The Shaping of Persian Art

Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia

Edited by

Yuka Kadoi and Iván Szántó

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An idea for this volume initially developed at the planning stage of a panel for the 11th Conference of the European Society for Central Asian Studies (ESCAS) in the autumn of 2009. Hosted by the Central European University in Budapest, the conference offered an invaluable opportunity for us to rethink European historical ties with Asian civilisations, such as the migration of the Magyars and other nomadic people from the Eurasian steppes to Central Europe, as well as the invasions of the Mongols and the Ottoman Turks. This unique opportunity encouraged us to call for our colleagues to conduct a collaborative project, and our enthusiasm turned into a collection of essays dealing with the history of Asian art collections and studies from the perspective of Persia—a common research interest of the editors and the contributors to the current volume.

The editors wish to thank all those who have contributed their time and knowledge to the completion of this volume. A variety of the papers in this volume portrays the increased diversification of this discipline. Our sincere thanks go to Joachim Gierlichs and Friederike Voigt for their help and encouragement since their participation in the ESCAS session. In addition to Tatjána Kardos who made a collaborative endeavour with Iván Szántó to reveal a hitherto unknown aspect of Persian art collections in Budapest, we are most grateful to Alice Bombardier, Sabina Dvořáková, Mircea Dunca, Magdalena Ginter-Frołow, Barbara Karl and Eva-Maria Troelenberg who took part in the volume project with their insightful essays. A contribution from Tajikistan by Larisa Dodkhudoeva, Rustam Mukimov and Katherine Hughes gives an additional “Persian” flavour, an element which is most desirable for the depth of discussion in the volume. Finally, the editors are very fortunate to have such wonderful contributors who are most supportive and cooperative.

It is hoped that this publication would be a stimulus to break a traditional view towards the cultural border.

The Editors

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION AND TERMINOLOGY

For the sake of simplicity, the use of diacritical marks for Arabic, Persian and Turkish words or names are kept to a minimum. Vowels are transcribed according to the standard Romanisation of Arabic, with the exception of the Persian silent "h," which is written out as a terminal "e." Turkish words follow the modern Turkish alphabet, except in classical contexts where they are transcribed as mentioned above. For modern Tajik, the standard transliteration of Tajik was chosen but sometimes the Persian form was also provided. To avoid confusion, the names of certain modern Iranian persons occur both in standard transcription and in the commonly used English form.

Throughout the volume, the term "Persia" is extensively used, since the current volume is much concerned with the time before 1935, when the country name "Iran" was internationally recognised. The term "Oriental" is used in some articles, if it is linked to a 19th- and 20th-century geographical notion towards the non-western world, covering not only the Islamic Middle East and North Africa but also Asia and Africa in general.

Unless necessary, Hijri (Islamic lunar) dates are not given. Some biographical dates of individuals are not given, due to lack of information at the time of editing the volume.

ABBREVIATIONS

BWG	L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting: Including A Critical and Descriptive Catalogue of the Miniatures Exhibited at Burlington House, January – March, 1931*, London, 1933.
EIr	*Encyclopeadia Iranica*, New York, 1982-.
SPA	A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman (eds.), *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, London, 1938-9.

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Introduction

Why Persian Art Needs to be Studied and Collected

WHY PERSIAN ART NEEDS TO BE STUDIED AND COLLECTED

YUKA KADOI AND IVÁN SZÁNTÓ

The notion of "Persia" is a key to understanding of what we now widely conceive as the Islamic Iranian art style but equally as the Central Asian art style of the Islamic period, evoking, for instance, the famous *maydan* in Isfahan or quadrangular formal gardens in Shiraz, as well as the blue tiles on a four-*ivan* building in Samarqand or knotted pile medallion carpets from Herat. "Persian art," in the first place, had developed in a succession of Persian empires, first under the Achaemenid kings, later under their Arsacid, Sasanian and Muslim descendants. The core lands of these empires changed from time to time, but as the Persian administration expanded, this generated a broad Persianisation that affected vast swathes of Central Asia as well as the art history of even farther regions.[1] A lasting visual bond between Persia and the region of Transoxiana became self-evident after the integration of this region into the greater Islamic world under the ʻAbbasids, Samanids, Ilkhanids, Timurids and their successors. In the words of Robert Byron (1905–1941): "Timur, in founding an empire […], had delivered Oxiana from the nomads and brought the Turks of Central Asia within the orbit of Persian civilisation."[2] Such sweeping statements are, however, bound to be challenged.

While the impact of the Persian style is undeniably reflected in most aspects of the art and architecture of Islamic Central Asia, this Perso-Central Asian connection was chiefly formed and articulated by the Euro-American movement of collecting and interpreting the art and material culture of the Persian Islamic world during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This exerted an enormous impact on the formation of scholarship and connoisseurship in Persian art, for instance with an attempt to define the characteristics of how the Islamic art of modern-day

[1] For the mechanisms of this process in pre-Islamic times, see Ball, 2010; Boardman 2000.
[2] Byron 1937/1982, 88.

Iran and Central Asia should be viewed and displayed at museums and how these subjects should be researched in academia. This important historical fact, which has attracted scholarly interest only in recent years, should be treated as a serious subject of research, accepting that the abstract image of Persian art was not a pure creation of Persian civilisation but can be the manifestation of particular historical times and charismatic individuals. Attention should therefore be given to various factors that resulted in the shaping of "Persian" imagery across the globe, not only in terms of national ideologies, but also within the context of several protagonists, such as scholars, collectors and dealers, as well as of objects themselves.

Besides the on-going debate as to whether or not the cultural term "Persia" should be replaced by the more politically-oriented term "Iran," the fundamental question arises: can "Persian" art be defined after all? Is it related to a particular style or a peculiar visual language, or, rather, does it refer to the unity of artistic traditions within a given geographic, ethnic or linguistic area at a limited time? Why shall we still opt for the enduring term "Persia"—rather than Iran, the names of several independent "istans," generically the Middle East, Islam or West Asia—when it comes to the art, architecture and material culture of modern-day Iran and Central Asia after the Arab conquest in the 7th century? And can we still distinguish between "Persian" and "Islamic" after the conquest? If "Persian art" should and must only be interpreted as an abstract idea rather than a well-defined unity, was the term solid enough through its constant use in past scholarship? And, above all, can we still employ it safely?[3]

There is no shortage of self-assured statements and attempts to classify artistic and architectural forms to different social or ethnic groups, such as the Persians, the Turks or the Arabs, as well as to propose certain hierarchical orders between them.[4] Yet "Persian art"—like most collective terms in the history of art—has always been fluid, greatly depending on who, where, when and on what purpose brought it into play. Judging by the number of books and articles about "Persian art," it is intriguing to see that, while consensus did never exist about the items that could be packed together in this baggage, the existence of the baggage has been accepted by nearly every scholar. For some, a Coptic textile may have been Sasanian, hence Persian; others grouped Mughal paintings into several "Indo-Persian" schools with the emphasis on the Persian pedigree. For yet others, the palace of Mshatta in modern-day Jordan *was* Persian, but some

[3] For the history of the term "Iran," see Gnoli 1989.

[4] The methodological consequences of ill-defined terminological premises are demonstrated by Grabar 2010.

could regard the Mausoleum of Isma‘il Samani in modern-day Uzbekistan *only* as Tajik.

The present volume does not make judgments and does not come forward with a new solution: neither does it have any say in the art-historical development of Persian art before or after the Muslim conquest. Instead, it reconsiders the ideas of those who contributed to the shaping of "Persian art" of the Islamic period.

Notes on Historiography—Persian, Iranian or Islamic?

To begin with, let us historiographically assess the work of Marcel Dieulafoy (1844–1920), the author of one of the earliest general surveys of ancient Persian art, entitled *L'Art antique de la Perse* (1884–9).[5] In a lesser-known later book by Dieulafoy, *Art in Spain and Portugal* (1913), he suggested that most of the arts of mediaeval Iberia were derived from Islamic, and ultimately Sasanian, Persia. The first paragraph is worth quoting in its entirety:

> "It may seem strange that the art history of Spain and Portugal should begin on Iranian ground, at the time of the Sassanids, and that the study of the primitive mosques should serve as a preface to that of the western churches. I hope, however, to show in the course of the first three chapters that Persia was not only the source of inspiration of Musulman architecture, and of the so-called Mudejar architecture of Spain, but that she played an important and well-defined part in the elaboration of those religious themes which found their way into the Asturias, Castille, and Catalonia after the expulsion of the invaders, and were acclimatised in France at a later period by the Benedictines."[6]

A chain of Italian scholars from Michele Amari (1806–1889) through Ugo Monneret de Villard (1881–1954) and Geza de Francovich (1902–1996) to Giovanni D'Erme (1935–2011) projected a similar genealogical link among mediaeval Italy, Fatimid Egypt and pre-Islamic Persia. Amari, for instance, suggested a massive Persian immigration in Sicily during its Muslim conquest and offered a series of toponymy that he believed to reflect Khurasanian or Transoxanian connections.[7] Monneret not only drew comparisons between early mediaeval Italian and Persian art, but he was also aware of Persian artistic presence in ancient India.[8] Francovich

[5] Dieulafoy 1884-9.
[6] Dieulafoy 1913, 1.
[7] Amari 1858, vol. 2, 31-35.
[8] Monneret 1938; for an assessment of Monneret, see Contadini 2000.

found an underlying Persian core in the representation of kingship in mediaeval European art,[9] while D'Erme "was vividly struck by the 'Persian aura' which effused from" the Cappella Palatina in Palermo.[10]

Such bold assertions may have stemmed from whimsical thoughts of Italian scholars of various times.[11] Yet they responded, to a certain degree, to the 19th-century trend in Indo-European linguistics and anthropology that greatly stimulated the growing European discourse on the origins of western art, including the "Orient oder Rom" debate that had provocatively been triggered off by Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941) in Vienna in 1901.[12] Despite an unclear definition of its role in the shaping of western art, Persia continued to exude its "aura," and it was this very aura which was perceived and translated into an abstract idea of "Persian art" in the context of the "Orient oder Rom" debate. The term "Persian art" eventually came to be used, though in its most general sense, in mediaeval contexts as a distant backdrop for a remote past, whereas the more recent, let alone contemporary, artistic contacts between Europe and Persia were rarely touched upon before World War II.[13]

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[9] Francovich 1964.

[10] D'Erme 2004, 401; see also D'Erme 1995.

[11] A similar, "Perso-Spanish" thesis was suggested by the Scotsman Robert Murdoch Smith (1835–1900), the director of the Persian telegraph company in Tehran who acted as an agent to acquired Persian objects for the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) in London in 1873-85. In his *Persian Art* (London, 1876), a guidebook which was published on the occasion of the exhibition of Persian art in 1876, he states that "Persia is in all probability the country from which the Arabs derived the arts afterwards developed by them in Spain and elsewhere […] it is far from improbable that even the Alhambra itself was chiefly the work of Persians, who stood to the Arabs in much the same relation that the Greeks did to the Romans" (Smith 1876, 3-4).

[12] His controversial book was entitled *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst* (Orient or Rome: Contributions to the History of Late Antique and Early Christian Art). In conjunction with the 150th anniversary of the birth of Strzygowski, there were several events related to his career in the year of 2012, most notably a conference in Vienna on 12 October, organised by the Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung (Society for Comparative Studies in Art; for the conference programme, see http://www.vergleichende.at, accessed 21 March 2013).

[13] There were exceptions; see, for instance, Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945)'s early article about Islamic elements in the art of Rembrandt ("Rembrandts Zeichnungen nach Indisch-Islamisch Miniaturen", *Jahrbuch der königlich-preußischen Kunstsammlungen*, 25 [1904], 143-58). For Sarre's life and career, see Gierlichs's article in the present volume.

While Europe was not particularly receptive to the art and culture of modern Persia during the 19th and early 20th centuries, the latter, on the other hand, earnestly studied, reciprocated and exploited the on-going European discourse about the quasi-legendary brilliance of Persian art, especially during the last years of the Qajar dynasty and under the energetic rulership of Riza Shah Pahlavi (r. 1925–41).[14] It laid claim to every bit of the Persian greatness that had been so much extolled by western scholars. Pahlavi Persia (or Iran after 1935) invited leading scholars and sponsored or supported the great international projects of the 1930s relating to the subject: these included archaeological expeditions, congresses, loan exhibitions, and—most lasting of all—the publication of *A Survey of Persian Art* (1938–9), a multi-volume corpus which was edited by Arthur Upham Pope (1881–1969) and Phyllis Ackerman (1893–1977).[15] Without doubt, the leading western scholars to take up residence in Persia were the self-made entrepreneur Pope from America,[16] the polymath Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948) from Germany[17] and the architect and Franco-Persian cultural attaché André Godard (1881–1965) from France.[18] They gave support to the official renaming of the country from Persia to Iran, a move which implied that the country was home to all Iranians—Kurds, Lors, Balochi and even Turkic-speaking people—not just the Persians. However, it can be argued that this reversal of the discourse may have ultimately sealed the fate of "Persian art." Tied to a modern, secular state, "Persian art" was detached from its earlier aura of timelessness, thus losing most of its universal claims.

Although modern Iran attempted to further promote the western-fabricated elements of its own mystique, the new nationalist standpoint exerted a counteractive effect. Ultimately "Persian art" failed to challenge the success of the—likewise highly contestable—term "Islamic art." Today, Persian art forms part of Islamic collections and museums all over the world, but no "Museum of Persian Art" has ever been established.[19] Yet

[14] See Grigor 2007.
[15] SPA.
[16] For the life and career of Pope, see Gluck and Siver (eds.) 1996; Kadoi (ed.) forthcoming.
[17] For Herzfeld in Persia, see Hauser, von Gall, Stronach and Skjaervo 2003 and recently Jenkins 2012.
[18] For Godard in Persia, see Gran-Aymerich and Marefat 2001, and Bombardier's article in the present volume.
[19] While there is no museum in Iran with this name, there are several collections in the country aiming to present exclusively Persian art. Chief among these is the National Museum of Iran (formerly Museum of Ancient Iran, *Muze-ye Iran-e*

Dieulafoy's Spanish hypothesis shows that the complete separation of the Cordovan and Bukharan artistic traditions before 750 AD and the forced amalgamation of these two extremes in the mould of Islam after 750, as postulated by the late 20th-century doyen of Islamic art studies Oleg Grabar (1929–2011), would look rather differently using a Persian mould.[20]

The shift from "Persian" to "Islamic" happened in parallel with the establishment of the Arab states in former Ottoman territories after World War I and the invention or reassertion of their local, modernist-national traditions. While attempts were made to recategorise the arts according to major ethnic groups in the Middle East based on the 19th-century concept—namely Turkish, Arab and Persian—or according to the religious group by adopting the adjectives such as Muhammadan or Muslim, a new taxonomical category—Islam—was introduced by western art historians in the inter-war period so as to give Islamic art a false sense of one secular, cultural unit.[21] The application of the secularised, collective term "Islamic" for generically describing the arts of later Persia undermined the role of Persia, while post-Ottoman pan-Arab nationalism welcomed the emphasis on Islam, whether religiously or culturally, as an original Arab contribution to global civilisation. Such shifts rarely occur without conflicts, as shown, for instance, by the continuing disagreement over the name of the Persian Gulf.[22] Similar processes have been taking place in many more areas over the wider region from the Caucasus to Afghanistan.

During the height of the "Orient oder Rom" debate but geographically far from the centre of the debate, the Russian Yakov Ivanovich Smirnov (1869–1918) realised that a large number, perhaps the majority, of the splendid metalwork hoards from the Russian steppe and Siberia, which had been previously considered as Persian, was in fact "Iranian."[23] The chapters of the art of long-forgotten Iranian peoples, such as the Sogdians,

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Bastan), established in Tehran in 1937 by André Godard. As its original name implies, its initial emphasis fell on the pre-Islamic period, yet the Perso-Islamic material also underwent such a rapid growth that the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran was induced to devolve it upon a separate Museum of the Islamic Period in 1994.

[20] Grabar 1973, 4-15.

[21] The process of secularisation in Islamic art is lengthily discussed in Shaw's study of Islamic art collections in the Ottoman Imperial Museum (see Shaw 2000, 59).

[22] It is in this context interesting to note that the Museum of the Persian Gulf was founded in the largest Iranian port city Bandar 'Abbas in 2008, when the opposite coast witnessed the opening of the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha in Qatar.

[23] Smirnov 1909.

the Khwarizmians and the Bactrians, thus began to emerge as the essential narratives of a wider, more variegated Iranian civilisation. This again paralleled important political changes which were to unfold in Central Asia, a Turkic-dominated land, also called "Turan" or "Turkestan." Within a few decades, new states appeared on this part of the Persian cultural domain, such as the Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmen and Azerbaijan Soviet republics, completing the fragmentation of Persian art.[24]

Each fiercely claimed to be heir to the same patrimony, often in an exclusionist manner, and was eager to establish a historical link to great mediaeval dynasties, such as the Samanids for Tajikistan and the Timurids for Uzbekistan. To fashion local culture more authentically national, as well as to erase the history of the communist past after the 1990s, some of the best-preserved monuments in the region that had been researched by leading Soviet scholars in the 1960s-70s were, soon after the independence, extensively restored or in some cases completely remodelled as buildings with more recognisably "Persian"-style decoration.[25] At the same time, the Turkic Uzbeks regard themselves as heirs *par excellence* to the Turanians, the legendary foes of the Iranians, and model their monuments on this standpoint. Official Uzbek historiography stresses the independence of classical Uzbek culture from Persia, even if western observers, like Robert Byron, quoted above, look at local art as Persianate.[26] Furthermore, Uzbek nationalism refuses to accept the large Persian-speaking Tajik community as being Tajik, maintaining instead that every citizen of the country represent the Turkic Uzbek nation. Neighbouring Tajikistan, conversely, emphasises its Iranian identity as opposed to the "Turanian" Uzbeks.[27] Fellow Iranian Afghans discovered the pre-Islamic Kushan and Islamic

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[24] Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan can be excluded in the discussion of neo-Persianisation in the former Soviet Central Asia. The former is ethnically diverse, consisting not only of the Turkic Kazakhs but also of many ethnic groups as a result of mass deportations from other Soviet states under Joseph Stalin. The latter is more culturally associated with the lands formally called East Turkestan, historically known as the lands of the Uyghurs or the Western Regions (*Xiyu*) in China.

[25] The process of re-Persianising Islamic monuments already occurred in Central Asia during the 19th century (see Rogers 2006).

[26] For further discussion on Uzbek national ideology, see March 2002. Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan follow a similar path, although in the absence of a significant Persian-speaking population conflicts are less pronounced there than in Uzbekistan.

[27] See the essay on Tajik art in the present volume.

Ghorid (or Ghurid) dynasties as precursors in their national history.[28] Turkmenistan may be regarded as an exception: this Turkic nation which has emerged from a nomad pastoralist society, finds its ancient embodiment in the Iranian-speaking Parthians who also appeared in history as nomads.[29]

Ultimately, many Central Asian monuments lost their original elements, compared with the time when Ernst Cohn-Wiener (1882–1941) made a pioneering study of the still-untouched Islamic monuments of Central Asia.[30] In the Caucasus, the newly created Turkic state of Azerbaijan similarly dissociated itself from the modern state of Iran, downplaying the links with Persian culture and regarding itself as a victim of Persian expansionism, while the outwardly Persianate local monuments have been regarded as evidence for an independent Turko-Azeri genius. Significantly, however, the Christian Armenians and Georgians, with their artistic heritage scattered over Iran and Turkey, display a much more relaxed attitude towards the question. As the most important middlemen between various religious and ethnic groups in the region since ancient times, many aspects of their art have become compatible with both Persianate and nationalist interpretations.

In this regard, it is instructive to contemplate the fate of Persian art by looking at two of its most powerful modern manifestations. The symbolic mausoleum of the first great New Persian poet, Abu ‘Abdallah Ja‘far Rudaki (858–c. 941) in Panjrud, Tajikistan (1958), and that of the two American scholars of Persian art Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman in Isfahan (completed in 1977), were both modelled on the so-called Samanid Mausoleum in Bukhara in modern-day Uzbekistan, the earliest major Persian monument from the Islamic period (c. 914–43).[31]

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[28] Before the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1979, the pre-Islamic Iranian Kushan dynasty (c. 1st–4th centuries AD) played a central role in the formation of modern Afghan cultural identity (see Nayksi 1982). This orientation was eclipsed by subsequent decades of war, and in recent years the Muslim Iranian Ghorid dynasty (12th–13th centuries) appears to take over as Afghanistan's "national" dynasty, as expressed, for instance, at an international seminar, entitled *The Ghorid Empire and its Role in the History, Civilisation and Culture of Afghanistan and the Region*, held in Kabul in 2011. While the papers have not yet been published, the organising foundation (Ghuri Jahandaran Cultural Foundation) maintains a website which offers information about this event and other conferences (http://www.jame-ghor.com, accessed 30 October, 2012).

[29] See, for instance, Asyrov (ed.) 2007.

[30] Cohn-Wiener 1930.

[31] For the millecentennial celebrations of Rudaki in Tajikistan, see Mirzoev 1968; for the Pope-Ackerman mausoleum, see Grigor 2009, 175-200. Pope's contributions to the development of Persian art studies and collections will be referred to in

But the two buildings represent diametrically opposing aims: whereas the Rudaki Mausoleum becomes fixed firmly in the Tajik national canon, the other building expresses the universalism of Persian art, as envisioned by Pope and Ackerman.

In order to prevent further fragmentation of the Iranian world, a few international scholars, like Richard Nelson Frye (b. 1920), have been working hard to uphold the idea of "Greater Iran" not only in the academic sphere but also among the people of the successor states.[32] Representing a slightly different approach, the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies (ASPS) was inaugurated in 2002 in Tajikistan to investigate the culture of the Persian-speaking societies and the wider Iranian world.[33] In addition, the past years have seen the publication of a number of pioneering studies which explored the role of the Persian language, including translations and inscriptions, in Islamic art history. For example, a recent survey by Bernard O'Kane showed that Persian epigraphy is surprisingly widespread in Islamic art, appearing between Europe and Bengal as the second-most popular language in inscriptions after Arabic.[34]

The Birth of "Persian Islamic" Art and Western Art History

As widely argued elsewhere in a recent reassessment of art history in the non-western world, Islamic art history was essentially developed as a branch of western art history from the 19th to the 20th century,[35] and the major discourse of the double-adjective "Persian Islamic," or the more hybrid term "Perso-Islamic," art was thus also conducted chiefly by Euro-American scholars. During the formative period of its scholarship, the primary concerns for Persian art among western scholars were given to architecture and "miniature" painting of the great mediaeval dynasties of the Saljuqs, Ilkhanids, Timurids and Safavids. Sculpture, which traditionally ranks highly in western art history, lost its significance after the Muslim

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Kadoi's article in the present volume. It should be noted that the Rudaki Mausoleum has been most recently replaced by a larger structure which displays Timurid, rather than Samanid features.

[32] Frye 2005.

[33] See http://www.persianatesocieties.org (accessed 11 November 2012).

[34] O'Kane 2009.

[35] Recently Shalem 2012. There has been an on-going debate as to whether the term "Islamic" can be generically used for describing the art, architecture and material culture of the Islamic world. Yet there is so far no alternative to replace this misleading term.

conquest when many figurative traditions of the Persian world were dismissed or modified. One category that did not match western art-historical concepts but was soon accepted as distinctively "Persian" as well as rightly "Islamic" along with architecture and "miniature" painting, especially among collectors and museums, was carpets. Surviving examples that can be attributed to the pre-Islamic Persian world were not discovered until the mid-20th century, although mediaeval descriptions of pre-Islamic Persian carpets were already well-known.[36] So-called "minor arts" or "arts and crafts," according to western art-historical traditions, such as metalwork, ceramics and glass, were also viewed as subjects of investigation but more often integrated into the wider category of Islamic art.[37] Other genres of the "minor arts," such as arms and armour, were also collected, but these were rarely viewed distinctively as Persian objects.[38]

Euro-American scholarship inevitably Euro-Americanised the approaches to these topics. This is particularly the case with the single Persian "miniature" painting leaf, which was viewed and appreciated as the Persian equivalent to old master's oil painting but not as a book illustration. Persian "miniature" painting was thus sold individually, as well as delicately framed, often with the emphasis on image rather than the entire page with text, and it was predominantly displayed on the wall in Euro-American museums. In order further to establish the connoisseurship of Persian "miniature" painting in the West, the role of painters was over-emphasised, while calligraphers and other aspects of the art of the book were downplayed. For most westerners of this time, undecipherable Arabic letters must have been viewed as irrelevant for the appreciation of "miniature" painting, and this tendency may have promoted the detachment of image from text both in scholarship and in art dealing.[39]

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[36] Studies about the legendary late-Sasanian "Spring of Khusraw" carpet, for example, were already published in the 19th century (see Karabacek 1881). The oldest surviving Persian pile carpet, dating back to the 5th century BC, was discovered in 1949 in the Pazyryk Valley in the Altai Mountains in Siberia and now in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (no. 1687/93) (see Loukonine and Ivanov 2003, no. 29).

[37] This category includes media, such as ivory and rock crystal, but these are more closely associated with the Islamic West than with the Persianate world.

[38] Possibly the most notable achievement in this field for the last decade is Moshtagh Khorasani 2006, which covers the history of Persian arms and armour from the bronze age to the 20th century and demonstrates their Persian characteristics.

[39] One may think of the fates of many important pre-modern copies of the *Shahname*, whose pages are dispersed across the globe; this unfavorable situation is a serious obstacle for scholars who first of all have to travel globally as far as the manuscript page goes. Thanks to the IT revolution in the past decade, we are now

While calligraphers were rarely featured in the early writing of Persian painting in the West,[40] some identifiable figures of Persian painting, like Riza ‘Abbasi (c. 1565/70–1635), became “stars” or “masters,” following the western art-historical canon.[41] Deriving from pre-existing Persian notions of Kamal al-Din Bihzad (c. 1460 –1535) as the “Second Mani” (in allusion to a 3rd-century prophet who used art to proselytise), this late-Timurid painter became “the Persian Michelangelo.” These juxtapositions enabled European scholarship to build up Europeanised constructs for the discussion of Persian art in which the lonely genius of a Bihzad or another painter eclipsed the manuscripts which contained the paintings.[42] Like the Japanese rediscovery of Ukiyoe prints’ painters, the Persian world

virtually able to study dispersed manuscripts by using online databases, such as the Cambridge *Shahname* project (http://shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk/new/jnama/page/, accessed 15 July 2012). Western connoisseurship of Persian painting not only gave a wrong picture of the Persian art of the book in the past but also in some cases caused an unrecoverable damage to some of the finest manuscripts, such as the Great Mongol *Shahname* and the Houghton *Shahname*.

[40] Clément Huart (1854–1926) was one of the early contributors to the study of calligraphy in Persian painting (Huart 1908). For more about the biography of Huart, see Calmard 2004. Having prepared the catalogues of Persian manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, his compatriot, Edgard Blochet (1870–1937), become a leading historian of Persian painting. For his life and works, see Richard 1989.

