm × 104.1 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. Image source: National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Plate 3 Hunting robe. Blue silk with patterns of deer in a forest in gold supplementary weft. Jin dynasty (1115–1234). Length (collar to hem): 126 cm; width (across sleeves): 240 cm. Chris Hall Collection, Hong Kong. Image source: Chris Hall.

Plate 4 Textile fragment with coiled dragons. Tabby with supplementary weft of gold strips. Jin dynasty (1115–1234). Warp: 74.5 cm; weft: 33.2 cm. Gift of Lisbet Holmes, 1989 (1989.205). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

Plate 5 Hu Gui (late tenth century), *Banquet at the Khitan camp*. Liao dynasty. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk. Image source: Palace Museum, Beijing.

Plate 6 *Moon-Water Bodhisattva Kuanyin*, detail of entertainers. China, Tangut State of Xi-Xia, Khara Khoto. Tenth–thirteenth century. Roll on silk, 101.5 × 59.5 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Inv. no. XX-2531. Image source: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Plate 7 *Moon-Water Bodhisattva Kuanyin*, detail of donor. China, Tangut State of Xi-Xia, Khara Khoto. Twelfth–thirteenth century. Roll on silk, 101.5 × 59.5 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Inv. no. XX-2531. Image source: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Plate 8 Detail of Zhang Yu (att.), *Lady Wenji Returns to Han*, Jin dynasty, ca. 1200. Handscroll, ink, and colors on silk. Jilin Provincial Museum, China. After Wang Rongqiang, *Rewuhua bimo jifa xiangjie* 人物画笔墨技法详解 [Detailed Techniques of Brush-and-Ink in Figure Painting] (Nanning shi: Guangxi meishu chuban she chuban fahang, 2001), fig. 198.

Plate 9 Textile fragment with felines and eagles. Lampas weave. Warp: 170.5 cm; weft: 109 cm. Eastern Iranian world, mid-thirteenth century. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the J.H. Wade Fund, 1990.2. Image source: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Creative Commons 0.

Plate 10 Fragment of a lampas-woven textile. Silk and gilded lamella of animal substrate both spun around a silk core and woven flat. Eastern Islamic area, mid-thirteenth century. Warp: 113cm; weft: 32 cm. David Collection, Copenhagen, 14/1992. Photo by Pernille Klemp, David Collection.

Plate 11 Anige (1245–1306), *Portrait of Khubilai*. 1294, Yuan dynasty. Album leaf, colors, and ink on silk. Height: 59.1 cm; width: 47.6 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. Image source: National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Plate 12 Anige (1245–1306), *Portrait of Chabi*, 1294. Album leaf, ink, and colors on silk. Height: 61.5 cm; width: 48 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei. Image source: National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Plate 13 *Bianxian* ("braided waist") robe. Silk tabby with supplementary wefts of gilt thread. China, Mongol period (thirteenth–mid-fourteenth century). Length (collar to hem): 202 cm; width (sleeve to sleeve): 117 cm. China National Silk Museum, Hangzhou. No. 1753. Image source: China National Silk Museum, Hangzhou.

Plate 14 Lampas-woven (nasīj) robe. Silk and metallic threads. China orCentral Asia, Mongol Period (13th-mid-14th century). Length(collar to hem): 128.5 cm; width (sleeve to sleeve): 189 cm. Chris Hall Collection, Hong Kong. Image source: Chris Hall. Photo by Derek Lin.

Plate 15 Robe with underarm openings. Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Silk with supplementary weft of lamella of animal substrate formally gilded. China National Silk Museum, Hangzhou. Image source: China National Silk Museum, Hangzhou.

Plate 16 Robe with embroidered phoenixes and flowers. Silk gauze, tabby, silk batting, and embroidery. Liao dynasty (907–1125). Length (collar to hem): 130 cm; width (across sleeves): 177 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Inv. no. 1995.20. Image source: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Creative Commons 0.

Plate 17 Fragment with repeat motif of coiled dragons. Tabby weave with a double warp. Purple silk and gilded lamella of animal substrate. Warp: 37.5 cm; weft: 61 cm. AEDTA 3746. Photo: Michel Urtado, Musée des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, France. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

Plate 18 "Mardjani A," monochrome silk damask robe with a repeat pattern of small birds, with woven *xiongbei* designs on back and chest. Mongol period, China, ca. thirteenth—fourteenth centuries. Mardjani Foundation, Moscow. Image source: Mardjani Foundation.

Plate 19 *Birth of a Mongol prince*. Iran (possibly Tabriz), early 14th century. From the Saray Albums (Diez Albums), colored ink and gold on paper. Diez fol. 70, S. 8, no. 2, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Photo credit: bpk Bildagentur/Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin/Art Resource, NY.

Plate 20 Covering for a *boqta* (*gugu guan*) headdress, silk and metallic thread lampas (*nasīj*). China or Central Asia, Mongol period (thirteenth–mid-fourteenth century). China National Silk Museum, Hangzhou. Image source: China National Silk Museum, Hangzhou.

Plate 21 Detail of green twill silk fragment with printed design in gold of a recumbent stag. Thirteenth century. Warp: 14 cm; weft: 25 cm. Courtesy of Chris Hall Collection, Hong Kong. Photo by author.

Plate 22 *Preparations for a feast*. Saray albums (Diez albums), Iran (possibly Tabriz), early 14th century. Ink and colors on paper. Orientabteilung, Diez fol. 70, S. 18, no. 1. Courtesy of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany. Photo credit: bpk Bilkdagentur/Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin/Art Resource, NY.

Plate 23 *Bahram Gur Hunts with Azada* (detail), illustrated folio from the Great Mongol *Shahnama* (Book of Kings). Iran, Tabriz, Ilkhanid period, ca. 1330–1340. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. Accession no. 1957.193. Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of Edward W. Forbes. © President and Fellows of Havard College.

Plate 24 *Taynush before Iskandar* and *the Visit to the Brahmans*, from the *Shahnama*. Iran, Tabriz, Ilkhanid period, ca. 1330–1336. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper, 15.1 × 28.6 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase – Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.105.1 (detail).

Plate 25 *Enthronement of Shah Zav* from the *Shahnama*. Iran, Tabriz, Ilkhanid period, ca. 1330–1340. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper. Height: 59.1 cm; width: 40 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase – Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.107 (detail).

Plate 26 *Bahram Gur Entertained by the Daughters of Barzin* (detail), folio from the First Small *Shahnama*. Ilkhanid period, 1300–1330, Northwestern Iran or Baghdad. Ink, opaque watercolor, silver, and gold on paper. Painting height: 6 cm; width: 12.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1969 (69.74.6). Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

Plate 27 Textile "A," from the tomb of Cangrande della Scala (d. 1329), detail of gold brocade with Arabic inscription. Lampas weave, with areas of compound weave, silk, and gold thread. Verona, Museo Civici. Photo: Stefano Saccomani, Verona.

Plate 28 Simone Martini (1284–1344) and Lippo Memmi (ca. 1291–1356). Detail of Angel Gabriel from *Annunciation with St. Ansanus and St. Maxima*. Center of a triptych, signed and dated 1333, tempera on panel, 115 × 94 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, triptych inv. nos 451–453.

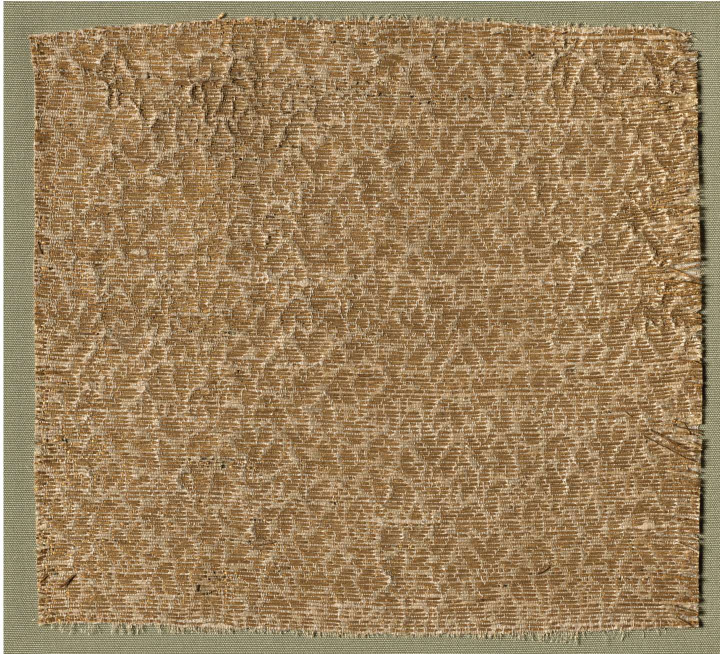

Plate 29 Textile with tiny leaves. Tabby with supplementary weft. Warp: 14.5 cm; weft: 15.5 cm, Central Asia, Mongol period, late thirteenth –mid-fourteenth century. The Cleveland Museum of Art. The Dudley P. Allen Fund 1985.33. Image source: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Creative Commons 0.

Plate 30 Giotto di Bondone (ca. 1266/67-1337). Detail of Cloth of Christ from *Crucifixion*. Fresco, 1305. Cappella degli Scrovegni nell'Arena, Padua, Italy. Su concessione del Comune di Padova – Assessorato alla Cultura.

4 Dress in West Asia during the Mongol Period

Mongol court dress represented political power in both the eastern and western ends of the Mongol Empire. In a full-page scene of preparation for a banquet at the Ilkhanid court (Plate 22) now in the Diez albums in Berlin, but originally produced for Rashid al-Din's (ca. 1247–1318) universal history, the *Jami' al-tawarikh* ("Compendium of Chronicles") in the early fourteenth century, a Mongol woman wearing a red *boqta* and an oversized court robe enters a space being prepared for a feast.[1] The scene represents the type of banquet preparation that would have taken place at the Ilkhanid court, but the figures within it might be representations of elite Mongols from anywhere in the empire. Although she is in the lower corner of the composition, the viewer's eye is immediately drawn to the woman, in part due to the fact that she is the only woman in the space, and also thanks to certain compositional elements that point to the lower right, such as the sword on the belt of one of the figures depicted in the center left of the painting. Two of her attendants hold up her robe so that she is able to walk, and she gazes toward a large central figure who appears to be in charge of bringing in the banquet dishes and furniture, which are being carried in from the left. This figure has stopped mid-action to turn and look at the woman and her entourage, increasing the dynamism of the scene. In the background, a large tent decorated with a pattern of blue and white evokes Yuan porcelain designs. This and other images from the *Jami' al-tawarikh* showcase court scenes such as enthronements and banquets with figures attired similarly to court figures from the Yuan, but the images are less specific than paintings created for the Yuan court. That is, the principle actors in manuscript images cannot usually be identified through visual clues alone but require the text of the document to define who and what the viewer is looking at. In this sense, they are closer in function to Chinese printed books than Chinese court paintings, and indeed, woodblock-printed books may have been a major source of inspiration for Ilkhanid illustrated manuscripts.[2] Further adding to the difficulty of identifying specific historic or literary figures in the *Jami' al-tawarikh* and, a generation later, in illustrated editions of Firdawsi's *Shahnama* ("Book of the Kings"),[3] is that the characters represented are often not actually Mongols, but simply dressed as Mongols.

One of the overarching themes of this book is that the Mongol period across Asia saw the introduction of something that could be termed an international Mongol visual vocabulary, manifested across media but especially recognizable in clothing and textiles produced for the court. Something extraordinary about this international visual vocabulary is that it was established and spread across Asia relatively intact within a generation. We instantly recognize the figures in Plate 22 as elite Mongols although up to this point we have only looked at East Asian representations of Mongols. The allusions to Yuan visual culture in the *Jami' al-tawarikh* illustrations are multi-layered: in

addition to dress and decorative elements that evoke Yuan visual materials (the blue and white patterning of the tent in Plate 22, for example), compositional and stylistic elements of these paintings indicate that Ilkhanid artists were using Chinese paintings and prints as source material. Scholars have long noted the impact of East Asian painting on Ilkhanid illustrated manuscripts such as the *Jami' al-tawarikh* and the *Shahnama*, and the figural representation within these paintings tells a story of the initial Mongol impact that was absorbed and expanded in Persian paintings and visual arts as the dynasty ended.[4] Indeed, close looking at the materials produced and worn in the Ilkhanate raises some questions about the significance of the apparently shared visual vocabulary of the Mongol Empire. In this chapter, I investigate how meanings behind certain motifs and types of dress shifted, if at all, or remained the same between the Yuan court and the Ilkhanid court. In so doing, I demonstrate that while there was some ambiguity as to whether the Yuan was truly the political center of the Mongol Empire, it was more certainly the cultural center, at least until the later part of Ilkhanid rule. This is evinced by the shared artistic vocabulary between the two courts, much of which appears to have been codified at the Yuan court and spread westward. Indeed, the cultural capital of the Mongols was significant enough to spread, by the fourteenth century, to the political rivals of the Ilkhans, the Mamluks. This chapter focuses primarily on the Ilkhans, bringing in Mamluk material where relevant.

Historical Setting

The Ilkhanate was one of the four principle khanates that emerged in the 1250s and 1260s: the supreme khanate (the Yuan dynasty) in East Asia, the Ilkhanate, the Golden Horde in northern Central Europe and Central Asia, and the Chaghatai khanate in Central Asia. Although the Ilkhanate, the Golden Horde, and the Chaghatai khanate were all technically subordinate to the supreme khanate, the Ilkhans were the only group that had continuous relations with the Yuan throughout the Mongol period. While the Ilkhans stopped asking for formal investiture from the Yuan emperor in 1304, good relations continued between the two courts, and commodities, people, and ideas traveled between the Yuan and the Ilkhanate until the fall of the Ilkhanate in 1335.[5]

The Ilkhanate was founded by Hülegü (ca. 1218–1265), the third son of Tolui, and grandson of Chinggis. Hülegü was charged with the leadership of the Mongols' western campaigns by his brother, the Great Khan Möngke, in 1253, defeating the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad in 1258 and continuing westward, conquering most of the territory of present-day Iraq, Iran, the area south of the Caucuses, and Anatolia.[6] Hülegü may have continued his westward expansion, had his armies not been defeated by the Mamluks at the battle of 'Ayn Jalut in Northern Palestine in 1260.[7] 1260 also marked the year that Hülegü's brother Khubilai, who had declared himself Great Khan after the death of Möngke, granted Hülegü the title of Ilkhan.[8] As was the case with Khubilai in China, Hülegü ruled over large populations of sedentary peoples and needed to establish a courtly vocabulary that would assert Mongol political power and legitimacy over the inhabitants of this area. In many ways the courtly vocabulary established by the Ilkhans reflected that of the Yuan in China – decorative motifs such as phoenixes and lotuses, for example, were incorporated into ceramics, metalwork, textiles, and architectural cladding, and Chinese painting techniques were introduced into Persian manuscript painting.[9] While the Yuan may have been the "Supreme Khanate" in name only, it was nonetheless the cultural center of the Mongol Empire and the origin of much of the visual vocabulary used by the Mongols. It is thus not surprising that court dress was similar

both in terms of material and tailoring in the Yuan and the Ilkhanate, and was used at both courts in comparable ways, especially in the role of honorific robing at ceremonial banquets. However, the West Asian context of the Ilkhanate endowed such ceremonies with different semantic significance.

Markedly fewer textiles that can be securely dated to the Mongol period have survived from West Asia than from East Asia. Fewer still are in the form of a robe or other type of vestment that may have been worn in the Ilkhanate. This is due principally to the difference in burial rituals between the Islamic lands on the one hand, and East and Central Asia, on the other. Many different groups in East and Central Asia had elaborate burial practices ensuring that the deceased would be interred not only in a fine suit of clothes, but often accompanied by a variety of burial goods. It is thanks to such burial practices that material from the Liao, Jin, Song, and Yuan dynasties in North China and its borders have been preserved, although the specificities of burial practice certainly differed in each case. The Mongol burial tradition also involved a quantity of burial goods, but the Mongols were buried in secret. John of Plano Carpini describes Mongol burials of the 1240s, noting that "less important men … [are] buried in secret in the open country," with a dwelling, a table with food, and a mare and foal, riding tack, along with gold and silver.[10] "Chief men," Carpini recounts, were buried with all of the goods mentioned above, and also buried in secret, with the place completely concealed: "Then they fill the pit in front of his grave, and they put grass over it so that no one may be able to discover the spot afterwards."[11]

The Islamic tradition, on the other hand, calls for the deceased to be buried in a simple shroud and placed directly in the ground.[12] The Ilkhan Ghazan (r. 1295–1304) converted to Islam in 1295, but there is no evidence that elaborate burials were practiced under the previous Ilkhans. Therefore, the only places in which textiles likely produced in the Ilkhanate have survived are in European church treasuries and fourteenth-century European tombs. Some of the material included in previous chapters (preserved in Tibetan monasteries or East Asian tombs) may have also been produced in the Ilkhanate but this is difficult to determine with certainty.

Thus, the principle evidence for dress in the Ilkhanate from the early to mid-fourteenth century is found in illustrated manuscripts such as the *Jami‘ al-tawarikh* and the *Shahnama*.

Relying on pictorial evidence for textiles comes with some clear challenges. These representations were commissioned for courtly use, and thus were made to convey specific political and cultural messages, not to document the daily wear or activities of the court. An even greater challenge is the lack of specificity of types of textiles illustrated in these paintings. The visual similarity between the patterns on some of the illustrations to extant textiles from the Yuan allows us to hypothesize that comparable materials, such as silks and gold-woven lampas, were used at the Ilkhanid court, but the specific textiles and tailoring of Ilkhanid court dress remains conjectural. In addition, the contexts of production for extant copies of the *Jami‘ al-tawarikh* and the *Shahnama* differed in terms of intended audience and the time periods when they were produced. The three extant illustrated versions of the *Jami‘ al-tawarikh* date from the early part of the fourteenth century and were likely produced in Rashid al-Din's scriptorium in Tabriz (Rashid al-Din also endowed scriptoria in Sultaniyya, Hamadan, and Yazd).[13] The ten extant copies of the *Shahnama* were probably made beginning in the 1330s, toward the end of Ilkhanid rule, and after the execution of Rashid al-Din in 1318. The Great Mongol *Shahnama* (formerly called the Demotte *Shahnama*) was, like the extant copies of the *Jami‘ al-tawarikh*, made in Tabriz, under the orders of Ghiyath al-Din, Rashid

al-Din's son, who had restored his father's scriptorium, which had been destroyed after Rashid al-Din's execution, but the political climate and aims of those who commissioned the manuscripts differed.[14] Several of the smaller illustrated *Shahnama* manuscripts may have been made for regional courts in Isfahan or Baghdad, and at least three extant illustrated *Shahnama* manuscripts have been ascribed to Injuid Shiraz.[15] The generational difference, alongside the diverse locations in which these manuscripts were created, reveal the way in which the Mongol visual vocabulary shifted depending on context, although it continued to be relevant throughout the Ilkhanid period.

West Asian Court Dress before the Mongol Invasions

Dress in West Asia was diverse prior to the Mongol invasions. By the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750CE), borrowing from Sasanian (ca. 225–651) and Byzantine (ca. 330–1453) imperial cultures, the caliph and members of the court had adopted fitted outer coats and trousers, a contrast to the Arab untailored robe.[16] Non-Arab dress was not universally accepted or implemented in this early period, and attempts were made at distinguishing Muslims and non-Muslims by their dress in the eighth and ninth centuries.[17] However, as parts of Central Asia were conquered, elements of Persian dress such as the fitted *khaftān* and trousers worn under it were assimilated into the broader vestimentary system of the Umayyads.[18] Under the Abbasid Caliphate (ca. 758–1258), such elements were fully integrated and worn by people of varying social classes, not just by the court.[19] The official color of Abbasid court dress was black, in contrast to the large repeat patterns featuring pearl roundels containing zoomorphic motifs within them favored by the Sasanians and the Byzantines.[20] The Abbasids also systematized the bestowal of robes of honor (*khil'a*) as an integral part of investiture, and as a show of royal favor.[21] The role of dress in the Fatimid Caliphate (ca. 909–1171) was even more central. The Fatimid government had a special department that oversaw the production of dress for members of the court and ritualized not only the act of gifting from the caliph to his court, but also the choosing of the caliph's wardrobe each season.[22]

The Mongols conquered the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258, while the Fatimids had fallen almost a century prior to the Mongol invasions. Nonetheless, ruling over the former territories of both caliphates, precedents from Abbasid and Fatimid court dress, are relevant to Ilkhanid court dress. One of the most important types of court textile and dress produced for the Abbasid and Fatimid courts was *ṭirāz*. Originating in the Sasanian empire, *ṭirāz* was used to express political power under the Umayyad, Abbasid, and Fatimid caliphs during the seventh through thirteenth centuries, and its semiotic significance was recognized across the Islamic world stretching into Central and East Asia beginning in the twelfth century.[23] *Ṭirāz* comes from the Persian word *ṭarāzīdan*, "to embroider," although it came to refer to a particular type of inscription, or a garment containing such an inscription, woven with bands containing the names and titles of the caliph or local ruler.[24] In addition to these titles, *ṭirāz* bands also incorporated auspicious words or phrases.[25] *Ṭirāz* was produced in governmentally regulated "factories" or workshops (*dār al-ṭirāz*) that constituted the center of official textile production from the Umayyad period forward.[26] The fact that *ṭirāz* was gifted from the caliph to favored officials meant that *ṭirāz* bands imparted a certain status on the wearer and implied wealth and power.[27] In fact, the phrases written on *ṭirāz* did not even have to be legible for these garments to convey meaning. Beginning in the twelfth century, both Abbasid and Fatimid textiles sometimes featured pseudo-inscriptions, that is, either illegible script or decorative motifs reminiscent of script.[28] The existence of *ṭirāz* with pseudo-inscriptions implies that

the look of *ṭirāz* was recognizable enough to have value, even without legible caliphal names or auspicious phrases. The significance of *ṭirāz* was tied to the idea of honorific robing, and indeed, *ṭirāz* bands were used on *khil'a* (pl. *khila'*), robes of honor.

