(*fallahin*) and Bedouin. Worn over a skullcap and held in place by a headcord known as the *'iqal*, it kept out the winter cold and shielded against the summer sun, while affirming the modesty and respectfulness of the wearer. The turban, wrapped around the skullcap, distinguished the elders of the community from younger men (Seger 1981: 34).

In the terms of the sartorial system of this hierarchical society, the *kufiya* also marked its wearer as a man of lower status. It distinguished the *fallah* from the *effendi*, the educated middle- and upper-class man of the town, who demonstrated his social preeminence by donning the maroon-colored *tarbush* or fez. The reforming Ottoman government introduced the fez in the 1830s, to identify the wearer as an Ottoman subject without regard to his faith and to replace the turban, which differentiated subjects by sectarian allegiance (Hodgson 1974: 229; Winkelhane 1988: 136).[5]

After initial resistance, the *tarbush* gradually took hold among urban males, and throughout the nineteenth century remained *the* distinctive marker of "Oriental" identity even as other clothing items underwent westernization (Winkelhane 1988: 138). In the course of this sartorial evolution the Western hat, regarded as the emblem of the colonialists, was never adopted. In the early twentieth century Arab nationalists in Damascus initiated a campaign to distinguish between Turks and Arabs on the basis of the "Ottoman" fez vs. the "Arab" headscarf. Some men went bareheaded to avoid this Turkish-Arab conflict (Winkelhane 1988: 136). Photographic evidence suggests that the *kufiya* was an important part of the uniform of the fighters in the Arab Revolt led by Faysal (Khalidi 1984: 46). I do not know whether Palestinians were involved in this headgear struggle, but photographic evidence suggests that many young educated urbanites in Palestine adopted the bareheaded pose by the twenties and thirties—probably as a sign of modernization or Westernization. Photographs from the early thirties of radical young nationalists of the Istiqlal Party show a mix of bareheaded and tarbush-wearing men (Khalidi: 1984: 106–107). The *tarbush* was never donned in the countryside, except by those village boys who studied and men who worked in urban centers (Seger 1981: 62). Up to the 1930s the *kufiya* continued to signify social inferiority (and rural backwardness) while the *tarbush* signalled superiority (and urbane sophistication).

The status hierarchy based on rural-urban and class difference