[41] The long series of publications about Riza the painter was stimulated by debates as to whether or not he was also a leading calligrapher with a similar name. The initial supposition of Sarre, shared by Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942)(“Riza Abbasi, ein persischer Miniaturmaler”, *Kunst und Künstler*, 9, 1911, 45-53) about the dual-identity of Riza as the painter and the calligrapher, was questioned by Karabacek in his major essay, “Riza-i Abbasi, ein persischer Miniaturmaler” (published in *Sitzungsberichte, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch- Historische Klasse*, 167, 1911, Vienna: 1-48). In response, Sarre and Mittwoch wrote a book of their own in which they upheld their previous thesis (*Zeichnungen von Riza Abbasi*, Munich, 1914), while a number of other, chiefly German, scholars also published their own ideas about Riza. The Riza ‘Abbasi controversy up to the early 1930s was summarised in Isabel Hubbard, “‘Alī Rizā-i ‘Abbāsī, calligrapher and painter”, *Ars Islamica*, 4, 1934, 282-91. After Karabacek’s opinion had proven right, ‘Ali Riza the calligrapher was rarely discussed any more, but the painter continued to be the subject of art-historical investigation, including Sheila Canby’s *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi ‘Abbasi of Isfahan* (London, 1996).

[42] Emphasis on the individual artist was also reflected with the emerging modern art of Iran, as witnessed by Husayn Bihzad (Hossein Behzad, 1894–1968), bearing the name of his illustrious predecessor. For this painter, see Bombardier’s article in this volume.

rediscovered the Persian artists through European assessments. In turn, Iran and Tajikistan would name their new museums in honour of these rediscovered artists, hence the Riza ʻAbbasi Museum in Tehran (opened in 1977) and the Kamal al-Din Bihzad Museum in Dushanbe (opened in 1945). Ironically the latter museum does not possess any, even single painting by its denominator, but it has modern, European-inspired, oil paintings, intending to evoke the forgotten, if not mythical, past of the Tajik nation.[43]

Such a painter-oriented taste ultimately set a borderline between art history (image) and philology (text) in Persian manuscript studies. This often resulted in distorted transliterations and misinterpretations of the text in the past.[44] Yet thanks to the rise of codicology in the field of Islamic manuscripts in recent days, it is a right time to declare that "miniature" painting no longer exists, and every aspect of the physical condition of Persian book painting has nowadays thoroughly been studied.

Apart from the creation of "miniature" painting, the western art-historical canon was also applied for the taxonomy of Persian painting according to the "school." The painting school was often associated with a city or town, rather than the workshop managed by the master, due to the lack of information about named painters or masters in pre-modern Persian painting. This generated a certain bias towards periphery pictorial traditions. Many Persian painting schools outside the main genealogical lines, such as the Shaybanids (1500–99) of Central Asia,[45] the Aq Qoyunlu (1396–1508) of East Anatolia and West Persia,[46] or the dynasties of the Delhi Sultanate (1206–1555),[47] were for a long time overlooked; in some cases, these were categorised vaguely as the works of provincial schools under the more established dynastic names so as to justify their existence. By contrast, some unusual features found in what was ought to be evocations of the

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[43] See, for example, fig. 4.3 in the present volume.

[44] To take an example, the name of Riza the painter has been transliterated in English in several confusing ways, such as Riza-i ʻAbbasi, Riza-yi ʻAbbasi, Riza-ye ʻAbbasi, Riza ʻAbbasi and so forth. The persistence of the unreasonable usage of the "-(y) i" or "-(y) e" structure (i.e., the *izafe* structure) in this name seems to have stemmed from the dispute between Sarre (Riza ʻAbbasi) and Karabacek (Riza-yi ʻAbbasi): the triumph of the latter's correct biographical proposition ironically destined the survival of his incorrect rendering of the name. See note 41.

[45] Porter1998.

[46] Rettig 2011.

[47] For a recent study of Delhi Sultanate painting and its visual culture, see Perrière 2008.

"high school" of Persian painting, such as that of the Timurids and the Safavids, were rejected as non-Persian.[48]

The same tendency can be said about the carpet—the bestselling cultural product of Persia. Realising its immense commercial value through western assessments, the carpet industry revived in late Qajar and early Pahlavi times, and the image of the "Persian" carpet steadily took shape.[49] Persian carpets were essentially viewed as show displays rather than items of actual daily use by Euro-American scholars and collectors of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the western collecting canon that highly praised the "high school" of carpets from courtly workshops led to a long-lasting taxonomy of Persian carpets according to regions rather than techniques. Silky carpets from courtly workshops began to be regarded as fine arts products, whereas roughly-woven rugs of Central Asian tribes were considered as ethnographical materials.[50]

Besides the aforementioned disciplines, namely art history and ethnography, archaeology also made a significant contribution to the shaping of our view towards Persian Islamic art.[51] Due to the theological aversion to burial rites, material remains of Islamic Persia are mainly from urban sites, thus reflecting the life of not only the ruling class but also the working class. Such finds, especially ceramics, attracted little attention when they were initially discovered as sherds or fragments and mostly undecorated or uncoloured. Far from this original context, however, examples of various mediaeval Persian fine wares, such as *minai* and *lajvardina*, with the perfect shape and vivid colour, began to appear in the western art market, and gradually lost much of their archaeological

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[48] For instance, our image of the 16th-century "school" of Shiraz has only recently been rectified by Uluç 2006. See also Kangarani (ed.) 2008 for the reconsideration of the school of Shiraz.

[49] See Rudner 2011.

[50] See Kadoi's article in the present volume for further discussion of the formation of "Persian" carpet taste. For an ethnographical view to the art and material culture of Central Asia, see Voigt's article in the present volume.

[51] In recent years, several studies have been devoted to the development of Middle Eastern archaeology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a scholarly discipline as well as a tool of nationalism and colonialism (see Goode 2007; Trümpler [ed.] 2010). Although this volume does not dwell upon archaeological missions in Persia during this time, some collecting activities among archaeologists will be referred to throughout the articles of the present volume. For a good overview of the development of archaeology in modern Iran, see Abdi 2001. See also the history of the German Archaeological Institute's Tehran branch, a subject which was re-examined through an exhibition and an international conference in 2011 (Helwing and Rahemipour [eds.] 2011).

profiles. Furthermore, the boom of Persian objects in the art market was, inevitably, linked to the growth of suspicious excavations and trading as well as the rise of fakes and forgeries of Persian objects in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; the commercialisation of Persian art had an unwelcome impact on the academia as well.[52]

Finally, various 19th-century Eurocentric views to the art of the non-western world served to create a distorted, complicated timeline and hierarchy of Persian Islamic art. While the great mediaeval and post-mediaeval Islamic dynasties were viewed as equivalent to European Renaissance courts, modern Persian artistic production, especially that of the Qajar and early-Pahlavi periods, was, almost deliberately, excluded from the history of Persian art. The objects of the latter were defined as the traditional *crafts* of Persia,[53] although earlier examples of the same crafts acquired their honourable status as fine artworks. The study of Qajar art made a significant advancement in the last few decades, partially rectifying this situation. Yet post-Safavid Persian art in general still remains bound to the category of Islamic or Middle Eastern art instead of the global discourse of modern art, and it continues to suffer from neglect.[54]

Persian Art in Central and East Europe: An Uncharted Field

This volume does not intend to offer a comprehensive view to the history of studying and collecting objects from Islamic Iran and Central Asia across the globe, nor does it aim at including all the well-known collections and scholarly activities in West Europe and North America, such as those which evolved in late 19th- and early 20th-century London, Paris and New York. Similarly, the present volume does not extend the

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[52] Many leading art historians were misled by forgeries in the past: besides the so-called "Buyid" textiles that began to appear on the market in the 1930s and led some scholars, including Dorothy Shepherd (1916–1992), to believe their authenticity, see, for instance, a lengthy monograph by Gaston Wiet which was devoted to a group of mediaeval-looking silks (*Soieries persanes*, Cairo, 1947). For forgeries of Persian art and smuggling from Iran, see, for example, Muscarella 2000, Majd 2003 and entries of "forgeries" in the *EIr*.
[53] See Wulff 1966 and recently Floor 2003.
[54] Despite recent exhibitions, such as Karlsruhe 2010, in which this problem has been readdressed, yet another show of Iranian *contemporary* art has been opened at the Museum of *Ethnography* in Warsaw at the time of writing this article (see Malek-Madani [ed.] 2012). For the display of non-western contemporary art in ethnographical contexts, see Shatanawi 2009.

full discussion into the perception of "Persian art" among the collectors and scholars of modern-day Iran, since this requires a separate, monograph-length book; it is hoped that such a scholarly endeavour will be initiated and pursued in the near future.[55]

For the same token, it is beyond the scope of the current volume to deal extensively with the reception of Persian Islamic art in West/South Europe (e.g. France, Great Britain, Ireland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Greece and Switzerland) and North America,[56] the Scandinavian,[57] as well as the Gulf states,[58] Anatolia,[59] the Indian Sub-continent,[60] Russia[61] and the Caucasus.[62] The omissions also include the

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[55] Several notable attempts have already been made on the self-reassessment of cultural heritage in the Islamic Middle East. As for the rise of cultural institutions in the region, Shaw has conducted a pioneering investigation into the birth of modern museums in Ottoman Turkey, stressing their uniqueness, not merely as a result of westernisation but as part of Ottoman identity-making process (see Shaw 2003). Turning to Egypt, the Hungarian architect and founding director of the Arab Museum in Cairo, Max Herz (1856–1919), played an important role in the formation of modern Egyptian cultural identity: his life and career has been thoroughly studied by Ormos (Ormos 2009; Herz will be referred to in Szántó's article in the present volume). Research also has started on the development of museology in Iran that can be traced back to 1876, the foundation year of the Imperial Museum (*Talar-i Muze*); this museum was established in the wake of Nasir al-Din Shah's (r. 1848-96) first European Grand Tour (1873) (see Ekhtiar 2007).

[56] See relevant entries on Islamic art collections (including Persian Islamic objects) in Ådahl and Ahlund 2000. For the development of Persian studies in France, the German-speaking world, Italy and the Netherlands, see Hourcade 1987; Fragner 1987; Piemontese 1987; Bruijn 1987, respectively. See also Gray 1985.

[57] Besides relevant entries in Ådahl and Ahlund 2000, see major publications by the David Collection in Copenhagen (e.g. Folsach 2001); see also Edahl [Ådahl] 2008 for the Swedish collections of Persian art.

[58] Although the Gulf collections of Persian art are relatively new as museum or private collections (e.g. Qatar and Kuwait), it is interesting to note that some important collections of Persian or Islamic art that had formerly been in the West recently found their way to the Gulf region.

[59] See, for example, the catalogue of the ground-breaking exhibition of the Turks at the Royal Academy of Arts in London in 2005 (London 2005) that featured many Persian Islamic objects from Turkish collections, notably the Topkapı Saray Museum in Istanbul and the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul.

[60] Wink 1996-7 should be quoted as a comprehensive monograph about the Persian-Islamic cultural and artistic synthesis in India. It helps to understand how the patronage of, for example, the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556–1605), was not just about the emergence of Mughal art through the migration of Persian artists but also the development of the vast Persian manuscript collections that included many

Iberian Peninsula, Africa, East Asia, South-East Asia, Australia as well as Latin America.

On the other hand, the current volume is much concerned with the collecting history of Islamic Persian art in Central and East Europe, intending to challenge a widespread view to the predominance of Ottoman cultural legacy in this region. With the exception of Poland—its adjective "Polonaise" was and is still associated with a certain type of Persian carpet[63]—the collections of Persian art in Central and East Europe were for a long time relatively neglected, compared to Ottoman material culture, a subject which has attracted a reasonable deal of research interest in both local and international scholarly communities.[64] In discussing the emergence

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examples of what we now know as masterpieces of Persian painting. India thus offers a unique collecting history of Islamic art that is closely linked to antiquarian connoisseurship and precedes the 19th- and 20th-century collecting activities in Europe and America.

[61] While Russian contributions to the development of Persian studies and art collections deserve an extensive reappraisal, the current volume limits itself to mention some aspects of Russian scholars and collections, especially in relation to Tajikistan. For the moment, see Atkin 1987; Loukonine and Ivanov 2003; a recent conference, entitled "Russian Orientalism to Soviet Ideology: the Persian-speaking World and Its History through Russian Eyes", at the University of Oxford in 2012 (http://www.iranheritage.org/Russian_Orientalism/default.htm, accessed 21 February 2013). Among the leading Soviet Orientalists, the Armenian Joseph Orbeli (1887–1961) played an important role in the development of Persian art scholarship in early 20th-century Russia (for his biography, see Yuzbashyan 1964).

[62] For example, see Kellner-Heinkele, Gierlichs and Heuer (eds.) 2008.

[63] For a recent study of the Polonaise carpets and a list of relevant references up to the 2010s, see Banas 2011. The history of the term "Polonaise" is traced back to the late 19th century, when the Polish prince Władysław Czartoryski (1828–1894) exhibited Persian carpets in the Polish Pavilion at the 1878 Universal Exhibition in Paris. The coat-of-arms of his family woven in some of the carpets generated a misleading attribution of the carpets to Polish workshops. See also Ginter-Frołow's article on the Polish collections of Persian manuscripts in this volume.

[64] It was, for instance, in the late 1970s and 1980s that Jennifer M. Scarce researched the arts of the Islamic Balkans (Scarce [ed.] 1979, which is the proceedings of the symposium held at the Royal Scottish Museum [now National Museums Scotland]; for this museum's collection, see Voigt's article in the present volume) in July 1976. Veronika Gervers (1939–1979)—a native Hungarian who was a promising curator at the Royal Ontario Museum but died in the middle of her career—worked on textiles and costumes in the context of Euro-Ottoman relations; her publications include *Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles and Costume in Eastern Europe, with Particular Reference to Hungary* (1982). In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the Islamic cultural legacy in the

of Persian art studies in different national contexts and, furthermore, in highlighting the role of Central Europe in this process, this volume also aims to dismiss the notion of a monolithic "Europe" or "West" which stands in a binary opposition to "the Orient."[65]

As an academic discipline, Turkology in both pre-Islamic and Islamic times had already been developed as early as the first half of the 19th century, especially in Austria, owing to its diplomatic links with the Ottoman Empire,[66] and in Hungary, thanks to its once-presumed linguistic tie with the ancient Turks.[67] Arabic was also widely studied in Central and East Europe as a principal tool for the understanding of Islam, and this was closely linked to the translation and interpretation of the Qur'an and other Islamic religious texts.[68] On the other hand, Persian studies lagged behind in the region, compared with West Europe,[69] and remained a secondary subject that was merely part of Islamic, Middle Eastern or Oriental studies, as well as in some cases part of Indology.[70] Nevertheless, some important

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Balkans (for example, see Maximilian Hartmuth [ed.], *Centres and Peripheries in Ottoman Architecture: Rediscovering a Balkan Heritage* [Sarajevo, 2011]).

[65] In this respect, the current volume follows, for instance, Marchand 2009, 6. See also Malinowski (ed.) 2012 for the history of art history in Central and East Europe.

[66] Suffice it to mention here Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), the founding father of Ottoman studies, who taught in the *Kaiserlich-königliche Akademie für Orientalische Sprachen* (founded in 1754 by the Empress Maria Theresa) and became the co-founder and first president of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (1847–9).

[67] Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913), a self-taught linguist, historian and adventurer, should be mentioned as the founder of Turkology in Hungary. A chair of Uralo-Altaic philology was established at the Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Budapest, as early as 1872 and the department of Turkic philology—the first instance of this kind in Europe—in 1916. Several notable young Turkish students studied there, including Hamit Zübeyr Koşay (1897–1984) who later became the director of antiquities in the newly founded republic (Goode 2007, 20-21).

[68] The Centre for the History of Arabic Studies in Europe (CHASE) was launched in March 2012 within the Warburg Institute in London, accompanied by the inaugural conference, "Translating the Qur'an."

[69] Germany became the undisputed centre of Persian studies in the 19th century where scholars such as Franz Bopp (1791–1867), Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) and Paul Horn (1863–1908) brought Persian philology to a synthesis on a hitherto unknown level, and this is exemplified in *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1895-1904), edited by Wilhelm Ludwig Geiger (1856–1943) and other leading Orientalists.

[70] This was the case with Poland (Krasnowolska 1987, 183-4). In Austria, the doctorate in comparative linguistics has been awarded since 1872 but no university

achievements in Persian art studies were made as a by-product of Turkish philology, such as *Einführung in die persische Paläographie* (Budapest, 1977) by the Ottoman scholar Lajos Fekete (1891–1969), published posthumously, which remains the standard work in the subject until today.

In contrast to the slow emergence of Persian studies in Central Europe, art historians of the region discovered Persian art much earlier than those of West Europe, and Persian art was already included into the discussion of general art history. For example, the first general survey of world architecture, the *Entwurff einer Historischen Architektur* (Leipzig, 1725) by the Austrian architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1633–1723) provided examples of the then recently built monuments of Isfahan.[71] This marked the beginnings of a tradition of non-western art historians in the region, namely those without formal training in Oriental studies but with openness to look at the history of art from a global perspective, such as Alois Riegl (1858–1905) and Joseph Strzygowski. It is also interesting to note that, while carpets, textiles and architectural decoration remained focal points of connoisseurship, the first essay ever written for a journal about the Persian paintings from the Topkapı Saray albums was, rather unexpectedly, published in Hungarian in the 1880s by the art historian Jenő Radisics (1956–1917).[72]

Poland established a strong academic interest in the art of Persia in the early 20th century, with the growth of a small yet exquisite scholarly community as well as its international reputation,[73] and despite the long interruptions due to the war and communist times, the Polish scholarship

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department of Persian (or Iranian) studies was established (in contrast with the Academy of Sciences where a Commission of Iranian Studies was founded in 1969 by Manfred Mayrhofer (1926–2011), and this developed into an independent institute in 2003). In Hungary, Vámbéry's appointment as the professor of Persian (1870) did not lead to further institutionalisation until Zsigmond Telegdi (1909–1994) received professorship at the predecessor of today's Department of Iranian Studies at the Eötvös Loránd University.

[71] Sussan Babaie's paper, entitled "Urban Baroque and European town views of Isfahan and Istanbul", which was given to the Ninth Biennial Conference of Iranian Studies in Istanbul (1-5 August 2012), discussed these aspects of Fischer's *Entwurff*.

[72] See Szántó and Kardos's essay in the present volume. For a recent comprehensive study of Persian art in Hungary, see Szántó 2010.

[73] For example, Poland was the only non-western European country that participated in the 1931 London exhibition of Persian art as one of the committee members, whereas Austria, Hungary and then Czechoslovakia were involved in the show as patrons and lenders (see London 1931, v-viii and 305-7).

of Persian and Islamic art has been, albeit slowly, in the process of recapturing its pre-war spirit.[74]

The works of several figures in the region has so far received little international recognition, but the Austrian Joseph von Karabacek (1845–1918),[75] another Austrian Ernst Diez (1878–1961),[76] the Hungarian Nándor Fettich (1900–1971)[77] and the Polish Tadeusz Mańkowski (1878–1956)[78] deserve special attention for their contributions to the development of Persian art studies in Central Europe.

In the meantime, the Ukrainian-born Mikhail Rostovtzeff (1870–1952) and others discovered the Irano-Greek archaeological substratum of South Russian art across the Eurasian steppe at the turn of the 20th century. This had strong repercussions in the Persian-oriented scholarly minds of early 20th-century Poland and Hungary—both of which nurture a rich tradition of Sarmatian and Scythian mythology.[79]

Persian art does certainly exist in other neighbouring states, although its presence is virtually unknown outside the region. Apart from Slovakia,[80] which, along with its collections, was formerly part of Hungary, the Czech Republic possesses small but interesting collections of Persian art, including the Persian manuscript collection in the National

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[74] The establishment of the Polish Society of Oriental Art was hallmarked by its first international conference (2009). See Biedrońska-Słota, Ginter-Frołow and Malinowski (eds.) 2011.

[75] See Mauthe 2000 and Karl's article in the present volume.

[76] As a follower of Strzygowski, Diez applied some of his master's theories about the crucial role of Persia in the global development of art, yet his approach differs in many details from that of 19th-century Orientalists scholars. Besides his thorough knowledge of Persian civilisation, his extensive travels across a wide area of Asia made him an expert on a par with other 20th century giants, such as Herzfeld, Sarre and Pope. See Kröger 1996 for the biography of Diez.

[77] See, for instance, his article "Der skythische fund von Gartschinowo," *Archaeologia Hungarica*, 15 (Budapest, 1934). Better known Hungarian Persian art experts of the time include Aurel Stein (1862–1943), but he is–regarded internationally as British rather than Hungarian.

[78] See Ginter-Frołow's essay in the present volume.

[79] Rostovtzeff's *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922) became an important point of reference for Central and Eastern European archaeologists, such as Tadeusz Sulimirski (1898–1983) in Poland and Géza Supka (1883–1956) in Hungary. For a recent study of Central European archaeology in general, see Gramsch and Sommer (eds.) 2011.

[80] Here a catalogue by the Hungarian-born Turkologist, Jozef Blaškovič (József Blaskovics, 1910–1990), *Arabische, türkische und persische Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek in Bratislava* (Bratislava, 1961), could be mentioned.

Library.[81] Among the Czech scholars of Persian studies, the subject of an essay in this volume, Věra Stivínová-Kubíčková (1918–2009) made a significant contribution to the formation of the discipline in the region, along with Stivínová-Kubíčková's master, Jan Rypka (1886–1968), although their approach remained philological rather than art historical.[82] It can be argued that, mostly because of geographic reasons, Persian art connoisseurship in Bohemia lagged behind other countries in Central Europe.

Romania's and Moldova's share of Persian art is even less known, despite the unparalleled—and largely lost—collections of Persian carpets which were amassed by the princes of Moldavia in the 17th century.[83] In spite of a stunning Persian literary activity in Albania and former Yugoslavia (modern-day Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro and Slovenia) during their Ottoman occupation, it is difficult to trace the Persian artistic legacy in the north of the Balkans, with the exception of Bosnia.[84] Bulgaria, on the other hand, looks back to more ancient contacts with Persian art than any other European country, except Greece and Turkey, with a meagre but continuous influx of Persian artworks reaching it since the Achaemenid through the Qajar period until recent times.[85]

Aims and Scope of the Volume

The present volume, which grows out of the panel organised by Yuka Kadoi in collaboration with Iván Szántó, Friederike Voigt and Joachim Gierlichs at the European Society for Central Asian Studies 11th Conference in Budapest in September 2009, brings together Islamic

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[81] A recent project on the catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the National Library of the Czech Republic (part of the UNESCO "Memory of the World" project) has revealed an important aspect of Persian art collecting in the Czech lands (see http://digit.nkp.cz/samples/Persiana/index.htm, accessed 21 March 2013).

[82] See Dvořáková's article in the present volume.

[83] See Dunca's article in the present volume. On the other hand, a large number of 16th- to 18th-century Anatolian rugs have been preserved in the churches and museum collections in Transylvania; one of the important advocates of these rugs was Emil Schmutzler (1889–1952), a member of the Saxon communities of Transylvania who published the monumental volume, *Altorientalische Teppiche in Siebenbürgen* (Leipzig, 1933). For the rise of Oriental studies in what was later to become Romania, see Timuş 2011.

[84] See Szántó's article in the present volume; Radojković 1965; Szántó 2010, 33-39.

[85] Gergova 2010; Szántó 2010, 37, with further literature.

Iranian and Central Asian art experts from both museums and university spheres, intending to offer a novel insight into the art history of these regions. While supplementing publications in the historiography of Islamic art, such as *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections 1850-1950* (2000), *Ars Orientalis: Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and Perceptions of Islamic Art*, 30 (2000), *After One Hundred Years: The 1910 Exhibition "Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst" Reconsidered* (2010), *Res Orientales: Figures pionnières de l'orientalisme: Convergences européennes, Monde Anglophone, Europe centrale et orientale*, 20 (2011) and *Journal of Art Historiography*: *Islamic Art Historiography*, 6 (2012),[86] as well as works on the reception of Islamic art in France by Labrusse,[87] this volume would be one of the pioneering publications to be dedicated solely to the historiography of Persian art collections and studies, especially those related to Islamic times.

In this volume, emphasis is given to the relatively unknown collecting history and scholarship of Persian art of the Islamic period, especially those from Central and Eastern European countries and former Soviet states, keeping a good balance with already established collections and studies from western countries. Its essays show that these collections and studies developed within separate national frameworks, yet, directly or indirectly, in a close interaction. A recurrent theme in these national discourses is the attribution of a transnational character and universal significance to Persian art.

The discussion sets out to the survey of Persian and Central Asian collections in Romania (Dunca) and Edinburgh (Voigt), two of the notable locations from the eastern and western fringes of Europe, supplemented by the reception of Persian manuscripts in Poland through the lens of literates rather than "miniature"-minded art historians (Ginter-Frołow). The next section deals with the reception of Persian art in the context of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The essay about the ideologically-motivated usage of Persian art collections in Bosnia by Szántó assures a rich potential of study material on this subject not only in the Balkans but also as the legacy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, an essential historical facet which is re-confirmed by Karl's essay. Dvořáková's essay, still within the Austro-Hungarian framework, reveals the virtually unknown Persian collections of Czech museums and castles. In the section of collectors, exhibitions and

[86] See Vernoit (ed.) 2000; Lermer and Shalem (eds.) 2010. The *Ars Orientalis* issue is edited by Linda Komaroff. The *Res Orientales* issue is edited by Živa Vesel and Isabelle Gadoin (see Vesel and Gadoin [eds.] 2011) and the *Journal of Art Historiography* issue is co-edited by Moya Carey and Margaret Graves.
[87] See Labrusse 1988; Paris 2007; Lyon 2011.

interpretations, Bombardier contextualises the development of Persian art scholarship in France in the 1930s, Troelenberg discusses the significance of Persian art in the context of one of the key Islamic art exhibitions in the early 20th century, Szántó and Kardos analyse the earliest surviving photographic reproductions of Persian painting, Gierlichs singles out individual scholars and collectors from Germany, whereas Kadoi offers a critical view to the mechanism of exhibition organisation in early 20th-century America through a small carpet exhibition in the Midwest. An essay from Tajikistan by three authors concludes the discussion of the shaping of Persian art in modern Central Asia.

Through the re-thinking of the process as to how the notion of "Persian" art emerged outside Iran, it is hoped that this volume provides an alternative avenue to a better understanding of the art traditions that developed in Iran and Central Asia throughout the ages.

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PART ONE

PERSIAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN ARTISTIC HERITAGE IN EUROPE'S EAST AND WEST

PERSIAN ART IN ROMANIA BEFORE WORLD WAR I

MIRCEA DUNCA

Romania's proximity to the Oriental world favoured the circulation of Islamic art objects, including Persian artefacts. But because of the vicissitudes of history, only a few of them were preserved, although we can still see them represented in paintings or mentioned by old documents. In the second half of the 19th century Romania tried to assimilate the western life style, and the Oriental objects belonging to the daily life were suddenly looked upon as obsolete, as a reminder of the past that should be left behind. Since then, such objects have been kept in the newly created museums and libraries. The effort to assimilate the western civilisation thus remains a priority for the Romanian society as a whole, while artists try to synchronise their creation with the European artistic trends, especially French. It is noteworthy, for instance, that Romanian painting evolved in only a few decades from the Byzantine tradition to European modern art. Nevertheless, the familiarity with the aesthetics of the Islamic lands makes a subtle breakthrough, and this is how we can explain the artistic interest in Oriental objects such as *gilim*s (kilims)[1] or tribal items, whose refinement was perceived in West Europe only a few decades later.