However, *ṭirāz* is a general term that might stand in for a large variety of fabrics and may be used in many different contexts, not just honorific robing, although their role in honorific robing is of most relevance here.[29] Lisa Golombek has urged a distinction be made in the pre-Mongol period between *ṭirāz* textiles generally and *khil'a*, robes of honor, pointing out that surviving *ṭirāz* from this period are generally made of linen and cotton, while *khil'a* were described as silk, woven with gold, and other fine materials.[30] The extant *ṭirāz* bands produced for the Ilkhanid and Mamluk courts were made of silk metallic threads and woven into the pattern of the textile, while most *ṭirāz* bands on textiles from the Abbasid and Fatimid courts were embroidered onto cotton or linen, sometimes using silk or gold threads for the inscriptions (Figure 4.1). These inscriptions

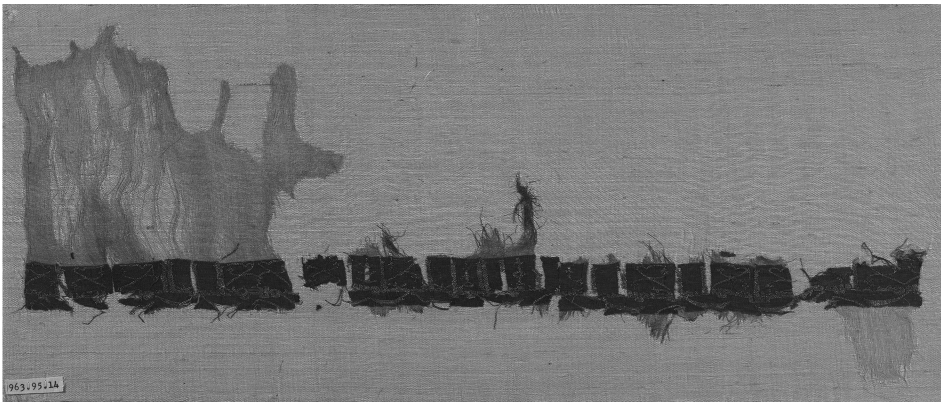

Figure 4.1 Embroidered *ṭirāz* inscription in gold from a *qasab* fragment. Linen tabby weave. Egypt, eleventh century. Royal Ontario Museum, 963-95-14. With permission of the Royal Ontario Museum © ROM.

generally used some variation of the Kufic script, characterized by regular, monumental, angular letters.[31] Woven inscriptions in samite (weft-faced compound twill) were also produced prior to the Mongol period, using silk threads and woven on a drawloom. Such woven inscribed textiles were not commonly produced in West Persian workshops until the tenth century, however, after the weaving technique of samite was conveyed from Central to West Asia.[32]

Prior to the Mongol invasions, the textile-producing centers of the Abbasid court were centered in Baghdad, but Kufa and Basra were also major producers of silks and other fine materials; these locations also had *ṭirāz* factories.[33] Although Baghdad was heavily damaged by the Mongol conquest, its *ṭirāz* factory appears to have been revived under the Mongols, and the Ilkhan Öljaytu (r.1304–1316) appointed the vizier Taj al-Din 'Ali Shah to oversee it in 1312–1313.[34] Another *ṭirāz* factory was established under 'Ali Shah's direction at the Ilkhanid summer capital of Sultaniya.[35] Other textile production centers that flourished under the Ilkhans were largely in areas in present-day Iran and Afghanistan, including Kerman, in present-day Iran.[36] Under the Mamluks, the major *ṭirāz* factories were located in Cairo, Alexandria, and Damascus.[37]

In Chapter 2, I explained how Central Asian and Steppe traditions that pre-dated the Mongol conquests are relevant to our understanding of the significance of honorific robing in the Mongol Empire, and in the Yuan dynasty in particular. In addition to the Central Asian and Steppe context, the historical significance of gifting clothing in the Islamic world, which existed from at least the ninth century, is essential to a full comprehension of the Ilkhanid context of honorific robing.[38] Examples of such robing are found in both pre-Islamic Sasanian and early Islamic texts, although no pictorial evidence of honorific robing exists prior to the thirteenth century in the Islamic world.[39]

In sum, dress prior to the Mongol conquest of West Asia was both cosmopolitan and highly regulated. The gifting of clothing, and government production of court dress, were central aspects of the Abbasid system. Central Asian-style fitted coats and trousers had been adopted for several centuries at the Abbasid court. This general style of dress, and the importance of robing, recalls a similar use of dress and robing in the Mongol context. So, in what ways did the Mongols use pre-existing types of dress in West Asia, and how did dress change after the Mongol conquest of West Asia?

Extant Textiles from the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

Surviving textiles produced in either Ilkhanid or Mamluk territories were preserved in European church treasuries such as St. Mary's Church (Marienkirche) in Gdansk, Poland and the Alte Kapelle in Regensburg, Germany.[40] Additional materials were preserved in tombs such as those of Cangrande della Scala (d. 1329) in Verona, Italy, Alfonso de la Cerda (d. 1333) in Burgos, Spain, and Rudolph IV (d. 1365) in Vienna, Austria.[41] Some of the textiles preserved in Europe from the Ilkhanate or Central Asia were likely produced for export or gifting, and thus not necessarily reflective of textiles used within the courts of the Ilkhanate or the Mamluks, although those with inscriptions, which will be addressed later in this chapter, were probably similar to textiles used both within the Ilkhanate and Mamluk courts. In addition to these textiles, illustrated manuscripts produced in Ilkhanid scriptoria such as the *Jami' al-tawarikh* and the *Shahnama* provide evidence for types of textile patterns and clothing types that may have been widespread at the Ilkhanid court, as do schematized representations of dress on metalwork and ceramics produced for the court.[42]

Although manuscript, metalwork, and ceramic illustrations should be used cautiously as direct evidence for types of dress in the Ilkhanid court, a point in their favor is the similarities between these illustrations and what we know of Mongol court dress from the Yuan dynasty. Men are often depicted wearing coats with cinched waists over trousers and boots, and their robes frequently feature central badge (*xiongbei* or "Mandarin square") motifs, "cloud collar" (*yujian*) designs, and underarm openings. As for motifs, Central or East-Asian-style dragons and phoenixes, and certain types of scrolling floral motifs, especially any featuring a lotus or a chrysanthemum, are examples of patterns introduced in the Mongol period to West Asia.[43] However, there were differences in patterns from Yuan dress, and in the way that certain types of clothing were worn. The most evident difference in terms of pattern between Ilkhanid representations and Yuan court dress is the prevalence of *ṭirāz* bands and designs (often in the form of stripes) on men's dress. Additionally, the Ilkhanid court appears to have had greater sartorial diversity than the Yuan court. In particular, while Mongol dress was widespread, court officials continued to wear Muslim dress, in the form of an untailored robe and turban. This diversity may reflect the differing roles certain officials played at court (i.e.

religious scholars as opposed to military officials), but Ilkhanid court officials seem to have been less enthusiastic to adopt Mongol dress than officials in the Yuan dynasty. In addition, while female figures are often represented in Mongol court dress in the *Jami' al-tawarikh*, in the copies of the *Shahnama* they wear types of non-Mongol West Asian dress, probably due both to the context of the *Shahnama* (an important Persian epic rather than a world history) and the time period in which the illustrated copies were produced (the later part of the Ilkhanate). In the following sections, I highlight some elements of Mongol dress worn at the Ilkhanid court that echo Yuan patterns and tailoring while also point out departures from Yuan use.

Pan-Mongol Male Court Dress: Three Examples

Three details on robes of male Ilkhanid elites, as represented in manuscript illustrations, are comparable to dress of elites in the Yuan dynasty. These are the central badge (*xiongbei*, also called Mandarin squares), the cloud collar (*yujian*), and robes with underarm openings and over-long sleeves. The central badge is depicted in the *Jami' al-tawarikh* and in some Ilkhanid editions of the *Shahnama*, usually on a short-sleeved robe worn over a long-sleeved robe. Paired with trousers, boots, and a hat, artisans used this style of dress as shorthand for Mongol figures. No extant examples of central badges of Mongol manufacture have survived in Europe, perhaps because central badges were not gifted to foreign polities during the Mongol period. However, thanks to surviving examples from Yuan China, we may hypothesize with some confidence that they were worn in the Ilkhanate during the fourteenth century. Central badges are absent from the Injuid *Shahnama* manuscripts made in Shiraz, although other aspects of the garb of the central figures in these three manuscripts correspond to Mongol dress, namely the form of the robes of many of the male figures – side-closing, cinched at the waist, with a short-sleeved robe over a long-sleeved robe. Perhaps the lack of central badges indicates the distance the court in Shiraz felt from the central Ilkhanid power, as Shiraz, the seat of the Injuids, retained local governors after the Mongol takeover and therefore a certain amount of autonomy.[44] In the context of Ilkhanid Tabriz throughout the fourteenth century, however, central badges were a status symbol, much as they were in the Yuan dynasty. Their use in both the *Jami' al-tawarikh* and various editions of the *Shahnama* is consistently restricted to the central kingly or heroic figure, or in some cases his entourage.

Central badges are depicted on elite figures in the Edinburgh/London *Jami' al-tawarikh*, especially in enthronement scenes, where the khan, and occasionally members of his entourage, wear golden badges with schematized floral motifs.[45] In contrast to the Yuan, where animal patterns often form the motif on central badges, in Ilkhanid illuminated manuscripts the central badge is usually shown as a floral motif, or as an even more schematized decorative pattern, as in the badges of figures portrayed in folio 49a (289a of the reconstructed manuscript) of the London *Jami' al-tawarikh*, a scene of Joseph and his brethren depicted as Mongol courtiers.[46] The use of a generalized floral pattern to represent the central badge continued in the later representations in both the "First small" *Shahnama* manuscript[47] and the Great Mongol *Shahnama* (Figures 4.2, 4.3). An exception in the Great Mongol *Shahnama* is a more detailed central badge depicted in a scene of Bahram Gur hunting with Azada, where Bahram Gur wears a Mongol-style robe and central badge with an animal gazing over its shoulder surrounded by vegetal motifs (Plate 23). In addition to bearing some resemblance to extant Yuan dynasty badges, this pattern is reminiscent of repeat patterns of animals in foliage woven into Jin dynasty silks, such as one showing a reclining *djeian* (a Central

Figure 4.2 *Iskandar Builds the Iron Rampart*, from the *Shahnama*. Iran, Tabriz, Ilkhanid period ca. 1330–1336. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase – Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.104 (detail).

Figure 4.3 *Ardashir Captures Ardavan*, from the *Shahnama*. Iran, Tabriz, Ilkhanid period, ca. 1330–1336. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase – Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.103 (detail).

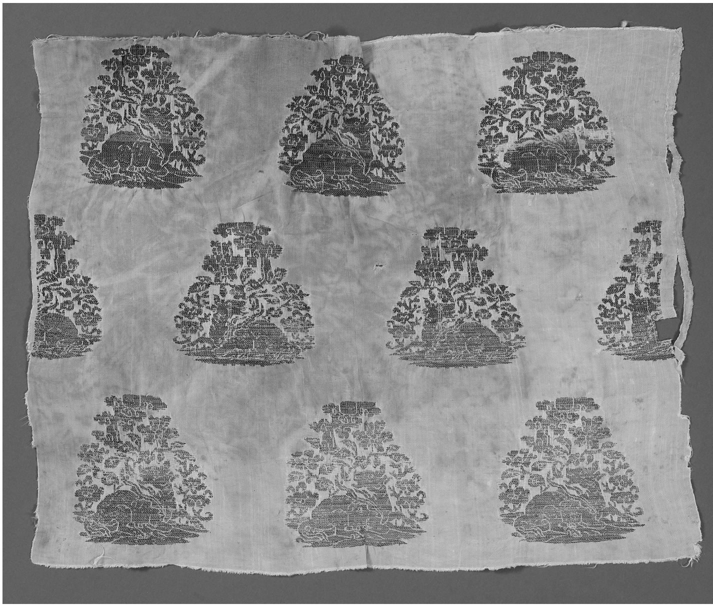

Figure 4.4 Djeiran and floral branches on yellow silk tabby silk with supplementary weft of gold strips, height: 50 cm. Jin dynasty (ca. 1115–1234). AEDTA 3430. Photo: Michel Urtado. Musée des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, France. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

Asian antelope) in the collection of the Musée Guimet (Figure 4.4). In both the *Jami' al-tawarikh* equestrian figures shown from the back, or in a three-quarters profile, reveal that the central badge was also found on the backs of these robes as they were in Yuan China.[48] For example, in a composite scene of first Taynush before Iskandar (Alexander the Great) and, second, Iskandar's visit to the Brahmans, Iskandar is represented twice, both times wearing a central badge-embellished robe (Plate 24).[49] Seated under a tree on the right side of the composition, Iskander wears a white, short-sleeved robe over a red, long-sleeved robe patterned with small gold repeats. The central badge on his chest is represented as a schematized floral motif. The figure of Taynush, standing to Iskandar's right, also wears a central badge. As the figure stands in three-quarter profile, the viewer sees both the front and back of the robe, revealing schematized central badges similar to Iskandar's badge. The equestrian figure in red to the left of the composition, another representation of Iskandar, faces away from the viewer, showing a central badge on the back of his robe as well. The act of representing these badges on principle figures, and the detail of the badge on the front and back of the robe, increases the likelihood that the manuscript painters were recreating a recognizable image of Mongol courtly attire.

Compared to the central badge, the "cloud collar" pattern is rarely portrayed in surviving pictorial evidence. An example is represented on the robe of a kneeling figure in a painting of the enthronement of Shah Zav from the Great Mongol *Shahnama* (Plate 25). In terms of surviving textiles, the only remnant that may have come originally from the Ilkhanate is a chasuble originally from St. Mary's Church in Gdansk in lampas weave with brocaded patterns in purple silk and gold thread.[50] In contrast to the Jin and Yuan

dynasty cloud collars and those illustrated in the *Shahnama*, on the chasuble the cloud collar is used not as a collar, but as a central motif creating a cross on the purple silk. This derivation may simply indicate that the cloud collar was being used more frequently as a pattern than as an actual collar, or that the original Ilkhanid material was repurposed in Europe for a Christian use. By the fourteenth century, the cloud collar motif had spread to a variety of media, including ceramic decoration and textile panels (meant to decorate the interior of a building or tent).[51] Representations such as that on Plate 24, however, indicate that the original use of the cloud collar was not lost in its westward transmission.

In the Ilkhanid context, the coat with underarm openings and over-long sleeves appears to be restricted to use by the khan, a contrast with the Yuan where, as we recall in *Khubilai Khan Hunting* (Plate 2), members of Khubilai's entourage, as well as Chabi, were depicted wearing robes with underarm openings and long sleeves. In addition, representations of this type of dress are not found in the extant paintings of the *Jami' al-tawarikh*. There are, however, several representations of coats with underarm openings in the Great Mongol *Shahnama*. Shah Zav, for example, wears such a coat on half of his body (Plate 24). Shah Zav only wears the coat on his right side, with his arm through the underarm opening and the right sleeve hanging over his shoulder. The same style of coat is depicted on Iskander at the talking tree (Figure 4.5). Here, however, Iskander,

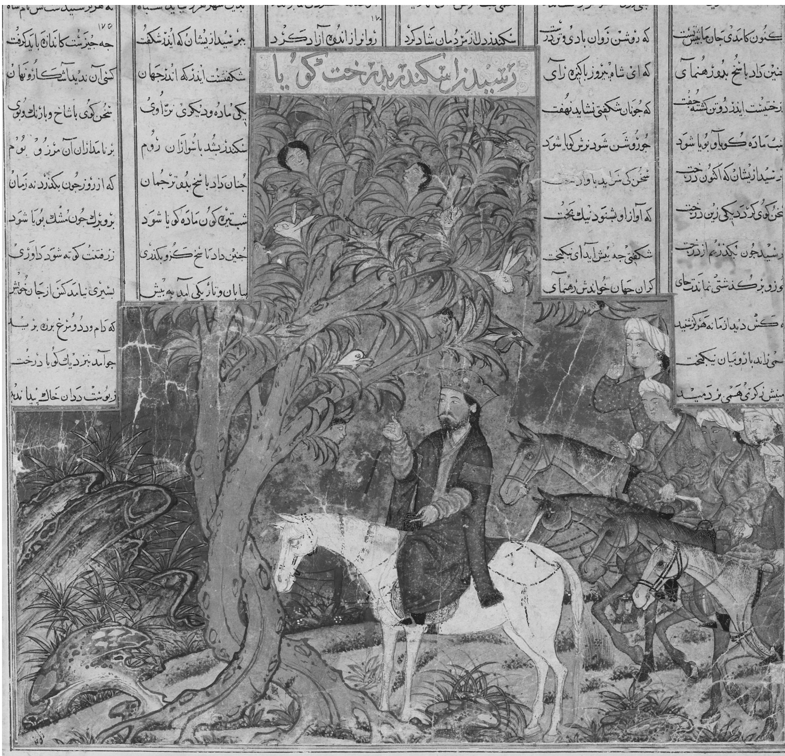

Figure 4.5 *Iskandar at the Talking Tree*, from the *Shahnama*. Iran, Tabriz, Ilkhanid period ca.1330–1336. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase – Charles Lang Freer Endowment, F1935.23 (detail).

astride his horse, wears the coat on both of his arms, which pass through the underarm openings, leaving the sleeves dangling.

These representations depart in other ways from the depictions in Yuan paintings discussed in Chapter 2. In *Khubilai Khan Hunting*, members of Khubilai's entourage wear the sleeves on their arms, rather than passing an arm through the underarm opening or draping the coat around the shoulders, allowing the sleeves to hang down on each side. As noted in Chapter 2, there is evidence in the form of some surviving Yuan dynasty robes that wearers could have put their arms through the underarm openings (Plate 15). The manner of wearing these robes in the Ilkhanid context, then, may be connected to the types of robes found at Antinoöpolis in Egypt, also discussed in Chapter 2, where the overly long and overly thin arms were not meant to be worn, but rather, dangled down the side of the body. Perhaps the Yuan robes with underarm openings and the Ilkhanid robes with underarm openings connect to distinct traditions in Central Asia and West Asia, respectively. Their absence in the *Jami‘ al-tawarikh* might also be evidence for the separate origins of these coats, as they do not appear to have been part of Mongol courtly garb until later in the Ilkhanate. Appreciated by the Mongols on either side of the Asian continent, the traditions may have been related, but used in distinct ways at each court. Coats worn on one side of the body with sleeves apparently too long and thin to wear are represented in a later edition of the *Jami‘ al-tawarikh* made in the 1430s in Timurid Herat, connecting to the Antinoöpolis coats and providing some evidence for a continuation of a related style of coat under the Timurids.[52]

Ilkhanid Women's Dress

In Chapter 3, I noted that in court settings, Ilkhanid women seem to have worn the ample, side-closing robe and *boqta*, as in the Yuan dynasty (Plate 19). Unfortunately, no archaeological evidence for such robes exists in the West Asian context, and, as is the case for men's dress, the best evidence for elite women's dress in the Ilkhanate is found in court-commissioned illustrated manuscripts such as the *Jami‘ al-tawarikh* and the *Shahnama*. These illustrated manuscripts provide some evidence for diversity of dress amongst Ilkhanid elite women that has parallels with the Yuan dynasty. The wide robe paired with a *boqta* was the official court dress of the dynasty and, in terms of painted evidence, is only represented in the *Jami‘ al-tawarikh*.[53] Some representations of women's dress in the *Jami‘ al-tawarikh* and all representations of women in the *Shahnama* indicate that pre-existing West Asian dress also continued to be worn. Additionally, as in the Yuan, the quotidian dress of Mongol women in the Ilkhanate may have resembled that of men. The difference in women's dress probably reflects the respective histories of the *Jami‘ al-tawarikh* and the *Shahnama*. The *Jami‘ al-tawarikh*, a universal history culminating in the Mongol conquests, puts forward a Mongol-centric world view which perhaps warrants many of the figures being depicted in the distinctly Mongol dress of power. The *Shahnama*, the Persian national epic, was co-opted by the Mongols as a show of cultural power,[54] and while many figures are shown in Mongol guise, artists seem to have had flexibility in their representations of various figures.

In the image of banquet preparation introduced at the beginning of the chapter (Plate 22), we recall that the central female figure is outfitted in the wide robe and *boqta*. In addition to showing pan-Mongol court dress, this image illustrates one of the roles of

elite Mongol women.[55] As noted in Chapter 3, elite Mongol women were responsible for running the imperial camp, which meant dealing with political and economic aspects in addition to quotidian tasks. In their role as camp managers, women managed preparations for court banquets, which were politically significant and were held at the beginnings of hunts and annual festivals as well as in diplomatic contexts.[56] After the founding of the Ilkhanate, elite women continued to play crucial roles in the political life of the dynasty, including the organization of banquets.[57] As in the Yuan, high-ranking Mongol women in the Ilkhanate had considerable political and economic power, at least until the end of the Ilkhanid period.[58]

Pictorial evidence for the range of elite dress available to Ilkhanid women gives a sense of diversity in court dress available for women at the Ilkhanid court. For example, the *boqta* was not the only headgear available to Ilkhanid women, even when they dressed in what appears to be Mongol style. In particular, in some representations of elite women, the *boqta* has been replaced by a *bukhnuq*, a wimple or type of veil that covered the hair and neck, which is often held in place by a headband, and an *'isāba*, or a crown (Plate 26).[59] This diversity may reflect the different contexts of the paintings. In scenes from the *Jami' al-tawarikh*, women appear to be consistently represented in the wide robe and *boqta* (Plates 19, 22) while in the *Shahnama* manuscripts women are represented in clothing resembling either the dress of the men in the same scenes (Figures 4.6, 4.7), or in long dresses with overly long

Figure 4.6 *Nushirvan Eating Food Brought by the Sons of Mahbud* (detail), folio from the Great Mongol *Shahnama* (formerly Demotte *Shahnama*). Ilkhanid period, 1330s. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper. Painting height: 20.6 cm; width: 23.2 cm. Attributed to Tabriz, Iran. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1952 (52.20.2). Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

Figure 4.7 Caesar Gives His Daughter Katayun to Gushtasp (detail), folio from a *Shahnama*. Ilkhanid period ca. 1330s–1340s. Attributed to Isfahan, Iran. Ink, opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper. Painting height: 4.9 cm; width: 10.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Monroe C. Gutman, 1974 (1974.290.22). Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

sleeves, perhaps in the mode of elite West Asian dress prior to the Mongol conquests (Plate 26). We might conclude that the *boqta* went out of fashion in the later part of the Ilkhanate, except that we find it consistently represented in court scenes a century later, in the Timurid *Jamiʿ al-tawarikh* made in the early 1430s in Herat (BnF Supplément persan 1113).[60] Its absence from the *Shahnama* thus likely reflects the different contexts of the text rather than an abandonment of the style in the later part of the Ilkhanate.