Historical Background

Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, the three historic provinces which form today's Romania, evolved in different cultural conditions: Moldavia and Walachia emulated the Byzantine civilisation, whereas Transylvania was part of the Central-European cultural area. Despite the Ottoman suzerainty, these regions preserved a certain autonomy as they were not under Turkish administration. The united principalities of Moldavia and Walachia became independent in 1877.

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[1] In this article, the Persian term "gilim" is used, although the term "kilim" is used in Romanian records.

The attempts to oppose the Ottoman pressure were mostly military, but also diplomatic, as this was the case, for instance, with the negotiations between Stephen the Great (r. 1457–1502), the prince of Moldavia, and Uzun Hasan (r. 1453–78), the ruler of Persia, in order to form an anti-Ottoman alliance. This diplomatic episode was indeed unique, but the commercial relations with West Asia, including Persia, were constant. The objects from this region including textiles, carpets and arms were brought to the Romanian principalities via Istanbul for internal use or to be exported in Central or West Europe.

Romanian documents began to mention Persian items, though in smaller quantity than Ottoman products, as early as the 17th century. Persian carpets were, for instance, widely available in the Romanian provinces at the very beginning of the 17th century, as hundreds of them, including silk carpets and also *gilim*s, are mentioned in documents of the Movilă family, one Moldavian princely family related to the Polish nobility.[2] A Moldavian ruling prince (voivode), Vasile Lupu (r. 1634–1653), may also have had "Polonaise" rugs in his palace, according to a contemporary Latin document which describes "halls set with carpets woven with golden thread."[3] Evidence is given for other Islamic objects belonging to this voivode, who is also known for his so-called "halls with *chini*." The halls were decorated with ceramic tiles coming presumably from Iznik workshops, where Vasile Lupu had also ordered a commemorative tablet inscribed with the names of all his family. This voivode, so much inclined to luxury, often amazed foreign travellers who had the opportunity to meet him and who described the richness of his attire in their memoirs.[4] He was depicted in a fresco of the Three Hierarchs Church in Iaşi, where he is represented wearing a robe and a caftan made of red and green Persian silk decorated with golden flowers.[5]

The clothes worn by voivodes or grand boyars (high-ranking members of the Walachian and Moldavian aristocracies) were made of precious Oriental or Italian materials with enormous value; this explains why they were often part of princely donations to churches or monasteries. This is particularly the case with two 16th-century garments—a velvet caftan and a woman's *sarasar* court robe, both of Ottoman origin—which were transformed and used in churches, the first as a cover, the second as an

[2] Dunca-Moisin 2000, 233. The documents are published by Corfus 1972, 29-59.
[3] Codex Bandinus 1895, 141.
[4] Alexianu 1971, vol. 1, 316-8.
[5] The fresco fragment is now at the Museum of the Metropolitan Church in Iaşi.

ecclesiastical cope.[6] Two 17th-century Safavid silks, woven in the *sarasar* technique, now in the collection of the National Museum of Art of Romania (hereafter, NMAR), may be of a similar provenance. One of them (Fig. 1.1), which is decorated with repeating pattern of white poppy plants on golden background, served as a *phelonion* (liturgical vestment resembling a chasuble), whereas the other, decorated with red roses, was used as a chalice veil.[7]

It was by pure chance that a small and well preserved 17th-century Isfahan carpet, decorated with palmettes, lotus flowers and cloudbands, which originally came from a Moldavian monastery, is now in the NMAR collection (Fig. 1.2). This carpet, with silk warps and both ends finished with original silk brocading, was part of Romania's treasury sent to Moscow during World War I for security. It was in 1956 that the USSR returned a part of the treasury, including the Isfahan carpet, to Romania. The carpet remained for a few decades in one of the Museum's storerooms under the administration of the Medieval Romanian Art Department until the 1990s, and it was transferred to the newly created Department of Oriental Art along with other Oriental carpets. It was only then that the value of this carpet, which had been long neglected, was reassessed, and the carpet was eventually restored,[8] exhibited and published.[9] As far as we know, the two silks and this Isfahan carpet are the only art objects of undoubted Persian origin coming from churches and preserved in Romania.[10] It is nevertheless most certain that other Persian merchandise, such as objects of artistic value, must have frequently circulated in Romania. Documents dating from the 17th and 18th centuries often refer to Persian carpets and *gilim*s, and their Persian origin is clearly indicated

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[6] In the 1960s they were both reconstituted in the textile restoration laboratory of the National Museum of Art of Romania. See Nicolescu, 1970A, cat. nos. 3 and 4; Atasoy et al., 2001, 259, fig. 179.

[7] Nicolescu 1970B, cat. nos. 36 and 42.

[8] One of the restorers' tasks was to clean the candle wax stains left on the carpet, which testify its presence in a church.

[9] Dunca 2006, cat. no. 21.

[10] It was not uncommon for churches to keep Islamic objects in their treasures. The well-known cases are Transylvanian Protestant churches, where hundreds of Ottoman carpets are still preserved. At the end of the 16th century, fifty Ottoman carpets were documented in a Moldavian orthodox monastery (Galata in Iași) as gifts from different boyars and even from the voivode, but these are unfortunately lost.

in their Romanian term, "agimeşti," as they came from *Agem* (*'Ajam*; Persia).[11]

The Oriental mode began to be evident in Moldavia and Walachia from the 17th century onwards, and it reached its heights during the 18th and the first few decades of the 19th century. By the end of the 18th century, besides the aforementioned textiles and carpets, Kashmir shawls had become increasingly fashionable. As one can see in boyars's portraits painted in the first half of the 19th century,[12] the shawl was one of the most important accesories of their costume. In 1782, for instance, the boyar Ienăchiţă Văcărescu (1740–1797) was sent to Vienna on a diplomatic mission, and his Oriental attire was so sensational that, during a party, he had to take off his shawl so that the ladies could better admire it.[13] These shawls must have been very valuable and very coveted, as in 1812 when the plague epidemic ravaged Bucharest, there were thieves who, taking advantage of the desolation, entered the homes and stole money, jewellery and shawls.[14] Many of them are now in Romanian public and private art collections, but neither these objects, nor those represented in portraits have not yet been thoroughly examined. Some of them are Indian, others are made in Europe, and some are most probably of Persian origin.

Oriental culture was accessible to Romanian cultivated boyars and voivodes who were able to speak and read Turkish and even Persian. Among them was the well-known scholar Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723), the voivode of Moldavia (1693 and 1710–11) as well as the member of the Academy in Berlin, who lived for many years in Istanbul. During what is generally known as the Phanariot regime (from the beginning of the 18th through the first quarter of the 19th century) when members of the Greek

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[11] The term is spelled also *hagimiş or hagimeşti* (singular, masculin: *agimesc* or *hagimesc*). *Agem, agimesc* come from the Arabic word *'ajam*, meaning "stranger," hence Persian. It came into Romanian from Turkish and appears mostly in 18th-century documents with reference to Persian *gilim*s or carpets. In a Polish document regarding the carpets from a Moldavian voivode related to the Movilă family, the Polish word designating Persian *gilim*s is *adziamskich.* At the end of the 17th century there are mentions concerning "loads" coming from *Agem* (Persia). In the second half of the 19th century, the Romanian writer Ion Ghica (1816–1897) mentions *Agem* carpets which, together with Ushak carpets adorned a palace in Bucharest in the first quarter of the century. He probably uses this term as an archaism.

[12] There are many such portraits in the Romanian Modern Art Gallery of the NMAR.

[13] Alexianu 1971, vol. 2, 98.

[14] Ghica 2001, 36.

or Hellenised families from the Phanar district of Istanbul were appointed rulers of Moldavia and Walachia, Oriental culture became even more familiar. Phanariot rulers are known to have possessed very rich collections of books and manuscripts; some of the Oriental manuscripts now in public collections may come from Phanariot private libraries.

Persian Art in 19th-century Romanian Collections

In 19th-century Transylvania, which was under Austrian and later under Austrian-Hungarian administration, the interest in Oriental culture was mostly scientific. A good example in this respect is the Romanian scholar Timotei Cipariu (1805–1887) who owned the largest private library in Transylvania at the time. He was a priest of the Greek-Catholic Church, but also a historian, linguist, orientalist and the member of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* in Leipzig; he possessed an impressive collection of Oriental manuscripts which he bought from a bookseller in Bucharest who had a representative in Istanbul and then in Cairo. In 1887, Cipariu's collection of books and manuscripts was bequeathed to the library of the Seminary in Blaj, the spiritual and cultural centre of Greek-Catholic Romanians, and became the first collection of Oriental manuscripts in a Romanian library in Transylvania. In 1948, when the communist regime outlawed the Greek-Catholic Church, these manuscripts were transferred to Cluj, and they are now in the local department of the Library of the Romanian Academy.

Cipariu's collection of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts contains, among others, a copy of the *Shahname* in two volumes, with twenty miniatures by several painters from the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. Their style is mostly evocative of the Shiraz painting, but elements from other schools, for example those from Qazvin, are also identified.[15]

Special interest in Oriental books in the first half of the 19th century is also documented in Bucharest, then the Walachian capital. In the years between 1836 and 1848 Constantin Cornescu-Olteniceanu gathered an impressive Oriental library of more than 2,000 books, mostly Indian (those were apparently the owner's major concern), but also Chinese, Japanese, Persian, Arabic and Turkish.[16]

In the second half of the 19th century, when Moldavia and Walachia began to adopt new ideas and institutions, following the West European

[15] Beldescu 1987, 35-44.
[16] Bordaş 2006, 156.

way of life, important steps were also made for the foundation of museums. A number of private collectors donated their treasures to the newly created public institutions. One of them is the general Nicolae Mavros (1786–1868) who gave some precious Arabic-Persian manuscripts to the National Library in 1862. We do not know whether these manuscripts were a family heritage or had been bought by the general himself.

This time also witnessed a growing interest in the national past and its values in Romania. In 1860, the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction entrusted Alexandru Odobescu (1834–1895), a writer, archaeologist and art historian, for the research of the historical and archaeological monuments from all over the country. Odobescu took his task very seriously, and he made inventories of art objects and had them reproduced by the Swiss painter Henri Trenk (1818–1892) who accompanied him in this mission. On his return, Odobescu advised the Ministry to take over and protect some of those objects in a museum, in order to ensure better conditions for their preservation than the monasteries can offer. His dream came true only after the properties of churches and monasteries from the United Principalities were transferred to the state as a result of the secularisation law issued by Alexandru Ioan Cuza in 1863. The most valuable art objects (embroideries, manuscripts and silver objects) coming from monasteries in Oltenia, such as Tismana, Bistriţa and Cozia, were entrusted to the National Museum of Antiquities which was founded in 1864. After 1884, Grigore Tocilescu (1850–1909), who was Odobescu's successor as director of the museum, gathered valuable objects from churches and monasteries and brought them to the museum. This is why the aforementioned textiles and costumes, some of which are of Safavid origin, are now part of the collection of the NMAR. As for the Persian manuscripts from the National Museum of Antiquities, they are now at the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest. Among them, a small manuscript of the *Divan* of Hafiz, dated 904/1499, with four miniatures in the Turkoman style of Shiraz, is particularly important.[17]

In 1865, some prominent figures of the Romanian social and cultural milieu, such as Constantin Esarhu (1836–1898), V. A. Urechia (1834–1901), Carol (Scarlat) Rosetti (1802–1872) and Alexandru Odobescu, created a cultural society named The Romanian Athenaeum, aiming first and foremost at building a "temple" for the arts and science. Its construction started in 1886, and exhibitions, conferences and concerts were being organised as early as 1888, even if the building was still under construction (finally completed in 1897). Carol (Scarlat) Rosetti bequeathed his private

[17] Beldescu 1987, 27-31.

library to the Athenaeum. Among several Persian manuscripts included in the library are a 16th-century copy of Sa'di's *Gulistan* and *Bustan* and a copy of the *Divan* of Shahi, dated 986 (1578–1579). These are now in the Library of the Romanian Academy.[18]

As for Constantin Esarhu, a physician and a politician, who initiated the fund raising for building the Athenaeum with the very succesful slogan popular to the present—"Daţi un leu pentru Ateneu" ("Give one *leu* for the Aten*eu*")—he bequeathed his entire heritage to the Athenaeum. Thirty-six paintings from this collection, among which is a beautiful *Annunciation* by Tintoretto, are now in the NMAR. In terms of Persian art, Esarhu owned a stone-paste Qajar tile with moulded decoration painted under the glaze, featuring a knight on horseback holding a falcon on his arm,[19] and a Qajar bath bucket engraved with animals and fantastic creatures (Fig. 1.3). While it is hard to determine where Esarhu acquired these items, we can only suppose that he had the opportunity to buy them in West Europe where he was also acting as a diplomat.

Esarhu had both financial possibilities and artistic taste, but, as we know from European travellers in Iran at the end of the 19th century, pre-Qajar Persian art objects were not easily accessible and available for acquisition.[20] The tile and the bucket from the Esarhu collection, which are less outstanding, compared with the wide range of Persian art objects found nowadays in the international art market, nevertheless have a special significance for Romania: they were most certainly bought for their artistic qualities and they were meant for an art collection.[21]

Another noteworthy case is the Slătineanu collection which was gathered by two generations of collectors, the doctor Alexandru Slătineanu (1873–1939), and his son, Barbu Slătineanu (1895–1959). Alexandru Slătineanu, the worldwide known epidemiologist and bacteriologist, had studied medicine in Paris at the end of the 19th century, and came back to Romania in 1902. His interest was given not only to western art—he bought prints and drawings, such as a drawing by Van Gogh—but also to

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[18] Beldescu 1987, 44-46.
[19] Inv. 18178/1884; published in Bucharest 1971*,* cat. no. 102 (dated the 18th century).
[20] Soustiel 1985, 295. The author refers to ceramics in connection with European travellers' memoirs from the end of the 19th century.
[21] Some artists would also buy Oriental objects at the time, mostly Ottoman: carpets, *gilim*s, arms, furniture inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The painter Nicolae Grigorescu bought several such objects in Istanbul in 1873, including a Qajar hookah made of ceramic and painted with black under a green glaze. These items are exhibited in the Nicolae Grigorescu memorial museum in Cîmpina.

Oriental artworks. According to his successors, he would have travelled in the Orient, and even in Iran. This may very well explain the presence of many Oriental arms in his collection. Among his arms collection is a sword dated 957 (1550 AD) and signed Isfahani,[22] which is rather a later imitation than an original work of the famous Asad Allah.[23] Persian ceramics from the Alexandru Slătineanu collection are still in possession of the family; they are more or less of the same type as those from other Romanian collections of the time. A Qajar jar, together with a bowl with pierced decoration worked in the Safavid style, is particularly noticeable. These still belong to one of Alexandru Slătineanu's grandchildren.[24]

Persian Objects in Ethnographical Contexts

Apart from these exceptional situations, when only few Romanian art collectors looked for Islamic art at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, most Romanian museums and private collectors showed an ethnographical interest in Oriental objects rather than appreciated their artistic quality.

In 1873 Romania participated in the World's Fair in Vienna, which is supposed to have initiated the Oriental carpet boom in the West.[25] The objects that Romania had exhibited in Vienna were given to the Museum of Antiquities in 1874 which exchanged them for a collection of folk art from Greece, Tunis, Sudan and Japan.[26]

By the end of the 19th century, there had been a growing interest in folk art, especially Romanian, with the result of establishing the Museum of Ethnography, National Art, Decorative Art and Industrial Art ("Muzeul de Etnografie, de Artă Naţională, Artă Decorativă şi Artă Industrială") in 1906. In 1909, this museum was granted more than 1,000 objects, part of a collection gathered by the colonel Dimitrie Papazoglu (1811–1892) who had organised a small museum in his own house by 1864. The inventory[27] also lists a few Turkish arms, Balkanic jewellery, and, under number 954,

[22] Dunca 2000, cat. no. 23. The sword is now in the Art Collections Museum, a branch of the NMAR.

[23] About Asad Allah Isfahani, see Mayer 1962, 26-29.

[24] The NMAR collection contains some similar bowls. Of medium size, painted with blue on white, they belong to a group of later Persian ceramics, a category which is not yet satisfactorily studied.

[25] Helfgott 1993, 104.

[26] Popovăţ, 1999, 17.

[27] *Inventarul obiectelor primite din colecţiunea Papazoglu de Muzeul de etnografie şi artă naţională*, 1909, manuscript, NMAR.

"a big dagger and its sheath covered with red cloth with golden embroidery."[28] This arm, now in the Oriental Art Department of the NMAR, is a Qajar dagger from about the end of the 18th century, with an ivory handle and watered steel blade, decorated on both sides with a scene representing a feline hunting a deer. The dagger is signed, probably *Hasan*.

The fact that the 1909 inventory does not identify its origin proves that Persian objects—arms in this case—were less familiar in Romania than Turkish ones whose origin is identified in the inventory. The erroneous description of two other Persian objects from the same ethnographic museum, but with a different provenance, leads us to a similar conclusion. It is the case of a Safavid armour plate with gold damascened inscriptions, registered as "a fragment of an Arab shield,"[29] and likewise, of a hookah (narghile) with ceramic base, described as "Chinese porcelain"[30] (Fig. 1.4). The latter is in fact a 17th-century Safavid hookah base in the shape of a *kendi*, with a later addition of the silver mount; its underglaze Chinese style decoration including a deer by a fence and under a cloud, painted in two shades of blue, as well as the Chinese-like square mark on the bottom, may have caused the confusion.

The ethnographic museum, later called the Carol I National Art Museum, also posessed 19th-century Persian metalware, Senneh (Sanandaj) *gilim*s (two of them are now in the NMAR) and fragments from several enameled Qajar hookahs. Although these fragments were part of Romania's national art treasury sent to Russia in 1916, this does not mean that they were carefully selected as objects with the value of national treasures; this was rather due to the state of urgency which made it difficult to conduct a more careful selection.

Established in 1990 as the follower of the Carol I National Art Museum, the Romanian Peasant Museum holds not only a very valuable collection of Romanian folk art, but also a significant amount of ethnographic objects from different parts of the world. The ethnographic materials have not yet been thoroughly studied and may thus offer surprises in terms of non-European art.

The Toma Stelian Museum

Another art museum in Bucharest, which held a miscellaneous collection of ethnographic items, including Oriental objects, apart from its western

[28] Inv. 19869/880; published in Bucharest 1971, cat. no. 163.
[29] Inv. 20523/1517; published in Dunca 2000, cat. no. 18.
[30] After World War II, both items joined the collection of the NMAR.

and Romanian art holdings, was the Toma Stelian Museum.[31] It was founded by Toma Stelian (1860–1925), who was a lawyer and a former minister but also a passionate art collector. The major concern of the museum's board was to increase its collections of western art, and to organise exhibitions in important European art centers. Many items were acquired in France, but the museum also received donations from art collectors or gifts from the artists. Among the notable donations was that of Professor George Oprescu (1881–1969),[32] an art historian and critic, as well as the museum director for many years. The official reports of the artistic board of the Toma Stelian Museum from 1931 to 1947, now in the NMAR archives, give evidence of the collectors' and artists' enthusiasm and generosity in supporting the museum.

As for the Oriental art, including Islamic art, the archival material mentions several bequests of Oriental objects. In 1932, Mrs Stănculeanu granted the Toma Stelian Museum a remarkably diverse collection of Oriental objects.[33] She acquired them during her travels through the Orient, presumably at the beginning of the 20th century, and she seems to have been more interested in their ethnographical aspects rather than artistic value. The collection was first lent to the Toma Stelian Museum on condition it will be exhibited in a special hall; in 1932, when Mrs Stănculeanu died, the collection was bequeathed to the Museum. There is a list of the objects which documents well enough the structure of this collection. The objects are listed as follows: besides twelve paintings, prints and drawings by Romanian and western artists, there are 127 Oriental objects, most of which come from the Far East, India, Tibet and North Africa; four of them are from Central Asia (two *suzani*, or "Bokhara embroideries," a Yomud carpet and a "Bokhara" carpet), and twenty from Persia, among which are seven ceramics, "an old Persian printed cotton," three "Persian jackets," two "greyish embroideries" and six "Persian portraits." These are in fact paintings on paper, five of which are in the neo-Safavid commercial style from the beginning of the 20th century; the sixth, representing probably a scene from the *Tuti-name*, is Qajar, datable

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[31]After World War II, most of the collections of the Toma Stelian Museum were moved to the newly founded National Museum of Art. The Toma Stelian Museum no longer exists.

[32] George Oprescu was also Romania's representative at the League of Nations in Paris and Geneva. He owned a very important and diverse art collection including one of the most comprehensive selection of Islamic objects in Romania. Professor Oprescu presented his collection to the Romanian Academy after World War II.

[33] Mrs Stănculeanu was the widow of a famous ophtalmologist, Dr George Stănculeanu, who had perfected a surgical method known worldwide.

around 1830.[34] The “Persian jackets” and the “greyish embroideries” are in fact embroidered trouser cuffs (*naqshe*).[35] There are a few more Persian trouser cuffs in the NMAR, coming from the royal collection of the Pelişor palace.[36] Another one, now belonging to a Romanian artist, comes from the above mentioned collection of Alexandru Slătineanu. It seems that such objects were appreciated in Romania at the beginning of the 20th century.

At first glance, the ceramics from the Stănculeanu collection have nothing special if compared to some select Qajar objects in the NMAR collection. Worth mentioning is however one large bowl which has a black painted decoration under a turquoise glaze (Fig. 1.5).[37] Since the inside of the bowl is inscribed with the year of its production, namely 1253 (1837–8 AD), we are able to date more accurately other similar ceramics generally attributed to the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century.

Three other vases from the same collection are among ovoid jars, generally known in Romania as jars for sheep fat (“vase pentru seu de oaie” or “vase pentru grăsime”) because of the smell they still give off. One of these jars is decorated with the mountain and pagoda motif, painted in blue on white in the manner of Safavid ceramics; the two others have black floral and geometric decoration painted under a green glaze.

The fact that these three jars were bought in Iran and are explicitely

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[34] Inv. 26044/2025; unpublished.

[35] Inv: 22756/243, 22757/244, 23059/529, 23093/563 and 22758/245; unpublished.

[36] The royal collection was distributed in several palaces and mansions from all over the country. It was confiscated after the communist takeover, reorganised and transferred for its greater part to the NMAR, formerly the Art Museum of the People’s Republic of Romania. The royal collection contained quite many Oriental art objects, mostly carpets, Persian as well, but also ceramics, metalware and arms. It is rather difficult to decide which were precisely the items bought in the period we are interested in, but there is information about the furnishing of the Peleş castle in Sinaia, when carpets were commissioned in Iran. Some pale coloured silk Tabriz carpets, together with two silk Kashan carpets datable around 1910, now in the NMAR collection, are also worth mentioning. In the royal collection, rural or tribal carpets were valued as well because they are to be found beside carpets coming from reputed urban workshops. Items from the Romanian royal collection were bought not only abroad, but also from local merchants, such as Nefian, an Armenian carpet dealer, or Gabriel Mazliach, a descendant of the Jewish family from the Ottoman Empire and an owner of the *Oriental Bazaar* shop in Bucharest. A Persian jar from the royal collection, now in the NMAR collection, still bears a label inscribed with his name.

[37] Bucharest 1971, cat. no. 97, fig. 31. The bowl was attributed to Kashan and dated in the 18th century.

named Persian is of art-historical interest because ceramics of this kind, which has been rather overlooked until recently, are sold at auctions or published in museums' catalogues worldwide. They are generally attributed to Iran or Syria and sometimes to earlier times. A striking example in this respect is a jar from an Australian collection.[38] The jar was bought in England in 1927 and was registered in the museum's documents as a 17th-century Safavid vase. It was later attributed to 15th-century Mamluk Syria and finally re-attributed to Iran but the 18th century. There is an obvious likeness between this jar and several Qajar ceramics from the NMAR collection certainly attributable to Iran and datable between the end of the 18th and the mid-19th century.[39] One of these Persian fat jars was donated to the Toma Stelian Museum by Mrs Sabina Cantacuzino (Fig. 1.6).[40]

If the aforementioned items may be indicative of the personal taste of Romanian collectors, this is not the case with the Indo-Persian *muraqqa'* discovered in a public library (Fig. 1.7); indeed, its presence in Romania is still a mistery. The album belongs to the National Library in Bucharest. It has four Indian paintings and six pages of calligraphy by well-known Persian calligraphers from the 17th and 18th centuries, namely 'Imad al Husayni (d. 1615), 'Abd al-Rashid Daylami (d. 1647) and 'Abd al-Majid Taliqani (d. 1773). A later inscription on the last page refers to the year of 1293 (1876 AD) and its Iranian provenance. According to a note from the inside of the front cover and to the stamp of the Prefect's office in Braşov, the album was in Romania on May 30 1921. After World War II, it was on sale in an antiquarian's bookshop in Bucharest and was bought in 1964 by the National Library, its present owner. The *muraqqa'* was then erroneously attributed to the 20th century in the library's register. It was most fortunate to discover it and to be able to make an accurate description of the album.[41] This discovery entitles us to expect similar surprises in the future.

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[38] No. 201A, the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney. On the museum's website (http://www.powerhousemuseum.com/collection/database/?irn=12316), it appears as a "Damascus, Syria or North Central Persia, 15th-18th century vase or olive oil jar."

[39] In my opinion, a jar in the collection of the Tareq Rajab Museum in Kuwait, which is published by Fehérvári as a Mamluk item (Fehérvári 2000, 252, no. 315), is more likely to be Qajar. See also Fehérvári 2004.

[40] This donation also contains six remarkable *suzani* embroideries. They joined the two others donated by Mrs. Stănculeanu to the Toma Stelian Museum, and prove that this kind of oriental textiles, along with the Senneh *gilim*s were very much appreciated in Romania. After World War II, all these items became part of the NMAR collection.

[41] Dunca 2000, cat. no. 8; see also Ziad (ed.) 2002, XVII, 88, 100 and 180-1.

Persian Art in Romania after World War I

Interwar Romania saw a growing interest in Oriental art, with the result of building up greater and more diversified collections. Although there were no single, established collections of Persian or Islamic art in Romania, Oriental items, bought by Romanians who travelled in West Europe or acquired through local merchants of non-European origin, are widely found in almost all of the Romanian art collections. One should keep in mind that the abundance of textiles—carpets, *gilim*s and embroideries—in these collections is also accounted for by traditions, influenced both by the "Orient" and the rural life style.

In the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, private owners have often sold art objects to the NMAR, formerly the Art Museum of the People's (then Socialist) Republic of Romania because many of them had no other financial resource; the communist regime regarded them as "enemies of the people" because they either belonged to the aristocracy or were prominent figures from interwar Romania having survived to the political imprisonment. The irony of fate made it so that a few decades later, the name of a former communist minister, Pompiliu Macovei (1911–2008), is found among the art collectors interested in Persian art.[42]

Unfortunately, identifying and listing Persian art from the Romanian collections is a laborious task and will not be completed so soon, due to the lack of specialists in non-European art and to the fact that Romania's artistic heritage is not yet entirely processed.

[42] In 2002 Pompiliu Macovei donated his collection to the History and Art Museum of Bucharest.

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Fig. 1.1 Phelonion, Iran, 17th century, National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest (inv. 10765/Ţ.44).

Fig. 1.2 Carpet, Iran (Isfahan), 17th century, National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest (inv. 15540/977).

Fig. 1.3 Bath bucket engraved with animals and fantastic creatures, Iran, 19th century, National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest (inv. 20528/1522).

Fig. 1.4 Hookah base in the shape of a *kendi*, Iran, 17th century, National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest (inv. 19438/461).

Fig. 1.5 Bowl with black painted decoration under a turquoise glaze, Iran, 1253/1837-1838, National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest (inv. 16661/ 482).

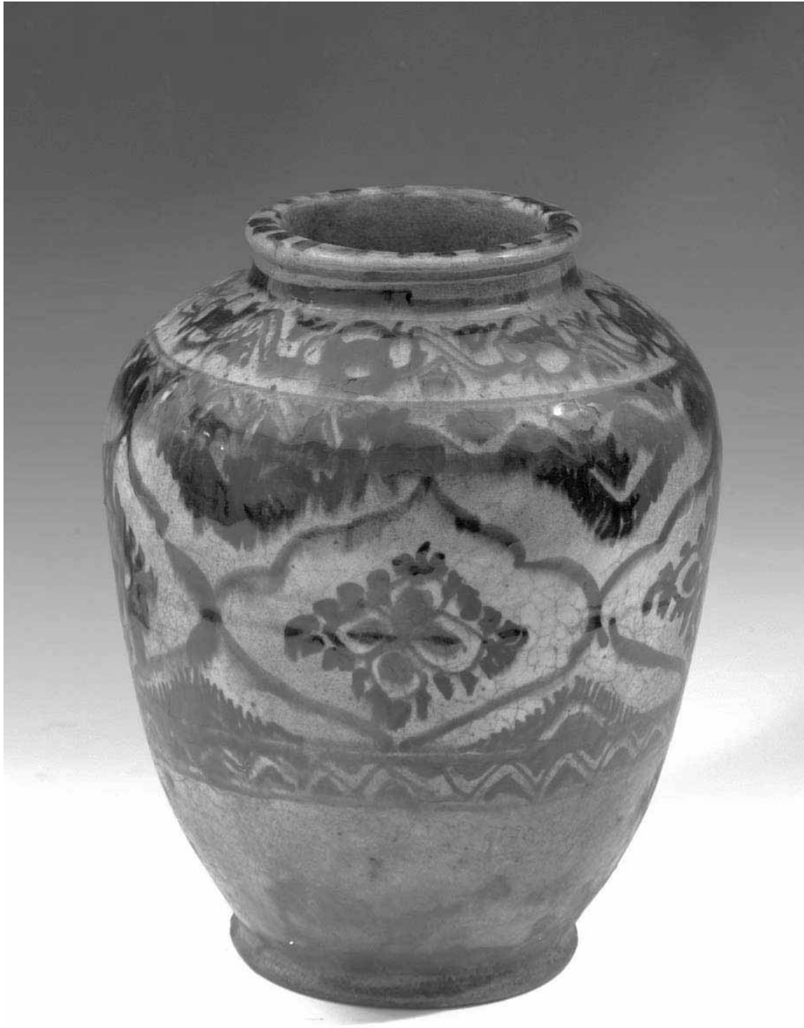

Fig. 1.6 Jar, Iran, 19th century, National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest (inv.16459/289).

Fig. 1.7 Calligraphy page by ‘Abd al-Rashid Daylami (d. 1647) from a *muraqqa‘*, Iran or India, first half of the 17th century, National Library, Bucharest (St. 14856).

FROM ARMCHAIR LITERATES TO ART HISTORIANS: THE POLISH COLLECTIONS OF PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS*

MAGDALENA GINTER-FROŁOW

Having transcended the political and diplomatic relations that connected Poland and Persia since mediaeval times, the ties between the two countries further strengthened when Poland discovered Persia as a cultural magnet and a resource of art collections. The first recorded Perso-Polish contacts date back to the year of 1474, when Caterino Zeno (Catherinus Zeno, active in the late 1400s), the ambassador of the Venetian Republic, visited the court of the Polish King Casimir IV Jagiellon (r. 1447–92) in Kraków to negotiate about an anti-Ottoman coalition. To bring this about, he brought a letter from Uzun Hasan (r. 1453–78), the ruler of West Iran.[1]

These contacts laid a foundation for Polish fascination with Persian art, and this fascination by degrees manifested in various forms. For instance, the customs registries of Kraków mention Persian carpets on sale in the city as early as the end of the 15th century.[2] Apart from carpets, textiles, tents, weaponry and precious stones were also imported from Persia, and the demand for these objects was steadily increasing. One of the most interesting aspects of this predilection was Sarmatism, a term which designates the dominant lifestyle, culture and ideology of the Polish nobility between the 16th and 19th centuries.[3] The underlying cause was a false belief that Polish nobles were descended from an ancient Iranian people—the Sarmatians—who flourished from about the 5th century BC to the 4th century AD. Sarmatist ideas permeated and thoroughly

* This article is based on Ginter-Frołow 2011 and is edited by the editors of the present volume.

[1] Biedrońska-Słota, Malarczyk, Mękarska 2009.

[2] Biedrońska-Słota, Malarczyk, Mękarska 2009.

[3] For Sarmatism in Poland, see Tazbir 1979.

"orientalised" various aspects of Polish material culture—such as clothing, hairstyle, weaponry, harness and furnishings.[4]

But for a long time, Polish contacts with Persia were confined to material culture. While outwardly showing an awareness of Persia, the Polish elites in fact had not much concern with its religion, geography or literature. Factual knowledge about the country was mostly derived from travellers' accounts, published in Latin or Italian. A notable group of Polish travellers included Catholic missionaries, who made significant careers in Safavid Persia. The Jesuit Tadeusz Krusiński (1675–1751), for example, earned a reputation at the court of Shah Sultan Husayn (r. 1694–1722) as an interpreter and counsellor. His treatise, entitled *Tragica vertentis belli persici historiae per repetitas et ades ab 1711 ad 1728 continuata 1740*, provides an eyewitness perspective of the inevitable downfall of the Safavid dynasty.[5]

Persian literature also remained almost unknown in Poland until the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The introduction of Persian literary work into Poland was associated with Samuel Otwinowski (c. 1575–c. 1650)—the court dragoman, secretary and Persian and Turkish interpreter of Kings Sigismund III Vasa (1566–1632; r. 1587–1632 in Poland) and John II Casimir Vasa (1609–1672; r. 1648–68). He was an amateur yet talented literate of Persian poetry, who translated for the first time the *Gulistan* of Sa'di into Polish between 1610 and 1625.[6] The probability that the translation was made from a Turkish copy does not belittle its value as the first Polish translation from any Middle Eastern language. Although the entire translation was not published until the 18th century, poetic excerpts from the *Gulistan* had become widely popular among Polish readers of pre-modern times.

Nevertheless, these were still solitary instances, and the knowledge of Persian literature remained meagre in Poland until the end of 18th century when Oriental languages and literatures were finally established as autonomous research fields. Systematic manuscript collecting began concurrently. The period saw the formation of the Islamic collections of prominent Polish families, including the Czartoryskis and the Zamoyskis. Purchases in the Middle East and West Europe were the main ways of enlarging their collections. At present fourteen illustrated Persian manuscripts are preserved in Poland, including five copies of the *Divan* of Hafiz, two copies of the *Shahname* of Firdawsi and two manuscripts of the

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[4] Tazbir 1979, 87; Żygulski 1992, 8.
[5] Krusiński 1740; for a modern analysis, see Fedirko 2007, 84.
[6] Otwinowski 1879.

Yusif wa Zulaykhe of Jami.[7] Other parts of the Polish collection include single copies of the *Khamse* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi, the *Mantiq al-tayr* of Farid al-Din ‘Attar, the *Bahar-e Danish* of ‘Inayat-Allah Kambo, the *Tuti-Name* of Ziya’ al-Din Nakhshabi and the *Masnavi-ye Ma’navi* of Jalal al-Din Rumi.[8] These fourteen manuscripts, which are to be discussed in more detail in this essay, altogether contain three hundred and three paintings. While the oldest example can be dated back to the Timurid period, the majority consists of paintings datable to the Safavid dynasty, and there are also a few examples from the Qajar period. Another group includes 180 paintings in two manuscripts from Mughal India.[9]

The Czartoryski Family and the Beginnings of Polish Persian Art Connoisseurship

Although the content of the collections is proportionate to the general popularity of certain authors and topics, it also reflects specific literary and linguistic interests of the collectors. The first encounter of the Czartoryski family with Islamic art may have taken place in 1731 when Prince August Aleksander Czartoryski (1697–1782) married Maria Zofia Sieniawska (1699–1777), heiress of the Sieniawski family estates with its rich Persian collections.[10] Their son, Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (1734–1823), inherited their collection as well as their predilection for art. He and his wife, Princess Izabela Czartoryska (née Flemming, 1746–1835), founded the oldest art collection in Poland which was later converted into the Czartoryski Museum and Library in Puławy.

Adam Kazimierz was also interested in linguistic and etymological studies which prompted him to learn Turkish, Arabic and Persian.[11] To further pursue his efforts in Persian studies, he established correspondence with the English linguist, encyclopaedist and translator of Hafiz, Sir William Jones (1746–1794)—best known for his proposition of a relationship between what later became known as Indo-European languages. In 1774, Jones published his greatest work, *Poeseos Asiaticae Commentariorum libri sex*, and he donated his grammar to Adam Czartoryski’s collection. In a letter dated 1778, Czartoryski informed Jones that he acquired the works of the latter about Oriental poetry,

[7] Majda 2002, cat. nos. 4-11, 20; Majda 1967, 94.
[8] Majda 2002, cat. nos. 1-3, 18; Majda 1967, 28-9.
[9] Majda 1967.
[10] Nowak 2002, 20.
[11] Dębicki 1855, 7.

Persian grammar and the history of Persian language.[12] They maintained an active correspondence between 1779 and 1789. In 1786, Jones sent, among others, an ornate letter in Persian, expressing compliments to Czartoryski and regrets for the distance and impossibility of a personal meeting.[13] These Persian letters were translated for Czartoryski to French by an Albanian resident in Warsaw, Antoni Łukasz Crutta (1727–1814), who worked as translator at the Polish court from 1765.[14]

In keeping with the tastes of the time, Czartoryski developed a particular interest in the works of Hafiz. In his collection in Puławy and Warsaw, Czartoryski possessed the *Linguarum orientalium turcicae, arabicae, persicae* (1680) with the first European translation of the poetry of Hafiz by Franciszek Meniński (François à Mesgnien Meninski, 1620/1623–1698).[15] The purchase of a few manuscripts was an offshoot of this enthusiasm (Fig. 1.8).[16]

Czartoryski's fascination with Hafiz was augmented by his acquaintance with Karl Emmerich Reviczky (1737–1793), an Austrian diplomat of Hungarian descent and a noted expert on the Middle East.[17] In 1771, Reviczky published *Specimen poeseos Persicae*, presenting samples of the poetry of Hafez—sixteen *ghazal*s—in Persian original and in Latin translations. While this pioneering work contributed to the diffusion of Hafiz's poetry in Europe and its popularity in Poland, the friendship between people like Czartoryski, Reviczky and Jones created an intimate network of European intellectuals who shared a devotion to Islamic culture and art. Among the Persian manuscripts bought by the Czartoryski family during this period is a copy of the *Khamse* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi (Fig. 1.9), accompanied by seventeen early Safavid-style paintings.[18]

After the Second Partition of Poland in 1793, Czartoryski became involved in political affairs which left little time for sciences, and it was not until the beginning of the 19th century that he could resume his scholarly pursuits, especially Hafiz studies. Now he corresponded in this matter with the French diplomat, archaeologist and literate Marie-Charles-

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[12] Teignmouth 1815, 204-7.
[13] Reychman 1964, 250.
[14] Reychman 1946-47, 71.
[15] Nowak 2002, 20; Prejs 1999, 80.
[16] Early Safavid paintings can be found in the following three manuscripts: MNK 3154 includes four illustrations, MNK 3457 has four illustrations and MNK 3458 contains three paintings. Illustrations from the first two manuscripts are rendered in the Shiraz style. See Reychman 1964, 76.
[17] Cannon 1990, 14, 94.
[18] Reychman 1964, 76; Biedrońska-Słota 1992, 53.

Joseph de Pougens (1755–1833), the British diplomat Robert Gordon (1791–1847)—who was serving in Austria and Turkey, as well as in Persia from 1810[19]—and the Austrian Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856) who published his own translation of the *Divan* in 1812.[20]

In 1812, Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1734–1823), the son of Adam Kazimierz, took charge of the library and had been continuing enlarging it. In 1818, he acquired the estates of the bibliophile and collector Tadeusz Czacki (1765–1813), including his library in Poryck (Volhynia). A 1619 copy of the *Shahname* of Firdawsi (Fig. 1.10) with twenty-six illustrations is one of the most precious manuscripts from this collection. The first Polish account about Firdawsi appeared a few years earlier, in 1803, when Ignacy Krasicki's (1735–1801) published a history of literature (*Dzieła*) that contained a chapter on Oriental literatures.[21] Not unlike the earliest Polish translations of Hafiz, samples from the *Shahname* were translated through intermediary languages; however, despite limited accessibility, the epic drew considerable public attention.[22]

When the November uprising was crushed in 1831, the Czartoryski family emigrated to Paris. The library was partially scattered, but, as before, the ambitious Prince Adam Jerzy assured the continuing growth of the Persian collection. Some of the best Orientalists, diplomats and translators gathered around the library and formed a scholarly circle. Thanks to them, Adam Jerzy and later his son Władysław were well informed of Oriental manuscripts that appeared on the European market. Mention should be made in this respect on the traveller and interpreter Aleksander Chodźko (1804–1891), who was also a pioneer of the study of Persian folk poetry. He, together with associated *émigrés*, centred around the romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), and disseminated these Orientalist ideas into the literary field.[23] Poets from this group were mere amateurs of Persian culture, yet thanks to their activity Persian literature infiltrated to Poland in the first half of the 19th century.[24] Considering the role of Oriental poetry in the shaping of western exoticism, they drew frequent comparisons between Homer and Firdawsi and looked for analogies between Persian and Polish expressions of patriotism.[25] Moreover, they kept alive Polish traditions of literary interest in the poetry

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[19] Dębicki 1855, 8.
[20] Reychman 1964, 215.
[21] This work was published posthumously (see Krasicki 1803, 483).
[22] Krasnowolska 2009.
[23] Kunert, Przewoźnik and Stolarski 2002, 6.
[24] Zajączkowski 1957.
[25] Krasnowolska 2009.

of Hafiz. Translations of his works were made in 1820 by Józef Sękowski (1800–1858) and by Jan Nepomucen Wiernikowski (1800–1877).[26] These translations were instrumental in the intensification of Persian studies in Poland.

The collecting and scholarly activities on Persia continued to be closely linked with the Czartoryski family during the later parts of the 19th century. Władysław Czartoryski (1828–1894)—the son of Prince Adam Jerzy—followed a step of his ancestors. He integrated the collection and transferred it in 1870 to Kraków. He even increased supplies to buy more manuscripts. His extensive connections enabled him to monitor the latest sales events for Oriental art in London, Paris, Istanbul and Tehran, and to acquire advices from leading specialists. One of his advisers was Charles-Henri-Auguste Schefer (1820–1898), himself a leading collector of Islamic manuscripts and a professor of Persian at the Ecole des Languages Orientales, where he served as president from 1867 to 1898.[27] Their correspondence lasted between 1868 and 1887. Through his mediation, the prince purchased Persian single-page paintings and albums (*muraqqa'*), and he bought a copy of the *Mantiq al-tayr* of Farid al-Din 'Attar in 1880 in Istanbul. Originating in Shiraz, the copy dates back to 1494, and is richly gilded and illuminated with nine paintings. An additional work of 'Attar, an unillustrated *Pandname,* became part of a Polish collection when it was acquired by Wacław Rzewuski (1784–1831), an Orientalist dilettante and co-founder of *Fundgruben des Orients*, the first European journal of Oriental studies (1809–19).[28] Although 'Attar's work was collected and was occasionally mentioned in 19th-century reference books on Oriental literature,[29] his poetry seems to have been at odds with Polish literary taste and did not gain popularity. Apart from a few excerpts, 'Attar remains even today unavailable in Polish.

It is worth mentioning that Władysław Czartoryski exhibited some works of art from his collection in the Polish hall of the Palais du Trocadero at the World's Fair of 1878 in Paris, including seven silk Persian rugs with symmetric arabesque ornament. A few of those carpets featured the coat-of-arms of the Czartoryski family woven in the design. Although these emblems were later additions to the rugs, they provoked an incorrect but persistent attribution of the entire group of carpets. The name

[26] Zajączkowski 1955, 27.
[27] Pouillon 2008, 350; Nasiri-Moghaddam 2009.
[28] Reychman 1964, 260.
[29] Mecherzyński 1851, 56.

"Polonaise" has been commonly used for this type of Persian rug since the exhibition.[30]

Persian Art in the Zamoyski Collection

Another important collection with a closely related background is the Zamoyski Library. Existing from the end of the 16th century, its history entered a new chapter in the year 1800 when it was taken over by Count Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski (1775–1856). He was a patron of arts, sharing his passion for Oriental manuscripts with his father-in-law, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski.

Stanisław Zamoyski added to his collection a copy of the *Yusif wa Zulaykhe* of Jami in 1803.[31] Containing three mid-16th century paintings, it was purchased in Paris at the auction of the former de Lamoignon family library.[32] Zamoyski used to leave handwritten comments on the margin concerning the subject matter of the work in question, its author, value or way of purchasing. In this copy, for instance, we see a summary of the meaning of the poem written in French and a description of the paintings in Italian.[33] Prince Stanisław Zamoyski also purchased a *Bahar-e Danish* of Shaykh Inayat-Allah Kambo.[34] This particular copy of the romance (which was written in Persian in Mughal India about the love between Sultan Jandar and Bahrawar Banu) was made in 1784 in an unidentifiable Indian port city called Bandar Peshen (?) and includes ninety paintings.[35] Zamoyski acquired it in 1803 through the future British ambassador to Persia, Sir Gore Ouseley (1770–1844, serving between 1810 and 1814).[36] Zamoyski, as usual, wrote marginal notes in reference to the involvement of Ouseley in the acquisition of this manuscript and attached a letter from him.[37]

Similar to his father-in-law Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, Zamoyski found an interest in the poetry of Hafiz. One copy of the *Divan*, dated 1552 and illustrated with five paintings,[38] was acquired for him and sent from

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[30] Biedrońska-Słota 2006, 286.
[31] Reychman 1964, 81; cf. Majda 2002, cat. no. 7.
[32] The de Lamoignon library was established in 1617 and sold out after the death of Chrétien François de Lamoignon (1735–1789).
[33] Biedrońska-Słota 1992, 54.
[34] Reychman 1962, 154.
[35] Majda 1967, 130-1.
[36] Reychman 1962, 154.
[37] Makowski 2005, 25.
[38] Biedrońska-Słota 1992, 53-54.

Istanbul by the diplomat Alexander Straton (1763–1832) in 1808.[39] One of the paintings shows a particularly elegant rendering of the popular *Polo match* theme. Zamoyski is known to have enquired about this copy of the *Divan* with Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall during his stay in Vienna in 1808.[40] Hammer in response explained that the illustrations are not related to the poetry but are only decorative attachments.[41] Zamoyski then made marginal glosses describing these comments.

Although the poetry of Hafiz still remained largely unknown in Poland during the period, Zamoyski's copy was seen by other leading scholars of the age, most notably the French diplomat and Orientalist Pierre Amédée Emilien Probe Jaubert (1779–1847) who was Napoleon's secretary-interpreter during the Egyptian campaign. During his stay in Warsaw in 1818, Zamoyski showed the *Divan* to Jaubert, who was then professor of Persian at the Collège de France. Jaubert translated some of the *ghazal*s into French which were then inserted in the manuscript next to the corresponding poems. Furthermore he also commented on the subject matter of the paintings—these were duly written down by Zamoyski on the margins.[42] These glosses concentrate on the literary contents, indicating that the owner's primary interest lay in the meaning of the illustrations rather than their style.

Since the 19th century the Zamoyski Library has gone through many ups and downs. Nonetheless, when the family estates were seized by Jan Zamoyski (1912–2002) in May 1939, the library was still one of the best collections in Poland and was comparable to other leading European aristocratic collections. Then World War II brought an almost total devastation of the collection, leaving only a part of the manuscripts extant. After the nationalisation of the Zamoyski estates in 1946, Jan Zamoyski, fearing that the remnants of the library would disperse, decided to hand over them to the National Library. Yet, even this attempt has proven to be unsuccessful, as the collection is now partly in the National Museum in Warsaw, including the *Divan* of Hafiz and the *Yusif wa Zulaykhe* of Jami, whereas the *Bahar-e Danish* of Inayat-Allah has found its way to the National Library.

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[39] Reychman 1962, 155; Black 2001, 187; Berridge 2009, 39.
[40] Reychman 1964, 215.
[41] Reychman 1964, 215.
[42] Reychman 1962, 155.

Educational Institutions as Collectors of Persian Books

It remains difficult to track down the provenance of some of the Persian manuscripts in Polish collections. These include an early Qajar copy of the *Shahname* of Firdawsi, illustrated by twenty-four paintings which belonged to the collection of the historian and politician Leon Piniński (1857–1938).[43] He had a predilection for conservatorial problems and has greatly contributed to the organisation of cultural heritage and monument preservation in Lwów (now Lviv, Ukraine). In his mansion he created a collection of European art–painting, sculpture, drawings and old books from Spain, Italy, Holland, England and Poland, a large part of which was later transferred to the Royal Castle at the Wawel in Kraków. This was according to his testament (1938) in which he expressed his will to bestow the material to the Ossolinski National Institute in Lwów, known as Ossolineum.[44]

The Ossolineum is one of the largest scientific libraries, as well as one of the oldest still existing publishing houses in Poland. It was founded in 1817 in Lwów by Count Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński (1748–1829). After World War II, the Ossolineum was moved to Wrocław, the historical capital of Lower Silesia. Both Lwów and Wrocław, which had already developed a scholarly interest in the Oriental world since the 16th century, thus became a centre of linguistics, especially Hebraic philology. This explains why the great number of Oriental manuscripts is found in Lower Silesian libraries. Most books from church and monastic libraries of the province were relocated to the National Museum of Wrocław when it was established in 1947.[45] At present the collection preserves only one illustrated Persian manuscript, a two-volume copy of the *Masnavi-ye Ma'navi* of Rumi, copied in Shahjahanabad, Delhi, in 1662-3 and illuminated with twenty illustrations.[46] Although the first Polish translations of parts of the *Masnavi*—made from a third language—were published in the later 1800s, it was a slightly more recent attempt by Tadeusz Miciński (1873–1918) that inspired the composer Karol Szymanowski (1882–1937) in 1914-6 to write his Third Symphony, entitled Song of the

[43] Żygulski 1989, 23. The manuscript is included in the catalogue of the Ossolineum, Wrocław, published in 1949. Besides, this list includes two further oriental manuscripts from the Piniński collection (see Turska 1949, 372).

[44] Petrus 2001.

[45] The museum was officially opened to the public in 1948 as the State Museum. From 1950, it was renamed as the Silesian Museum, and it was only in 1970 that the museum regained its recognition as a state institution.

[46] Majda 2002, 88.

Night (*Pieśń o nocy*).[47] It is worth mentioning that the influence of Persian poetry and music can be recognised in some of Szymanowski's earlier compositions too.[48] Such an Orientalist, "Sufi"-like predilection was characteristic of the early modernist Young Poland movement (1891–1918), and this phenomenon affected a wide range of Polish culture of the time, including music, literature and the visual arts. Proponents of the movement combined diverse tendencies and, in a continuation of Romanticism, often turned to a vaguely defined "East" for mysterious settings.[49]

The Wrocław University Library also has a collection of Persian manuscripts, including two illustrated copies. This Library was established after World War II by merging two pre-war libraries, the former Municipal Library (*Stadtbibliothek*) and University Library (*Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek*).[50] Originating from the library of Count Hans Oppersdorf at Oberglogau (now Głogówek), one of the manuscripts is a late 18th-century copy of the *Tuti-Name* of Ziya' al-Din Nakhshabi, with ninety-seven illustrations. [51] The history of the Oberglogau library reaches back to the 16th century, to the times of Hans Oppersdorff (1514–1584). Successive owners continued to acquire new books and thereby by the end of 19th century it consisted of several thousand volumes.[52] One of the most important trustees was Count Hans Georg von Oppersdorff (1866–1948), who inherited the library in 1889. He was well-educated and interested in Oriental languages: he is said to have been fluent in eight languages and even able to write essays in Hebrew.[53] In 1927, Oppersdorff donated the *Tuti-Name,* together with a few other Oriental manuscripts, to the Wrocław (then Breslau) University Library.[54] He also assigned 49.000 books from the family library to the Regional Library (*Landesbibliothek*) of Upper Silesia.[55] But the books that remained in Oberglogau have so far counted 35.000 volumes.[56] In addition, Oppersdorf was the owner of another huge library in his Berlin

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[47] Samson 1990, 121.

[48] His Op. 24 and 26, for instance, were inspired by the poetry of Hafiz (see Downes 1994).

[49] Makowska 1986, 323.

[50] Sawicka 1952, 63.

[51] Richter 1933, 14; Majda 1967, 14, 29.

[52] Konietzny 1925, 189; Lange 2005, 176.

[53] Lange 2005, 176.

[54] Richter 1933,14.

[55] Ziolko 1989, 7; Lange 2005, 177.

[56] Lange 2005, 177.

residence.[57] Some historians suggest that his unquenchable desire to increase his libraries went beyond his financial capabilities and brought him to the brink of bankruptcy.[58]

The second illustrated Persian manuscript in the Wrocław University Library is a copy of the *Yusif wa Zulaykhe* of Jami, which originally came from the Church of Mary Magdalene. Based on mediaeval foundations, the golden age of this library occurred in the 16th century, when the collection of the religious reformer Jan Hess (1490–1547), among others, was incorporated into the library. The library of the church, including the *Yusif wa Zulaykhe*, became part of the Municipal Library in 1865, and, after World War II, the Wrocław University Library. The previous ownership of the Jami manuscript cannot be established.

Another Persian manuscript, namely a copy of the *Divan* of Hafiz (Fig. 1.11), is found in the Nicolaus Copernicus University Library in Toruń. Its two paintings appear to be related to the style of early-Safavid Tabriz. Previously part of the collection of the former State and University Library of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad, Russian Federation),[59] the copy was preserved there until the end of World War II, when the University Library in Toruń was established and Poland was allowed to receive manuscripts from former German territories ceded to the Soviet Union. The loss of a few folios from the *Divan* probably happened when these were removed in Königsberg at the beginning of the 19th century,[60] whereas at present one of them–a court scene–is in the Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków.[61] It was apparently brought by Tadeusz Czacki to his own library in Poryck following his sojourn in Königsberg in 1801-2. For many years this leaf was enclosed by the pages of the 1619 *Shahname* manuscript, mentioned above; it may have made its way to Kraków inside this volume, thus it presents an early and rare instance in which a painting was appreciated more than its literary context.