In "Bahram Gur Entertained by the Daughters of Barzin" (Plate 26), from the First Small *Shahnama*, the Sasanian king Bahram Gur (ca. 400–438) is represented as a Mongol khan wearing a robe with an all-over gold motif. Barzin's daughters wear gold-patterned robes with overly long sleeves, and a *bukhnuq* with an*ʿisāba*. In the scene "Nushirvan Eating Food Brought by the Sons of Mahbud" (Figure 4.6), from the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, the central couple both wear short-sleeved robes over long-sleeved robes and crowns. The Sasanian King Nurshirvan (ca. 501–579, also called Anurshirvan or Khosrow I) is also represented as a Mongol khan, and wears a short-sleeved robe with a central badge pattern while his consort wears a red robe patterned with gold floral motifs and a *bukhnuq* with an*ʿisāba*. In another folio from a *Shahnama*, the scene "Cesar Gives His Daughter Katayun to Gushtap" (Figure 4.7), the men and women wear similar, Mongol-style, dress. The similarities between men's and women's dress recall the portrayal of Chabi in *Khubilai Khan Hunting* and lend additional support for the practice of Mongol women dressing in male-style attire different from the ample court robes which often feature in official court scenes.

Textile Patterns Specific to West Asia in the Fourteenth Century

Thus far, I have focused on textiles and dress that are comparable to Yuan examples in order to illustrate the ubiquity of certain Mongol styles of dress across the empire. Other types of textiles, however, were worn in the Ilkhnate that were distinct from

those worn at the Yuan court. A textile pattern specific to West Asia that appears to have existed from at least the Seljuk period (ruled in Iran ca. 1040–1157 and in Anatolia ca. 1081–1307) is multicolored horizontal or vertical stripes.[61] Pictorial evidence produced in both Iran and Syria prior to the Mongol conquests is found in both schematized representations on *mina'i* ware and in manuscript paintings.[62] Garments with stripes, especially stripes with inscriptions woven into them, were produced at both the Ilkhanid court and the Mamluk court. A striped robe is depicted on the prisoner, Ardavan, in the scene "Ardashir Captures Ardavan" from the Great Mongol *Shahnama* (Figure 4.3), while Ardashir, in the guise of a Mongol khan, wears a Mongol-style robe with *ṭirāz* bands on the upper arms but not an overall stripe motif. In another folio from the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, "Isfandiyar Approaching Gushtasb," Gushtasb (or Gushtap, a legendary Persian hero, depicted in Mongol dress in Figure 4.7 as well), sits enthroned wearing a striped coat over half of his body (Figure 4.8). This representation of a striped robe is close in type and use to the surviving examples of Ilkhanid or Mamluk striped textiles.

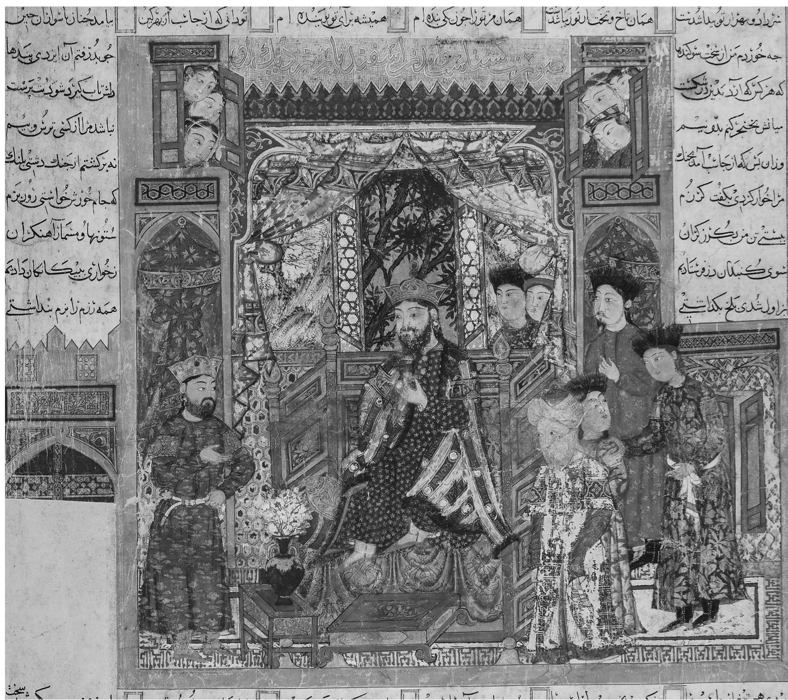

Figure 4.8 Isfandiyār Approaching Gushtasb, from the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, Iran (Tabriz), 1330s. Berenson Collection, Villa I Tatti, Florence. Reproduced by permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College. Photo: Torquato Perissi, Centrica S.r.l., Firenze.

Stripes adorn the aforementioned sets of ecclesiastical vestments from St. Mary's Church in Gdansk (pieces of which are currently in the Kunstgewerbemuseum and Lübeck), Ornat I and II from the so-called vestments of Henry II in the Alte Kapelle in

Regensburg, and those from the tombs of Cangrande della Scala (Plate 27), Alfonso de la Cerda, and Rudolph IV.[63] These examples feature inscriptions within the striped pattern, revealing them to be sorts of *ṭirāz*. These examples can be subdivided into three categories based on their inscriptions. The first is the striped silks in St. Mary's Church, which were likely made for the Mamluk court but woven in Central Asia or Eastern Iran – Ilkhanid territory. The St. Mary's Church vestments are woven of a lampas made from silk and metallic threads; the metallic threads are made of gilded or silvered strips on animal substrate wound around a cotton core.[64] The principal inscription on the striped St. Mary's vestments reads in Arabic, *al-sulṭān al-ʿālim*, "the learned Sultan," a common Mamluk phrase.[65] However, there is a spelling mistake in this inscription: the *sin* (س) of "sultan" is missing in both inscriptions, which may indicate that they were woven in a non-Arabic writing area.[66] Other inscribed textiles that were preserved with these striped examples in St. Mary's Church feature titles of the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhuammad ibn Qalawun (r. 1293–94;1299–1308; and 1310–1341), under whose third reign a diplomatic entente was reached with the Ilkhans.[67] This group of textiles were likely of Ilkhanid manufacture for the Mamluk court, as evinced by their Mamluk-style inscriptions.

The silks from the Alte Kapelle in Regensburg, along with the silks from the tombs of Cangrande della Scala and Alfonso de la Cerda, form the second group of striped textiles, also likely woven in the region of the Ilkhanate. These are lampas woven silk textiles with gold thread made of a gilded lamella on an animal substrate. The textiles from the two tombs have large inscriptions woven in gold lampas which were probably meant to be identical and read either *al-malik al-ashraf al-aʿlā*, "the most noble and supreme king," or *laka ash* [*al*?]-*sharaf al-'aʻlā*, "for you, the highest honor."[68] The discrepancy in how the inscriptions are interpreted are due to spelling errors, including a missing *mim* (م), in both inscriptions, which were perhaps caused by the transmission of this inscription from a Mamluk prototype to a weaver under the Ilkhanate who was unfamiliar with Arabic.[69] The vestments from Ornat II from Regensburg are also woven of silk and gold thread made of a gilded lamella on animal substrate lampas and are inscribed with the line *al-ʿizz wal-naṣr wal-iqbāl* [*al-ʿizz wa-l-naṣr wa-l-iqbāl*?], "glory and victory and prosperity."[70] These textiles, woven in the Ilkhanate and destined for the Mamluk court, were likely produced during the period of al-Nasir Muhammad's reign, the period of diplomatic exchange between the two courts. Their inscriptions mark them as types of *ṭirāz*, but they were probably not used as *khilʻa* in the initial transmission from Ilkhanate to Mamluk sultanate but rather as personalized gifts. The gifting and acceptance of *khilʻa* from one court to the other would imply a relationship of superior to inferior, and for this reason the Mamluks were careful not to accept *khilʻa* as a general rule.[71]

The third group consists of only one textile, also produced in Ilkhanid territories, the burial shroud of Rudolph IV (d. 1365) in Vienna inscribed with the Ilkhanid ruler Abu Sa'id's name (the Ilkhan who negotiated the entente with the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammad), produced between 1319 and 1335.[72] This and the previous two groups of textiles were not tailored in the Ilkhanate, but rather arrived in Europe probably as part of elite diplomatic gifts. Indeed, Markus Ritter has shown that this textile was not intended for burial,[73] and the conservator of this textile, Regina Knaller, determined that it was sewn around the corpse of Rudolph IV like a "fitted shroud."[74] Nonetheless, the striped pattern of this textile would still have been evident if it had been tailored in the Ilkhanate.

Use and Manufacture of Dress in West Asia: Gifting and Ceremony

The inscriptions on the striped textiles discussed above reveal their original function as types of *ṭirāz* in Ilkhanid or Mamluk contexts. Although they may not have been *khil'a* in the transmission from the Ilkhanate to Mamluk sultanate, such striped textiles would likely have been used as *khil'a* in subsequent transmissions. That is, the Mamluk sultan may have received the robes as a gift and subsequently bestowed them as *khil'a* – one explanation for how they ended up in European treasuries and tombs in the first place. The Abbasid tradition of *khil'a* bestowals continued in the Ilkhanate with the addition of variations seen in the Yuan dynasty such as mass robing for special feasts, and specific types of robing for investiture. A pictorial scene of honorific robing from the Ilkhanid *Jami' al-tawarikh* in Edinburgh shows Mahmud of Ghazna (ca. 971–1030) donning a robe from the Samanid Caliph al-Qadir (r. 991–1031), an event that occurred in 999 CE (Figure 4.9). Mahmud is dressed as a Mongol prince and is shown in the act of putting

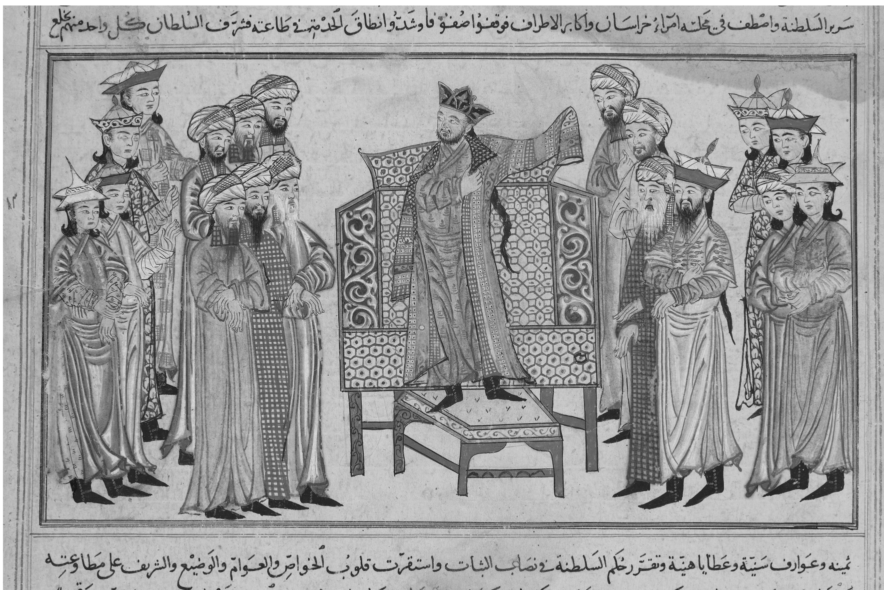

Figure 4.9 *Mahmūd of Ghazna Donning a Robe from the Caliph al-Qahir, 389/999*, folio from the *Jami' al-tawarikh*, 1306–1307 CE (AH 706), Iran. Edinburgh University Library, Or. MS.20, fol. 121r.

on a red and gold striped robe with overlong sleeves. This version of *khil'a* created by Persian artisans under Mongol patronage could indicate that, as with the Mongol attire, the artisan responsible for this picture was depicting a conventionalized version of *khil'a* from the Mongol period. The striped style of *khil'a* was certainly a variation used by the fourteenth century Mamluks, as recounted in Ibn Fadl Allah al-'Umari's (1301–1349) history, *Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar*:

> Among robes of honor … there is one called *tardwahsh* produced in the *ṭirāz* factories of Alexandria, as well as in Cairo and Damascus. The *tardwahsh* was formed of several bands, some of different colors mixed with gilt *qasab*. Between these bands,

> were embroideries. These bands were woven in a gold material (*qasab*). If the person grew in rank, then a *ṭirāz*-band made of gold brocade, was appliqued on to the material and (the coat) was covered by grey squirrel or by beaver, as mentioned before.[75]

Given that the Mamluks and the Ilkhans exchanged large quantities of textiles, and it appears that some Mamluk court robes were in fact manufactured in the Ilkhanate, it is likely that designs for Ilkhanid and Mamluk *khil'a* overlapped.

Contemporary descriptions of lavish gifting by the Mongol khans provide evidence for the fact that in the Mongol period the gifting of textiles, while retaining the political significance it had in both the Mongol tradition and the Islamic tradition, was strongly connected to banqueting and feasting, as was the case with the *jisün* banquets in the Yuan. In the *Jami' al-tawarikh*, Rashid al-Din describes a banquet hosted by Ghazan Khan:

> He ordered countless gold and textiles brought, and after the people were fed with all sorts of victuals he gave all the gold and textiles away in alms with his own hand so that all received a portion. For three days and nights the Koran was recited, and every group performed its religious duties after its own fashion. On the banquet day he placed on his head a jeweled crown, the likes of which had never before been seen, bound himself with an appropriate belt, and clad himself in expensive gold-brocaded garments. The ladies and princes, amirs and courtiers were commanded to bedeck themselves with their finery, and all mounted matchless horses and paraded around.[76]

The Ilkhans spared no expense when it came to the ceremonies surrounding feasting, and, like their Yuan counterparts, seem to have favored gold textiles above all for court use.

The Mamluks also used textiles and clothing as central objects in diplomatic exchanges and state ceremonies. The *khil'a* bestowed upon Mamluk officials was highly regulated by rank, and much like *jisün* suits, seem to have included not just a robe but also belts and hats.[77] Like *jisün* suits, Mamluk *khil'a* were not tailored in a specific way, but were determined to be *khil'a* based on both the context in which the gifting and wearing of the *khil'a* occurred, and the quality of textiles and precious stones used in their manufacture.[78] The Mamluk military elite wore "Tatar"-style coats (*al-aqbiya al-tartariyya*), which crossed over, much like Mongol riding coats, from left to right.[79] Thus, the *khil'a* of the Mamluks probably resembled *jisün* coats in terms of general tailoring and some similarity in terms of the luxury textiles, furs, and jewels that adorned them. Ibn Fadl Allah al-'Umari notes in describing high-level *khil'a* for the Amirs of a Hundred:

> the robes of honor of the principle Amirs of a Hundred, consist of a coat made of red satin from Asia Minor, with (another one of) yellow satin from Asia Minor underneath. The upper coat (*fauqānī*) has bands of gold embroidery with a lining of grey squirrel, with fringes (or border?) on the outside … The *kalauta*-hat is made of gold embroidery, with gold clasps. The turban-shawl is of fine muslin (*shāsh lānis*), at each end of it are (bands of) white silk, on which are embroidered the sultan's titles, in bright silk of diverse colors; then (comes) a gold belt (*minṭaqa*). The belts vary according to the rank (of their wearers). The most distinguished of all have, between their upright parts, intermediate roundels and two side pieces ornamented with rubies, emeralds, and pearls.[80]

The mass robing of Mamluk amirs and other high officials took place before banquets and during ceremonial processions that ran through Cairo and ended at the Citadel.[81] Although a symbolic and actual center of political and military power during Ayyubid

rule of Egypt (ca. 1174–1250), the Citadel's military and ceremonial importance was cemented under the Mamluks, and in particular al-Nasir Muhammad's reign saw an extensive building program that allowed for ceremonies at the Citadel to become ever more elaborate.[82] An increase in ceremonies such as those welcoming diplomatic parties, investitures, banquets to celebrate hunts, and procession involving the sultan's amirs, mamluks, and sometimes the civilian population in Cairo was a hallmark of al-Nasir Muhammad's reign, and an expression of his power.[83] Textiles were present in these ceremonies not only in the mass robing of officials, but also in parade banners and lengths of cloth used and hung throughout the parade route, bringing the space of court ritual, centered on the Citadel, into the city of Cairo where the general population could interact with and appreciate the visual spectacle of the court.[84]

The use of large quantities of luxury textiles both to robe Mamluk officials and to decorate the parade routes and ceremonial occasions were only one part of the use of robing in the diplomatic context. As noted above, *ṭirāz* and other fine textiles were exchanged between Mongol courts and that of the Mamluks, especially during al-Nasir Muhammad's reign. Such large-scale exchanges had begun a generation before, however. Sultan Al-Mansur Qalawun (r. 1279–1290, father of al-Nasir Muhammad) sent several recorded gift packages to the Mongols of the Golden Horde, including, notably, a 1282 embassy that included sixteen "[camel?] loads" of textiles and gifts for the ladies at the Mongol court, and a 1287 embassy that included six hundred gowns made from different types of luxury textiles and inscribed with the sultan's titles.[85] It appears that the court of the Golden Horde did not send luxury textiles to the Mamluks, instead gifting animals, fur and leather, slave girls, and mamluks.[86] This may indicate that the textile industry was not as developed in the Golden Horde as it was in the Ilkhanate or Yuan.[87] As for the Ilkhans, an early instance of a diplomatic embassy from that court to the Mamluk court occurred under the Ilkhan Tegüder Ahmad (r. 1281–1284) to Sultan Qalawun. Bar Hebraeus notes that this included "precious stones, and marvelous pearls, and gold, and silver, and apparel, and bales of stuffs (i.e. brocades) wherein much gold was woven" from the royal treasury of the Mongols along with a "royal pattern" woven into textiles.[88] After the entente between the Ilkhans and the Mamluks, which began to be negotiated in 1320, increasingly lavish missions were sent between the two courts.[89] The most famous instance of large-scale textile gifting between the two courts was the 1324 embassy sent by the Ilkhan Abu Sa'id to Nasir al-Din Muhammad. As recorded by the chronicler Abu al-Fida, the gift package included:

> a number of choice gowns of cloth and so forth, all with sleeve-bands of gold brocade, a piece of muslin containing a number of pieces of gold brocade, and eleven decorated Bactrian camels carrying chests full of cloth, the produce of that country, numbering 700 pieces inscribed with the sultan's titles.[90]

The seven hundred pieces of cloth gifted from the Ilkhans to the Mamluks were likely of a kind with the striped examples preserved in European tombs and church treasuries – fabricated in the Ilkhanate, but featuring the Mamluk Sultan's titles.

The mass robing that occurred within the Mamluk and Ilkhanid courts, and the large quantities of luxury textiles that were exchanged between the two courts, indicate that there must have been some sort of centralized textile production for both courts. In the case of the Ilkhanate, rather than a bureaucratic system of organization as was the case in the Yuan, it appears that weavers were assigned to different princely households in the model of the textile workers claimed and resettled by Chinqai in the first half of the thirteenth century, discussed in Chapter 1.[91] In the fight for the position of Ilkhan between Tegüder Ahmad (r. 1281–84) and Arghun (r. 1284–91) recounted in the *Jami*'

al-tawarikh, we read that the capturing of artisans, a hallmark of the earlier Mongol conquests continued into the late thirteenth century:

> [Tegüder Ahmad's troops] galloped as far as Varamin, seized and plundered three hundred households of artisans who belonged to Arghun Khan, and returned to the camp. When Arghun was apprised of this event he sent envoys to the treasury at Garrakan to bring everything that was available. He also sent to the workshops at Nishapur, Tus, and Isfarayin to have cloth brought. Within twenty days quantities of gold, jewels, and textiles were delivered to Adiliyya in Jurjan and he distributed it among the amirs and soldiers.[92]

It appears, from this account, that the Ilkhan had weavers working for his household specifically, but also had access to workshops in different cities, which may account for some of the irregularities in pattern or technical differences in surviving Ilkhanid textiles. In addition to the cities mentioned in the *Jami' al-tawarikh*, several textile production and trade centers within the Ilkhanate are described by Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta. Marco Polo describes different types of fabric produced in Tabriz, Yazd, and Kerman. He notes of Tabriz: "It is true that the men of Tauris [Tabriz] live by trade and crafts, for there are made there many cloths with gold and of silk and of great value."[93] The textile production of Yazd, too, is described in trade terms: "Iasd [Yazd] is in Persie itself, a very good city and noble, and of great trade. Many cloths of silk which are called Iasdi [Yazdi] are made, which the merchants carry them to many parts to make their profit."[94] Kerman is noted for its embroidery: "And the ladies and damsels work very nobly with the needle in beasts and in birds and in many other likenesses on cloth of silk of all colors."[95] Ibn Battuta, writing a generation after Polo, notes that "*kamkhā* [...] are silken fabrics manufactured in Baghdad, Tabriz, [Nishapur], and in China."[96] R.B. Serjeant notes that *kamkhā* was a Yuan product and distributed through these cities, all of which were under Mongol jurisdiction at the time that Ibn Battuta was writing.[97] In the Mamluk context, *kamkhā* was used in the manufacture of *khil'a* for lower level officials: "As for viziers and scribes, their most magnificent *khil'a* consists of white *kamkhā*, with bands of plain silk embroidery... (A robe of honor) of lower rank is made of green *kamkhā*."[98]

In Marco Polo's descriptions, the description of the textiles produced in a particular city is interwoven with the city's role as a trade center. Geographically, the textile industry of Tabriz was best situated for producing large orders for the Mongol court, as Tabriz was an Ilkhanid capital. Polo's reference to "cloths with gold and silk," paired with Ibn Battuta's comment that *kamkhā* was produced there, fits with what we know of the types of textiles preferred by the Mongols in China: high quality patterned silks woven with over-all gold patterns (*nasīj*), or embroidered with gold patterns.