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[57] Anger 2003; Lange 2005, 182.
[58] Lange 2005, 182.
[59] The devastation of the catalogues and inventories of the Königsberg library prevent us to identify further manuscripts. In 1937 Hoedt published an article which described a *Divan* of Hafiz with shelf-mark Ms. 2435, from the *Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek* in Königsberg. However, we are not able to identify this manuscript in catalogues (Hoedt 1937, 36; Ginter 2004, 181-92).
[60] Czuczko 1998, 30.
[61] Ginter 2004, 188-90.

Persian Art in Poland: From Collectible Objects to Scientific Subjects

Newly independent and confident, early 20th-century Poland increased its scholarly activity, including research on Oriental art.[62] The growth of Polish scholarship in Persian art reflected a general current in international art history and museology.[63] In the wake of the landmark exhibition and international congress on Persian art, especially the London Burlington House exhibition of Persian art in 1931 that served as a point of reference for a series of similar events worldwide,[64] Poland also organised its first exhibition of Persian art in Warsaw four years later, in 1935.[65] Organised jointly by the Polish Society of Fine Arts and the Polish-Iranian Society, it exhibited 281 items, mainly arms and armour, manuscripts, carpets and textiles from local collections.[66] Apart from its large scale by the Central European standard, the importance of this exhibition lies in the fact that most of the exhibits were destroyed or disappeared during the following decade. The exhibition was accompanied by a handbook which emphasised the impact of Persian art on Polish culture.[67]

Independence generated a far-reaching intellectual and scientific revival during the interwar period. The main centres of Oriental studies were established at Lwów, Warsaw, Kraków and Wilno (now Vilnius, Lithuania). Literature and philology were particularly important fields of research, with Ananiasz Zajączkowski (1903–1970) and Franciszek Machalski (1904–1979) as the leading exponents.[68] Persian art studies had reached maturity with the publication of Tadeusz Mańkowski's (1878–1956) pioneering essays, which were based on years of extensive archival research in Islamic art in Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries.[69] These

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[62] Bromowicz and Mękarska 1993, 5.
[63] Żygulski 1992, 14.
[64] See Wood 2000 for the historiographical background of the London show. Objects from Polish lenders were also on view in the London exhibition, for example a 16th-century carpet from the collection of Prince Roman Sanguszko (1800–1881)(London 1931, no. 135) and a 17th-century, so-called "Polonaise" carpet, from the Oratorian Church of Saint John in Studzianna (to which it had been donated by King John III Sobieski) (London 1931, no. 323; see also Warsaw 1935, 48)
[65] Majda 2002, 28.
[66] See Warsaw 1935.
[67] Warsaw 1935; the Perso-Polish artistic and cultural relationship was explored by Tadeusz Mańkowski (see below for further discussion).
[68] Żygulski 2002, 13.
[69] Mańkowski 1935A and 1936B.

postulate that the nobility of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth came increasingly under the influence of neighbouring Muslim territories, and developed a strong affinity for Persian visual culture, to the extent that the latter began to overshadow the West European outlook of Poland.

While Mańkowski did not emphasise manuscripts and their literary contents, he set the standard for Polish research on the arts of Islam, also giving impulse for further investigations into Persian art of both pre-Islamic and Islamic periods.[70] Mańkowski was a specialist of the "Sarmatian" culture and art of his native Lwów. Yet his main contribution to the Polish scholarship of Persian art was clearly his link with the international scholarly community.[71] In the *Survey of Persian Art*, edited by Arthur Upham Pope (1881–1969) and Phyllis Ackerman (1893–1977), he contributed an essay to the chapter of carpets, together with Pope and Heinrich Jacoby (1889–1964), demonstrating his reputation as an expert of Persian carpets within the international Islamic art community at that time.[72]

At the same time the art historian and keeper Stefan Saturnin Komornicki (1887–1942) published the first scientific description of manuscript painting from the Princes Czartoryski Library in 1935.[73] In this work, he made comparisons between various paintings in the collection, discussing their stylistic connections and suggesting attributions to particular schools or artists. Based on the comparative method, his stylistic analysis is thorough and comprehensive, and what is unique is that this method was developed indepently from the almost contemporaneous *Persian Miniature Painting* (1933) by Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, which became the standard monograph in the western scholarship of Persian painting.[74] Compared to this catalogue-style book, often abbreviated "BWG," Komornicki's work is more meticulous in certain aspects, chiefly because of its relatively narrow scope that made it possible to have a careful look at details, such as iconography and composition.

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[70] Mańkowski's work on Sarmatianism significantly inspired Tadeusz Sulimirski (1898–1983) and other pioneers of ancient Sarmatian studies. The latter has developed into a "trademark" Polish field in early Indo-European scholarship; see the Introduction of this book.

[71] Żygulski Z. 1992, 15.

[72] Mańkowski 1938-39. See also his articles that appear in the *Ars Islamica* (Mańkowski 1935B and Mańkowski 1936A) and the *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology* (Mańkowski 1936B).

[73] Komornicki 1935.

[74] BWG.

Despite a potential as a leading centre of Persian and Islamic art studies in Central Europe in terms of collections and researchers, the pre-war scholarly movement was tragically interrupted after 1939. Many Persian works of art disappeared from the Polish collections or dispersed, and it took several decades to resume systematic research, based on pre-war results. Nevertheless, the history of collecting and studying Persian manuscripts in Poland presents a continuous growth of interest from mediaeval times to recent times. Beginning with trade contacts, the knowledge of Persian arts developed from a taste for material culture and fashion towards the sphere of the written word. This later phase, in turn, was born as a more or less amateurish literary interest, typical of the early 19th century, but matured into a more professional and scholarly approach promoted by the development of Persian studies in the early 20th century. Persian manuscript collections are therefore the physical vestiges of these intellectual developments in Poland.

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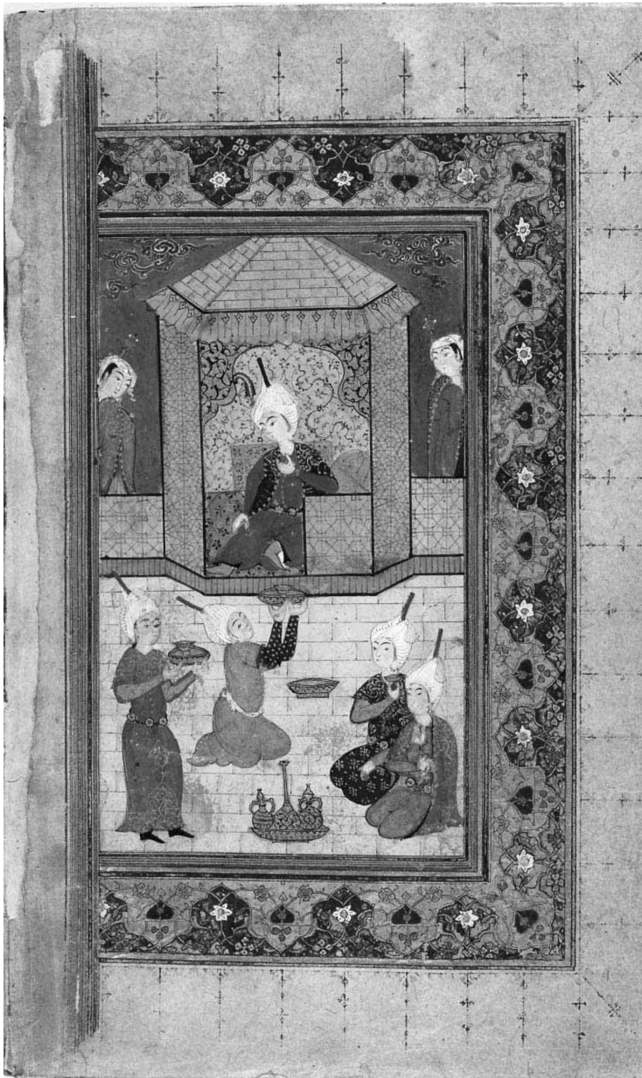

Fig. 1.8 Feast scene, from a copy of the *Divan* of Hafiz, Iran, 16th century, the Princes Czartoryski Foundation, National Museum, Kraków (no. 3154).

Fig. 1.9 Scene from a copy of the *Khamse* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi, Iran, 16th century, the Princes Czartoryski Foundation, National Museum, Kraków (no. 3155).

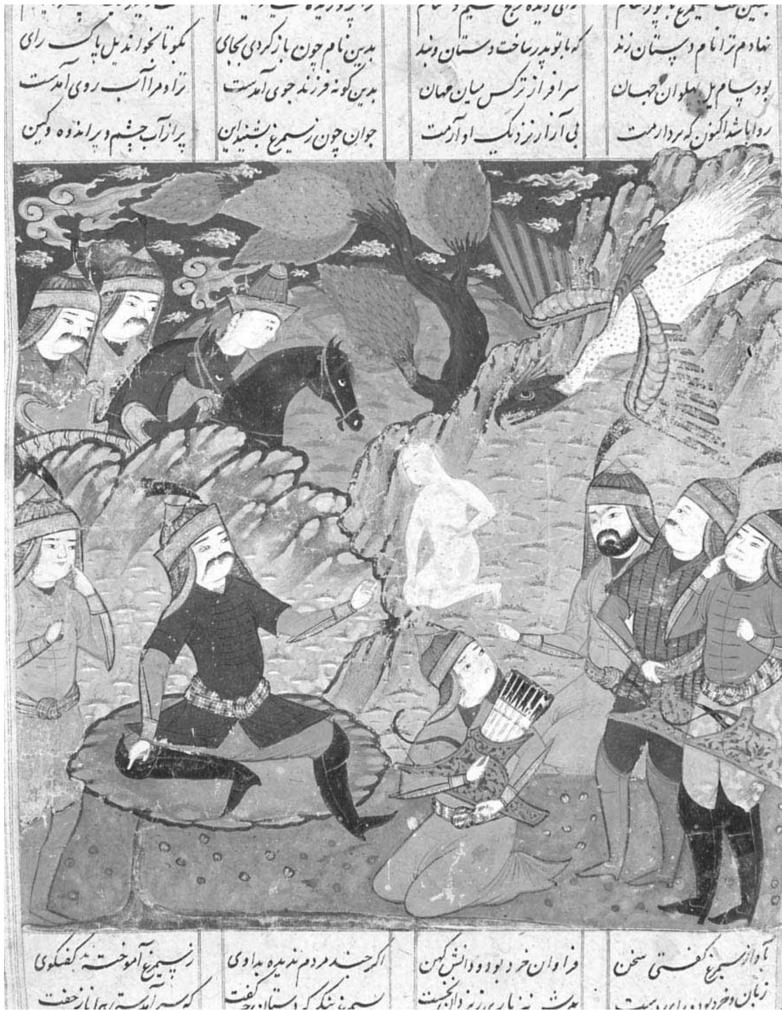

Fig. 1.10 *The Finding of Zal*, from a copy of the *Shahname* of Firdawsi, Iran, 1619, the Princes Czartoryski Foundation, National Museum, Kraków (no. 1800).

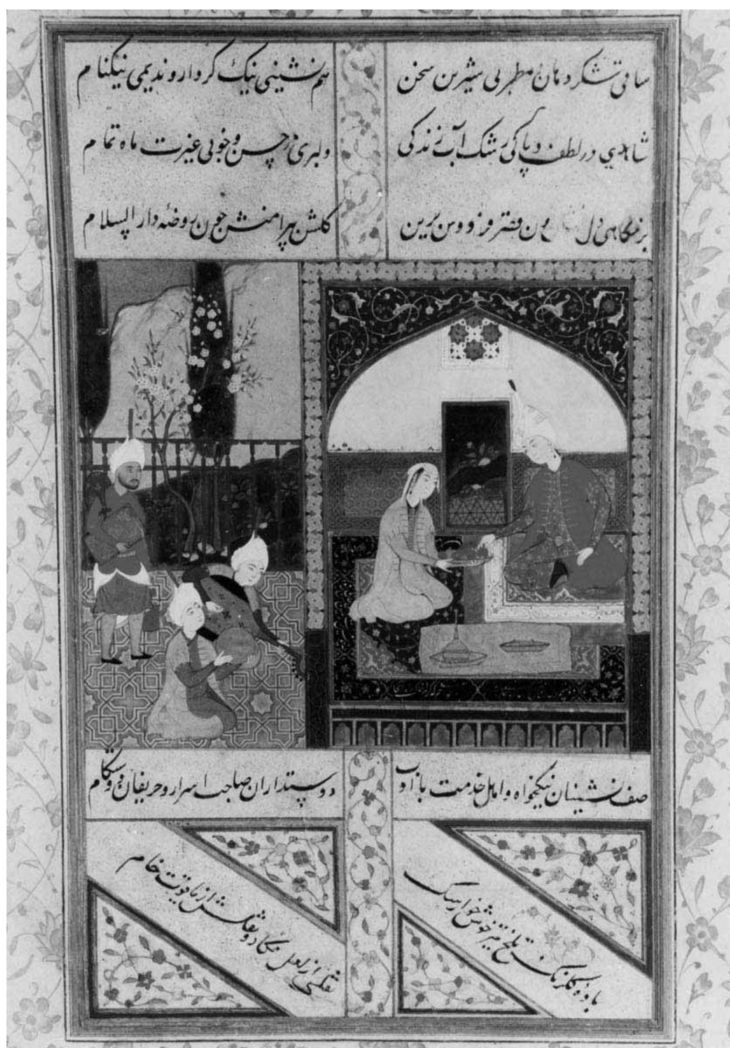

Fig. 1.11 Feast scene, from a copy of the *Divan* of Hafiz, Iran, 16th century, Nicolaus Copernicus University Library, Toruń (no. 70).

The Central Asian Collection at National Museums Scotland: History and Perspective

Friederike Voigt

When the Department of History and Applied Art at National Museums Scotland (NMS) underwent restructuring and the World Cultures collections were established separately in 2004, the Middle East and South Asia (MESA) was created as a section independent from that of East and Central Asia (ECA).[1] Geographically, the Middle East was defined as an area from Turkey to Afghanistan and including the Levant and the Arabic Peninsula as well as the Islamic North Africa, whereas ECA would comprise a territory from Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan to Japan. This division had been set in advance through the interests the respective curators had developed over the thirty years before, although with one exception. Central Asia, which corresponds with what was formerly Turkestan, had been a region with no clear responsibility, but rather a field of opportunistic attention. Jennifer M. Scarce, while the curator in charge of the collections of Eastern Cultures from the early 1960s had specialised in the Middle East, with the Muslim western Central Asia being part of her remit. On her retirement in 1998,[2] Jane Wilkinson, who had concentrated as her assistant on the Far East and subsequently become curator for these collections, took over the region of Central Asia in its entirety. With this internal division following the national borders of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Ulrike Al-Khamis, appointed curator for the Middle Eastern and South Asian collections and succeeding Jennifer Scarce, inherited all those Central Asian objects and specimens that originated from the Turkmens, Uzbeks and Tajiks who have settled in the present-day territory of Afghanistan and Iran.

[1] I would like to thank my colleagues at NMS for sharing with me their memories and knowledge of the history of the institution.
[2] Annual Report April 1998-March 1999, 36.

Unlike North Africa which remained with its predominant Muslim population an indisputable part of the Middle East, the new allocation of responsibilities for the Central Asian holdings neglected existing cultural affiliations. This inconsistency had to be resolved, and it was felt that for the purpose of best care the Central Asian collection should be split, taking into account Turkestan's longstanding historical and cultural relationships to its southern and eastern neighbours. Following the Arab conquest of Iran in the 7th century, Transoxiana had become a frontier area of the new Muslim empire. Its large cities of Bukhara and Samarqand were hubs of the main trade routes, facilitating the economic exchange between China and the ʻAbbasid Iraq. As the heart of the Timurid Empire in the late 14th and 15th centuries, this region developed into a centre for artistic innovations within the Iranian world, establishing styles and forms that continued to be standards for patronage even under the succeeding dynasties. The attempt of Russian power in the 20th century to replace the Islamic cultural tradition by a common ideology for all Soviet citizens did not prove to be successful; rather people have adhered to their ethnic identity and belief. To reflect these strong connections of western Central Asia with the Islamic world, the decision was made that the collections from Chinese Turkestan, now the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, which had throughout history experienced mainly Chinese influence, would stay with ECA, while the holdings from the Central Asian Republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan would be transferred to the MESA section.

For convenience and unless otherwise stated, Central Asia will be used in the following survey synonymously with the five republics, including their people inhabiting North-East Iran and North Afghanistan.

In preparation of the hand-over, the Central Asian holdings needed to be identified. What started as the simple task of compiling an inventory of object records became a journey into the history of the museum and the building of its collections. A major problem was to pinpoint the items with a Central Asian provenance in the database. This was due to the inconsistent spelling of place names, unclear attributions and the repeated changes in the political geography of this region since the end of the 19th century. It was tackled by cross-referencing acquisition sources, electronic records and the original register books; also the study of reports, collection strategies, old catalogues and the objects themselves. The result is given in the appendix to this paper. However, due to the nature of this process this list cannot make a claim for comprehensiveness.

While keepers and curators throughout the past decades have actively collected and described or exhibited selected items, the collection as such

has not been evaluated. This paper is intended to review the existing collection, to identify its potential and to inform future acquisitions and ways of its use. It is also hoped that it will make the collection more widely known and accessible. In the following it will give an overview of the holdings and the categories of objects represented. It will also help to understand the forming of the collection against the background of the museum's history and finally look at selected objects from the aspect of their cultural meaning and their link to other parts of the Middle Eastern collection.

The Central Asian Collection

The Central Asian collection at NMS consists of about 250 items (see Appendix) and seventy-six audio recordings from the Jean Jenkins collection. These account for three percent of the Middle Eastern collection. The largest proportion of the material comes from Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Kyrgyzstan is represented by eighteen pieces, while the sole object from Tajikistan is a pair of knitted socks. There are no records for Kazakhstan.

According to material, textiles used for furnishing domestic interiors and for clothing form the largest group. The collection includes some fine pieces of 19th-century embroidery (*suzani*) from Uzbekistan. The covers and large wall hangings show the distinct regional styles of *suzani*s, mainly from Bukhara, Samarqand and Nurata. Examples dating from the 1940s to the 1990s document the change to a less detailed rendering of motifs along with a shift from silk to synthetic material and machine stitching.[3]

Through individual garments, head covers, footwear and a larger number of length of cloths the collection also provides an overview of the main weaving techniques and fabrics used and produced between the mid-19th and late 20th century. They include heavily silver and gold embroidered velvet, brocade and silk *ikat*. Silk production has a long tradition in this region. In the past Uzbek dignitaries and officials wore silk robes (*khal'at*/*chapan*) as a sign of status or presented them as formal

[3] For an overview of the development of the arts and crafts of Central Asia from the mid-19th to the late 20th century see Khakimov 2005, 623-94. For a discussion of different aspects of the material culture of Uzbekistan between the 8th and 20th century see Stuttgart 1995. For the development of handicraft in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan after the collapse of the Soviet Union from a sociological point of view see Krebs 2011.

gifts to high-ranking visitors.[4] The brightly coloured coat A.1993.54 illustrates the group of silk velvet *ikat*s (*baghmal*), manufactured from around the 1870s using synthetic dyes.[5] Several pieces of synthetic silk in *ikat*, atlas and moiré (*bekasab*) technique, bought between 1984 and 1998 in Bukhara, Samarqand and from the Margilan Silk Factory in Margilan demonstrate the modern repertory of designs and patterns used for dresses, skull caps or turban cloths.

The collection of textiles from Turkmenistan is rather ethnographical in its character. In addition to two men's coats and a woman's dress dating from the late 19th to the early 20th century there is a group of twelve garments and accessories acquired in 'Ishqabad (Ashkabad/Ashgabat) in 1978. A boy's tabard and cap decorated with coins, metal discs and floral embroidery are examples of the protective function associated with children's clothing. Like many other museums, NMS also holds three Tekke Turkmen *chyrpy*s, the distinctive robes of Turkmen women, worn over the head and enveloping the body. Other Turkmen groups represented through individual pieces are the Salor and Yomud. Miscellaneous objects in the category of garments include a pair of felted hair stockings in very good conditions dating from the mid-1880s that were given together with a pair of leather slippers and boots. Textiles from Kyrgyzstan include contemporary samples of embroidery, two cushion covers, a pair of bedroll edges and a small mat. The four boy's and man's hats in the collection can be compared to an everyday piece from the beginning of the 20th century. The collection also holds a large embroidered and chain stitched wall hanging that according to the inscription in Kyrgyz was made as a gift by a sister to her older sibling in 1954.[6]

Particularly valuable due to their early date of acquisition are the eleven pieces of Turkmen bridal jewellery. Some of the head ornaments, pendants and armlets were already on loan to the museum in 1886.[7] They are complemented by seven pieces of contemporary Tekke Turkmen jewellery. A group of five Uzbek women's head ornaments probably date from the late 19th century. The museum holds only one example of the characteristic splendid belts, worn by men together with the *ikat* robes. This *ikat* lined velvet belt is decorated with four metal rosettes and a buckle in turquoise cloisonné which is a typical feature of those coming

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[4] See Bailey 2010, 260ff. See also Balsiger and Kläy 1992, 67.
[5] Balsiger and Kläy 1992, 133.
[6] I am grateful to Professor Cholpon Turdalieva, American University of Central Asia, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, for helping with the reading of the inscription.
[7] Report of the Director of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art for 1886, 281.

from Bukhara.[8] The attached knife, engraved with an inscription in Persian, sits in a turquoise covered sheath. It is the only weapon in the Central Asian collection. Metalwork is represented furthermore through several pitchers. They demonstrate the main forms of 19th-century Central Asian tea jugs (*chay-jush*) with ribbed bodies and a beak-shaped mouth and ewers (*aftabe*) with their characteristic curved spouts. The contemporary metalwork collection includes a bird shaped pair of scissors, a brass water service and several engraved trays and bowls from Bukhara, Ferghana and Tashkent. The latter ones show mainly elaborate designs of stars, hexagons and squares which are densely filled with whirling motifs, ornamental flowers and tendrils. One of the plates depicts the Samanid mausoleum in Bukhara (Fig. 1.12), following the tradition of representing architectural monuments that was set up by Uzbek craftsmen at the beginning of the 20th century.[9]

The only examples of Central Asian architectural ceramics, said to come from Samarqand, are three individual fragments of glazed moulded and incised terracotta with floral and geometric patterns and the first part of an inscription frieze. They show the colour scheme of the 14th and 15th centuries with large areas of bright turquoise contrasted with purple, white and dark blue glazes.

There is a group of thirty-eight Uzbek ceramics mainly from the post-Soviet time in the collection. The plates, dishes, bowls and two small earthenware figures come from workshops and galleries in important centres of the ceramic industry such as Rishtan and Gijduvan. Their contemporary bluish-greenish and green, brown and yellow painted designs are inspired by the pottery produced in the region especially over the last 150 years, but also made in the centuries before, influenced by Chinese and Iranian wares.[10] The plates and dishes show for example all

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[8] Stuttgart 1995, 308. For a comparative example see Abdullayev et al. 1986, fig. 129.

[9] Morozova *et al.* 1979, 55 and cat. no 69 and 70. For an example from Khuqand (Kokand) dated AH 1320 or 1325/ AD 1902/03 or 1907/08 see Abdullayev *et al*. 1986, fig. 82. See also Teague 1990, figs. 2 and 7 showing the Bukharan master Salimdjan Khamidov and his apprentices with a plate incised with the motif of the Samanid Mausoleum. Salimdjan started training young craftsmen in 1968, thus the photographs might date from around this time. His father is said to have been amongst the leading artists who introduced architectural monuments into the design. See http://metalcraft-bukhara.com/en/history.html, website of the Tokhirovich family of metal craftsmen, Bukhara; accessed 2 February 2012.

[10] See Morozova *et al.* 1979, cat. nos. 33-49 and Stuttgart 1995, figs. 253, 255, 297, 675-80 for examples of glazed earthenware from the 9th to early 20th century with design elements still in use today.

over patterns of small three lobed blossoms, set against a plain dark background or in a lattice, or radially arranged straight and whirling segments in pale blue on a white ground. While the designs, created from a repertory of longstanding motifs, relay their cultural link, they are independent artistic expressions. Formerly closely related symbols like the bird, the ewer and vegetable elements are dissociated and used in new combinations. The reference to earlier ceramic traditions is clearly visible in a small plate called "Afrasiab" from Rakimov's Ceramic Studio in Tashkent whose design has its model in the Samanid ceramics of the 9th and 10th centuries (Fig. 1.13). Derived from the angular script of these plates a red-brown whirling motif is set within a plain contour. Four palmette-like leaves in the interstices and the densely dotted ground are a further allusion to the source of inspiration. Kyrgyzstan is the second country represented in the collection through ceramics. The three leaf- and bird-shaped earthenware ocarinas demonstrate an old toy in a traditional and in a new abstract form.

The seven pieces of late 20th century lacquer work in the collection, one table and six small boxes, were acquired from artists in Bukhara, Khuqand (Kokand) and Tashkent. Made of papier-mâché or wood they are painted with floral patterns in vivid colours, dominated by blue, green and red, or figurative motifs. One of the three lacquered papier-mâché boxes (acc. no K.1999.99 A+B) shows a mounted couple. An Uzbek inscription on the back of the lid identifies them as "Bakhrom and Dilorom." The schematic landscape setting with regularly spread tufts and stones is a contrast to the skilfully rendered figures and horses. The second box made by Tashkent artist Asatoullo Yuldashev (n. d.) is painted with the complex scene of a puppeteer, four men, probably holding ropes attached to a curtain, and two musicians who are all intersected to accommodate the whole group to the oblong format of the lid (acc. no K.1999.101). The third example is from Bukhara and painted with an elegant woman in a landscape (Fig. 1.14). With her arms upraised to arrange the mass of shawl weighing on her sideward bended head, she looks rather uncomfortable. The Safavid style adopted for this motif suggests that the artist studied miniatures of that time showing women in a similar posture such as Riza 'Abbasi's (c. 1565–1635) "Two lovers" from 1630 where the young woman is depicted reaching with her arms in the same way backwards to embrace her lover.[11] A love scene painted by Muhammad Yusif al-Husayni (n. d.), a contemporary of Riza 'Abbasi, might provide an

[11] "Riza 'Abbasi: Two Lovers (50.164)" in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/50.164 [October 2006]; accessed 28 January 2012).

explanation of what prompted this awkward position. Here a young woman holds with her arms the turban she has just removed from her lover's head to place it on her own.[12] On the lacquer box, with the lady isolated, the painter had to substitute the turban, respectively the lover for an element that was not related to another figure and thus introduced the shawls. The use of traditional Persian miniatures as models for style, the study of techniques and the choice of topics in contemporary Uzbek art dates back to the late 1970s and early 1980s when lacquer work and miniature painting enjoyed a revival in Uzbekistan.[13]

Another branch of Uzbek handicraft is wood carving, represented in the collection through two Qur'an stands and a bread board from Khiva, made in the late 1990s. Their designs are of different quality, ranging from an organically developed floral motif to a rather schematic pattern of split leaves and palmettes. The carved bread stamp from Kyrgyzstan is a utilitarian object with a distinctively arranged pattern of metal points used to mark the commonly baked bread.

A separate group of objects forms the late 19th-century riding gear from Bukhara. The eighteen pieces include a saddle, saddle-cloth and cushion, stirrups, bridles, reins and cruppers, often decorated with inlaid turquoise and nielloed silver, showing floral and geometric ornamentation.

As mentioned above the museum also holds the Jean Jenkins archive, her sound recordings and private collection of nearly 700 musical instruments. As an ethnomusicologist, during the 1960s and 1970s Jean Jenkins (1922–1990) carried out fieldwork in Asia, the Middle East, Africa and South Europe. In spring 1960 she travelled through the Central Asian states of the USSR recording instrumental pieces as well as folk, wedding and devotional songs by Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tajik, Turkmen, and Uzbek ensembles and individual musicians.[14]

Formation of the Central Asian Collection

As is evident from this survey the collection is mostly formed through individual examples or small groups of objects representing typical areas of craftsmanship, distinctive designs or well-known products and technologies. Contemporary acquisitions reflect on the range and type of historical objects, intending to document cultural change and continuity.

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[12] "Lovers observed by an astonished youth", Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.386.15. For an illustration of this miniature see Gray 1995, 169.

[13] Khakimov 2008, 186ff; Shayakubov 1994.

[14] Dijkstra-Downie and Bicknell 2007, 90-94.

This character of the Central Asian collection has been shaped by the museum's mission, but also by curatorial specialism and the availability of artefacts.

Following the model of the South Kensington Museum in London and the Museum of Irish Industry in Dublin, the Industrial Museum of Scotland was founded in Edinburgh in 1854. It was the new institution's task to disseminate knowledge on raw materials, production processes and tools for the benefit of Scotland's industry. Aligned with the practical needs of manufacturers, craftsmen and merchants, the museum was planned to consist of a laboratory to investigate the qualities of materials and products. A library was also made available to provide specialist literature, whereas its staff would give lectures on technology based on the prospective collections.[15]

Under the aspect of the technology of production all sorts of industrial material from stone and minerals to porcelain, iron, glass and paper, together with specimens illustrating intermediate stages of production as well as the required tools and machines were collected. In the first year specimens were primarily donated and purchased in Scotland and England. However, the understanding of the scope of collecting and what would be useful to demonstrate in order to enhance the workmen's knowledge was still in the process of formation.

In 1856, George Wilson (1818–1859), appointed first Director of the Industrial Museum from 1855 until his unexpected death in 1859, solicited historical artefacts as he considered it most important to document the development in science and technology as well: "An Industrial Museum cannot be complete, without historical illustrations of the progress of the useful arts."[16] He also embarked on building up a network of agents around the globe. This was to compare artefacts from cultures worldwide with those collected in Britain. In the Annual Report for the year 1857 we find industrial and historical objects equally listed under the different categories of material.[17] Collecting was an arduous process, depending very much on Wilson's personality and the collectors' enthusiasm and generosity. Hence, through the following years it was rather led by availability and offer than a systematic process based on an informed selection. This might explain why the first Central Asian objects did not arrive until 1892. Moreover, they partly were only acquired by chance, in

[15] For the founding history of the museum see Wilson 1858.
[16] Wilson 1858, 166.
[17] Annual Report of the Director of the Industrial Museum of Scotland, 1st January 1858.

groups with other items assembled by missionaries and military men based in British India and travelling on different missions through the neighbouring countries. Primarily interested in collecting natural specimens, they presented miscellaneously ethnographical and archaeological objects which seem to have been their own belongings, given to them by the local inhabitants or picked up along the routes.

From the medical missionary Dr Henry Martyn-Clark (1859–1916) the museum bought about thirty items, mainly from India and Afghanistan.[18] This acquisition also included a figuratively carved agate bead said to come from Samarqand or Bukhara. An Afghan by birth, Martyn-Clark was adopted by the missionaries Reverend Robert (1825–1900) and Elizabeth Clark (n. d.) in infancy and sent to Scotland for his education where he graduated in medicine from Edinburgh University in 1881. Shortly after he was accepted by the Church Missionary Society to serve as head of the Amritsar Medical Mission in the Punjab, a position from which he retired in 1905. In 1892, the year he got in contact with the museum, he was in Edinburgh to receive his M.D. and to read a paper at the Royal Scottish Geographical Society presenting his research on mosquitoes and malaria for which he became well-known.[19]

Between 1890 and 1892 Surgeon-Major J. E. T. Aitchison (1835–1898) presented to the Art and Industrial Division fifty-four objects, including domestic articles, zoological and vegetable products, samples of chemical substances and archaeological findings, mainly from North-East Iran and Afghanistan. Graduated in medicine from Edinburgh University in 1858, Aitchison was better known as a botanist. In the Bengal medical service, he travelled extensively in Central Asia, observing the vegetation and collecting plants and information on their local use which he published in several articles and monographs.[20] Accompanying the Afghan Delimitation Commission of 1884-1885, he was presented with a pair of Turkmen felt stockings, leather slippers and boots which were part of his donation in 1892.

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[18] The sources provide different spellings of his surname and are also not clear about the year of his birth due to the circumstances of his adoption. Therefore, I am referring here to the dates given on his gravestone in the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh.

[19] For biographical information on Henry Martyn-Clark see his obituary "Henry Martyn-Clark" 1916. See also Murray 1999, 136. For his paper read at the Royal Scottish Geographical Society see Martyn Clark 1893. For its critique see Kenneth 1948.

[20] See obituary "Surgeon-Major J. E. T. Aitchison, M.D., C.I.E., F.R.S." 1898.

Another three pieces of nomadic clothing relate to Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Marshman Bailey (1882–1967), a British political officer, explorer and diplomat. In 1918 he was sent to Turkestan to investigate the strength of the Bolshevik regime in this region, a dangerous undertaking which he describes in his "Mission to Tashkent." Bailey escaped the Bolshevik secret police in 1920 by being recruited under a false identity to their military counter-espionage service, charged with the discovery of a missing foreign agent, who he was himself. On his subsequent home leave he presented a camel's hair robe and black sheepskin hat to the museum. These could well be the clothes he wore on his journey from Bukhara to the Persian border:

> "We were advised to wear Turkoman clothing. This was not really a disguise, and we wore our ordinary clothes under a grey woollen Turkoman khalat or over-garment and the large black Turkoman sheep-skin hat. The idea was that if seen in the desert from a distance we would be taken for a party of Turkomans."[21]

It is clear from his account that he collected specimens in Turkestan and also had ways of sending them out of the country. Before his escape Bailey had also bought fine large Bukharan carpets and embroideries, two Turkmen camel bags and two Kashmir shawls of which he only could take the smaller and lighter items with him using them as bedding which meant that although they suffered from this treatment, they nevertheless arrived safely.[22] However, none of those came into the collection, only the three pieces of clothing. Given that he was celebrated a hero on his return amongst his fellow countrymen we can assume that they were presented rather as memorabilia than ethnographical objects or examples of manufacture and craftsmanship.

In 1864 the Industrial Museum was renamed Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art (EMSA), reflecting the shift towards collecting design and examples of the decorative arts.[23] In terms of the Central Asian holdings this meant purchasing smaller groups of a type of artefacts or selected pieces from collections on sale and art dealers to complement the picture of what was understood as the distinctive crafts of this region. Sir Robert Murdoch Smith (1835–1900), Director of the museum from 1885-1900, who had collected for the South Kensington Museum, London (SKM, today Victoria & Albert Museum) while serving as the Director of

[21] Bailey 2010, 258.
[22] Bailey 2010, 258.
[23] Swinney 2006, 132.

the Indo-European Telegraph Department in Iran, used his old contacts to considerably enlarge the Persian holdings. With regard to the Central Asian collection in 1892, he was successful in securing several pieces of Turkmen jewellery for the museum from the possession of Mrs J. E. Baker, his wife's sister-in-law, which had been on loan since 1886.[24] Mrs Baker's husband was the Medical Superintendent of the Telegraph Staff in Persia.[25]

"Two very fine Arab mosque lamps and nineteen tiles (Samarqand, Turkish, and Damascus)" are listed in the Annual Report among the principal purchases for the year 1900.[26] They were part of the Major W. J. Myers collection and on loan to the SKM when Myers suddenly died in 1898. These objects were subsequently offered to the SKM for sale which was a unique chance for the branches in Edinburgh and Dublin to buy some few examples of Islamic art too. The inscription panel from Samarqand that Myers had bought from a dealer in Bukhara originally consisted of in total nine pieces, but was divided between Edinburgh and Dublin.[27]

Between 1900 and 1947 the museum bought mainly individual artefacts from London antique dealers including Fenton and Sons, Ibrahim Moradoff and Sons and Messrs Peter Jones Ltd. or received them as gifts or bequests. Their range suggests that an effort was made to represent the different types known of Central Asia handicraft at least through one example. For the next twenty-three years no addition to the Central Asian collection is recorded, probably as a consequence of the evacuation of the collections during World War II, followed by a period where rearrangement of the museum, its galleries and displays took priority.

With the celebration of its 50th anniversary in 1904, the institution was renamed Royal Scottish Museum. Following this change, its administration was altered and over time the division and structure of its departments had also been modified.[28] Initially an industrial collection the museum had become more and more representative of the arts and craftsmanship, and when Jennifer M. Scarce started in 1963 as Assistant Keeper now to the Department of Art and Archaeology she was recruited to specialise in

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[24] Rubin 2002, 357-8.

[25] In 1886 Dr James E. Baker sent a report on the diseases and climate of the North of Persia to the House of Commons. We can assume that in preparation of this report he travelled in the region which would have given his wife the opportunity to collect amongst the Turkmen women. See Baker 1886.

[26] Report of the Director of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art for 1900, 2.

[27] Personal communication Tasha Vorderstrasse, 25th May 2010.

[28] Allan 1954.

Oriental Art.[29] In her time the largest proportion of new additions to the Central Asian collection came through purchase acquisitions from London art dealers, mainly Joss Graham, and to a lesser extent they were acquired on fieldtrips. Jennifer Scarce travelled repeatedly through the Middle East, but visited Uzbekistan only once in 1984. This was not a deliberate decision, but rather led by the accessibility of these places.[30] Almost exclusively she collected textiles, most of all contemporary Turkmen and Uzbek clothing, with attention to obtaining complete outfits.

The largest single addition to the Central Asian collection came through Jane Wilkinson's fieldtrip to Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan in August/September 1998, made in collaboration with Ken Teague, curator of Asian Ethnography at the Horniman Museum, London.[31] The two curators decided to collect complementary material. NMS was focussing on decorative arts, an area identified as underrepresented in its holdings, whereas the Horniman Museum concentrated on ethnographical objects illustrating lifestyle and performing arts. Contacts made in preparation of this trip enabled them to buy objects directly from factories, co-operatives and studios. Jane Wilkinson was interested in documenting through her acquisitions the artistic schools of the different ceramic and textile centres in Uzbekistan, but also in illustrating other media with a strong tradition such as wood carving, lacquer painting and metalwork.[32]

With this collecting Jane Wilkinson set the framework for the development of the Central Asian collection which was subsequently outlined in the acquisition policy from 2001. The strategy focuses on adding objects to fill gaps in the historical collection and to commission or buy contemporary art and craft.[33]

Interpretation of the Collection

Starting with the Turkmen jewellery from the possession of Mrs Baker in 1886, several years before the first item had even been bought, selected objects from Central Asia have been shown at the museum in permanent and temporary exhibitions. All eleven pieces of this group of jewellery were also part of the Oriental display in the main hall of the museum together with the white *chyrpy* A.1980.172 until they were removed in

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[29] Annual Report 1963, 1.
[30] Personal communication Jennifer Scarce, 18th December 2008.
[31] For the Horniman Museum's collection rationale and a report on this fieldtrip see Teague 2002.
[32] Wilkinson 1998 (internal document).
[33] Acquisition and Disposal Policy January 2001, 31-33.

1983.[34] The group of Uzbek jewellery presented by a certain Miss Christie from Dollar in 1912 is explicitly listed in the Annual Report for that year as an addition to the ethnographic gallery, not to the collection as noted for other objects.[35] This might suggest that they were shown for a certain period directly after their acquisition. In the gallery "Within the Middle East" which was opened at the museum in 1995 four items from Uzbekistan, two coats, a pair of boots and a wall hanging, were shown.

Several objects from the Central Asian collection are currently displayed in the galleries opened in July 2011 at the National Museum of Scotland. Under the overarching theme of "Patterns of Life" they illustrate aspects of identity in the Middle East (Fig. 1.15). The recognition of children's vulnerability and the need for their constant protection is demonstrated through a Turkmen boy's outfit.[36] The boy's tabard shows metal discs as part of its decoration that were hoped to deflect the evil eye, whilst the coins sewn on to it expressed the wish for future wealth. His little cap is embroidered all over with tendrils and stylised flowers as symbols of growing and abundance. Referring to the Tree of Life, recounted in the creation myths of the Zoroastrians as well as the Turks as the origin of humankind,[37] vegetable motifs are an intrinsic part of the repertory of decorative forms and can also be found in the three earthenware ocarinas from Kyrgyzstan[38] as well as in the pattern of a Turkmen circumcision bib[39] and the two *chyrpy*s A.1980.172 and A.1984.368. Shown in a case together with objects from other Middle Eastern countries they visualise the cultural links between the people in this region as they are expressed in a common world view and shared traditions, habits and ceremonies. In the Artistic Legacies Gallery the Timurid inscription panel A.1900.155 is shown as part of a display on script as one of the forms of decoration in Islamic tilework. Another piece of architectural ceramic is included in the general museum display of the "Window on the World."

In addition to the permanent display Central Asia has been featured on several occasions in temporary exhibitions. NMS seems to have contributed Turkmen objects to the exhibition "The Art of the Felt-Maker"

[34] Record of objects on display, folder labelled "Oriental Display. HALL I-ORIENT Gallery 19, 39, 40", Department of World Cultures.
[35] Report for the Year 1912-13, 8.
[36] Acc. no A.1995.962 A+B.
[37] Day 2011.
[38] Acc. no K.1999.29-K.1999.31.
[39] Acc. no A.1984.369.

organised by the Horniman Museum in the 1970s.[40] In 1987 the museum participated in the Edinburgh International Festival housing the exhibition "Art of the People of the Caucasus and Soviet Central Asia" which displayed more than 300 items from the collection of the State Museum of Oriental Art in Moscow.[41] However, on this occasion the museum's own Central Asian collection was not represented at all. It seems therefore a déjà vu when in 2006 Central Asian ceramics, textiles and jewellery are shown as part of the exhibition "Beyond the Palace Walls—Islamic Art from the State Hermitage Museum," but the small selection of items from the NMS collection only includes Islamic art from Iran to Egypt and Turkey.[42]

As a result of her joint field collecting with the Horniman Museum Jane Wilkinson curated the temporary exhibition "Silk Roads: Glimpses of Central Asia—Land, Peoples and Places," that was on show in the Ivy Wu gallery in 2001.[43] With the exception of two historical pieces the display brought together a selection of the newly acquired examples of contemporary Uzbek art and craft including ceramics and metalwork; however, the presence of the large embroideries and *ikat* cloths clearly dominated the space. Loans of musical instruments, puppets and bridal clothing from the material the Horniman Museum had collected during this project illustrated the themes of music, performance and wedding. Both institutions also proposed a joint publication which was intended to investigate the contemporary culture of Central Asia in terms of change and continuity, cultural identity and mass tourism based on both their historical and recent collections from that region. This project does not seem to have been implemented. So far Jennifer Scarce's summary of the Central Asian collection for the Second European Seminar on Central Asian Studies in 1987[44] and her article on costumes in Muslim Central Asia discussing selected pieces from the museum's holdings are the only publications.[45]

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[40] "Horniman Museum and Library—Central Asian Holdings (February 1987)" 1987, 23 and handwritten list of ex-catalogue objects by Jennifer Scarce in folder labelled "Past Temporary Exhibitions", Department of World Cultures, National Museums Scotland.
[41] Edinburgh 1987.
[42] Edinburgh 2006, 222-30.
[43] Teague 2002, 109, footnote 5 and "Silk Roads: Glimpses of Central Asia" 2001, 5.
[44] Scarce 1987, 24-36.
[45] Scarce 1991.

Conclusion and Perspectives

Established as an Industrial Museum, utility was the primary purpose of its collections. Until the late 1940s single Central Asian objects were acquired mainly from art dealers to represent the crafts of this region and that would serve the study of designs and workmanship. The slow increase of the holdings up to that time resulted to a large extend from the limited access to Turkestan, which was under Russian suzerainty from the middle of the 19th century. Individuals inclined to donate or offer objects for purchase were civil servants and mainly based in British India, only travelling in the border territories of northern Iran and Afghanistan on special missions.

The heterogeneous character of the collection changed in the second half of the 20th century insofar as small groups of objects were bought and an attempt made to collect more systematically. Nevertheless, these purchases of ethnographical material and later of decorative art were still rather opportunistic. Objects are often isolated and stand for themselves. A challenge of this collection is therefore to create a context that can explain their meaning and cultural importance. The new gallery displays demonstrate that the collection includes strong pieces which can for example relate complex ideas of gender relation and social status as in the case of the Turkmen *chyrpy*s. Pieces such as the Timurid inscription frieze in the Artistic Legacies Gallery reveal their potential through links to historical and contemporary objects from the Islamic art collection.

Contextualising objects appears to be a successful way of interpreting the collection. As a possible future approach the Jean Jenkins sound recordings could be used alongside objects, presented as different, but complementary areas of life and cultural identity. With regard especially to the early history of the museum, the collection of Central Asian textiles, illustrating the production of this region over a period of more than 150 years, can be linked to the work of John Forbes Watson (1827–1892), whose eighteen volumes with about 700 samples of textiles from India, but also Bukhara, Russia and Persia, published in 1866 to improve standards of production and trade, are held by NMS.[46]

Collecting will have to concentrate on the less well represented countries in order to document Central Asia as a cultural region. Possible acquisitions would focus on historical and contemporary pieces which are

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[46] Watson, 1866. The eighteen volumes are accessioned objects, acc. no A.1866.44.1-A.1866.44.18.

able to relate to the collections from Iran and Afghanistan, but also to Chinese Turkestan.

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Appendix

Central Asian objects in the collection of National Museums Scotland (01/01/2012)

Acc. no	**Description**
A.1892.191	Bridal head ornament of parcel-gilt silver, Tekke Turkmen near Marv, purchase, Mrs J. E. Baker, Tehran
A.1892.192	Bridal pendant of silver, with a carnelian, Tekke Turkmen near Marv, purchase, Mrs J. E. Baker, Tehran
A.1892.193	Bridal pendant of silver with a carnelian, Tekke Turkmen near Marv, Mrs J. E. Baker, Tehran
A.1892.194	Bridal pendant of silver with a carnelian, Tekke Turkmen near Marv, purchase, Mrs J. E. Baker, Tehran
A.1892.195	Bridal girdle of silver with carnelians, Tekke Turkmen near Marv, purchase, Mrs J. E. Baker, Tehran
A.1892.196	Bridal armlet of silver with five carnelians, Tekke Turkmen near Marv, purchase, Mrs J. E. Baker, Tehran
A.1892.197	Bridal armlet of silver with five carnelians, Tekke Turkmen near Marv, purchase, Mrs J. E. Baker, Tehran
A.1892.198	Bridal headband of silver with carnelians, Tekke Turkmen near Marv, purchase, Mrs J. E. Baker, Tehran
A.1892.199+A	Bridal scent holder of parcel-gilt silver, Tekke Turkmen near Marv, purchase, Mrs J. E. Baker, Tehran
A.1892.200	Bridal scent holder of silver, Tekke Turkmen near Marv, purchase, Mrs J. E. Baker, Tehran
A.1892.201	Circular bridal talisman of silver with a carnelian, Tekke Turkmen near Marv, purchase, Mrs J. E. Baker, Tehran
A.1892.579+A	Pair of leather slippers, Turkmen, gift, Dr J. E. T. Aitchison, Edinburgh
A.1892.580+A	Pair of felt stockings, Turkmen, gift, Dr J. E. T. Aitchison, Edinburgh
A.1892.581+A	Pair of leather boots, Turkmen, gift, Dr J. E. T. Aitchison, Edinburgh
A.1892.622	Perforated and engraved agate bead, Samarqand or Bukhara, purchase, Dr H. Martyn Clark, Edinburgh
A.1900.155	Five parts of an incised and turquoise glazed earthenware panel with an inscription, Samarqand, 14th-15th centuries, purchase, Major W. J. Myers collection
A.1900.156	Oblong incised panel of turquoise and manganese glazed

	earthenware, Samarqand, 14th-15th centuries, purchase, Major W. J. Myers collection
A.1900.157	Fragment of an incised and turquoise, white and blue glazed earthenware panel, Samarqand, 14th-15th centuries, purchase, Major W. J. Myers collection
A.1900.158	Fragment of a turquoise and dark blue glazed earthenware panel, Samarqand, 14th-15th centuries, purchase, Major W. J. Myers collection
A.1900.220.1+A+B	Wooden saddle with girths, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.2+A	Pair of circular nielloed stirrups, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.3+A	Pair of leather stirrup straps, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.4	Saddle-cloth, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.5	Saddle cushion, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.6	Bridle with leading rein, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.7	Crupper with silver inlaid bosses, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.8	Belt with nielloed mounts, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.9	Waistbelt with nielloed mounts, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.10	Waistbelt with silver-inlaid metal mounts, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.11	Narrow strap of black leather, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.12	Riding bridle of leather with turquoises, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.13	Martingale of leather with turquoises, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.14	Crupper of leather with turquoises, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.15	Martingale with silver gilt mounts and turquoises, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.16	Crupper with silver gilt mounts and turquoises, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1900.220.17	Riding bridle and reins, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London

A.1900.220.18	Bearing reins, Bukhara, purchase, Fenton and Sons, London
A.1906.147+A+B	Belt of velvet with five turquoise decorated silver mounts, attached to it a dagger with sheath covered in turquoise cloisonné, Bukhara, purchase, W.D. Webster
A.1906.625	Embroidered cover with bold conventional pattern, Turkestan, Bukhara, 19th century, purchase
A.1912.120	Lady's frontlet of silver gilt with turquoises and coloured stones, Samarqand, gift, Miss Christie, Dollar
A.1912.121	Lady's ear-pendant of silver gilt with turquoises and coloured stones, Turkestan, gift, Miss Christie, Dollar
A.1912.122	Lady's head ornament, Turkestan, gift, Miss Christie, Dollar
A.1912.123	Lady's hair ornament, Turkestan, gift, Miss Christie, Dollar
A.1912.124	Lady's hair ornament, Turkestan, gift, Miss Christie, Dollar
A.1912.125+A	Gourd tobacco box with stopper, Turkestan, gift, Miss Christie, Dollar
A.1912.126+A	Gourd tobacco box with stopper, Turkestan, gift, Miss Christie, Dollar
A.1918.84	Boot-shaped lamp, Samarqand, gift, Miss Christie, Dollar
A.1920.684	Camel's hair robe or *khal'at*, Turkmen, Bukhara, gift, Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Bailey, Edinburgh
A.1920.685	Black woolly sheepskin hat, Turkmen, gift, Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Bailey, Edinburgh
A.1920.686	Dome-shaped white felt hat, Kyrgyz, gift, Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Bailey, Edinburgh
A.1923.694	Knotted woollen pile saddle-bag, Bukhara, 19th century, purchase, Anglo-Persian Carpet Co., London
A.1925.787	Woollen envelope bag, Yomud Turkmen, 19th century, purchase, Anglo-Persian Carpet Co., London
A.1925.788	Woollen oblong bag, Yomud Turkmen, 19th century, purchase, Anglo-Persian Carpet Co., London
A.1925.789	Oblong woollen bag, Yomud Turkmen, 19th century, purchase, Anglo-Persian Carpet Co., London
A.1925.790	Oblong bag, Tekke Turkmen, 19th century, purchase, Anglo-Persian Carpet Co., London
A.1927.279	Embroidered silk tunic, possibly West Turkestan, 18th or early 19th century, purchase, Messrs Peter Jones Ltd, London
A.1930.37	Woollen rug with a design of octagons, West Turkestan, 1850-1900, purchase, I. Moradoff and Sons
A.1936.388	Embroidered curtain, Bukhara, 19th century, purchase,

	Whytock and Reid
A.1936.390	Embroidered textile, Bukhara, 19th century, purchase, Whytock and Reid
A.1937.6	Cover, embroidered with flowers, ewer and bird, Bukhara, 19th century, purchase, Whytock and Reid
A.1947.74	Embroidered cover, Bukhara, 19th century, bequest, Mrs Charlotte M. Cameron
A.1970.259	Tent front, Salor Turkmen, Marv, late 19th century, purchase, Mrs G. Anderson, Hampshire
A.1974.144	Embroidered cushion cover, Bukhara, 19th century, bequest, Mrs Zoe Manuel, Suffolk
A.1974.152	Embroidered cover, Bukhara, 19th century, bequest, Mrs Zoe Manuel, Suffolk
A.1975.105	Man's synthetic silk dress, Iran, Turkmen, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1974
A.1975.105 A	Woman's black cotton trousers, Iran, Turkmen, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1974
A.1975.105 B	Woman's cotton cap, Iran, Turkmen, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1974
A.1975.105 C	Woman's silk head scarf, Iran, Turkmen, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1974
A.1975.105 D	Woman's woollen shawl, Iran, Turkmen, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1974
A.1978.437	Woman's robe, Iran, Tekke Turkmen, early 20th century, purchase, Jennifer Scarce
A.1979.36	Man's metal embroidered velvet coat (*chapan*), Uzbekistan, Bukhara, c. 1880-1890, purchase, Mrs J. Clarke, London
A.1979.429	Woman's silk trousers, USSR, 'Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.430	Woman's machine-embroidered silk dress, USSR, 'Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.431	Embroidered silk waist shawl, USSR, 'Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.432	Woman's synthetic silk skullcap, USSR, 'Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.433	Silver collarstud with a red glass gem, USSR, 'Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978

A.1979.434	Silver bracelet, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.435	Silver finger ring with red glass bezels, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.436	Silver finger ring with red glass bezels, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.437	Silver brooch with red and blue glass gems, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.438	Girl’s gilded silver cap finial, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.439+A	Pair of girls gilded silver temple pendants, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.440	Man’s silk coat, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.441	Man’s silk waist shawl, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.442	Man’s white sheepskin hat, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.443	Man’s machine embroidered cotton skullcap, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.444	Machine embroidered silk neckband, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.445	Neckband of synthetic fabric, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.446	Woman’s cotton purse, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1979.447	Man’s silk necktie, USSR, ‘Ishqabad (Ashkabad), Tekke Turkmen, field collection, Peter Andrews, London, 1978
A.1980.172	Woman’s white embroidered cotton mantle (*chyrpy*) Turkmenistan or Afghanistan, Tekke Turkmen, early 20th century, purchase, Alan Marcusson, London