Alongside textiles produced within the Ilkhanate for the court, textiles from the Yuan territories and elsewhere were also imported to the Ilkhanate, principally through maritime and overland trade routes, but also through courtly exchange.[99] Hormuz ("Curmos" in Marco Polo), for example, was an important sea port, and a center for the importing of textiles, rather than their production. As Marco Polo describes,

> and I tell you that the merchants come [to Curmos] from Indie with their ships, bringing there all spiceries and precious stones and pearls and cloth of silk and gold and elephant tusks and many other wares, and in that city they sell them to the other men who then carry them through all the whole world, selling to the other peoples.[100]

Marco Polo's Hormuz refers to what we now call "Old" Hormuz, which was situated across from the present-day island of Hormuz, and was a center for international exchange between Persia and the East in the tenth through fourteenth centuries.[101] Marco Polo notes that it was part of the "kingdom of Cherman [Kerman]," something corroborated in Persian sources.[102] Hormuz was an important entry point for diplomatic missions between the Yuan and the Ilkhanate, especially when the overland routes were inaccessible due to war with the Chaghadaids. The quantities of textiles that were imported from the east assured the continuity of a shared vocabulary between the Ilkhanid and Yuan courts.

The Mamluk textile industry reached its apex under al-Nasir Muhammad.[103] Official Mamluk *ṭirāz* factories produced official government textiles in Cairo, Alexandria, and Dmascus. After the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad, there was a marked decrease in centralized production of luxury textiles: the *ṭiraz* factory in Alexandria was shuttered, and the textile industry became centered on private manufacture under the direction of the increasingly powerful amiral class in Cairo.[104] Textiles were also imported outside of the Mamluk sultanate, not only through diplomatic exchange, but also, as in the Ilkhanate, through trade. If we take *kamkhā* to be a silk originating in the Yuan dynasty, for example, it is significant that it was used in *khil'a* for lower ranking members of the Mamluk court as this implies that there was sufficient quantity of the stuff available and that it was not particularly prized. Al-Nasir Muhammad's reign, which saw the détente between the Ilkhans and the Mamluks, was noteworthy for being a moment in which East Asian motifs were adopted into Mamluk textiles and other decorative arts as a direct result of increased interactions with the Ilkhans and due to the large quantity of Yuan textiles that were exported to West Asia during this period.[105]

Examining the impact of Mongol dress in West Asia comes with a set of challenges, most crucially the lack of extant material. Illustrated manuscripts and textiles preserved in European treasuries go some way in allowing us to define types of court dress and their use in West Asia in the fourteenth century, as do comparisons between this material and the textiles and paintings of the Yuan dynasty. Manuscript illustrations from the Ilkhanate reveal the ubiquity of certain types of Mongol dress, especially for men, with short-sleeved robes over long-sleeved robes cinched at the waist and often adorned with central badges are depicted with some consistency from the beginning of the fourteenth century until the fall of the Ilkhanate in the 1330s. Even when Ilkhanid power was waning, Mongol dress continued to be represented in later *Shahnama* manuscripts made beginning in the 1330s. According to the representations in these manuscripts, while Mongol courtly garb was clearly widespread, a diversity of dress was available to both men and women. Women in court scenes of the *Jami' al-tawarikh* wear the familiar wide robe and *boqta*, while in various editions of the *Shahnama* they wear combinations of Mongol dress and West Asian styles. As in the Yuan, the *boqta* and wide robe seem to have been used in specific, formal courtly contexts.

By comparing dress and use of textiles in the Yuan court and courts in West Asia, I hope to have demonstrated the extent of the Mongol impact on West Asian court dress. In the Ilkhanate, a number of pan-Mongol practices were preserved and elaborated on, such as the *jisün* banquet, where the attendees would wear suits of clothing gifted from the khan prior to the ceremony. However, the regional importance of *khil'a* added another layer of cultural significance to the act of gifting and receiving clothing from the khan. The Mamluks for their part developed their own courtly ceremonial that took into account West Asian precedent and contemporaneous Mongol practice.

Notes

1 In addition to being a major source of Ilkhanid court dress and painting, the *Jami' al-tawarikh* is a principle historical text of the Ilkhanid period. It has been translated into European languages several times, for example: Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Jami'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles – A History of the Mongols*, vols. 1–3, trans. W.M. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998–1999); Rashid al-Din, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. John Andrew Boyle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); Rashid al-Din, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, trans. Etienne Quatremère (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1968). For a more complete list of text editions and printings, as well as translations, see the Thackston translation, 1: x. Three illustrated copies of the *Jami' al-tawarikh* from the Ilkhanate survive, one in Arabic and two in Persian, see Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World* (London: Nour Foundation, 1995), 13–14.

2 Sheila Blair, "Illustrating History: Rashid al-Din and His Compendium of Chronicles," *Iranian Studies* (Feb. 2017), 9–10.

3 The *Shahnama* was finished by Firdawsi in 1010CE, ten illustrated manuscript editions survive of the text from the Ilkhanid period. See Marianna Shreve Simpson, "*Shahnama* as Text and *Shahnama* as Image: A Brief Overview of Recent Studies, 1975–2000," in *Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 11.

4 Basil Gray, "Chinese Influence in Persian Painting: 14th and 15th Centuries," in *The Westward Influence of the Chinese Arts from the 14th to the 18th Century*, ed. William Watson (London: University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art), 11–19; David Talbot Rice and Basil Gray, *The Illustrations to the "World History" of Rashīd al-Dīn* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), 5; Marianna Shreve Simpson, *The Illustration of an Epic: The Earliest* Shahnama *Manuscripts* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979); Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations in the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 4–43; Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie: The Art of Mongol Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), especially 123–236; Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, 46–51 and 76–78; Blair, "Illustrating History," 1–24.

5 Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 8.

6 Stefan Kamola, "Īlkhānids," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*, vol. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 81–84.

7 Kamola, "Īlkhānids," 84.

8 Peter Jackson, "From *Ulus* to Khanate: The Making of the Mongol States c. 1220–c. 1290," in *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 29.

9 Louise Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands, 7th—21st Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 222–227. See also Notes 4 and 43 in this chapter for more sources on the incorporation of East Asian motifs into Ilkhanid artistic production.

10 John of Plano Carpini, "History of the Mongols," trans. Christopher Dawson in *Mission to Asia*, ed. Christopher Dawson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 12–13.

11 Carpini in Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 13.

12 James E. Lindsay, *Daily Life in the Medieval Islamic World* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005), 201.

13 Sheila S. Blair, "Calligraphers, Illuminators, and Painters in the Ilkhanid Scriptorium," in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 171–172.

14 Blair, "Calligraphers, Illuminators, and Painters," 172. For the impact of contemporaneous political events on the illustrations in the Great Mongol *Shahnama* see Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images*, 46–55.

15 For the Injuid *Shahnama* manuscripts see Marianna Shreve Simpson, "The Pattern of Early *Shahnama* Illustration," *Studia Artium Orientalis et Occidentalis* I (1982), 43–53; Marianna Shreve Simpson, "A Reconstruction and Preliminary Account of the 1341 *Shahnama*," in *Persian Painting: From the Mongols to the Qajars*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 217–247; Adel T. Adamova, "The St. Petersburg Illustrated *Shahnama* of 733

Hijra (1333AD) and the Injuid School of Painting," in *Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 51–64.

16 Yedida Kalfon Stillman and Norman A. Stillman, *Arab Dress: A Short History from the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 32–35.

17 Stillman and Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 39.

18 Herman Goetz, "The History of Persian Costume," in *A Survey of Persian Art: From Prehistoric Times to the Present*, 3: The Art of the Book, Textiles, Carpets, Metalwork, Minor Arts, ed. Alexander Upham Pope (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 2237; Stillman and Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 40.

19 Stillman and Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 42.

20 Goetz, "The History of Persian Costume," 2237–2238; Stillman and Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 42, 47–48; Hilāl al-Sābi', *Rusūm Dar al-Khilafa* (*The Rules and Regulations of the Abbasid Court*) trans. Elie A. Salem (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1977), 77.

21 R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles: Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest* (Beirut: Librarie du Liban, 1972), 21–22; Stillman and Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 42–43.

22 Stillman and Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 53–54.

23 Eiren Shea, "Textile as Traveler: The Transmission of Inscribed Robes across Asia in the Twelfth through Fourteenth Centuries," *Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. 73 (2018), 101.

24 Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 8.

25 David Jacoby, "Silk Economies and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 58 (2004): 203, 216–217.

26 Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 8.

27 Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 19; Irene A. Bierman, "Art and Politics: The Impact of Fatimid Uses of Tiraz Fabrics," Ph.D. diss. (University of Chicago, 1980), 14; Kjeld von Folsach, "A Set of Silk Panels from the Mongol Period," in *God Is Beautiful and Loves Beauty: The Object in Islamic Art and Culture*, ed. Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 233.

28 Sheila S. Blair, *Islamic Inscriptions* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 167. For a discussion of broader use of pseudo scripts across Asia in this period see Shea, "Textile as Traveler," 102–107.

29 Nancy Mickelwright, "*Tiraz* Fragments: Unanswered Questions about Medieval Islamic Textiles." In *Brocade of the Pen: The Art of Islamic Writing*, ed. Carol Garrett Fisher (East Lansing, MI: Kresge Art Museum, 1991), 32.

30 Lisa Golombek, "The Draped Universe of Islam," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, edited by Priscilla P. Soucek (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 29.

31 Sheila Blair defines *Kūfī*/Kufic as "literally, from Kufa, a garrison city in southern Iraq founded in 638 CE and one of the intellectual centers in early Islamic times; a general term used to refer to the angular scripts used for early copies of the Koran." See Sheila Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), xxi.

32 Blair, *Islamic Inscriptions*, 171.

33 Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 16, 27–31, 32–38.

34 Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 25–27.

35 Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 25–27.

36 Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 107–108.

37 Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 147, 150–153; Bethany Walker, "Rethinking Mamluk Textiles," *Mamluk Studies Review* vol. 4 (2000), 169.

38 Patricia Baker, "Islamic Honorific Garments," *Costume*, Vol. 25 (1991), 25.

39 Sasanian monarchs would bestow their own clothing on members of their court twice a year. See Anthony Cutler, "The Emperor's Old Clothes: Actual and Visual Vesting and the Transmission of Power in Byzantium and Islam," in *Image Making in Byzantium, Sasanian Persia and the Early Muslim World* (Farnham (UK) and Burlington (VT): Ashgate, Variorum, 2009), 203.

The earliest legendary example of the bestowal of *khil'a* in Islamic history is the gift of the mantel (*burda*) of the Prophet Mohammed (d. 632) to a poet. See Baker, "Islamic Honorific Garments," 25.

40 The St. Mary's Church vestments were first published in Walter Mannowsky, *Der Danziger Paramentenschatz; kirchliche Gewänder und Stickereien aus der Marienkirche*

(5 vols.) (Berlin, Brandussche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931–1938,) vol. 1, no. 13, tables 1 and 2. See also Leonie Wilckens, *Mittelalterliche Seidenstoffe* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, 1992), 47–48; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 220; Birgitt Borkopp-Restle, 2016, "Striped Golden Brocades with Arabic Inscriptions in the Textile Treasure of St. Mary's Church in Danzig/Gdańsk," in *Oriental Silks in Medieval Europe*, Riggisberger Berichte 21, ed. Juliane von Fircks and Regula Schorta (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung), 288–299; Shea, "Textile as Traveler," 106–107. The Regensburg vestments were first published in Franz Bock and Georg Jakob, 1857, *Die mittelalterliche Kunst in ihrer Anwendung zu liturgischen Zwecken: Aufzählung and Beschribung sämmtlicher mittelalterlicher Kunstgegenstände, augestellt bei Gelegenheit der 2. Generalversammlung der Diözesan-Kunstvereine in d. St.-Ulrichskirche zu Regensburg, den 15., 16.u. 17. Sept. 1857* (Regensburg: Pustet), 40–42. See also Anne Wardwell, 1988–1989, "*Panni Tartarici*: Eastern Islamic Silks Woven with Gold and Silver (13th and 14th Centuries)," *Islamic Art*, Vol. 3, 97–100; Renate Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, 2002, "Die Regensburger Heinrichsgewänder," in *Die Alte Kapelle in Regensburg*, ed. Wener Schidermair (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner), 257–65; Juliane von Fircks, "Islamic Striped Brocades in Europe: The 'Heinrichsgewänder' in Regensburg from a Transcultural Perspective," in von Fircks and Schorta, *Oriental Silks*, 266–287; Corinne Mühlemann, "Inscribed Horizontal Bands on Two Cloth-of-Gold Panels and Their Function as Part of an Ilkhānid Dress," *Ars Orientalis* 47 (2017), 43–68.

41 For the burial vestments of Cangrade della Scala see Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici*," 97–102; Paola Marini, Ettore Napione, and Gian Maria Varanini, eds., *Cangrande della Scala: La morte e il corredo di un pricipe nel medioevo europeo* (Venice: Marsilio, 2004). For those of Alfonso de la Cerda see Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *El panteón real de las Huelgas de Burgos* (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones cientificas, Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1946); Concha Herrero Cerretero, *Museo de Telas Medievales Monasterio de Santa Maria la Real de Huelgas* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1988); Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici*," 97–102. For Rudolph IV see Wardwell "*Panni Tartarici*," 106–107; Markus Ritter, "Kunst mit Botschaft: Der Gold-Seide-Stoff für den Ilchan Abū Sa'īd von Iran (Grabgewand Rudolfs IV. in Wien) – Rekonstruktion, Typus, Repräsentationsmedium," in *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie*, ed. Markus Ritter and Lorenz Korn (Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2010), vol. 2: 105–135; Markus Ritter, "Cloth of Gold from West Asia in a Late Medieval European Context: The Abü Saïd Textile in Vienna – Princely Funeral and Cultural Transfer," in von Fircks and Schorta, *Oriental Silks*, 231–251.

42 My focus in this chapter is on painted representations of Mongol dress in manuscripts, but Mongol dress is represented in metalwork and ceramics. Examples of dress on metalwork: A star-shaped basin decorated with scenes of Mongols preparing for or celebrating a hunt, made of copper alloy and originally inlaid with silver and gold, from Tabriz ca. 1300–1320/30, Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 546-1905) see the V&A online collection http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O67418/basin-unknown/ (accessed August 26, 2019); the Courtauld metal bag see Rachel Ward, ed. *Court and Craft: A Masterpiece from Northern Iraq* (London: The Courtauld Gallery in Association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2014), 76–84, cat. 1. Examples of dress on ceramics: A frieze tile with two hunters in stonepaste, molded, with blue, turquoise, and luster on white opaque glaze, from Kashan (Iran), second half of the thirteenth century, Metropolitan Museum of Art 10.9.1, see MMA online catalogue www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/10.9.1/ (accessed August 26, 2019); An eight-pointed star-shaped fritware tile with Mongol ruler and attendant wine pourer over tripod with bird made of grey stained and cobalt and turquois glazed pottery from Kashan, British Museum OA+1123, see the BM online catalogue www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=301446001&objectId=245471&partId=1 (accessed August 26, 2019); An eight-pointed star-shaped fritware tile with a pair of seated figures in blue, turquoise, and luster over an opaque white glaze from Kashan, British Museum 1878, 1230.561, see the BM online catalogue www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=179409&partId=1 (accessed August 26, 2019).

43 Many studies examine the transmission of East Asian motifs to West Asia during the Mongol period. See for example, Rice and Gray, *The Illustrations*; Yolanda Crowe, "Early Islamic Pottery and China," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 41 (London: The Oriental Ceramic Society, 1975–1977), 263–278; John Carswell, *Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain and Its Impact on the Western World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1985);

Yolanda Crowe, "Late Thirteenth-Century Persian Tilework and Chinese Textiles," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 5 (1991), 153–161; John Carswell, *Blue and White: Chinese Porcelain Around the World* (Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2000); Yolanda Crowe, *Persia and China* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002); Ladan Akbarnia, "Khita'i: Cultural Memory and the Creation of a Mongol Visual Idiom in Iran and Central Asia," (Ph.D. diss, Harvard University, Proquest Dissertation and Theses, 2007); Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*; Persis Berlekamp, Vivienne Lo, and Wang Yidan, "Administering Art, History, and Science in the Mongol Empire," in *Pearls on a String*, ed. Amy Landau (Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum, 2015), 53–85.

44 Simpson, "A Reconstruction," 232. Although they were dependent on the goodwill of the Ilkhans, the Injuids (*inju* means Mongol state lands) had local governors under Mongol rule with a brief exception during the reign of Abu Sa'id. See John Limbert, "Inju Dynasty," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. XIII, Fasc. 2, 143–147; available online at www.iranicaonline.or g/articles/inju-dynasty (accessed August 26, 2019).

45 See for example leaves 28, 33, and 36 of Edinburgh Or.Ms.20, available online at https:// images.is.ed.ac.uk/luna/servlet/detail/UoEsha~4~4~64742~103064?qvq=&mi=0&trs=318 (accessed August 26, 2019).

46 For a reproduction of this image see Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles*, Folio 289a.

47 For example, *Nurshivan Receivs Mihras, Envoys of Caesar*, folio First Small *Shahnama*, ca. 1330, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 34.24.3. Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/34.24.3/ (accessed September 18, 2019).

48 For an equestrian figure with a central badge on his back in the *Jami' al-tawarikh* see Edinburgh Or.Ms.20 leaf 43.

49 Komaroff and Carboni, *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, 256.

50 Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici*," 103–104, fig. 26.

51 For example, the lampas panels from the Ilkhanid period and made in Iran or Central Asia, now in the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar, TE.40 and in the David Collection, Copenhagen, Denmark, 40/1997. Published in Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 222–224, figs. 6.8, 6.9.

52 The clothing in the *Jami' al-tawarikh* from ca. 1430 continues many of the Mongol styles represented in the Ilkhanid-era *Jami' al-tawarikh* manuscripts including central badges and cloud collars as well. See Supplément Persan 1113 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, digital copy available via Gallica on the BnF website: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8 427170s.r=persane%201113?rk=21459;2 (accessed August 28, 2019).

53 Women wearing wide court robes and *boqta* are also represented in metalwork, such as on a star-shaped basin decorated with scenes of Mongols preparing for or celebrating a hunt, made of copper alloy and originally inlaid with silver and gold, from Tabriz ca. 1300–1320/30, and presently in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 546–1905). For an image showing the figure with boqta see Ward, *Court and Craft*, fig. 41.

54 Marianna Shreve Simpson, *The Illustration of an Epic*, 5; Charles Melville, "The Royal Image in Mongol Iran," in *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, Lynette Mitchell and Charles Melville (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 348.

55 For the role of women in the Ilkhanate see Bruno De Nicola, *Women in Mongol Iran: The Khatuns, 1206–1335* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), especially 90–129.

56 Anne F. Broadbridge, *Women and the Making of the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 261.

57 Such as a banquet organized for the Ilkhan Tegüder (r. 1282–1284), rival of Arghun (r. 1284–1291), by Bulughan Khantun, Arghun's wife. The banquet was crucial in freeing Arghun from captivity, and according to the *Jami al-tawarikh*, the catalyst in Arghun's take-over of the Ilkhanid throne. See De Nicola, *Women in Mongol Iran*, 98.

58 De Nicola, *Women in Mongol Iran*, 103.

59 Stillman and Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 80.

60 Supplément Persan 1113 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, digital copy available via Gallica on the BnF website: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8427170s.r=persane%20 1113?rk=21459;2 (accessed August 28, 2019).

61 Corinne Mühlemann provides an extensive overview of striped robes in the Ilkhanid period, and technical analysis of the textiles of the Alte Kapelle alongside an in-depth study of the calligraphy on the vestments. See Mühlemann, "Inscribed Horizontal Bands," 43–68.

62 Phyllis Ackerman, "Textiles of the Islamic Periods," in *A Survey of Persian Art: From Prehistoric Times to the Present*, 3: The Art of the Book, Textiles, Carpets, Metalwork, Minor Arts, ed. Alexander Upham Pope (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 2043; Golombek, "The Draped Universe of Islam," 27. For an example of a manuscript depicting a robe with stripes see Frontispiece, Discorides MS, Materia Medica, dated 1229, Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul, Ahmet III, 2127, fol. 2A, published in Golombek, "The Draped Universe of Islam," fig. 4. For an example of stripes on *mina'i* ware see the bowl by Abu Zayd al-Kashani dated AH 582/1186CE, Iran, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund 1964, 64.178.1. See Metropolitan Museum of Art, collections, "Bowl with a Majlis Scene by a Pond," www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/451752, (accessed November 29, 2018).

63 For images of textiles from the Alte Kapelle see Mühlemann, "Inscribed Horizontal Bands," figs. 1, 2, 5–14; for images of the textile of Alfonso de la Cerda see Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici*," fig. 13; for images of the Rudolph IV shroud see Ritter, "Cloth of Gold," figs. 2–5.

64 Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici*," 106–107.

65 Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici*," 107.

66 Thanks to Elias G. Saba.

67 Louise Mackie posited a Yuan origin for the Mamluk market for the Lübeck fragment in 1984, revised (regarding the Berlin section inv. No. 1875, 258 of the same textile) to a Central Asian or eastern Iranian origin in 2015. See Mackie, "Toward an Understanding," 142; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 220.

68 Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici*," 100 and figs. 13 and 14; Mühlemann, "Inscribed Horizontal Bands," 53–54 and figs. 10, 12.

69 Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici*," 100.

70 Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici*," 100.

71 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate: Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 24.

72 Ritter, "Kunst mit Botschaft," 111.

73 Ritter, "Cloth of Gold," 232.

74 Ritter, "Cloth of Gold," 232.

75 Ibn Fadl Allah al-'Umari in Maqrizi's *Khitat* trans. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 59. See also Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 150.

76 Rashid al-Din, trans. Thackston 1998–1999, 3: 652.

77 Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 57.

78 Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 57–58.

79 Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 21–22; Stillman and Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 63.

80 Ibn Fadl Allah al-'Umari in Maqrizi's *Khitat* trans. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 58.

81 Walker, "Rethinking Mamluk Textiles," 193–194; Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology*, 21–24; Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy*, 13.

82 Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 187–189; Walker, "Rethinking Mamluk Textiles," 193.

83 Walker, "Rethinking Mamluk Textiles," 193–194.

84 Walker, "Rethinking Mamluk Textiles," 194.

85 Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy*, 63–64.

86 Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy*, 63.

87 Although silk and gold textiles have been excavated in the area of the Golden Horde, there is no evidence that these were woven in the Golden Horde. Rather, the most complete example, the double robe of a Juhta archer from the Golden Horde, appears to have been woven in Yuan territories. See Zvezdana Dode, "Juhta Burial Chinese Fabrics of the Mongolian Period in the 13th—14th Centuries in the North Caucuses," *Bulletin du CIETA*, No. 82 (2005), 88.

88 Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus*, trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 1: 467–68. Also cited in Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 34; Komaroff and Carboni, *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, 173.

89 For an overview of Ilkhan-Mamluk diplomatic relations, see Donald Little, "Diplomatic Missions and Gifts Exchanged by Mamluks and Ilkhans," in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 30–42; Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy*, 65–70.

90 Abu'l-Fida', 1983, *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince*, trans. P.M. Holt. Freiburger Islamstudien, Band IX (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH), 84. See also Folsach, "A Set of Silk Panels," 234; Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy*, 68; Eiren L. Shea, "Painted Silks: Form and Production of Women's Court Dress in the Mongol Empire," *The Textile Museum Journal*, No. 45 (2018), 52.

91 Textile production in the Yuan and the Ilkhanate is also discussed in Shea, "Painted Silks," 47–50, 52–53.

92 Rashid al-Din, trans. Thackston, 3: 553. Also cited in Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange*, 57.

93 Marco Polo, *The Description of the World I*, trans. A.C. Moule and Paul Pelliot (London: George Routledge & Sons Limited, 1938), 104.

94 Polo, *Description of the World*, 118.

95 Polo, *Description of the World*, 118–119.

96 Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta A.D. 1325–1354*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb, ed. C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti (Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1958–2000), 2: 446. The Persian word *kamkhā* has cognates in Greek, Turkish, and Arabic and comes from the Minnan Chinese language (spoken in Fujian, among other places) *kimhoe*, "golden flower" (Mandarin Chinese: *jinhua* 金花). I discuss the term *kamkhā* and its use as a term in the Christian West further in Chapter 5.

97 Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 31.

98 Ibn Fadl Allah al-'Umari in Maqrizi's *Khitat* trans. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 59–60.

99 Komaroff and Carboni, *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, 172; Thomas Allsen, "A Cultural Broker in the Court of the Il-khans," in *The Court of the Ilkhans*, ed. Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 11.

100 Polo, *Description of the World*, 123.

101 Marco Polo describes arriving at Curmos: "And when one has ridden for two days journey he finds the Ocean sea; and on the shore is a city which is called Curmos, which has a harbor." Polo, *Description of the World*, 123.

102 Polo, *Description of the World*, 123. Kauz and Ptak citing Nasir ad-Din Kirmani. See Ralph Kauz and Roderich Ptak, "Hormuz in Yuan and Ming Sources," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, Vol. 88 (2001), 33.

103 Walker, "Rethinking Mamluk Textiles," 169.

104 Walker, "Rethinking Mamluk Textiles," 169–170.

105 Walker, "Rethinking Mamluk Textiles," 170–171. For a discussion of two specific groups of textiles produced in China and preserved in tombs in Egypt from this period see Shea, "Textile as Traveler" 107–110. For East Asian motifs on metalwork beginning in the 1320s see Rachel Ward, "Brass, Gold and Silver from Mamluk Egypt: Metal Vessels Made for Sultan Al-Nāsir Muhammad, A Memorial Lecture for Mark Zebrowski," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 14, No. 1 (April 2004), 59, 63, 66–67.

5 Global Reach

The Mongols and the Latin West

By the end of the thirteenth century, elements of Mongol culture had arrived in the Mediterranean and found their way into the arts and dress of the Latin West.[1] This brings us back to *Martyrdom of the Franciscans* (Plate 1). Ambrogio Lorenzetti depicted the khan seated on a high throne in front of a green cloth of honor wearing a variation of Mongol dress: a pointed hat, blue robe with *ṭirāz*-style bands, and a golden skirt. He clutches a scepter across his lap and looks intently at the ongoing decapitation of the Franciscans occurring below. The only detail in his attire that is out of place is his footwear – instead of boots he wears dainty red slippers without socks. His attendants include a motley variety of characters, several of whom also wear versions of Mongol dress, namely, a short-sleeved robe over a long-sleeved robe, belted at the waist. Two of the khan's attendants wear pointed hats resembling those depicted in Ilkhanid paintings. Another dons a turban with a Mongol-style robe, while other figures wear elaborate armor – helmets and breastplates – evocative of some ambiguous ancient past, perhaps Rome or Persia. In a similar way to *Khubilai Khan Hunting*, *Martyrdom of the Franciscans* shows the reach of the Mongol Empire, and its multicultural makeup through the variety of dress worn by the khan's entourage. A depiction of a recent martyrdom taking place within the Mongol Empire would be a perfect piece of evidence for the wide-reaching relevance of the Mongols in the fourteenth century but it is difficult to prove with absolute certainty when and where this martyrdom took place. More relevant to this study is that the Mongols depicted within the scene are shown wearing relatively accurate dress. Ambrogio may have modeled the dress in this painting on imported Mongol cloth, on the dress of "Tartars" living in Italy, or, as has been suggested by at least one scholar, in Ilkhanid manuscript paintings.[2] Whatever the source, the specificity of the dress and textiles within this painting gives some notion of the effect the Mongol Empire had on visual culture and the imagination of the Christian West.

Scholars in recent years have been increasingly interested in the impact of Mongol textiles and of the Mongols themselves on the arts and culture of the Christian West.[3] Art historically, the effect of the Mongol Empire on the Christian West is manifested through two separate but potentially related phenomena: the spread of textiles originating in the Mongol Empire, called *panni tartarici*, and the depiction of Mongol figures in art and literature of the period. The spread of *panni tartarici*, their imitation, and depictions of these valued stuffs, connects to economic factors (commercial networks and the rise of the merchant classes), to changing notions of an individual's place in society (social hierarchy and budding fashion systems), and to the meanings that these textiles conveyed to the viewer when they were portrayed in religious paintings. Depictions of Mongols in art and literature touch on the burgeoning sense of self as opposed to "other" in the fourteenth century Christian West that was connected to religion, the slave trade, and

political concerns. In this chapter I investigate both textiles and painted representations of Mongols to clarify the global reach of the Mongols, especially in terms of textiles and dress, on the arts and broader cultures of the Christian West.

Panni Tartarici

Panni tartarici, Latin for "Tartar cloths," (also referred to by the French *dras de tartais* or *tartaires*) is a blanket term for a variety of cloths, mostly silks, produced in the Mongol Empire, first attested in European sources in the 1260s.[4] Most of the Mongol textiles imported into the Latin West were likely produced in the Ilkhanate, as this was the Mongol domain that was in most frequent contact with the Mediterranean both through diplomatic missions and Genoese and Venetian trade. Some types of *panni tartarici* are easy to identify, such as lampas weaves (in particular *nasīj*) figured silks, and velvet decorated with gold discs. These have survived in European church treasuries and tombs, are depicted in paintings, and listed on inventories.[5] However, some of the terminology used to describe *panni tartarici* is confusing, especially regarding textiles woven with metallic threads. David Jacoby has argued, for instance, that *nach* and *nassic*, what we might read as alternate spellings of *nasīj*, actually refer to two separate types of cloth citing the fact that they are distinguished from each other in texts, but does not explain what differentiated them.[6] The term "camaca" or "camoca," (from the Persian *kamkhā*) first used by armchair traveler John of Mandeville (ca. 1330–1371), seems in the Latin context to have signified a tabby-tabby lampas-weave textile sometimes woven with metallic threads, also related to *nasīj*.[7] Nonetheless, what is certain is that the Mongol period saw an unprecedented influx of textiles into the Christian West which both impacted the economy and was central to the establishment of the burgeoning fashion system of important city-states in Italy, as well as kingdoms in France, England, and Germany.

The taste for eastern luxury silks by secular and religious elites in the Latin West began in the centuries before the Mongol period. Silk produced in Byzantium and Hispano-Moresque silks in particular were traded and gifted at the highest levels as early as the ninth century.[8] The desire to produce local imitations of Byzantine silks was a central factor in the founding of the Lucchese and Venetian silk industries in the mid-twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, respectively.[9] Byzantine silks continued to be in high demand until the sack of Constantinople by Latin forces in 1204, which caused the collapse of the silk industry.[10] Hispano-Moresque silks, called *bagadelli hispanici* or "Spanish Baghdadi silks" were also imitated in Lucca around the same time.[11] Increased desire for eastern luxury goods, silks in particular, began with the First Crusade in 1095, and continued for the next two hundred years as Latins settled in the Levant.[12] However, the Mongol period, beginning in 1260, stands out from these earlier eras for the types of textiles (especially those woven with gold) and volume of material that was imported into the Christian West, and not just at elite levels.[13]

Examples of *panni tartarici* have been preserved in church treasuries and tombs across Europe, as discussed in Chapter 4.[14] We recall that striped polychrome lampas textiles brocaded with gold which were tailored into church vestments are in St. Mary's Church in Gdansk, Poland and another set of ecclesiastical vestments, also lampas-woven with stripes and brocaded text and decorative elements, were preserved in the Alte Kapelle in Regensburg Cathedral (Germany). The tombs of Cangrande della Scala (d. 1329) in Verona, Italy, Alfonso de la Cerda (d. 1333) in Burgos, Spain, and Rudolph IV (d. 1365) in Vienna, Austria all contain luxury textiles originating in the Mongol Empire.[15] In

addition to these examples, a dalmatic associated with Pope Benedict XI (r. 1303–1304) has been preserved in San Domenico, Perugia, and a fragment from another ecclesiastical vestments (*paramentum*) is currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (19.191.3 and 46.156.22) (Figure 5.1) and the Cleveland Museum of Art (Plate 29).[16] Another

Figure 5.1 Simone Martini, *The Angel of the Annunciation*, c.1333, tempera on panel. National Gallery of Art, Gift of the Samuel Kress Foundation, 1939.1.216. Image source: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

dalmatic with a pattern of peacocks is in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Brunswick (Braunschweig), Germany (M174).[17] "Tartar" silks are noted in a 1295 Vatican inventory of Boniface VIII; in a fourteenth-century inventory from Riga, Latvia; in a 1341 inventory of the church of San Francesco at Assisi; and a 1311 inventory of Pope Clement V.[18] These surviving textiles represent only a small fraction of the quantities of textiles that were imported from Mongol territories into the Latin West. Additionally, they exemplify textiles made of the finest materials rather than showing the range of silks available during the Mongol period across Eurasia. In their quality, they connect to the courtly attire examined in the previous four chapters, but do not represent the full impact of *panni tartarici* on different levels of society in the Latin West during this period.

Mediterranean-Mongol Trade

Panni tartarici was imported into the Latin West though diplomatic missions and trade. The trade routes between the Levant and the Mediterranean followed Crusader routes that were well established by the Mongol period. The routes between East Asia and

the Mediterranean during the Mongol period followed three principal routes: a northern overland route via Constantinople and through Central Asia; a central, partially overland, route between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean that passed through Baghdad and Basra and the Persian Gulf; and a southern sea route connecting the Red Sea with the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean.[19] The most important trading centers between the Asian continent and the Mediterranean were those of Caffa on the Crimean peninsula and Tana on the Sea of Asov that connected the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and were dominated by the Genoese and the Venetians.[20] The Black Sea trade will be addressed later in this chapter in connection to the traffic in slaves and "Tartar" identity. That the three routes were more or less active during the Mongol period was due to Mongol hegemony, sometimes referred to as the *Pax Mongolica*, which allowed travelers to pass through regions in relative safety.[21]

The first Latins to make the trip from the Christian West to the Mongol courts in East and Central Asia were Franciscans such as William of Rubruck and John of Plano Carpini.[22] By the 1260s, however, while missionaries continued to make the trip overland to save souls, the major players in the trade (and diplomacy) between the Latin West and the Mongol Empire were merchants from Italian city states, especially Genoa and Venice.[23] The Genoese and Venetians established merchant communities in major hubs such as the aforementioned Caffa, located in the Golden Horde between the Black and Caspian Seas, Tabriz in the Ilkhanate, and southeastern sea ports in China such as Guangzhou and Yangzhou in the Yuan.[24] Some merchants appear to have brought their families (including wives and daughters) with them to settle in these locations, as in the example of the Venetian (or perhaps Genoese) Vilioni (also spelled Vilion/Ilioni) family in Yangzhou, whose tombstones, which included one for Caterina Vilioni, probably a daughter of a merchant.[25] Some of the Venetian and Genoese emporia (also called *entrepôts* or *comptoires*) fell under the rule of local governments while others were answered directly to the Venetian or Genoese authorities.[26] Much of what we know about trade by Italians in the Mongol Empire comes from the Florentine bank clerk Francesco Pegolotti's *La practica della mercatura*, which was written ca. 1340.[27] In this text, Pegolotti details trade routes including distances between cities, weights, and measures.[28] Significantly, all of the weights and measures he gives for "Cathay" are Genoese, which gives further evidence for the preeminent status of the Genoese in the East Asian trade in the fourteenth century.[29]

The most famous Venetian merchant to travel to China was Marco Polo, who accompanied his father, Niccolo, and uncle, Maffeo, to Khubilai's court at Dadu in 1271, returning to Venice in 1295. The first Italian merchants to visit East Asia, Niccolo and Maffeo Polo traveled to Khubilai's court in the 1260s, leaving Venice in 1261 and returning in 1269. Niccolo and Maffeo's second journey to the Yuan court, on which they were accompanied by Marco, is preserved in Marco Polo's *Devisement du monde* or "Description of the World," which was narrated to the romance writer Rustichello of Pisa while Polo was imprisoned in Genoa around 1298.[30] Most merchants did not leave records of their travels and experiences, which is one of the reasons that Marco Polo's account is so valued, even if its historical accuracy has often been questioned.[31] The Polos appear to have taken a combination of the central and northern overland routes through Asia on the way to Dadu and the southern sea route on their way back to Venice.[32] According to Marco's account, he served in the Yuan administration while in China, although his service is not recorded in Yuan government documents. However, the use of foreigners as administrators and as envoys was widely practiced by the Mongols, so while Marco was almost certainly not the governor of Yangzhou for three years, as he

claimed, he may have been conscripted by Khubilai to perform more minor bureaucratic tasks.[33] On their return journey, the Polos accompanied a Mongol princess who was betrothed to the Ilkhan Arghun, an indication that they were trusted in an inter-empire diplomatic mission. Marco's account shows that for certain of these Italian merchants, buying and selling goods was sometimes only one of several of their activities; this is corroborated by what historians are able to put together of the lives of other merchants who lived and worked in the Mongol Empire. The Genoese merchant Buscarello Ghisolfi (d. after 1302), for example, was sent by the Ilkhan Arghun on at least one diplomatic mission to the Latin West in 1289, where he delivered letters from Arghun to Pope Nicholas IV, Edward I of England, and Philippe IV of France.[34] Merchants, then, were not only the sources through which goods traveled between the Mongol Empire and Latin West, but sometimes served as diplomatic envoys at the highest levels. They had the ability to move between far distant places, but also to move socially, from the marketplace to audiences with khans and kings.

Sumptuary Regulations

The sharp increase in volume of goods imported from the east in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries impacted society in the Latin West at different levels. Of relevance to *panni tartarici* was the advent of non-elite members of society in cities across the Christian West purchasing and outfitting themselves and their families in luxury silks during this period.[35] Worried about social status (the common people getting above themselves) and morals (the common people should not be spending so much money on clothes), the rulers of the urban areas in which part of the population was beginning to dress in new ways and wear luxury materials implemented a variety of sumptuary regulations.[36] As Catherine Kovesi Killerby has shown, while the first sumptuary regulations since the Carolingian period (ca. 780–900) were implemented in the mid-twelfth century in Genoa, urban areas across Italy the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries saw a veritable wave of sumptuary legislation.[37] These regulations were generally aimed at controlling the dress of women, but also what people wore in public celebrations such as weddings and funerals.[38] Sumptuary laws reveal the anxieties of the ruling elite regarding new wealth and attendant social mobility that was opening up to city dwellers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries thanks in large part to the influx of goods from the Mongol Empire. Wealth and social status were expressed in public settings through dress, and the import and imitation of Mongol textiles in Italy meant that silk and silks woven with metallic threads, once exclusively available to the highest ranks of society and the clergy, were worn by merchants and their wives and daughters, upsetting social orders that had been entrenched for hundreds of years which assigned status according to birth. In England, authorities first passed legislation in 1337 that banned anyone but the most elite of the kingdom from wearing cloth made outside of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, while an Act of 1363 (repealed in 1364) banned the wearing of silk and metallic threads.[39] In fourteenth century urban centers of the Latin West, silk, and silk with metallic threads, that is, types or imitations of *panni tartarici*, were perceived as a threat to social order.

While non-elite classes probably wore lower-grade silks than royals or high-ranking members of the Church,[40] that increasingly larger numbers of the urban population dressed in fine fabrics not only unsettled the ruling classes, but also marked the beginnings of a fashion system.[41] Within a fashion system, clothing and textiles create

meaning that can be read by people within a given society. Beginning in the late thirteenth century, the use of luxury materials for clothing, along with styles of clothing worn that imitated elites, allowed the burgeoning merchant classes to manifest their desired status in a way that had not been possible in previous centuries. This differed from the hierarchical robing systems of the Mongol Empire and the Islamic world, as it allowed for the expression of an individual's desired identity. However, the early fashion system of the Latin West, especially in the Italian city states, had something in common with dress in the Yuan dynasty, and not just in terms of the types of cloth that were worn. That is, in the Yuan people elected to dress in the clothing of a certain group (Mongol or Song) to shape their external identity in ways that were unavailable to people living in earlier periods. Opportunities for individuals living in the Christian West and the Mongol Empire to craft their identity through dress the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth centuries, were available, in different ways, thanks to the Mongol Empire.

Mongol Textiles in Italian Paintings

Not coincidentally, it was during this same period that textiles recognizable as *panni tartarici* begin appearing in Italian paintings. The most readily identifiable of these cloths are types of *nasīj*, of which painted examples have been matched to extant fragments by Lisa Monnas in her groundbreaking work.[42] As Monnas has shown, some of the best representations of *pannus tartaricus* were painted by the Sienese artist Simone Martini (1284–1344).[43] Simone produced major commissions for both his hometown and for the courts of Naples, Hungary and the Pope in Avignon. He probably had access to high quality imported silks from Mongol territories in Siena, as well as at the courts of his powerful patrons in different cities.[44]

The most famous example of Simone Martini's rendition of *pannus tartaricus* is in his depiction of the robe of the Angel Gabriel in a triptych *Annunciation* that is attributed to Simone and his brother, Lippo Memmi (ca.1291-1356) (Plate 28). Simone also represents a variation of this design in the dress of St. Catherine in his *Maestà*,[45] as well as in yet another depiction, the *Angel of the Annunciation* from the National Gallery of Art (Figure 5.1). These three representations differ, partially because of medium and technique: Martini used *sgraffito* on the robe of the Angel Gabriel in both *Annuciation* paintings and fresco in the *Maestà*.[46] The technique of *sgraffito* is easily observed in the *Angel of the Annunciation* in the National Gallery, which has been damaged: the angel's

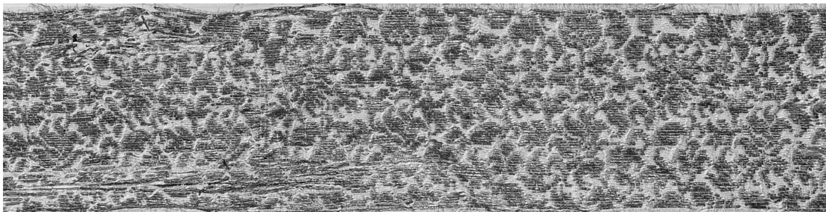

Figure 5.2 Textile with floral design, lampas. Warp: 5 cm; weft approx. 19.3 cm. Central Asia, Mongol period, ca. late thirteenth–mid-fourteenth century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1946, 46.156.22. Image source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Image in Public Domain.

robe was first painted red, then covered over with a layer of gold, and finally painted pink.[47] The pink paint was then scratched off to create the floral pattern, exposing the gold beneath. Several examples of the type of textile represented in these three paintings by Simone Martini have been preserved, including a dalmatic said to have belonged to Benedict XI,[48] fragments in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 5.2), and the Cleveland Museum of Art (Plate 29).

Italian artists may also have represented types of *panni tartarici* in their carefully depicted monochrome silks adorned with pseudo-inscriptions imitative of Eastern languages on their borders.[49] The practice of incorporating pseudo-scripts imitative of Arabic or other eastern scripts into Tuscan religious paintings began in the late twelfth century, coinciding with the later periods of the Crusades,[50] and continued in Italy into the sixteenth century.[51] However, it was during the Mongol period, the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, that this type of script became a standard decorative element, coinciding with the substantial increase of Mongol silks imported into the Latin West. Duccio di Buoninsgna's (ca. mid-thirteenth–early fourteenth centuries) *Rucellai Madonna* in Santa Maria Novella in Florence from 1285 is an early instance of a painted representation of a *ṭirāz*-style textile depicting pseudo-Arabic script.[52] Other Italian painters incorporated Eastern pseudo-scripts into their paintings during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, including the Florentine painter Giotto di Bondone (ca. 1266/67–1337). One scholar has identified Giotto's painted pseudo-script, found for example in the frescoes of the Scrovegni (or Arena) Chapel in Padua, finished in 1305, as 'Phags-pa script (Plate 30).[53] 'Phags-pa was a universal writing system commissioned by Khubilai and probably adapted from a Tibetan script to write the Mongolian language (and others) by the 'Phags-pa lama.[54] While the use of 'Phags-pa script may have been more widespread that scholars have assumed,[55] there is no evidence that any textiles with 'Phags-pa script were woven in the Yuan or the Ilkhanate.[56] The only objects that included 'Phags-pa script that were definitely transported to the Latin West in the Mongol period were *paizi*, the tablets granting safe passage gifted by Mongol authorities to travelers in the Mongol Empire, including Marco Polo (Figure 5.3).[57] After looking closely at the borders of Giotto's painted textiles, such as the borders of the clothes worn by the men fighting over the cloth of Christ in the *Crucifixion* from the Scrovegni Chapel (Plate 30), I believe that the script, while imitative of an Eastern script, is not necessarily imitative of 'Phags-pa.[58] It seems just as likely that it might be a type of pseudo-Arabic script, with the letters written haphazardly in different directions.[59] What is important is that an Eastern script is evoked, rather than accuracy in the depiction – Giotto may have invented the pattern, perhaps basing it on textiles with readable Arabic or Persian inscriptions.