A.1981.115	Man's red leather belt, Uzbek, late 19th century, gift, Charles Stewart
A.1981.323	Length of silk *ikat*, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, late 19th century, purchase, Spink and Son, London
A.1982.22	Embroidered shield hanging for tent entrance, north Afghanistan, Uzbek, Lakai, c. 1920, purchase, Joss Graham Oriental Textiles, London
A.1982.23	Embroidered shield hanging for tent entrance, north Afghanistan, Uzbek, Lakai, c. 1920, purchase, Joss Graham Oriental Textiles, London
A.1982.24	Embroidered shield hanging for tent entrance, north Afghanistan, Uzbek, Lakai, c. 1920, purchase, Joss Graham Oriental Textiles, London
A.1982.25	Man's silk *ikat* coat (*chapan*), north Afghanistan, Uzbek, c. 1920, purchase, Joss Graham Oriental Textiles, London
A.1982.810	Man's silk robe (*chapan*), Uzbekistan, Bukhara, mid-19th century, purchase, Spink and Son, London
A.1984.34	Prayer rug, Afghanistan, Andkhoy, Uzbek, c. 1980, gift, Martin and Frost, Edinburgh
A.1984.368	Woman's mantle (*chyrpy*) of embroidered yellow silk, Afghanistan, Tekke Turkmen, late 19th century, purchase, Joss Graham Oriental Textiles, London
A.1984.369	Boy's circumcision bib, Afghanistan, Tekke Turkmen, 19th-20th centuries, purchase, Joss Graham Oriental Textiles, London
A.1984.373	Length of coloured silks, inscribed "Central Asian Exhibition in Moscow 1891," Uzbekistan, Bukhara, purchase, Spink & Son, London
A.1984.386	Man's embroidered green silk coat, USSR, Turkmenistan, Tekke Turkmen, 20th century, purchase, Hentell Ltd, London
A.1984.466	Camel's headband, Afghanistan, Uzbek, 20th century, purchase, John Gillow
A.1984.467+A	Pair of camel's kneebands, Afghanistan, Uzbek, 20th century, purchase, John Gillow
A.1984.468	Camel's chest band, Afghanistan, Uzbek, 20th century, purchase, John Gillow
A.1984.469+A	Pair of tent pole covers, Afghanistan, Uzbek, 20th century, purchase, John Gillow
A.1984.531	Woman's rayon fabric with printed pattern, USSR, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1984

A.1984.532	Synthetic silk sample for a pair of woman's trousers, USSR, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1984
A.1984.532 A	Length of braid for women's trousers, USSR, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1984
A.1984.533	Woman's synthetic wool headscarf, USSR, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1984
A.1984.534	Girl's silk cap, USSR, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1984
A.1984.535	Girl's velvet cap, USSR, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1984
A.1984.536	Girl's cotton cap, USSR, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1984
A.1984.537	Synthetic silk sample (*ikat*), USSR, Uzbekistan, Samarqand, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1984
A.1984.538	Printed synthetic silk sample, imitating *ikat*, USSR, Uzbekistan, Samarqand, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1984
A.1984.539+A	Pair of women's shoes, USSR, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1984
A.1984.540+A	Pair of knitted wool socks, USSR, Tajikistan, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1984
A.1984.541	Man's black synthetic silk cap, USSR, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jennifer Scarce, 1984
A.1985.283	Man's silk *ikat* robe (*chapan*), USSR, Uzbekistan, 19th century, purchase, Spink and Son, London
A.1987.132 A+B	Pair of man's silver embroidered velvet boots, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, 19th century, purchase, Spink and Son, London
A.1987.287	Man's silk robe (*chapan*), Afghanistan, Uzbek, 19th century, purchase, Spink and Son, London
A.1988.241	Woman's mantle (*chyrpy*) of yellow silk, Turkmenistan, c. 1850, purchase, Harriet Sandy's, London
A.1993.54	Man's ankle-length silk velvet *ikat* coat (*chapan*), Uzbekistan, late 19th century, purchase, Spink and Son, London
A.1993.92	Woman's head shawl, Afghanistan, Balkh, Uzbek, c. 1990, purchase, Joss Graham Oriental Textiles, London
A.1993.120	Woman's trouser cuff, Afghanistan, Tekke Turkmen, c. 1940, purchase, John Gillow
A.1993.121	*Suzani*, Uzbekistan, Samarqand, Urgut, c. 1970, purchase, John Gillow
A.1994.712	Child's ankle-length padded coat (*chapan*), north

	Afghanistan, Uzbek, early 20th century, purchase, Joss Graham Oriental Textiles, London
A.1995.124	Man’s ankle-length coat (*chapan*), north Afghanistan, Uzbek, early 20th century, purchase, John Gillow
A.1995.962 A+B	Boy’s tabard and skullcap, Turkmenistan, c. 1940, purchase, Joss Graham Oriental Textiles, London
K.1998.1228	Man’s square hat, Uzbekistan, mid-20th century, gift, Janet Sykes
K.1998.1686	Woman’s ankle-length *ikat* robe, Afghanistan, Uzbek, early 20th century, gift, Charles Stewart
K.1998.1750	Tinned copper ewer, Turkestan, dated 1817
K.1998.1751	Tinned copper ewer, Turkestan, Chahgun, early 19th century
K.1998.1752	Tinned copper ewer, Turkestan, early 19th century
K.1998.1753 A+B	Jug of wood, Turkestan, early 19th century
K.1998.1754 A+B	Jug of wood, Turkestan, early 19th century
K.1999.28	Bread stamp of carved wood, Kyrgyzstan, Osh, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.29	Child’s bird shaped earthenware ocarina, Kyrgyzstan, Osh, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.30	Leave shaped earthenware ocarina, Kyrgyzstan, Osh, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.31	Abstract bird shaped earthenware ocarina, by Bakyt Omokyeev, Kyrgyzstan, Osh, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.32	Pot holder, Kyrgyzstan, Osh, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.33	Qalpak Kyrgyz hat with black trim, Kyrgyzstan, near Karakulya, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.34	Qalpak Kyrgyz hat with white embroidery, Kyrgyzstan, near Karakulya, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.35	Small natural dye mat, Kyrgyzstan, Kyzylkiya, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.36	Velour cushion cover, Kyrgyzstan, Kyzylkiya, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.37	Cotton cushion cover, Kyrgyzstan, Kyzylkiya, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.38	Embroidery guide, Kyrgyzstan, Kyzylkiya, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.39	Finished embroidery, Kyrgyzstan, Kyzylkiya, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998

K.1999.40 A+B	Pair of bedroll edges, Kyrgyzstan, Kyzylkiya, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.41	Man's cap (*qalpak*), Kyrgyzstan, Kyzylkiya, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.42	Boy's cap (*qalpak*), Kyrgyzstan, Kyzylkiya, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.43	Man's skull cap, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.44	Man's skull cap, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.45	Boy's gold embroidered coat, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.46	Length of atlas, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.47	Length of atlas, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.48	Length of atlas, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.49	Length of atlas, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.50	Length of atlas, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.51	Length of *bekasan*, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.52	Length of *bekasan*, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.53	Length of *bekasan*, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.54	Hat (*kulah*), Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.55	Length of silk for a turban, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.56	Cotton skull cap, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.57	Woman's skull cap, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.58	Woman's dress (*munisak*), Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.59	Boy's sash, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998

K.1999.60	Length of pedal silk, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.61	Length of heavy silk, golden eye pattern, Uzbekistan, Margilan Silk Factory, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.62 A+B	Two small metal bowls, Uzbekistan, Margilan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.63	Model pile rug with tiger, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.64	Boy’s skull cap, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.65	Hanging embroidery, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.66	Large tray, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.67	Small hinged box, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.68	Child’s shirt, Uzbekistan, Ferghana, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.69	Ceramic teahouse scene, Uzbekistan, Ferghana, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.70	Ceramic plate, Uzbekistan, Rishtan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.71	Ceramic plate, by Uldashiv Ismail Hoja, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.72	Large ceramic plate, by Musah John, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.73	Large ceramic plate by Musah John, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.74	Large ceramic plates, by Musah John, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.75	Medium ceramic plate, by Musah John, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.76	Medium ceramic plate, by Musah John, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.77	Ceramic bowl, by Musah John, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.78	Ceramic bowl, by Musah John, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.79	Small bowl, Gallery Rustanov, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998

K.1999.80	Small ceramic bowl, Gallery Rustanov, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.81	Large ceramic plate, Gallery Rustanov, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.82	Master's ceramic bowl, Gallery Rustanov, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.83	Master's ceramic bowl in Kashgar technique, Gallery Rustanov, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.84	Niece's ceramic plate, Gallery Rustanov, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.85	Ceramic bowl, Gallery Rustanov, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.86	Ceramic plate, Gallery Rustanov, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.87	Ceramic plate (*arita*), by Sharaf Yuselbof, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.88	Ceramic plate with central *bute*, by Sharaf Yuselbof, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.89	Ceramic plate with flower design, by Sharaf Yuselbof, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.90	Ceramic plate with concentric rings, by Sharaf Yuselbof, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.91	Ceramic plate, by Sharaf Yuselbof, Uzbekistan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.92	Wooden Qur'an stand, Uzbekistan, Khuqand (Kokand), field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.93	Hat (*sunnat toi*), Uzbekistan, Khuqand (Kokand), field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.94	Painted table, Uzbekistan, Khuqand (Kokand), field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.95	Painted hinged box, Uzbekistan, Khuqand (Kokand), field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.96 A+B	Wooden box, Uzbekistan, Khuqand (Kokand), field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.97	Basket, Uzbekistan, Andijan, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.98	Puzzle box, Uzbekistan, Tashkent, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.99 A+B	Lacquer work box, Uzbekistan, Tashkent, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998

K.1999.100 A-F	Brass water service, Uzbekistan, Tashkent, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.101 A+B	Lacquer work box, Uzbekistan, Tashkent, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.102	Wooden Qur’an stand, Uzbekistan, Tashkent, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.103	Plate of Nurata design, Rakimov’s Ceramic Studio, Uzbekistan, Tashkent, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.104	Bowl of Samarqand design, Rakimov’s Ceramic Studio, Uzbekistan, Tashkent, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.105	Plate of Afrasiab design, Rakimov’s Ceramic Studio, Uzbekistan, Tashkent, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.106	Bowl of Surkhan-darya design, Rakimov’s Ceramic Studio, Uzbekistan, Tashkent, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.107	Bowl of Shahr-i Sabz design, Rakimov’s Ceramic Studio, Uzbekistan, Tashkent, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.108	*Suzani*, Uzbekistan, Tashkent, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.109	Embroidered spectacle case, Uzbekistan, Nukus, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.110	Embroidered zipped bag, Uzbekistan, Nukus, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.111	Small rug, Uzbekistan, Khiva, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.112	Wooden bread board, Uzbekistan, Khiva, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.113	Painted gourd, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.114	Gourd, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.115 A+B	Lacquer work box, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.116	Large engraved metal plate, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.117	Small engraved metal plate, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.118	Gold *suzani*, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.119	Embroidery, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998

K.1999.120	Ceramic plate, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.121	Piece of atlas silk, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.122	Piece of atlas silk, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.123	Piece of atlas silk, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.124 A+B	Pair of *sunnat* boots, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.125	Pair of metal scissors, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.126	Plate with *ikat* design, Uzbekistan, Samarqand, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.127	Hand drum (*doira*), Uzbekistan, Samarqand, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.128 A+B	Cup and saucer, Uzbekistan, Samarqand, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.1999.129	Terracotta plate, Uzbekistan, Samarqand, field collection, Jane Wilkinson, 1998
K.2001.400	Poster of woman in traditional Qaraqalpak jewellery, Uzbekistan, Nukus, field collection, Ken Teague, 2000
K.2001.401	Large poster of architecture in Khiva, Uzbekistan, Khiva, field collection, Ken Teague, 2000
K.2001.402	Large poster of architecture in Khiva, Uzbekistan, Khiva, field collection, Ken Teague, 2000
K.2001.403	Glove puppet by Master Iskander Khakimov, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, 1998, field collection, Ken Teague, 2000
K.2001.404	*Suzani*, Uzbekistan, Bukhara, field collection, Ken Teague, 2000
K.2001.405	Shallow plate of painted and glazed earthenware by Alisher Abdullah and Nadira Narzuliaev, Uzbekistan, Gijduvan, field collection, Ken Teague, 2000
K.2001.406	Small cup of earthenware with dark green, yellow and brown glaze, Uzbekistan, Gijduvan, field collection, Ken Teague, 2000
K.2001.407	Dark green, yellow and brown glazed earthenware bowl with raised cone in centre, Uzbekistan, Gijduvan, field collection, Ken Teague, 2000
K.2001.408	Shallow earthenware dish with dark green, yellow and brown glaze, Uzbekistan, Gijduvan, field collection, Ken

	Teague, 2000
K.2001.409	Boy’s circumcision crown (*sunnat toi*), Uzbekistan, Khiva, field collection, Ken Teague, 2000
K.2001.410	Silk rug with depiction of Gur-i Amir, Uzbekistan, Samarqand, field collection, Ken Teague, 2000
K.2001.411	Wool and silk rug with “King’s Design” pattern, Uzbekistan, Samarqand, field collection, Ken Teague, 2000
K.2001.412	Poster of architecture featuring the Rigistan mosque, Uzbekistan, Samarqand, field collection, Ken Teague, 2000
K.2001.413	Small dragon of unglazed earthenware, Uzbekistan, Samarqand, field collection, Ken Teague, 2000
V.2008.20	Three sided wall hanging with inscription made for a wedding, Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek, dated 1954, gift, Laurent Vernet

Fig. 1.12 Metal plate, engraved with a depiction of the Samanid mausoleum in Bukhara, Uzbekistan (Bukhara), c. 1998, D. 17.1 cm, National Museums Scotland (K.1999.117) (photograph © National Museums Scotland).

Fig. 1.13 Ceramic plate of the design "Afrasiab," Uzbekistan (Tashkent), Rakimov's Ceramic Studio, c. 1998, D. 21.4 cm, National Museums Scotland (K.1999.105) (photograph © National Museums Scotland).

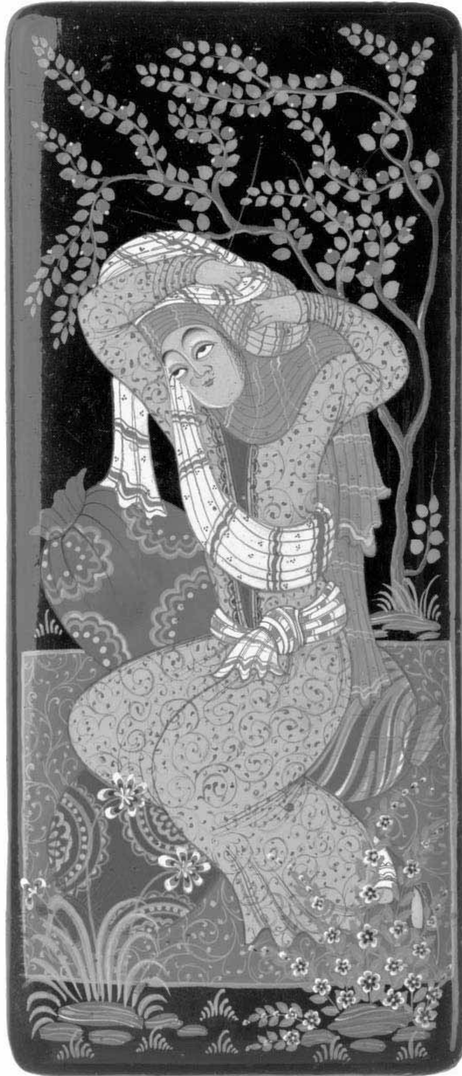

Fig. 1.14 Painted lacquer work box, Uzbekistan (Bukhara), c. 1998, L. 20.8 cm, National Museums Scotland (K.1999.115 A and B) (photograph © National Museums Scotland).

Fig. 1.15 The Middle Eastern display in the gallery “Patterns of Life,” National Museums Scotland, 2011. On the left hand side the pointed circumcision bib A.1984.369. The boy’s tabard (A.1995.962 A) and the two *chyrpys* in yellow (A.1984.368) and white (A.1980.172) are mounted from the back wall with the boy’s cap (A.1995.962 B) on a shelf in between. The ocarinas (K.1999.29-K.1999.31) are obscured by the label rail (photograph © National Museums Scotland).

PART TWO

PERSIAN ART AND THE LEGACY OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

PERSIAN ART IN 19TH-CENTURY VIENNA

BARBARA KARL

Many of the transformative developments of the 19th century are reflected in the history of collecting in Vienna.[1] In this period, the exclusive privilege of collecting opened up to a larger part of society and the audience for viewing art broadened. Private collections gradually became more public.

In the Austrian Habsburg context, this transformation began already in the 16th century, when the Viennese imperial collections, such as those of Ferdinand of Tyrol at Schloss Ambras in Innsbruck and Rudolf II's collections in Prague, were made accessible to a very select, or even exclusive, public. These collections revealed their owner's tastes and were used to impress foreign diplomats and gentlemen travellers, who in turn could spread their fame. In 1601 parts of the Ambras armoury were sumptuously published, making its content known to the public.[2] Gradually the number and nature of visitors to Viennese collections increased.

Catalogues to the collections were written and during the 18th century visitors were charged entry fees to visit some spaces, such as the imperial armoury in Vienna.[3] The imperial collections constantly grew in volume and were often moved within the palaces where space was usually scarce. Many items were lost, given away, worn out or disposed of over the centuries. The continued accumulation, reorganisation, specialisation and systematisation of the single parts of the collections intensified during the reigns of Emperor Franz Stephan (r. 1745–65) and his sons, Joseph II (r. 1765–90) and Leopold II (r. 1790–92). The latter had also reorganised the

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[1] The article is part of the research project, "Objects from the Islamic World in the Museums of Vienna," financed by the Austrian Science Fund FWF and carried out at the Institute of Iranian studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna. I thank the Austrian Science Fund FWF, Bert Fragner and Lia Markey. For the entire project, see Karl 2011. "The Virtual Museum of Islamic Art at Vienna" (a project directed by Ebba Koch at the University of Vienna) has also been available online (https://www.museumislamischerkunst.net, accessed 14 July 2012).

[2] Notzing 1601 (Latin version in 1601; German version in 1603).

[3] Leber 1846.

Medici collections in Florence where he ruled as grand duke before he became emperor in 1790. Emperors continued to increase their collections and scholarly studies about them increased. The creation of the large Viennese museums during the second half of the 19th century can thus be seen as a consequence of enlightenment attitudes developed during the preceding centuries.

It is necessary to contextualise the provenance of the Persian objects in 19th-century Viennese collections in order to demonstrate their complex history. Objects of Persian origin permeated Habsburg collecting from the later Middle Ages onwards. Over the centuries Persian artistic items were conceived of as relics, functioned as reliquaries, inspired court artists, and acted as valuable merchandise and as historical documents of diplomatic exchanges. Occasionally they also represented pieces of booty. As the arch-enemy of two of its neighbours, the Habsburg dominions and the Safavid Empire, the Ottoman army took rich booty from both. But at the same time, it also traded intensively with them. Weapons were often recycled and refurbished by those who captured them and because of this, Persian weapons that were used by the Ottoman army occasionally fell into the hands of Habsburg soldiers. Valuable Persian textiles were used as burial shrouds and church vestments as early as the 14th century. This is the date of the earliest surviving textile from the Persian cultural sphere that possesses an uninterrupted provenance in the Viennese context. Objects from the Islamic world, hence often also from modern-day Iran, were an integral part of the encyclopaedic concept of the early modern *Kunstkammern*, as well as the more specialised baroque *Antikenkabinett.* The history of Persian objects in Vienna mirrors the history of the exchange, both direct and indirect, between eastern and western powers over some six hundred years. This study focuses on some vital moments in the history of collecting Persian objects during the 19th century and provides the reader with an idea of the nature of objects present in the museums that arose during this period. It also provides an overview on the history of Viennese collecting during the 19th century.

The Arrival of Persian Objects in Viennese Collections during the 19th Century

During the 19th century the collection of objects from the Islamic world in Vienna increased and expanded due to various different factors. During the second half of the century travel became much cheaper and easier thanks to the development of new technologies like steamboats and trains. At the same time, the art market became more international. The animosity

between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, that had dominated politics during the 16th, 17th and early 18th centuries, ceased after the last war in the late 1780s—a circumstance that eased trade. Relations were so good that the Ottoman Empire was even represented by Austria during the Congress of Vienna in 1814-8.[4] Due to the geographic proximity of the Ottoman and Habsburg dominions, the largest quantity of objects from the Islamic world in Vienna, including, among other things, weapons and carpets, originated in the Ottoman Empire. Persia being farther away than the Ottoman Empire contributed fewer items to Viennese collections but most of the Persian goods in Vienna are of high artistic quality.

With the increasing number of institutions and collectors in the 19th century, many more objects than before could be acquired and integrated into the extant collections. Expeditions were outfitted and brought back both valuable knowledge and objects. Interests in foreign regions developed further and became more scholarly at the same time. Especially during the so-called Viennese *Gründerzeit*, marked by a considerable economic boom, the fashion for collecting gained momentum.[5] This study focuses on some vital moments in the history of collecting Persian objects during the 19th century and provides the reader with an idea of the nature of objects present in the museums that arose during this period. It also provides an overview on the history of Viennese collecting during the 19th century.

Aristocratic, bourgeois and scientific collecting existed alongside imperial collecting on a much smaller scale for centuries but these collectors focused on more particular types of goods; a natural scientist, for instance, would likely collect naturalia, such as plants. The contents of these smaller collections were more ephemeral for they were more often victims of dispersion than the large princely collections. Many objects from the Persian world now present in Vienna's museums were part of these early private collections. By the 19th century some of them were integrated into the imperial collections. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), for instance, the famous Orientalist and historian who was also the first president of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, collected Arabic, Ottoman and Persian manuscripts that were integrated into the *Hofbibliothek*, today's National Library.[6]

Following the rise of museums as public institutions in Vienna during the second half of the 19th century, private collectors were able to donate or sell their collections to these institutions and thus save them for

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[4] Buchmann 1999, 187.
[5] KHM 2002.
[6] Galter and Haas (eds.) 2008.

posterity under their own name. For example, Kanonikus Franz Bock's (1823–1899) textile collection that included a considerable number of mediaeval Persian textiles was sold to the Museum of Art and Industry (*k.k. Museum für Kunst und Industrie,* founded in 1863, later renamed as Museum of Applied Arts / *Museum für angewandte Kunst*).[7] Bock collected his vast textile collections largely by obtaining samples from church treasuries. Many museums had correspondents—often imperial diplomats, stationed all over the world—who provided information and occasionally also objects for the collections. The director of the *Orientmuseum*, Arthur von Scala (1845–1909), travelled to Istanbul and beyond for museum acquisitions.[8] The Museum of Ethnography (*Museum für Völkerkunde,* then part of the Museum of Natural History / *Naturhistorische Museum*) and particularly the *Museum für Kunst und Industrie* house objects that were collected within the respective regions by gentlemen travellers, traders, amateur researchers, professionals, and also by museum curators.[9]

Collecting objects from the Islamic world continued under imperial patronage as well. The emperor sought to create great museums and some archdukes were important patrons and protectors of museums. Archduke Rainer (1783–1853) presented the famous Egyptian papyrus collection to Emperor Franz Joseph I (r. 1848–1916), who in turn donated it to the *Hofbibliothek*.[10] The same archduke was a major patron of the *Museum für Kunst und Industrie* and yet another archduke, Carl Ludwig (1833–1896), was the benefactor of the *Orientmuseum* (founded 1875).[11] Both Crown Princes Rudolf (1858–1889) and Franz Ferdinand (1863–1914) published reports on their respective trips to the Islamic world and beyond, the latter returning in 1894 with a considerable collection of *naturalia* and *artificialia* that were exhibited in the Belvedere and later largely integrated into the *Naturhistorische Museum*. A large part of his collection was stored in the *ethnographische Kabinett* which developed into the *Museum für Völkerkunde* in 1928.[12] With the objects he brought back, Crown Prince Rudolf created a private "Oriental" room, consisting primarily of Ottoman objects—the remains of which are today exhibited in the *Hofmobiliendepot*.[13] Important imperial and aristocratic donations augmented the respective collections of the *Museum für Kunst und*

[7] Bock 1865.
[8] Wieninger 2000.
[9] Karl 2011, 107-13.
[10] Festschrift Vienna 1983.
[11] Wieninger 2000.
[12] Vienna 1894.
[13] Barta 2008, 50-3.

Industrie and the *Orientalische Museum*.[14] In addition to that, the older objects continued to be recycled and used in the imperial household. According to Alois Riegl (1858–1905), partly worn out *gilim*s were used as saddlecloths and the valuable classical knotted carpets, today part of the *Museum für angewandte Kunst*, were housed in special storerooms in Schönbrunn castle, indicating that they were still held in high esteem (Fig. 2.1).[15]

Collecting and Displaying Persian and Oriental Art in the Austro-Hungarian Context

Broadly speaking, the 19th century witnessed a slow economic rise in Europe. Much of the rest of the world, including several Islamic countries, were to a large part integrated into the colonial empires of European powers. The Austro-Hungarian Empire possessed no overseas colonies and showed no obvious interest in acquiring any. The empire's status meant that it was a comparatively neutral trading partner for Persia, which held a relationship with the Habsburgs that dated back to the 16th century. At that time, the Habsburgs tried to forge alliances with the Safavid Empire against their common enemy, the Ottomans. From around 1600 onwards embassies were exchanged between Vienna and Persia and friendly relations continued between the Habsburgs and the later Persian dynasties.[16]

Although politically more and more marginalised and economically weak, skilled craftsmanship of the Islamic world continued to be appreciated in Europe. During the Biedermeier period, for instance, there was a fascination on behalf of female consumers with cashmere shawls from north India, which were then produced in Europe imitating Indian models. The *Museum für angewandte Kunst* includes several valuable pieces that derive from 19th-century Viennese producers. Not only were objects from the wider Persian world admired in Vienna, but they were occasionally also copied there, just like the Mamluk glass vessels by the celebrated Viennese glass manufacture J. & L. Lobmeyr.[17] In addition, carpets from the Islamic world continued to be revered and during the 19th century they furnished countless Viennese homes. The recent exhibitions of the celebrated painter Hans Makart (1840–1884) in the *Wienmuseum* and the

[14] Wieninger 2000, 164-74.
[15] Riegl 1892, 326, 329.
[16] See, for example, Slaby 2010 and Niederkorn 1996.
[17] Skelter 2000, 263.