As noted in the previous chapter, a number of inscribed textiles (types of *ṭirāz*) likely from the Ilkhanate or the Mamluk Sultanate have been preserved in European collections, such as the *ṭirāz* found in the tomb of Rudolph IV (d. 1365) in Vienna inscribed with the Ilkhanid ruler Abu Sa'id's name.[60] Silks with auspicious inscriptions in Persian or Arabic were understood by at least the ruling classes in the Latin West to have connotations of power and political importance during this period, even if Latin elites could not read the texts.[61] Textiles with inscriptions imitative of Arabic scripts represented in Italian religious paintings from the late twelfth century onward signified both the power and importance of the figures wearing the textiles (often the Virgin or Christ), and drew an explicit connection between Arabic, or other Eastern scripts and the Eastern origins of the Early Christian Church.[62] In their importance as objects of power associated with royalty, and their explicit eastern connections, inscribed textiles functioned similarly to *nasīj* in Italian religious paintings.

Figure 5.3 Safe Conduct Pass (*paizi*) with inscription in ‘Phags-pa script. Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), late thirteenth century. Iron with silver inlay. Height: 18.1 cm; width: 11.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Purchase, Bequest of Dorothy Graham Bennett, 1993 (1993.256). Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

Mongol textiles in religious paintings are usually worn by the most important figures such as the Virgin and Child, the Angel Gabriel, or Saint Catherine of Alexandria (not coincidentally, an “Eastern” saint). The centrality of the textiles in these paintings, considered alongside the fact that *panni tartarici* were used to make ecclesiastical vestments and used as burial garments in elite Christian burials, may signify that *panni tartarici* had a religious significance in addition to being intrinsically and socially valuable. The ways in which *panni tartarici* were activated in a religious context connects to the ways in which earlier textiles brought from the Levant during the Crusades were used. During the twelfth century, textiles inscribed with Arabic were understood as coming from the Holy Land which enhanced their religious worth.[63] The religious significance of textiles with eastern scripts or pseudo-scripts transferred to *panni tartarici* in the Mongol period, and the practice of using eastern scripts as a decorative motif continued through the sixteenth century in Italy.

The Image of the Mongol

Panni tartarici were highly desired commodities that conveyed wealth, status, and religious significance. But what of the Mongols themselves? For one thing, knowledge in the Latin West about the Mongols was not monolithic. Northern Italian city dwellers probably had a better sense of the Mongols than German peasants, for example. In the above sections, I have introduced different types of knowledge about products of the Mongol Empire. First, the knowledge that merchants had, especially those from Genoa

and Venice, through their travels and interactions with other merchants in the Mongol Empire, and sometimes, through access to the courts in their roles as diplomatic envoys. The emporia established by both groups meant that Genoese and Venetian merchants and their families sometimes lived in enclaves abroad, which would have given these groups access to aspects of daily life in parts of the Mongol Empire. Weavers in Lucca and Venice had a different type of knowledge – technical knowledge. That is, the intimate knowledge of how *panni tartarici* was made, which they used to make almost indistinguishable imitations of the Mongol cloths. Weavers probably did not have the same level of understanding as the merchants or the people who commissioned the silks they were imitating, however. Sienese and Florentine painters who included *panni tartarici* in their works would not have necessarily had more knowledge than Lucchese or Venetian weavers. While they may have had opportunities to study real examples of *panni tartarici*, or perhaps even owned imported silks themselves, it was not the artists who determined the content of their paintings in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Rather, it was the client of the painting who made such decisions. The client likely also specified what type of materials the individual figures in the painting should wear, and what materials should be used in the execution of these garments, including the grade of ultramarine and the quantity of gold leaf that should be used.[64] The artists who painted images of Mongols, however, seem to have had access to specific information about how Mongols should be represented. Secular and religious leaders and their advisors and envoys possessed yet another type of knowledge. These elites were often the clients or patrons of the paintings and illustrated manuscripts that represented Mongols and their goods, were the recipients of the highest quality goods, and interacted with the Mongol Empire at an official level and saw the Mongols variously as the source of valued objects, a threat, or potential allies. The knowledge of the people at whom sumptuary regulations were aimed, residents of urban areas with access to sources of wealth (merchants and the like) are the most difficult to pinpoint. Did the upwardly mobile urban populations know that the fine cloths that were constantly being restricted were specifically from the Mongol Empire, or just from the "East"? Did they have a sense of what a Mongol looked like? Did they share the same optimism of certain of their rulers who saw the Mongols as potential allies against Muslims? I address these questions in the following section.

The image of the Mongol in the minds of the religious leaders and secular rulers of the Latin West changed over the course of the thirteenth century, with travelers to the Mongol Empire manifesting an increasingly positive attitude toward the Mongols as the century wore on. The negative image of the Mongols as demons sent from hell as a punishment for sins, dominant in the 1220s and 1240s when the Mongol expansions reached the eastern edge of the Latin West, soon gave way to a more hopeful characterization, as Christian rulers and their advisors began to contemplate a potential Christian-Mongol alliance against the Mamluks.[65] This optimism was in part due to travelers from the Latin West to the Mongol courts whose reports of the Mongols were not entirely negative. Latin travel records dating to the period before 1260 include Julian of Hungary, whose account *Epistola de vita Tartarorum* dates to 1237;[66] John of Plano Carpini (ca. 1182-1252), who we recall was sent to Karakorum by Pope Innocent IV and published his *Ystoria mongolorum* in 1247; and the Flemish friar William of Rubruck (c. 1220-1293), unofficially backed by King Louis IX of France, and whose *Itinera* of 1255 we have relied on for pre-Yuan Mongol life in earlier chapters of this book.[67] Some religious groups, especially the Franciscans, saw the Mongol invasions of the 1220s and 1240s

and portents of the Apocalypse and signs of divine punishment.[68] Indeed, Matthew Paris is credited with the explanation that the Mongols came from "Tartarus," or hell, one of the reasons they were referred to as "Tartars."[69] However, as the thirteenth century wore on, Franciscans and other religious advisors to rulers encouraged the idea that the Mongols might be amenable to conversion to Christianity if only they were properly initiated into the faith (and explicitly not by Nestorians, who the Franciscans blamed for the Mongols' lack of conversion).[70] As the Mongols ceased their expansion westward and settled into establishing their territories within the larger empire in the 1260s, Latin rulers and diplomats recognized that the prospect of a Mongol conversion had decreased, but the possibility of an alliance between Latin powers and the Mongols against the Mamluks gained traction.[71]

In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, travel narratives painted an increasingly positive picture of the Mongols. Marco Polo's account of the Mongol Empire is exceptional for the wide range of experiences of its protagonist as well as its portrayal of Mongols, which to an extent revises contemporary stereotypes held by people in the Latin West.[72] Another important chronicler of the Mongol period was the Franciscan friar Oderic of Pordenone (c. 1265–1331), whose *Travels* formed a large part of the source material for the well-circulated writings of John de Mandeville.[73] Odoric, whose narration was recorded in Latin by William of Solagna in Bologna in 1330,[74] traveled to Asia in 1318–1330, where he spent three years at Khanbalik (the Yuan capital of Dadu, present-day Beijing).[75] Odoric's *Travels* gives the reader a positive sense of the Mongol Empire and he seems to have gotten along well with nearly everyone he met.[76] In addition to well-circulated travel narratives of Latins who traveled to the Mongol Empire, a few Mongol missions traveled west, which augmented Christian hopes for a Christian-Mongol alliance.[77] The Ilkhan Abakha (r. 1265–1282) sent envoys to Second Council of Lyons in 1274.[78] The most famous traveler from the Mongol Empire was Rabban Bar Sauma (c. 1220–1294), the Nestorian (follower of the Church of the East),[79] who recorded his journey from Khubilai's Dadu to Baghdad and, later, to the papal court in Rome, Edward I of England's court in Bordeaux, and St. Denis outside of Paris, among other locales.[80] Thus, the spread of knowledge about the Mongols in at least the upper echelons of the Christian West through works of literature and diplomatic missions was thus fairly extensive, by the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The Painted Khan

Images of Mongols painted in the early fourteenth century in Italy are found in religious paintings, in illustrated manuscripts, and in sculpture. Most of these depictions appear to have been inspired by one of two prototypes, either from observations of "Tartars" from life, or from illustrated manuscripts from the Ilkhanate. I will address the questions of who these Tartars were, and if they were the same thing as the group I have been referring to as "Mongols," after I introduce images of Tartars/Mongols from early fourteenth-century Italy.

Returning to Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Martyrdom of the Franciscans* (Plate 1), the Franciscans who commissioned this fresco were armed with knowledge of the reports of missionaries who had traveled to different parts of the Mongol Empire and were thus able to give Ambrogio specific instructions as to what they wished to be included in the painting. While the actual location of the specific martyrdom scene cannot

be determined with certainty, the textiles and dress of the khan and some attendants nonetheless evokes the Mongol world. Ambrogio, for his part, was able to compose an image of contemporary martyrdom that reinforced the Franciscan agenda of martyrdom and missionary work, which at the same time appealed to a broader interest in the Mongols outside of the Franciscan order. The Franciscan order passed through unsettled times at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century due to conflict around Spiritualist movements.[81] One of the results of the dissention within the Franciscan order was a zealous interest in both martyrdom and missionaries, two themes that are dramatically combined in the *Martyrdom of the Franciscans*.[82] The dissenting Spiritualists and Fraticelli found a sympathetic audience in Siena, whose artists were frequently commissioned by Franciscan communities all over Tuscany to paint fresco cycles.[83] The *Martyrdom of the Franciscans* can therefore be read as a type of Franciscan propaganda, with the Mongols and their textiles playing a principal role.[84]

Since silks woven with gold were the most prized of all *panni tartarici*, and because gold was a favored material in late Medieval and early Renaissance painting to emphasize the value of the work, it is not surprising to see depictions of gold textiles in the *Martyrdom of the Franciscans*. Gold textiles are depicted in the pointed hat of one of the Mongol spectators to the right of the khan, and the khan's skirt. On the hat, Ambrogio evokes the small vegetal pattern discussed above, famously depicted in Simone Martini's works (Figure 5.1, Plate 28) and preserved in the Met and Cleveland Museum of Art (Figure 5.2, Plate 29). Here, Ambrogio schematized the pattern on the hat, evoking this type of textile without showing it in elaborate detail, possibly because a more detailed pattern would not have been visible by viewers – the painting is located on an eastern wall of the chapter house (approximately, the building is not oriented on a cardinal axis), a location without direct sunlight.

In Italian representations of Mongols of this period, pointed hats function as synecdoche for Mongols and other eastern figures. Something that distinguishes Ambrogio's Tartars/Mongols from other representations is that they actually resemble Central or East Asians, while generalized eastern figures in other Italian paintings showed less attention to detail. The spectators in the scene of St. Peter's crucifixion in Giotto's *Stefaneschi Altarpiece* could be of the Mongol Empire,[85] as could a seated figure in the midst of soldiers casting lots for the cloth of Christ in an anonymous fresco from the fourteenth century in the Monastery of San Benedetto in Latio attributed to an artist of the Sienese school.[86] In these paintings, the artist relies on the pointed hat as shorthand for the eastern origin of the figures in addition to physical characteristics such as hairstyle and eye shape. The sculpted capital of a "Tartar" on the south façade of the Doge's Palace (Palazzo Ducale) in Venice (Figure 5.4) bears some resemblance to Ambrogio's Mongol/Tartar figures and the to the figure at the center of the San Benedetto fresco, especially in terms of certain facial features, hair and facial hair, and headwear. As an aside, the use of a Mongol/Tartar figure to adorn the façade of the Doge's palace probably served to underline the larger iconographic program of the building, part of which was remodeled in the mid-fourteenth century. As Deborah Howard has shown, the remodeled façade of the south wing evokes Mamluk architecture in its form and cresting, and Ilkhanid architecture in its tilework design.[87]

It seems, then, that Italian artists of the fourteenth century distinguished Mongols/Tartars from other "foreigners" though slightly different types of pointed hats, hair, and facial hair, along with other physical characteristics (more on these below). The pointed hat in fact

Figure 5.4 Sculpted capital depicting a "Tatar" on the south façade of the Doge's palace. Nineteenth century copy of a fourteenth century, Venice, Italy. Photo credit: Hannah Barker.

became a decorative motif in Italian textiles, as in a fragment from fourteenth-century Italy preserved in the Cleveland Museum of Art.[88] The pointed hat in representations of Mongols was not an Italian innovation; representations of Mongols in the illustrated manuscripts from the Ilkhanate, in the image of Shah Zav from a folio of the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, for example, shows figures wearing pointed hats (Plate 25). A glazed ceramic figure of a dancing Mongol from the Jin or Yuan dynasty also features a pointed hat.[89] In fourteenth-century Italian representations of Mongols/Tartars in religious paintings, the figures are not usually at the center of the action but are spectators. The *Martyrdom of the Franciscans*, while religious in nature, is an exception to this because it is a visual representation of Franciscan values, rather than a devotional image. Mongols are ambivalent figures, not necessarily evil (they may potentially be saved), but heathens nonetheless.

In addition to altarpieces and frescoes, portrayals of Mongol khans occasionally feature in illustrated manuscripts commissioned by royal courts across the Latin West.[90] The altarpieces and frescos mentioned above were religious in nature and made with the idea of public consumption in mind, but illustrated manuscripts were objects of private use, and the presence of Tartars/Mongols here shows an interest in the east by individuals. A page illustrating the vice of Gluttony from a fourteenth-century Genoese manuscript treatise on the Vices (possibly dating to before 1324)[91] (Figure 5.5) appears to be inspired by contemporary Ilkhanid illustrated manuscripts of an enthronement scene such as the image of Shah Zav from the *Shahnama* (Plate 25).[92] This composition was often used in Ilkhanid and Mamluk court art, replicated not only in manuscript

Figure 5.5 Tractatus de septem vitiis. Illustration of Gluttony. Illuminated manuscript. Genoa, fourteenth century. Vellum. 17.1 × 15.8 cm. London, British Library, Department of Manuscripts, MS. Add. 27695, fol. 13 r. © The British Library Board.

illustration but also in textiles, as in a roundel from the David Collection (Figure 5.6), and metalwork, such as the "metal bag" in the Courtauld Gallery.[93] The motif of the enthroned king or khan is frequently found in pre-Mongol Seljuq ceramics, such as a bowl from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.[94] Seljuq ceramics were polychrome and clearly connected to manuscript illustration, and in Seljuq examples the khan tucks both his legs under him, as in the Cocharelli manuscript, and is surrounded by attendants and horsemen. In the Ilkhanid examples we see the crowned khan enthroned in a position of "royal ease" with one knee up and the other tucked under or off to the side, a cup in his right hand, surrounded by varying numbers of attendants, performing different activities. The original inspiration for the Cocharelli manuscript may thus have been an Ilkhanid manuscript, a textile, or perhaps a scene painted on ceramic. The Ilkhanid manuscripts are of a very high quality, which, as court commissions, is to be expected. The Genoese manuscript, a private commission,

Figure 5.6 Medallion, tapestry, silk and gilded lamella of animal substrate spun around cotton. Iraq or Western Iran, first half of the fourteenth century. Diameter: 69 cm. David Collection, Copenhagen, 30/1995. Photo by Pernille Klemp, David Collection.

is of comparably high quality and uses equivalently costly materials such as gold leaf and what appears to be lapis lazuli.

In the Cocharelli manuscript, the khan is literally the embodiment of the sin of gluttony and is portrayed as a despotic figure of eastern decadence, a trope that would become popular in European Orientalist art centuries later.[95] Nonetheless, both his dress and that of his attendants is depicted in highly accurate detail, and in a totally different style from the Sienese paintings discussed above. This is likely due to the fact that the artist of this manuscript was looking not at Mongol envoys or textiles imported from the Ilkhanate as models, but an actual Ilkhanid manuscript, textile, or ceramic. Though the khan does not wear a crown, his familiar pointed hat is similar to those worn by several of Shah Zav's attendants in the *Shahnama* folio. All of the figures flanking the khan in the Genoese manuscript wear the same style of fitted coat, although they are phenotypically diverse. The pattern in the background of this scene evokes eastern textiles woven with gold that were both highly sought after by elites and represented in the paintings of northern Italy at this period, but in contrast to those represented by Simone Martini and others, the patterns represented here are not imitative of a specific textile. This illustration seems to encompass the multifaceted view that wealthy urban Italians had of Mongols of this period – that they were in a sense to be distrusted or even feared for their barbarism (here manifested in their inability to control their appetites),[96] while shown in the trappings of eastern luxury described by Marco Polo and seen in the gold-woven silks imported into Europe at this time. In other words, hardly a model of good behavior but easily an object of fantasy.

I now return to the point I introduced at the beginning of this section about Tartar/ Mongol figures being observed from life. Beyond the pointed hat and specific textiles and

clothing styles, facial features distinguish these figures with varying degrees of accuracy. Poses, textiles, and clothing types are all part of a repertoire of images that could have been transmitted from the Ilkhanate to the Latin West via illustrated manuscripts without difficulty, although no physical evidence of such a transmission has survived.[97] The depictions of "Tartars" open a whole field of questions, including, what is a Tartar and what is their relationship to the Mongol Empire? How would Florentine, Sienese, Genoese, or Venetian artists have seen a Tartar? I address these questions in the following section.

The Term "Tartar" and the Black Sea Slave Trade

One source for depictions of Tartars (or Tatars, the terms tend to be confused during this period) in northern Italian paintings of the fourteenth century may have been slave populations that existed in Italian city states at the time. These slaves were imported into Italy via the Black sea by Genoese and Venetian merchants. Genoese and Venetian merchants were at the center of the Black Sea trade, a major crossroads for the exchange of between Eurasia (essentially the Mongol Empire) and the Mediterranean. The Genoese trade emporia in Caffa and Tana were established following the Treaty of Nymphaeum with the Byzantine empire in 1261, giving the Genoese important access to the Mongol Empire soon after its formation.[98] While the Venetian Republic played a central role in regulating trade and helping Venetian merchants establish footholds in international locales, Genoese merchants were not under the direct control of the Genoese Republic and acted with greater autonomy from their home state.[99] The emporia, or *comptoires* that were established by the Genoese and the Venetians across Eurasia, from the Mediterranean to southeast China, had specific organization and the Venetian and Genoese leadership within these emporia were charged with defense of merchant interests and relations with local officials.[100]

Among the merchandise traded via Caffa and Tana were grains, textiles, and slaves. The majority of the slaves traded through the Black Sea ports went to the Mamluk sultanate who required a continuous supply of *mamluks* (slaves) to provide bodies for their ruling class.[101] However, some were sold to Italian city states and other urban locations in the Christian West. Tartars were not the only slaves traded via the Black Sea. Accounts of slave traders distinguish Tartars as only one of many groups that were traded, including Circassians, Bulgarians, Russians, Greeks, and Turks.[102] Additionally, Mongol subjects were sometimes captured and traded by the Venetians and Genoese. Tokhta Khan (d. ca. 1312), leader of the Golden Horde, attacked Caffa in 1308, forcing the Genoese to abandon the city temporarily, due to the fact that the Genoese were trafficking in Mongol subjects which was expressly prohibited by the Golden Horde.[103] While the trafficking of Mongol subjects was prohibited within the Mongol Empire, slaves described as "Tartars" were found in Italian city states in the fourteenth century. So, what did the term "Tartar" indicate in the slave context?

To answer this question, we must investigate the origins of the term "Tartar." The Tatars were one of the groups incorporated into the Mongol Empire by Chinggis Khan, but the use of the term Tatar or Tartar in the Mongol period in both East Asia and the Latin West usually stands for the Mongols as a whole, not the specific group within the Mongol polity. "Tartar" as a synonym for "Mongol" during the Mongol period was applied from the outside in. That is, the Mongol khans did not refer to themselves as Tartars; they are referred to as such in Chinese and Western language sources written by outsiders. By the foundation of the Mongol Empire in the thirteenth century the term Tatar or Tartar (*dada* 韃靼) had been used in various Chinese language contexts for several hundred years as a generalized stand-in for anyone originating from the Steppe.[104]

As mentioned above, in Latin sources, the designator Tatar or Tartar appears to have garnered associations with the term *Tartarus*, or hell, from early in the Mongol conquests. As Matthew Paris recounted in his *Chronica Majora* (1240):

> In this year, that human joys might not long continue, and that the delights of this world might not last long unmixed with lamentation, an immense horde of that detestable race of Satan, the Tartars, burst forth from their mountain-bound regions, and making their way through rocks apparently impenetrable, rushed forth, like demons loosed from Tartarus (so that they are well called Tartars, as it were inhabitants of Tartarus); and overrunning the country, covering the face of the earth like locusts, they ravaged the eastern countries with lamentable destruction, spreading fire and slaughter wherever they went.[105]

This impression of the Tartars corresponds to the general feelings of threat and panic the Mongol sowed as they made their way across Eastern Europe in the 1220s and 1240s. Tartar as a term in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries thus generally referred to people who were perceived as originating from the Mongol Empire. To whom "Tartar" referred depended on the context. In the slave trade, for instance, Latin sources give a variety of descriptors for Tartars, such as having flat, broad faces, small eyes or bulging eyes, white, olive, or brown skin.[106] In other words, for Italian slave traders, "Tartar" as a term was not physically specific. Writers in different contexts make it clear that to the Italian viewer in fourteenth-century Italy, however, Tartars were considered ugly.[107] Writing in the 1360s in Genoa, Frencesco Petrach (1304–1374) described the Tartar face as "Scythian," commenting that "an unusually large and countless crowd of slaves of both sexes has afflicted this city with deformed Scythian faces, just like when a muddy current destroys the brilliance of a clear one."[108] As the Scythians had lived in Central Asia a millennium before Petrarch made his observations, it is unclear that this reference would have had any specific resonance with Petrarch's reader, other than perhaps evoking "eastern barbarians" from ancient times. In other words, while authors made physical generalizations about Tartars, their descriptions are not very useful when attempting to reconstruct what a Tartar slave looked like in fourteenth-century Italy. However, that these descriptions exist give evidence for a diversity of people living in Italian city states and elsewhere in the fourteenth century, and for the existence of certain stereotypes being applied to these people.

Residents of present-day Germany also had a specific notion of "Tartars" as early as the thirteenth century. This is illustrated in an anecdote from John of Plano Carpini. Carpini and his travel companions refused to be accompanied by "Tartar" ambassadors from Güyük Khan (r. 1246–1248) on their way to Germany not only because they feared the ambassadors were in fact spies, but also because Carpini and his fellows worried that the Tartar ambassadors might be killed by their countrymen:

> we were apprehensive that they might be killed, for our people are for the most part arrogant and proud. When at the request of the Cardinal, who is legate in Germany, the servants with us went to him wearing Tartar costume, they were very nearly stoned by the Germans on the way and were obliged to take off the costume.[109]

In contrast to Petrarch and other Italian descriptions of "Tartar" slaves, Carpini allies Tartar identity with dress rather than facial characteristics.

It seems that different notions of "Tartars" existed in the Christian West during the Mongol period. On the one hand they were the conquerors who, over the course of the

thirteenth century went from being perceived as a major existential threat to being seen as potential allies by Latin rulers. As the name indicates, Tartars were also understood by both merchants and ruling elites as being the originators of the much sought-after *panni tartarici* so coveted in cities and courts across the Latin West. In part this connection was forged through descriptions of the riches of the Mongol Empire found in Marco Polo and other travel narratives. On the other hand, Tartars were identified with slaves that were traded by the Genoese and the Venetians to Egypt, but also to Tuscan cities including Florence. A helpful way of thinking of the meaning of the term Tartar during the Mongol period might be found in a comparison with what Gustavo Curiel has termed the "Greater China continuum," which he uses to refer to objects described in early seventeenth-century Spanish inventories as being Chinese or "from China" when it is clear that the appellation "Chinese" was applied to any number of Asian products, including materials from the Philippines, Japan, and India.[110] The term "Tartar" in the Mongol period seems to have been used in a similar way – it was generally applied to a variety of goods and people seen as originating from some part of the Mongol Empire.

The descriptions of Tartars considered alongside of the painted and sculpted depictions that I mentioned above, lead me to believe that Tartars were in fact a broad term for Central Asians living under Mongol rule rather than either Tatars, the group subsumed into the Mongol Empire, or "Mongols," that is, deriving from the tribes confederated by Chinggis Khan in the early thirteenth century. Since the population of actual Mongols within the empire was quite small, it is unlikely that most of the slaves described as "Tartar" were in fact Mongols, although, as the attack on Caffa in 1308 makes clear, Mongol subjects were sometimes captured and traded as slaves.

The impact of Mongol products such as *panni tartarici* and ideas about the Mongols themselves on arts and cultures of the Christian West during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was varied, yet undeniable. Mongol textiles played a crucial economic and social role in many urban centers, especially in the way in which non-elites began to represent themselves through their dress. The spread of real and imitation *panni tartarici* impacted the decorative vocabulary of textiles and in turn, painting, in many places, especially Italian city states. The idea of the Mongols espoused in literature and pictorial representations, too, played a role in identity formation in Western urban centers. A sense of self as opposed to a foreign "other," which was not wholly based on religious difference appeared during this time. In sum, the impact of the Mongol Empire on the Christian West during this period was multifaceted and felt in a number of different ways.

Notes

1 I use the term "Christian West" or "Latin West" instead of "Europe" in this chapter because Europe exists as an entity today in a different and far more unified capacity than it did in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Additionally, certain areas in present-day Europe were not "European," i.e. al-Andalus.

2 Roxann Prazniak, "Siena on the Silk Roads: Ambrogio Lorenzetti and the Mongol Global Century, 1250–1350," *Journal of World History*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2010), 206–207.

3 For arts and culture see: Tanaka Hidemichi 田中英道, "Giotto and the Influences of the Mongols and the Chinese on His Art: A New Analysis of the Legend of St. Francis and the Fresco Paintings of the Scrovegni Chapel," *Bijutsu shigaku* 美術史学, Vol. 6 (1984), 151–188; Lauren Arnold, *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures: The Franciscan Mission to China and Its Influence on Art of the West, 1250–1350* (San Francisco: Desiderata Press, 1999); Prazniak, "Siena on the Silk Roads," 177–217; Jennifer Purtle, "The Far Side: Expatriate Medieval Art and Its Languages in Sino-Mongol China," *Medieval Encounters*, Vol. 17 (2011), 167–197;

Colleen Ho, "Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century European-Mongol Relations," *History Compass*, Vol. 10, No. 12 (2012), 946–968; Anne Dunlop, "Ornament and Vice: The Foreign, The Mobile, and the Cocharelli Fragments," in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, ed. Gülru Necipoglu and Alina Alexandra Payne (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016); Anne Dunlop, "Artistic Contact Between Italy and Mongol Eurasia: State of the Field," 梨花史學研究 [Ewha Sahak Yeongu: Bulletin of the Ewha Institute of History], No. 57 (December, 2018), 1–36. For textiles see: Anne E. Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici:* Eastern Islamic Silks Woven with Gold and Silver (13th and 14th Centuries)," *Islamic Art* 3 (1988–1989), Genova : Bruschettini Foundation for Islamic and Asian art ; New York : Islamic art Foundation, 95–113; David Jacoby, "Silk Economies and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 58, (2004), 197–240; Lisa Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings 1300–1500* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008); David Jacoby, "Oriental Silks Go West: A Declining Trade in the Later Middle Ages," in *Islamic Artefacts in the Mediterranean World: Trade, Gift Exchange and Artistic Transfer*, ed. Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli and Gerhard Wolf (Venice: Marsilio, 2010), 87–104; Karel Otavsky and Anne E. Wardwell, *Mittelalterliche Textilien II: Zwischen Europa und China*, Die Textilsammlung der Abegg-Stiftung Band 5 (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2011); Juliane von Fircks, "Panni Tartarici: Splendid Cloths from the Mongol Empire in European Contexts," *Orientations*, Vol. 45, No. 7 (Oct. 2014), 72–81; Kristin Scheel Lunde, "13th—14th Century Yuan and Mongol Silk-Gold Textiles: Transcultural Consumption, Meaning and Reception in the Mongol Empire and in Europe" (PhD diss, SOAS London University, 2017).

4 Anne Wardwell offers a taxonomy of *panni tartarici*, dividing the textiles into eight different types, see Wardwell "*Panni Tartarici*," 95–173. David Jacoby builds on this work explaining that *panni tartarici* were figured silks and silks woven with metallic threads that were distinguished from earlier Byzantine, Islamic, and East Asian textiles as well as contemporary textiles from Mamluk silks. See Jacoby, "Oriental Silks Go West," 87. See also Jacoby, "Silk Economies," 231–232. Juliane von Fircks adds to the sum of known examples of *panni tartarici* in European collections and shows the extent to which this material was spread around the Latin West. See von Fircks, "Panni Tartarici," 72–81. Lisa Monnas shows the lasting impact that Mongol silks had on Italian weavers by examining the language used to describe different weaves of silk, introduced during the Mongol period. See Lisa Monnas, "The Impact of Oriental Silks on Italian Silk Weaving in the Fourteenth Century," in *The Power of Things and the Flow of Cultural Transformations*, ed. Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch and Anja Eisenbeiß (Berlin and München: Dt. Kunstverl., 2010), 65–83.

5 Fratini Giuseppe, *Storia della basilica e del convent di S. Francesco in Assisi* (Prato: Ranieri Guasti Editore-Libraio, 1882); Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici*," 139; Jacoby, "Silk Economies," 230, 233; Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters*, 70.

6 Jacoby, "Silk Economies," 233–234; Jacoby, "Oriental Silks Go West," 88.

7 The distinction made in period texts between *camaca* and *nasīj* in Latin sources indicates that they were two different fabrics, but what exactly differentiated them is a matter of speculation. See Elizabeth Coatsworth, Mark Chambers, and Gale R. Owen-Crocker, "Camaca." Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles. Brill Online, 2015, reference, University of Pennsylvania, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2609/entries/encyclopedia-of-medieval-dress-and-textiles/camaca-SIM_000911 (accessed Nov. 12, 2015).

As noted in Chapter 4, *kamkhā* in the Mamluk context may not have referred to textiles with gold at all, see L.A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume: A Survey* (Geneva: Albert Kundig, 1952), 59. For Ilkhanid *kamkhā* see Ibn Battuta 1958–2000, Vol. 2, No. 446, Note 122. Lisa Monnas discusses the form of camacas of various origins in Lisa Monnas, "The Price of Camacas Purchased for the English Court During the Fourteenth Century," in *La Seta in Europa Sec. XIII–XX: Atti della 'Ventiquattresima Settimana di Studi' 4–9 maggio 1992*, ed. S. Cavaciocchi (Prato: 1993), 743–746.

Camacas were copied in Italian workshops, and the 1376 Lucca silk weaving regulations describe two different weights of camacas, "camucha di una et di du sete," and "camucha di du fila in dente in una seta," both appear to have been tabby-tabby lampas silk, sometimes woven with gold threads. See Donald King and Monique King, "Silk Weaves of Lucca in 1376," *Opera Textilia Variorum Temporum*, ed. Inger Estham and Margaretha Nockert (Stockholm: The Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm Studies 8, 1988), 68.

8 Jacoby, "Silk Economies," 198–203.
9 Jacoby, "Oriental Silks Go West," 87. Salvatore Ciriacono also argues that the imitation of eastern silks – Byzantine, Arab, Chinese, and Persian – was a motivation in the foundation of the Lucchese and Venetian silk industries and adds that the Venetian silk industry was established in part by the emigration of Lucchese silk workers in the fourteenth century. See Salvatore Ciriacono, "Les manufactures de luxe à Venise: contraintes géographiques, goût méditerranéen et compétition internationale (XIVe–XVI e siècle)" *Les villes et la transmission des valeurs culturelles au bas Moyen Age et aux temps modernes* (Brussels: Crédit Communal, 1996), 236.
10 Jacoby, "Oriental Silks Go West," 87.
11 Jacoby, "Silk Economies," 218.
12 Jacoby, "Silk Economies," 230–231.
13 Jacoby, "Silk Economies," 206; Jacoby, "Oriental Silks Go West," 88–89.
14 For scholarship on the St. Mary's Church textiles and the Alte Kapelle textiles see Chapter 4, Note 40.
15 For scholarship on the textiles in these tombs see Chapter 4, Note 41.
16 Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters*, 72. Arnold, *Princely Gifts and Papal Treasures*, 120.
17 Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici*," 101, fig. 9.
18 For the 1295 inventory of Boniface VIII see Emile Molinier, *Inventaire du trésor du Sain Siège sous Boniface VIII (1295)* (Paris, 1888). For Riga see Tommaso Valenti, "Gl'inventari di Fr. Frederico de Pernstein, O.M., arcivescovo di Riga (1304–1341)," *Miscellanea franciscana* XXXIII (1933), 46–66. For the 1341 inventory of San Francesco see Fratini Giuseppe, *Storia della basilica e del convent di S. Francesco in Assisi* (Prato: Ranieri Guasti Editore-Libraio, 1882); also cited in Wardwell 1988–1989, 139. For the inventory of Pope Clement V: "panno tartarico indico, laborato ad denarius de auro." see Wardwell, "*Panni Tartarici*," 139.
19 Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250–1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 137.
20 Nicola Di Cosmo, "Black Sea Emporia and the Mongol Empire: A Reassessment of the Pax Mongolica," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the*, *Orient* Vol. 53, No. 1/ 2 (2010), 93.
21 On the idea of a *Pax Mongolica*, the realities of the unity of the Mongol Empire, and the impact on trade and diplomatic missions see Hodong Kim, "The Unity of the Mongol Empire and Continental Exchanges over Eurasia," *Journal of Central Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 1 (Dec. 2009), 15–42.
22 For an overview of travelers to the Mongol Empire from the Latin West see Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 44–45.
23 Luciano Petech points out that while the Venetians and the Genoese were the most important players in Latin-Mongol trade, this image is in part due to the surviving documents which allow historians to reconstruct aspects of the trade. While Florentines, Sienese, and Lucchese were also involved, documents regarding trade from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries do not survive. See Luciano Petech, "Les marchands italiens dans l'empire Mongol," *Journal asiatique*, Vol. 250 (1962), 552. See also Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, 102–134; Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 29–36.
24 Petech, "Les marchands italiens," 550; Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, 120–125; Di Cosmo, "Black Sea Emporia," , 93.
25 Howard, *Venice and the East*, 34; Purtle, "The Far Side," 178–180.
26 Di Cosmo, "Black Sea Emporia," 94.
27 Allan Evans, "Introduction," in Francesco Pegolotti, *La practica della mercatura* (The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936), xiv.
28 For a full transcription of a manuscript copied in 1472 and published in 1766 see Pegolotti, *La practica della mercatura*.
29 Pegolotti, *La practica della mercatura*, 22–23; see also Petech, "Les marchands italiens," 553–554.
30 The most complete translation of the *Devisement du Monde* in English remains Marco Polo, *Marco Polo: The Description of the World I*, trans. A.C. Moule and Paul Pelliot (London:

George Routledge & Sons Limited, 1938). See also Marco Polo, *The Travels*, trans. Ronald Latham (London: Penguin Books, 1958). For more information about the writing and dissemination of early versions of *Devisement dou monde* see Peter Jackson, "Marco Polo and his 'Travels,'" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Asian Studies*. Vol. 61, No. 1 (1998), 84–85.

31 Scholars have questioned whether Marco Polo actually journeyed to China, and indeed doubts have been cast on his narrative's veracity since the manuscript was first published. I follow those specialists who argue that Marco did spend a substantial amount of time in China, although his account was almost certainly exaggerated at times. Frances Wood's book *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* (London: Sacker and Warburg, 1995) rekindled the debate, concluding that Marco Polo did not travel any further than the Black Sea and Constantinople, citing a number of features common to prior skeptics, including his omission of tea, foot-binding, and the Great Wall from Polo's account. A number of scholars of the Mongol period have responded, taking her arguments to task and providing a wealth of evidence for Marco Polo's seventeen-year stint in China. See Igor de Rachelwiltz, "Marco Polo Went to China," *Zentralasiatische Studien*, Vol. 27 (1997), 34–92; Jackson, "Marco Polo and his 'Travels,'" 82–101.

32 Polo, *Description of the World*, 83–85, 90–91; Polo, *The Travels*, 39–45. See also Kim, "The Unity of the Mongol Empire," 20–21.

33 Polo, *Description of the World*, 316; Polo, *The Travels*, 206.

34 For Buscarello's function as a diplomat from the Ilkhanate see Petech, "Les marchands italiens," 562–565.

35 Negley Harte, "Silk and Sumptuary Legislation in England," *La Seta in Europa sec. XIII–XX: atti della 'Ventiquattresima Settimana di Studi,' 4–9 maggio 1992* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1993), 802–804; Catherine Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy: 1200–1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press: 2002), 34–35.

36 Harte, "Silk and Sumptuary Legislation," 802; Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy*, 30–32; Jacoby, "Silk Economies," 206; Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello, "East and West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Summer, 2008), 890.

37 Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy*, 24, see also Table 2.1 listing sumptuary regulations by date and place on 28–29.

38 Killeryby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy*, 31, also fig. 2.1 on 38 shows that women's clothing was by far the most regulated concern in sumptuary legislation. See also Jacoby, "Silk Economies," 206.

39 Harte, "Silk and Sumptuary Legislation," 804–806.

40 Jacoby, "Silk Economies," 208–209.

41 The term "fashion system" is from Roland Barthes, who uses semiotics to analyze the fashion of a specific period, seeing fashion as a social system based upon convention. In my understanding of a pre-modern "fashion system" I differ from Barthes, as fashions did not change in the pre-modern period at the rates it did in the twentieth century, the period of Barthes' focus. Roland Barthes, *Systeme de la mode* (Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 1967), especially 19. See also Roland Barthes, "Historie et sociologie du vêtement: Quelques observations méthodologiques," *Annales. Historie, Sciences Sociales*, 12e Année, No. 3 (July–Sept. 1957), 435–437.

42 Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters*, 71–76.

43 Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters*, 68–76.

44 Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters*, 70.

45 Simone Martini, *Maestà*, fresco with additions a secco, 763 × 970 cm, Palazzo Pubblico, Sala del Mappamondo, Siena. Published in Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters*, 69, fig. 62.

46 Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters*, 68.

47 Information on technique of the Angel of the Annunciation from the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. collections website, "The Angel of the Annuciation," www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.357.html, accessed November 29, 2018.

48 Alleged dalmatic of Benedict XI, Brocaded silk, Tartar silk, early fourteenth century, tabby ground with pattern weft floats of flat gilt animal substrate, pattern repeat 9.9 × 4.4 cm, Perugia, S. Domenico. Published: Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters*, 74, fig. 67.

49 By pseudo-inscription I mean a design that imitates texts but has no meaning, or is illegible.

50 See Vera-Simone Schultz, "From Letter to Line: Artistic Experiments with Pseudo-Script in Late Medieval Italian Painting, Preliminary Remarks," in *The Power of Line*, ed. Marzia Faietti and Gerhard Wolf (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2015), 144–161.
51 Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1996), 52.
52 Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, 56–57, fig. 48.
53 Tanaka, "Giotto and the Influences of the Mongols," 181–179.
54 W. South Coblin, *A Handbook of 'Phags-pa Chinese* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 1–4; Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1988), 155–160.
55 Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, 155–160; Shane McCausland, *The Mongol Century: Visual Cultures of Yuan China, 1271–1368* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 165–166, 231–232.
56 Textiles stamped with seals in 'Phags-pa script were produced in the Yuan dynasty, but this was not a decorative device, but a quality control measure. See Eiren L. Shea, "Painted Silks: Form and Production of Women's Court Dress in the Mongol Empire." *The Textile Museum Journal*, Vol. 45 (Oct. 2018), 48.
57 Polo, *Description of the World*, 91–92; Polo, *The Travels*, 43; Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan*, 158; McCausland, *The Mongol Century*, 26.
58 For an illustration of the 'Phags-pa script and discussion of its origins and use see Coblin, *A Handbook of 'Phags-pa*, 5–7.
59 Rosamond Mack argues that Giotto combined elements of 'Phags-pa and Arabic scripts in his paintings. See Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, 61.
60 See Chapter 4, Note 41.
61 Louise Mackie, "Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations," *Muquarnas*, Vol. 2 (1984), 139.
62 Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, 54–56.
63 Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza*, 51; Schulz, "From Letter to Line," 149.
64 Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 6–11.
65 Devin DeWeese, "The Influence of the Mongols on the Religious Consciousness of Thirteenth Century Europe," *Mongolian Studies*, Vol. 5 (1978), 48.
66 Julian of Hungary's account, one of the earliest Western accounts of the Mongols, unfortunately contains nothing about dress and will therefore not be used here. The text of Julian of Hungary is translated and annotated in German by Heinrich Dörrie, "Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen: Die Missionsreisen des fr. Julianus O. ins Ural-Gebiet (1234/5) und nach Russland (1237) und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter über die Tartaren," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, vol. 6, 1956, 165–182.
67 There have been several translations and studies of William of Rubruck and John of Plano Carpini along with other accounts of Europeans who traveled to East Asia. These include Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971); Christopher Dawson, ed., *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955) reprinted as Christopher Dawson, *Mission to Asia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); Manuel Komroff, ed., *Contemporaries of Marco Polo* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1928); Paul Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la papauté* (Paris: A. Picard, 1923); and Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, vol. III, The Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, No. 36 (1914); and William Woodville Rockhill, *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World 1253–1255, As Narrated by Himself, with Two Accounts of the Earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1900). For all the missions (minus Marco Polo) that went between Europe and Asia during the Mongol period, see L. Bressan, "Odoric of Pordenone (1265–1331). His vision of China and South-East Asia and his contribution to relations between Asia and Europe," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 70, No. 2 (273) (1997), 6–8. Colleen Ho gives a state of the field of European-Mongol relations and lists most of the missions between European and Mongol courts in Ho, "Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century," 946–968.

68 DeWeese, "The Influence of the Mongols," 47–50. The Franciscan attitude toward the Mongols was ambivalent, but ultimately seems to have leaned toward the idea that they should be converted to Christianity. This is seen in the writings of influential Franciscans such as Roger Bacon (ca. 1214–1292) and Ramon Lull (ca. 1232–1316), discussed in DeWeese, "The Influence of the Mongols," 58–70.
69 Deweese, "The Influence of the Mongols," 47.
70 DeWeese, "The Influence of the Mongols," 54–55.
71 DeWeese, "The Influence of the Mongols," 57–58.
72 As Suzanne Yeager points out, "Polo and Rustichello effectively reinscribe then-traditional views of 'eastern' sites and peoples – no longer the uncivilized denizens of monstrous locales, Polo's inhabitants operate in a world of sophisticated cities, commerce, and intellectual development. Those things deemed stereotypically 'heathen' are correct"; for instance, the Great Khan becomes a reasonable ruler who is said to harbor secret preferences for Christianity – a position which, in the time of the texts' circulation, would have proven his wisdom and civilized manner. Suzanne Yeager, "The World Translated: Marco Polo's *Le Devisement dou monde, The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, and Their Medieval Audiences," in *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 156–157.
73 There are two full translations of Odoric's *Travels* in modern European languages: Odoric de Pordenone, *Les voyages en Asie au XIVe siècle du bienheureux frère Odoric de Pordenone*, trans. Henri Cordier (Paris: E. Leroux, 1891); and Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, Vol. I (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1866), 1–162. John de Mandeville based his *Travels* on numerous sources, including Odoric's account. See Frances Wood, *Did Marco Polo Go to China?*, 141; John Larner, "Plucking Hairs from the Great Cham's Beard," in *Marco Polo and the Encounter between East and West*, 133–155, 141.
74 Bressan, "Odoric of Pordenone," 10. For a list of surviving manuscripts of Odoric's travels, see Bressan, "Odoric of Pordenone," 10–11.
75 Pordanone trans. Cordier, xxix.
76 Bressan, "Odoric of Pordenone," 12–16.
77 Ho, "Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century," 950.
78 Ho, "Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century," 950. The Second Council of Lyons was convened by Pope Gregory X with the goals of protecting Christians in the Holy Land and reuniting the eastern and western Churches. See Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre 1187–1291* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 466. The First Council of Lyons in 1245, convened by Pope Innocent IV, resulted in three embassies being sent from the Christian West to Mongol territories, see David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Malden (MA): Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 156–157.
79 "Nestorian" is considered a term with negative connotations by scholars of Nestorians/Church of the East – Nestorius was considered a heretic by the Church due to his insistence on the dual nature of Christ – the preferred terminology is the "Church of the East." The term "Nestorian" is, however, widespread, and so I will be using both to limit confusion. See Tjalling H.F. Halbertsma, *Early Christian Remains of Inner Mongolia: Discovery, Reconstruction and Appropriation* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 3–4.
80 There are two English translations of Rabban Bar Sauma's travel accounts: James A. Montgomery (trans.), *History of Yaballaha III Nestorian Patriarch and of His Vicar Bar Sauma: Mongol Ambassador to the Frankish Courts at the End of the Thirteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927); E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Monks of Khubilai Khan, Emperor of China* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2013). Another important study is Morris Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu: Rabban Sauma and the First Journey from China to the West* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1992). See also A. Mostaert and F.W. Cleaves, *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Aryun et Öleitü à Philippe le Bel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962).
81 Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans," 465–467.
82 Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans," 467.
83 Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans," 467, 469.

84 Roxann Prazniak argues that *The Martyrdom of the Franciscans* has multiple meanings, with a principle interpretation that Ambrogio discretely expressed sympathy for the Spiritualists, see Prazniak, "Siena on the Silk Roads," 213–214.

85 Giotto di Bondone (*ca.*1266/67–1337). Detail of Mongol horsemen from the Stefaneschi Polyptych with predella, painting. Commissioned by Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi c. 1313. Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome. Reproduction available on the Musei Vaticani online collection: www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/la-pinacoteca/sala-ii---secolo-xiii-xv/giotto-di-bondone-e-aiuti--trittico-stefaneschi.html#&gid=1&pid=2 (accessed August 28, 2019).

86 See von Fircks, "Panni Tartarici," fig. 1.

87 Howard, *Venice and the East*, 178–180.

88 Textile, lampas weave, silk and gold thread. Gold pattern with light and dark blue on cream ground, 24.2 × 24.2 cm. Italy, last third of the fourteenth century. Purchase from the J.H. Wade Fund, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1950.5. For a reproduction of this textile see the Cleveland Museum of Art digital collection www.clevelandart.org/art/1950.5 (accessed August 28, 2019).

89 Dancing Mongol figure, twelfth century (Jin or Yuan dynasty), glazed ceramic, tomb in Xifeng, Jiaozuo, Henan. Thirteenth century, Published in James Watt (ed.), *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010), fig. 68.

90 See a folio from the Chronicle of Gonzalo de Hinojosa, bishop of Burgos, composed in 1313–1327, in the French translation of Jean Golein of c. 1370–1373, addressed to Charles V of France now in the British Library (Royal 19 E VI), see British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, "Royal 19 E," www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7598 (accessed July 6, 2018). Thanks to Benjamin Zweig. Illustrated editions of Marco Polo show some diversity of depictions of the Mongol Khan, sometimes he is portrayed in Tartar guise, but sometimes in European dress, as in a copy from c. 1340 in the British Library (Royal 19 D 1), see British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, "Royal 19 D 1," www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8467&CollID=16&NStart=190401(accessed July 6, 2018).

91 For the date of the manuscript see Janet Backhouse, *The Illuminated Page: Ten Centuries of Manuscript Painting in the British Library* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 135; R. Flower, "Two Leaves from the Book of 'The Monk of Hyères,'" *The British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (May 1934), 128.

92 For a study of the manuscript in its international context see Dunlop, "Ornament and Vice," 228–237.

93 Rachel Ward, ed. *Court and Craft: A Masterpiece from Northern Iraq* (London: The Courtauld Gallery in Association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2014), 76–84, cat. 1.

94 Bowl with enthroned figure and horsemen, stonepaste glazed in opaque white with polychrome overglaze. Iran, Seljuq period, late twelfth– early thirteenth century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (57.36.3). For a reproduction see the Metropolitan Museum online collection www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/451378 (accessed August 28, 2019).

95 Especially in nineteenth century French Orientalist painting. See Eugène Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus* painted in 1827, for example.

96 The portrayal of Mongols as overindulging in food and alcohol conforms to the view of William of Rubruck's description of Mongol banquets: "After the master has drunk, then the attendant cries out as before, and the instrument-player breaks off. Then they drink all round, the men and the women, and sometimes vie with each other in drinking in a really disgusting and gluttonous manner." See Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 97.

97 Scholars have attempted to find evidence for the impact of West Asian illustrated manuscripts on the painting of thirteenth and fourteenth century Latin West in various sources, although no definitive evidence survives. For example, Roxann Prazniak argues that Ambrogio Lorenzetti found his inspiration for the composition of *The Martyrdom of the Francsicans* in an execution scene from the *Jami al-tawarikh* (an illustrated manuscript) rather than Giotto's *Saint Francis Before the Sultan*, which has been suggested by Andrew Peter and S. Maureen Burke. Prazniak, "Siena on the Silk Roads," 204–207, see also Peter, "Giotto and Ambrogio Lorenzetti," 4; Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans," 471–472.

98 Dennis Deletant, "Genoese, Tatars and Rumanians at the Mouth of the Danube in the Fourteenth Century," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 62, No. 4 (Oct. 1984), 511; Di Cosmo, "Black Sea Emporia," 85.

99 Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, 213–215; Di Cosmo, "Black Sea Emporia," 95.

100 For a full discussion of Genoese leadership within merchant communities see Michel Balard, "Les milieu dirigeants dans les comptoires Genois d'Orient (XIIIe–XVe s.)," *La storia dei Genovesi: atti del Convegno di studi sui ceti dirigenti nelle istituzioni della Repubblica di Genova* (Genova: Centro internazionale di studi sui ceti dirigenti nelle istituzioni della Repubblica di Genova 1981), 159–181. See also Di Cosmo, "Black Sea Emporia," 96.

101 Karl Stowasser, "Manners and Customs at the Mamluk Court," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984), 13–15; Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāsir Muhammad Ibn Qalāwūn 1310–1341* (Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 32–33; Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 132; Reuven Amitai, "Northern Syria between the Mongols and Mamluks: Political Boundary, Military Frontier, and Ethnic Affinities," in. *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands: Studies in the History of the Ilkhanate*, ed. Reuven Amitai (Variorum Collected Studies Series, Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 1997), 130; Hannah Barker, "Egyptian and Italian Merchants in the Black Sea Slave Trade, 1260–1500," PhD diss., Columbia University (2014), 50.

102 Sally McKee, "Domestic Slavery in Renaissance Italy," *Slavery and Abolition*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (2008): 306.

103 Peter Jackson, *The Mongols of the West 1221–1410* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2005), 305; Di Cosmo, "Black Sea Emporia," 97.

104 Chen Dezhi and Jia Jingyan "Dada," in *Zhongguo da baike quanshu Zhongguo lishi* (Beijing/Shanghai: Zhongguo da baike quanshu, 1992), vol. 1, 132–133.

105 From *Matthew Paris's English History*, trans. J.A. Giles, 3 vols. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853–1854), vol. 1, 312.

106 Barker, "Egyptian and Italian Merchants," 76–78.

107 Barker, "Egyptian and Italian Merchants," 78–80.

108 Translation from McKee, "Domestic Slavery," 305; Petrarca, *Opere di Francesco Petrarca*, ed. Emilio Bigi (Milan: Murasia, 1966), X.2, 956–958.

109 Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 68.

110 Gustavo Curiel, "Perception of the Other and the Language of 'Chinese Mimicry' in the Decorative Arts of New Spain," in *Asia & Spanish America Trans-Pacific Artistic & Cultural Exchange, 1500–1850*, ed. Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2009), 25.

Conclusion
The Mongol Legacy

The Mongol Empire ushered in a new era of intercultural relations in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For the first time, individuals traveled from one end of Eurasia to the other; in no prior era had cultures been brought into contact through war, trade, and diplomacy with such immediacy. What resulted from this far-reaching exchange was innovation in visual culture and the spread of forms, media, and technology favored by the Mongols. This is reflected especially in textiles, but also found in other media such as blue and white porcelain and ceramics, and manuscript painting.[1] The fall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368 to Ming forces and the demise of the Ilkhanate in 1335 did not mark a distinct endpoint for Mongol impact in Asia. Rather, there is evidence from the states that were established across Asia after the fall of the Mongol Empire that demonstrates that innovations from the Mongol period had an enduring effect. Further afield, Mongol culture also made a lasting impression on certain European centers, which we see echoed in the arts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Ming and Timurid Courts

The Ming dynasty (1368–1644) in China and Timurid dynasty (1370–1507) in Central Asia engaged with the Mongol legacy in different ways. The Chinggisid legacy could not be ignored by either state, but while the founder of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang (Hongwu Emperor, r. 1368–1398), was ambivalent about his position regarding the Mongols, the Timurids embraced and elaborated upon what they saw as their Mongol heritage.[2] The founder of the dynasty, Timur (Tamerlane, r. 1370–1405), deliberately continued Chinggisid Mongol practices and institutions. In particular, he retained the Chinggisid legal system and married his sons to Mongol noblewomen from the Chaghatayid royal house (of the Chaghatai Khanate).[3] The ambivalence toward the Mongols on the part of the Ming and embrace of the Mongols by the Timurids has impacted the predominant historical narrative of post-Mongol Asia, which has held that while polities in post-Mongol Central and West Asia claimed their inheritance of the Mongol Empire, in China the Ming dynasty cast aside the Chinggisid past to restore legitimate Chinese rule.[4]

According to this understanding, Mongol customs and culture were stamped out by the Ming, with the exception of some hold-outs in border zones, and the Mongols were pushed back into the Steppe region to the north.[5] Yet periods of dynastic transition are complex, and 1368 did not mark the end of Mongol cultural presence in East Asia, as David Robinson and others have shown.[6] The Ming had a complex relationship to the Yuan illustrated in Zhu Yuanzhang's often contradictory and shifting opinions of Mongol rule.[7] To domestic audiences, Zhu Yuanzhang characterized the early Yuan as a

peaceful time, sometimes noting that after the reign of the first Yuan emperor, Khubilai Khan, rule in the Yuan had declined, which led subsequent Yuan emperors to lose the Mandate of Heaven, essential for legitimate rule in China, and which Zhu Yuanzhang claimed to possess.[8] To foreign audiences, such as the rulers or Java or Japan, he portrayed the Yuan as barbarian invaders, from whom he had wrested power to restore proper rule to China.[9] Both Zhu Yuanzhang's domestic and international narratives of the arc of Yuan rule concluded in his restoring proper governance to China – what he framed as a tidy outcome to a chaotic time. While the Ming distanced themselves from Yuan rule by suspending official maritime trade, for example, they nonetheless deliberately retained certain Yuan systems and cultural practices.[10] In the realm of court art, the Mongol legacy in both the Ming and Timurid courts is reflected in ceramics, metalwork, painting, and dress. As dress is at the core of this study, I will cite a few examples pertaining to dress here.

Specific instances of Yuan court dress continued into the Ming. The most obvious incorporation of Yuan court dress in the Ming was the adoption of "Mandarin square" badges, which continued to be worn through the Qing dynasty. Unlike the use of central badges in the Yuan, the Mandarin square denoted official rank in the Ming and Qing dynasties. More significant in terms of the Yuan legacy in the Ming, however, was the Ming court's use of *jisün* robes and associated spectacle.[11] The actual act of robing, so central to the use of *jisün* under Mongols, seems to have diminished in the Ming, yet the term surfaces throughout the dynasty in official accounts.[12] The Ming understanding of *jisün* was varied – some officials writing about *jisün* understood the Mongol origins and cultural importance as a suit of clothing gifted from the khan to his officials before important banquets, while others seem to have mistaken *jisün* for a discrete article of clothing, such as a hat; confusion over the meaning of *jisün* seems to have increased over time.[13] In addition to rank badges and *jisün* banquet-style spectacle at the Ming court, other types of Yuan dress appear to have been worn by Ming subjects outside of the court, to the consternation of the Ming government. The Ming court issued repeated prohibitions against wearing Mongol-style dress in the first half of the dynasty, notably during the reign of the Hongwu Emperor (in 1367, 1368, 1372, and 1391) according to the *Ming shilu*明實錄 ("Veritable Records of the Ming").[14] These initial efforts were not successful: the *Ming shilu* notes that prohibitions were passed against "barbarian" dress again in 1443 and once more in 1491.[15]

Was "barbarian dress" the equivalent of Mongol dress? The *Ming shilu* details types of dress and hairstyles but it is unclear if the styles in question were variations on Yuan dress. In addition to wearing barbarian dress, when they wore Ming costume, officials stationed at the border appear to have sometimes neglected proper protocol for dressing according to rank. A report recorded in the *Ming shilu* complains of military officials stationed on the border of Chinese and Mongol controlled territories wearing colors and designs outside of those allowed by their rank.[16] Since color as an indicator of rank was officially implemented in the Ming, that military officials continuously flouted court orders may indicate that those stationed on the borderlands felt that, far from the capital, they were free to artificially enhance their status.

In addition to continuing certain sartorial practices of the Yuan, textiles, metalwork, lacquerware, and ceramics produced for the court incorporated a combination of Central Asian and West Asian designs with Chinese motifs, such as the soaring phoenix, certain types of floral scrolls, and specific vessel shapes, such as the moon flask (*bianhu* 扁壶) and penbox.[17] The incorporation of different patterns and vessels into materials produced for the court demonstrated a continued interest in the Mongol visual vocabulary,

and a desire to expand upon Mongol innovations in the decorative arts by continuing to incorporate West Asian motifs into the visual arts.

Like objects produced for the Ming court, some Timurid court-commissioned artworks visually connect the Timurid court to the court cultures of the Chinggisid Mongols. For example, in a copy of the *Kalila u Dimna* of Nizamuddin from Herat and finished in 1429, the courtly figures are depicted wearing Mongol-style short-sleeved robes over the long-sleeved robes and *xiongbei* designs in gold, and conical hats, borrowing directly from the vocabulary of the Ilkhanid painting.[18] The edition of the *Jami' al-tawarikh* made in Herat in the 1430s now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) is significant for its depictions of Mongol dress, including women wearing *boqta* and wide court robes, but also in the fact of its creation – the Mongol world history was considered important enough to replicate in the Timurid period.[19] Whether the Timurids adopted specific types of Mongol dress to wear at court, or if Mongol court dress was just used in representations in illuminated manuscripts, is a topic for future study. What we know is that the Timurids referenced both the Ilkhanate while also continuing to show an interest in motifs from East Asia, much as the Ming continued to adopt West Asian motifs into certain of their courtly materials.[20] In particular, blue and white ceramics and specific motifs such as the soaring phoenix alluded to Yuan and Ming artistic production.[21] This continued internationalism in the visual arts demonstrated a desire to evoke the past and continue Mongol imperial traditions of drawing from a broad array of visual motifs from across Asia.

Europe

The Mongol legacy in the early modern period outside of Asia is complex. Certainly, China and Chinese products continued to hold a special place in the imagination of various European courts and urban centers, and products and designs inspired by East Asian materials, in particular porcelain and silk, continued to be produced.[22] Significantly, it was the Mongol Empire that inspired the age of European maritime exploration of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[23] In particular, it was the idea of the East derived from Marco Polo's account that fueled a desire by European powers to chart maritime routes to India and China, searching for luxury goods such as silk, porcelain, and spices. Marco Polo's account focused on the Mongol Empire, particularly in his description of "China" (Cathay) – as aforementioned, this was likely the reason why foot-binding and the importance of tea were excluded from his account, as these were southern Chinese (Song dynasty) practices, rather than Mongol ones. The search for Khubilai Khan's China thus underpinned both the European discovery of the Americas, and the establishment of trade routes to East Asia.

Europeans, however, probably did not distinguish between "China" and the Mongol Empire, and it was most likely the idea of China, which evolved over the course of the sixteenth century, that continued to inspire Europeans. As European footholds to access trade in East Asia were established, the relevance of the idea of the Mongol Empire receded while actual knowledge about the contemporary Ming dynasty grew in importance as its products were increasingly sought after by Europeans.[24] Silk and textiles remained at the center of the trade in commodities produced in China; these traveled both west to European centers and east, via the Manilla Galleon, to Spanish imperial possessions in the Americas.[25] As a result of the vast global trading networks established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, East Asian textiles impacted the decorative arts and the social structures of courts and urban centers in Europe and in European

colonial possessions during this period to an even greater extent than they had in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus, we find that the Mongol Empire inspired the next age of global exchange, although, much like the use of *jisün* in the Ming, there were varied understandings of the actual Mongol impact on the arts and cultures of subsequent centuries. If we look for the Mongol legacy we find it everywhere, and yet, what the Mongols, China, and the "East" more broadly signified to various audiences was and is heterogenous and ever-changing.

Notes

1 For more on the Mongol legacy at the Ming and Timurid courts see Eiren L. Shea, "The Mongol Cultural Legacy in East and Central Asia: The Early Ming and Timurid Courts," *Ming Studies*, No. 78 (Sept. 2018), 32–56.
2 Peter Jackson and Lawrence Lockhart, *The Cambridge History of Iran Volume 6: The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 45.
3 Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1989), 27.
4 For Timurids embrace of the Mongol legacy see Sheila Blair, "Timurid Signs of Sovereignty," *Oriente Moderno*, (1996), Rome : Istituto per l'oriente C.A. Nallino, 551–576; Peter Jackson and Lawrence Lockhart, *The Cambridge History of Iran Volume 6: The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 45; Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 27; Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Temür and the Problem of a Conqueror's Legacy," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 8, No. 1 (April 1998), 21–41. For Ming rejection of Mongol legacy see Morris Rossabi, "Ming and Inner Asia," in *Cambridge History of China Vol. 8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 2*, ed. Denis Twitchett and John Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1998), 221.
5 Rossabi, "Ming and Inner Asia," 225.
6 See the essays in Craig Clunas, Jessica Harrison-Hall, and Luk Yu-ping, eds., *Ming China: Courts and Contacts 1400–1450* (London: The British Museum, 2016), especially David Robinson, "Justifying Ming Rulership on a Eurasian Stage," 8–14.
7 John Dardess, "Ming T'ai-Tsu on the Yüan: An Autocrat's Assessment of the Mongol Dynasty," *Bulletin of Sung and Yüan Studies*, No. 14 (Jan. 1, 1978), 6–11.
8 Dardess, "Ming T'ai-Tsu on the Yüan," 8–9.
9 Dardess, "Ming T'ai-Tsu on the Yüan," 7.
10 Henry Serruys, "Remains of Mongol Customs in China During the Early Ming Period," *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 16, No. 1/ 2 (1957), 137–190.
11 David Robinson, "*Jisün* Robes and Court Spectacle," (unpublished ms., 2018), 1–38.
12 Robinson, "*Jisün* Robes and Court Spectacle," 3–6.
13 Robinson, "*Jisün* Robes and Court Spectacle," 3–6.
14 Serruys, "Remains of Mongol Customs," 148, 151–153, 159.
15 Serruys, "Remains of Mongol Customs," 161, 166.
16 Serruys, "Remains of Mongol Customs," 163.
17 Shea, "The Mongol Cultural Legacy," 39–49.
18 For an illustration see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 100, cat. 21.
19 Supplément Persan 1113 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, digital copy available via Gallica on the BnF website: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8427170s.r=persane%20 1113?rk=21459;2 (accessed August 28, 2019).
20 Yolanda Crowe, "Some Timurid Designs and Their Far Eastern Connections," in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 168–178.
21 Shea, "The Mongol Cultural Legacy," 39–40.
22 For the continued impact of Chinese luxury goods on Florentine arts in the sixteenth century, for example, see Irene Backus, "Asia Materialized: Perceptions of China in Renaissance Florence," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2014).

23 See Andre Gunder Frank, *ReORIENT: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (University of California Press, 1998), 52–53; Valerie I.J. Flint, "Marvels of the East," in *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 115–146; Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume 1: The Century of Discovery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 730–731.

24 The earliest East Asian outpost established by a European power was the Portuguese base in Malacca in 1511, see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, *Vol. 1*, 731.

25 For China-Europe textile trade see the essays in Amelia Peck, ed., *The Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade 1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), especially Maria João Pacheco Ferreira, "Chinese Textiles for Portuguese Taste," 47–55; Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello, "East and West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Summer 2008), 887–916. For China-Americas textile trade see Schuler Camman, "Chinese Influence in Colonial Peruvian Tapestries," *Textile Museum Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1964), 21–34; Han-sheng Chuan, "The Chinese Silk Trade with Spanish America from the Late Ming to the Mid-Ch'ing Period," *Essays in Asian Studies in Felicitation to the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of Professor Ch'en Shou-yi* (1975), 99–117; Gustavo Curiel, "Perception of the Other and the Language of 'Chinese Mimicry' in the Decorative Arts of New Spain," in *Asia & Spanish America Trans-Pacific Artistic & Cultural Exchange, 1500–1850*, ed. Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2009), 19–36; Dana Leibsohn and Meha Priyadarshini, "Transpacific: Beyond Silk and Silver," *Colonial Latin American Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2016), 1–16.

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