Belvedere have provided a notion of what a fashionable *fin-de-siècle* salon looked like. In such an environment Ottoman and Persian carpets were abundant.[18]

Industrial production heavily influenced the development of 19th-century European decorative arts. Thanks to new technologies many objects were mass-produced and could be sold at more competitive prices than handmade works. Therefore more people than ever before had access to decorative objects. As a result, during the second half of the 19th century a supposed decline of taste proliferated and was lamented in Europe, especially during the world exhibitions. In this context traditional craftsmanship from the Islamic world was seen very positively and as such played a vital role in the Viennese world exhibition of 1873 where a "Persischer Pavilion"—a space especially installed for the exhibition displaying products of Persian craftsmanship—was featured prominently (Fig. 2.2).[19] The organizers placed a special focus on the representation of the arts that were considered to be "Oriental" because of their high quality and because they could be used as models by the Austro-Hungarian industry. Many museums acquired art at the 1873 fair as they had at previous events in London and Paris. Parts of the famous *Hamzename* (1558–1573), a splendid Mughal Indian manuscript commissioned by the Great Mughal Akbar, were sent from Persia for the Vienna fair, and were subsequently purchased by the *Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (Fig. 2.3).[20] Lavishly illustrated, this masterwork recounts the history of Amir Hamze, an uncle of the prophet Muhammad, and remains today one of the masterpieces of the *Museum für angewandte Kunst*. Interestingly, the organizer of the Persian exhibition was Jakob Eduard Polak (1818–1891), an Austro-Bohemian physician working in Persia where he reformed medical institutions.[21]

As a consequence of the successful display of the so-called Oriental art at the world's fair, which was attended by Nasir al-Din Shah of Persia (r. 1848–96),[22] the *Orientmuseum* was founded in 1874–75 as a private institution. It was largely the invention of its founder and long-term director Arthur von Scala (1845–1909), and it became only the second museum in Europe dedicated entirely to the arts of what was then perceived as the Orient, including East Asia and the Islamic world. In

[18] Wienmuseum 2011; Husslein and Klee 2011.
[19] Polak 1873. See also Rührdanz 2011, 301-08.
[20] Pokorny-Nagl 2009, 37-8.
[21] See Werner 2009; Gächter 2012.
[22] Slaby 2010, 112-3.

1907 large parts of the museum collection were integrated into the *Museum für Kunst und Industrie*.[23]

The later 19th century also experienced the creation of Vienna's large museums into which both the imperial and other private collections were integrated. Objects from the Islamic world, thus also modern-day Iran, that had existed in Vienna for centuries were distributed to the new museums, namely the *Kunsthistorische Museum* (hereafter KHM, opened in 1891) and the *Naturhistorische Museum* (opened in 1889). The creation of these museums was motivated by an aim to educate the subjects of the emperor, at this point Franz Joseph I, and to show them his splendours. By publicly displaying his possessions and sharing his knowledge with the people of Austria didactically, he became, in a way, the first teacher of his subjects. Subsequently the museum collections were enlarged with new acquisitions and donations not only from the imperial family but also from private collectors, turning these institutions into museums with international reputations.

Discovering the Viennese Heritage of Persian Art—Textiles, Weapons and Jade

Gradually, a more systematic and scholarly approach towards the study of the arts from the Islamic world developed in the 19th century. This is made clear by the comparison of the reception of two Ilkhanid textiles present in Vienna. The earliest surviving object from Iran known to have arrived in Vienna is the Ilkhanid burial shroud of Duke Rudolf IV the Founder (r. 1358–65), a 14th-century textile from Iran (*Dom- und Diözesanmuseum*, Vienna, inv. no. L-7). Made of silk with gold threads, this lampas is one of the most splendid Ilkhanid textiles to survive.[24] Another Ilkhanid fragment, once part of the ecclesiastical vestments in Regensburg, found its way to Vienna's *Museum für Kunst und Industrie* in the 19th century as part of the important Bock collection. The *Museum für Kunst und Industrie* included a large collection of samples of all types of textile patterns and objects that could be used as models by artists and technicians working for the Austrian industry.

In the case of the two Ilkhanid textiles, it is clear that the appreciation of similar Persian items had changed over a time span of six centuries. The Duke's splendour was enhanced by his burial in one of the most exclusive

[23] Wieninger 2000, 164-72.
[24] See Ritter 2010; Járó 2010. See also: Ambros 1993, 26-30; Duda 1985, 44-5; Saliger 1987, 9-12, No. 3, ill. 3-7.

textiles available. The second Ilkhanid textile was also originally used in a European sacred context. During the late Middle Ages the chasuble out of which this fragment was cut was part of the Christian liturgy, itself endowed with divine magnificence (MAK, inv. T 883). In the 19th century a fragment of the same chasuble was collected by the MAK to inspire Austrian textile production. In both cases the textile was admired, but in very different ways. The ancient conception of the sacredness of textiles met the entrepreneurial spirit of the 19th century. These are of course not the only Persian textiles in Vienna. Documentation in the respective institutions shows that during the late 19th century the MAK, the *Orientalische Museum* and what is now the *Museum für Völkerkunde* acquired a considerable number of textile samples, pieces of costume, carpets and the like from different periods of Persian art.

Another important group of Persian objects in Vienna constitute high quality weapons that came to Vienna from the 16th to the 19th centuries. Precious daggers and sabres were especially sought after by princely collectors. Often diplomatic gifts, many of them were delicately crafted pieces of jewellery, decorated with precious stones and *niello* work, occasionally inscribed with Persian poetry. Some of them were part of the imperial private *Rüstkammer* or the *Kunstkammer*, demonstrating the high regard for these objects. During the later nineteenth century they were integrated into the KHM, where they are now part of one of the most famous weapons collections worldwide, the *Rüstkammer*. Valuable weapons also continued to be appreciated as diplomatic gifts in the 19th century.

Persian jade objects were also transferred from the imperial collections to the public museums in the later 19th century. The KHM houses, among other objects from the Persian world, some splendid stone nephrite objects (cups, ascetic's bowls and jars) from the Timurid, Safavid and Mughal periods. These were formerly part of what was left of the imperial *Kunst- und Wunderkammern* and were integrated into the KHM upon its creation.[25] Large pieces of jewellery like these were used as highly esteemed diplomatic gifs during the late 16th century. For instance, a set of ancient Persian stone-carved tableware was presented by the Ottoman ambassador to Emperor Ferdinand I in 1562.[26] Objects like these found their way into the *Kunstkammern*, which were accessible at times to the court artists of Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612) in Prague. Given the emperor's fondness for vessels made of precious stones, these might have served as models for court artists, such as the Italian Miseroni family.

[25] Konečný and Bukovinská 1998.
[26] Riegl 1892, 330.

The Development of Persian Art Collections in Viennese Museums

The largest collections of Persian objects in later 19th century Vienna were assembled in what is today the *Museum für Völkerkunde*, which was part of the *Naturhistorische Museum* during the later part of the 19th century, and in the MAK. One of the main functions of the MAK was to create a collection of model decorative arts from all over the world that would inspire the invention of good Austrian design and taste. These ideal collectibles were meant to stimulate local craftsmen and render Austrian products competitive with others in the world market. Among the many items acquired for the MAK and the *Orientalische Museum* (the latter was founded to stimulate international trade relations and was later integrated into the MAK) were objects from Iran, such as some of the famous carpets,[27] metalwork, lacquers and the like from the Ilkhanid to the Qajar period.

The *Museum für Völkerkunde* includes a large quantity of amulets, countless pieces of jewellery, tea and coffee sets, book stands and some books, glass objects, and metal objects, such as an Afghan *hammam* or bath set from around 1900 (149.800-805 etc.).[28] In addition, there are ceramics of different kinds, musical instruments, smoking utensils, smaller pieces of furniture and of course large numbers of high-quality Persian weapons from the later periods in the museum. Many objects possess religious functions, such as two ascetic's bowls of Sufis from 19th-century Afghanistan (140.396, 157.311). The collection also houses a vast quantity of textiles that is comprised of carpets and different types of costumes from Afghanistan and Iran, including accessories such as bags, hats and shoes.

The MAK collected many items of high culture of an earlier date. The collection is best known for its incomparable collection of classical carpets from the 16th and 17th centuries and Akbar's *Hamzename* manuscript that came to Vienna during the world exhibition of 1873, as mentioned before. The textile collection includes valuable carpets that were repeatedly displayed in public, such as the famous 16th-century hunting carpet that remained part of the imperial collection and was only integrated into the MAK after World War I.[29] The MAK also possesses a small collection of Central Asian costumes, including splendid veils as well as simple socks.

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[27] Völker 2001.
[28] Leoben 2006, 130.
[29] Völker 2001.

Moreover, there are many Persian textile fragments, pieces of costume such as several jackets and accessories, mostly from the 19th century. In addition, there are various objects from Iran from early Islamic times to the 19th century: ceramics, tiles, glass, lacquer objects and metal objects.

Persian objects can be found in many other museums in Vienna. Three 19th-century manuscript paintings, executed in a western-inspired style, are, for instance, now in the collection of the Albertina (24327, 24328 and 24332).[30] Among the many paintings housed in the storerooms of the Belvedere is the life-size portrait of Nasir al-Din Shah (inv. 2691).[31] The image was originally in the imperial gallery in the Belvedere. It was then moved to the KHM and then finally integrated into the Belvedere in 1986. Painted in a European style and attributed to the Armenian painter Hakop Hovnatanian the younger (1806–1881), it depicts Nasir al-Din Shah beside a cannon in front of a landscape. This shah attempted to modernise his empire. To do so he intensified relations with western powers, invited foreign intellectuals to Persia and travelled to Europe himself. He visited Vienna at the occasion of the aforementioned world exhibition in 1873.[32] Highly decorated by European monarchs, Nasir al-Din returned two more times to Austria and this portrait might have been part of the gifts given to Emperor Franz Joseph upon the shah's visit to Vienna. He never came empty handed, but distributed sumptuous presents, just as his predecessors had done before him.

A sabre in the *Rüstkammer* of the KHM (Inv. C 209) featuring an inscription naming Fath 'Ali Shah of Persia (r. 1797–1834) and the date of 1813, and the nephrite cup in the *Kunstkammer* of the KHM are probably examples of earlier diplomatic gifts by members of the Qajar dynasty. The latter cup is decorated with a portrait of Fath 'Ali Shah and precious stones. A similar portrait of the Shah—studded with diamonds—is on an order of honour in the cabinet of coins (inv. MK 1792/E) in the KHM.

Far less prestigious is a small collection of largely 19th-century *gilim*s in the *Hofmobiliendepot*, the storehouse which outfitted the imperial palaces and ministries. In the Naturhistorische Museum there are a few delicately carved soapstone vessels from the Qajar period, acquired by Jakob Eduard Polak.[33] A large gold-framed turquoise (J 4887) from the quarries near Nishapur, featuring a Persian inscription and the Austrian imperial crown, was presented to Emperor Franz Joseph by the Persian

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[30] MAK Vienna 2009, 291 and 350, nos. 216, 222.
[31] See Irsigler 2008 for a recent study of the portrait; see also Sims 2002, 277; Diba 1998, 245-6.
[32] Slaby 2010, 112-3; Rührdanz 2011, 202.
[33] See Gächter forthcoming.

stonecutter and merchant from Mashhad, named Mihdi Qasim,[34] upon the occasion of the emperor's 80th birthday (Fig. 2.4). It bears the initials of the emperor, the dates 1914 and 1915 as well as a poem that celebrates the Austrian sovereign. Franz Joseph subsequently gave it to the *Naturhistorische Museum*.[35] A smaller piece of a similar stone item is today in the small collection of the *Technische Universität Vienna*, and was once in the possession of the industrialist Max Gutmann (1857–1930).

Defining Persian Art in Exhibitions and Studies

Several specialised exhibitions promoted the arts of the Islamic world in later 19th-century Vienna. The *Orientalische Museum* staged the "orientalisch-keramische" exhibition in 1884. More than two thirds of the exhibition was dedicated to East Asian ceramics, but it also included pieces from modern-day Iran, some of which are now in the MAK. In the catalogue for this 1884 exhibition, the director of the museum, Arthur von Scala, laments the poor state of the collection of the so-called Oriental arts in Vienna and announces a series of exhibitions planned by the museum, beginning with a show featuring Oriental ceramics.[36]

A subsequent exhibition within this series inaugurated by Scala at the *Orientalische Museum* (by then renamed *Handelsmuseum*) was truly groundbreaking for its scholarship on carpets and would deserve a study of its own. The art historian Otto von Falke (1862–1942) wrote that with the support of international institutions and contributions by private collectors and various Viennese companies which were then trading in carpets, such as Philipp Haas (1791–1870) and his sons, as well as Jacob Adutt (a Sephardic trader from the Ottoman Empire, c. 1826–1878), it was possible for the first time to display the history of the production of carpets from Japan to Morocco in one exhibition.[37] Even the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) in London sent pieces to Vienna for this show. The carpets were organised chronologically and geographically, and the substantial catalogue was written, among others, by Alois Riegl, including detailed descriptions and information about the history, places of production, materials, designs, techniques and occasionally the prices of some of the carpets that could be purchased from the

[34] No biographical records on Qasim were available at the time of writing this article.
[35] Hammer 2008, 2.
[36] Vienna 1884.
[37] Falke 1892, 3-9.

participating merchants.[38] A section on older carpets included some of the famous classical Persian examples now in the *Museum für angewandte Kunst*. In addition to locally organised exhibitions, various Viennese Museums contributed to the Munich exhibition of "Muhammadan" art in 1910.[39]

Apart from these exhibitions, scholars contributed seminal research on the arts of the Islamic lands, including material on the Persian world. To name but a few of the most outstanding, the flamboyant Orientalist Josef von Karabacek (1845–1918) published on many aspects of Islamic art, including Persian needlework as early as 1881,[40] and the Persian arts of the book.[41] Given his training his approach towards textiles is based on a knowledge of textual, often primary, sources, and draws heavily from comparison to numismatics. He was a connoisseur of the history and culture of the core regions of the Islamic world. As early as the 1870s he repeatedly wrote and lectured about and against the myth of the Islamic prohibition of depicting living figures, a myth so strong that even today one repeatedly has to refute it.[42] His scholarly work is excellently written and posed questions that remain relevant today. However, many of his statements lack factual evidence and many of the conclusions he drew are open to scrutiny.

Another intellectual heavyweight writing on issues of Persian art during the later 19th century is Alois Riegl, one of the most distinguished members of the famous Vienna School of Art History (*Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte*) and the curator of textiles at the MAK. Besides the publication of *Altorientalische Teppiche* in 1891, he was a collaborator in the huge catalogue of the carpet exhibit at the *Handelsmuseum* in 1892 and wrote a substantial article on the imperial carpets in the same year.[43] Contrary to Karabacek, Riegl lacked knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Ottoman-Turkish and based his research on comparative stylistic analysis and within the framework of cultural history, complemented by studying historic Habsburg documents. Admitting that the history of carpet research was still at its beginning, Riegl drew important conclusions from the carpet exhibition of the *Handelsmuseum*, stating that in his view the two most important scholarly achievements of the exhibition were the

[38] Vienna 1892.
[39] See Haslauer 2011. For the Munich exhibition, see Troelenberg's essay in the present volume.
[40] Karabacek 1881. For the life and career of Karabacek, see Mauthe 2000.
[41] This includes his study on Riza 'Abbasi (see Introduction for further discussion).
[42] See, for example, Karabacek 1876.
[43] Riegl 1891B and 1892.

recognition of the importance of Chinese motifs in carpet design and the perception that carpet design is largely based on scrollwork ornamentation. From the contemporary point of view the localisation of a group of carpets to East Turkestan (Xinjiang) and its finding as an important carpet production centre is at least as important as the insight that in the past too many a scrollwork pattern was wrongly interpreted as Arabic script (often by Karabacek).[44] In addition to his various publications on carpets, his famous work *Stilfragen* (1893) constitutes the first substantial work concerning the formalistic classification of ornaments, drawing heavily on his experience as the curator of textiles in the MAK where he encountered non-European textiles in the Bock collection of medieval textiles and the Graf collection of late antique Egyptian textiles, to which he often referred in his texts.[45]

Concluding Remarks

This article attempted to contextualise the collecting of Persian objects in 19th-century Vienna in the long history of collecting, especially of the imperial family. With their change of placement changed also the context in which they were perceived. From being objects of private pleasure and elite representation they became objects of public instruction in the new museums. In addition, large numbers of antique Persian works of art were collected, such as textiles and ceramics, and contemporary Persian works of art were purchased in large quantities and of diverse qualities. Without doubt, the most transformative moment for Vienna's art collections in the second half of the 19th century was the foundation of the large museums, both as state and private institutions. The foundation of these museums and the growing number of Persian objects within the collections made new arrangements and organisations necessary, and coincided with the professionalisation of the curators and, as a consequence, an increasing scholarly approach towards the objects, which were celebrated in some great exhibitions and sumptuous catalogues. The broadening interest in art from the Islamic world in general and in Persian art in particular reflects the tastes and the entrepreneurial spirit of the *Gründerzeit*.

[44] Riegl 1890, Riegl 1891A.
[45] Riegl 1893.

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Fig. 2.1 Pile carpet with scrollwork and animals, East Iran (Herat), mid-16th century, silk, wool, 744 x 350 cm, Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna (T 8334) (photograph © Lois Lammerhuber/MAK).

Fig. 2.2 The Persian Pavilion at the Vienna Exposition, 1873 (after Edoardo Sonzogno [ed.], *L'Esposizione universale di Viena* del 1873 illustrata [Milan, 1873-74]).

Fig. 2.3 *Landhaur, the son of the king of Ceylon, is abducted in his sleep by a demon*, from a copy of the *Hamzename*, India, c. 1570, Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna (BI 8770, fol. 19r) (photograph © Georg Mayer/MAK).

Fig. 2.4 Mihdi Qasim: Cut turquoise piece, mounted in a gold slot, with an incised poetic dedication to Austrian Emperor and Hungarian King Franz Joseph, East Iran (Mashhad), containing the Hijri dates of 1332 and 1333 (1914 and 1915), Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna (IV/121) (photograph © Naturhistorisches Museum).

PERSIAN ART FOR THE BALKANS IN AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN CULTURAL POLICIES*

IVÁN SZÁNTÓ

Much has been written about the Austro-Hungarian re-invention of Bosnian historical identity during the occupation (1878) and annexation (1908) of Bosnia and Herzegovina, yet some important aspects remain to be explored.[1] In this paper I focus on governmental attempts that were made to foster a new Islamic-inspired outlook for the country through Orientalist architecture and imports of artefacts from Iran and Central Asia. In particular, I call attention to a forgotten expedition to these areas launched by the Joint Ministry of Finance (*Gemeinsames Finanzministerium*) in the aim of gathering handicrafts for a study collection in Sarajevo. Fragmentary as they are, memories of this expedition may add to our picture of early Persian art scholarship in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and, moreover, to the ideological uses of Persian art in the historical context of South-East European colonialism.

The Reorientation of Bosnia: Benjámin Kállay and His Imperialism

For over half of the forty years of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia, local affairs were dominated by a single person—the diplomat, politician and ideologist Benjámin Kállay (1839–1903)—whose role in the shaping of

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[1] Recent additions to the abundant general literature for the period include Detrez, Reynolds Cordileone, Ruthner and Reber (eds.) forthcoming. See also Hartmuth 2012 and Bencze 2006 for further references. An art-historical perspective is taken by Reynolds Cordileone 2010; see also Wenzel 1999.

modern Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot be overestimated.[2] Having completed a long diplomatic tenure at various European capitals, including most importantly a consulship in Belgrade (1868–75), he was appointed as Joint Minister of Finance in 1882. With this position he also took over the administrative burdens of Bosnia-Herzegovina in a critical period, for the province was on the verge of a civil war at the time. Kállay was expected to bring back order in Bosnia and, in a longer term, to secure the central government's position there once and for all. His supporter, Count Gyula Andrássy (1823–1890), a former Joint Minister of Foreign Affairs (1871–79), knew well that the staunch Imperialist Kállay would be the right man for this purpose. As governor, Kállay served his position with zeal. Through a series of essays, he had already gained the reputation of a skilled advocate for the Hungarian imperialist cause.[3]

The development of his ideas follow a remarkably clear path: he took an early interest in the liberal economics of John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), who, influenced by his own experiences at the British East-India Company, argued for full political and economic sovereignty over whom the British political elite considered as incapable of self-government.[4] Kállay's literary activity started with translating some of Mill's essays, then he began to adapt the British imperialist theory to Hungary, and finally, after the occupation, he was given the unique opportunity of putting these theories into practice. His central ideas included: a) the natural right of Hungary (with less emphasis on Austria-Hungary) for rule in South-East Europe; b) the need of Hungarian rule to be implemented over Bosnia in the latter's own interest, i. e., in order to restore the country to western civilisation; and c) the benefits of Hungarian liberal imperialism for the Balkan nations in counteracting the despotic imperialisms of Russia and Turkey.

There was a gradual change in Kállay's views of Islam over the course of his mandate. In 1883, a year after his nomination, he published an essay, entitled *Magyarország a Kelet és Nyugot határán* [Hungary on the Border of the Occident and the Orient], in which he considered imperative for the Balkans to accept the Hungarian recipe of "self-westernisation."[5] Hungarians, who had gained and civilised their own land by right of conquest, were committed to undertake the same mission in Bosnia, too. Under Islamic law—an Ottoman legacy in Bosnia—no personal freedom

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[2] Dán 2000.
[3] Kállay 1883.
[4] Mill 1867; on the formation of Mill's own imperialistic ideas, see Pitts 2005, 146-60.
[5] Kállay 1883, 67.

could hold sway, he argued. Therefore, (Austro-) Hungarian rule had to deal with Islam as a hindrance to development. For Kállay in 1883, represented the epitome of backwardness, a stranglehold on Bosnia kept the country outside the family of civilised nations into which Hungary wrested itself. Technically speaking, Islam thus offered itself the clearest—and as such, highly useful—demarcation line between coloniser and colonised.

Eighteen years later, however, with the prospect of further territorial gain from Muslim lands still under Ottoman control, Kállay refined some of his previous concepts. In *Die Lage der Mohammedaner in Bosnien* [The Situation of Muhammadans in Bosnia] (1900), he emphasised the originality of Bosnian Islam.[6] He supposed that the development of Islam in Bosnia had much more to do with the Bosnians' natural temper than with Ottoman conversional policies, and, as a result, a customised Bosnian Islam may have served as the basis of a modern nationhood, even if the combined number of Christians (Orthodox and Catholics) surpassed the Muslim population. He further argued that Islam could and should be integrated into the social network of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Referring to Clemens von Metternich (1773–1859), the leading Austro-Hungarian policy-maker of a previous generation—whose conservatism he did not share but whose diplomatic brilliance he admired—, Kállay even argued that the interests of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires have much in common and the throne of the latter should be supported as it was.[7]

Yet in Kállay's Eurasian vision, the Balkans were to be separated from the Ottoman Empire. He believed that Islam in Bosnia was the natural starting point for nation-building and consequently he sought for ways to integrate the Muslim legislative system, *awqaf*, and land tenure into the Austro-Hungarian state economy. He was willing to give support to Bosnian Islam on the condition that it was cut off from its Ottoman roots. The creation of the office of *ri'asat al-'ulama* in 1882 as chief representative of the Muslim community in Austria-Hungary weakened the still considerable caliphal authority of the Sultan over the Muslims of Bosnia, although the precise legal status of the community remained a constant matter of debate between the *ra'is al-'ulama* of Bosnia and the *shaykh al-islam* of Istanbul until Austro-

[6] Kállay 1900.
[7] Kállay 1900, 31.

Hungary finally annexed the province in 1908.[8] This was an important step towards the creation of an independent Bosnian Muslim "church."

To strengthen this policy, a whole range of scholars who were closely associated with Kállay worked hard to empower him with an ideological basis. Some, like János Asbóth (1845–1911), were not slow in pointing out that Bosnians were in fact strongly Illyrianised after their arrival in the territory and that their religious dissidence in later historical periods was in fact a reflection of their ethnic separation.[9] He is also partly credited to the invention of the Bogomil myth—a historically untenable theory about the collective adoption of a Christian heresy (of Persian origin) by the mediaeval Bosnian community. Lajos Thallóczy (1856–1916), on the other hand, while accepting and further elaborating the theory of the Bogomil assimilation to Islam,[10] focused on mediaeval genealogy and diplomacy in order to underpin the historical legitimacy of Hungarian claims of rule over Bosnia.[11]

During these years Kállay did much to raise a loyal Muslim middle class and let them have their say in local matters.[12] With the gradual shrinking of the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy became increasingly confronted with Russia, a new competitor on the Balkans which immediately filled the vacuum left by the Ottomans. Apart from finances, Russia's main asset for the Balkan nations was Pan-Slavism, coupled with solidarity towards the Christian subjects of the Sultan. The realisation of the potential threat which the newly incorporated Slavic—Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim—population meant for Austria-Hungary may well have hastened Kállay's reconsideration of his previous views. Charles-Jean-Melchior de Vogüé (1829–1916), the French diplomat and archaeologist, as well as an early advocate of French colonialism in the Levant, gave an acute explanation of Hungarian fears as early as 1878, the year of the occupation of Bosnia.[13] He noted:

> "This vigorous and exclusive [conservative] instinct explains the historical phenomenon of an isolated group [i.e., that of the Magyars], small in numbers yet dominating a country inhabited by a majority of peoples of

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[8] Mustafa Hilmi, the chief mufti of Sarajevo and imam of the Gazi Khusraw Beg Mosque, was sworn in as the first *ra'is al-'ulama* in Budapest.

[9] Asbóth 1902, 8-9; see also Asbóth 1887, vol. 1, 29-36.

[10] Thallóczy 1897, 12-15; on the role of Islamic art in the region, see Thallóczy 1897, 14.

[11] Thallóczy 1901.

[12] For the aims and final failure of this concept, see Babuna 1996.

[13] De Vogüé served as ambassador to Vienna between 1875 and 1879.

> different races and conflicting aspirations, and playing a role in European affairs out of all proportions to its numerical importance or intellectual culture. This instinct is today awakened and gives warning that it feels the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to be a menace which, by introducing fresh Slav elements into the Hungarian political organism and providing a wider field and further recruitment of the Croat opposition, would upset the unstable equilibrium in which the Magyar domination is poised."[14]

This fear explains that the occupiers' choice naturally fell on the Muslims as their chief ally in the Balkans. According to many Hungarians in the Bosnian administration, the "true" Bosnian was Slavic-speaking but not Slavic in origin and he was Muslim but not Ottoman. This predisposition made the cultural and religious integrity of the Muslim community worthy of respect and even promotion. It is worth noticing that although de Vogüé's remark, quoted above, demonstrates his insight into the ambiguous nature of Hungarian imperialism, Kállay's reformulated agenda, based on respect and selective partnership, was not unlike the French policy of "Pacific Colonialism," as it was envisioned, first in 1878, and elaborated to a North African context, by Hubert Lyautey (1854–1934), the first French governor of Morocco.[15] In both cases, the European scientific advancement and governmental experience were held as the main arguments to justify the projects of exploring and reinventing the local heritage.

An interesting aspect of this cultural policy in Bosnia was the search for a national artistic style. The government had a firm intent to obliterate the all-too-obvious Ottoman outlook of local art and architecture, but it was less resolute about the substitute. Many argued in favour of European Neoclassicism, the requisite stylistic expression of modern, Austro-Hungarian, progress. Yet there was general consent that besides this style a vernacular artistic form was also needed to visually represent the uniqueness and unity of the Bosnian nation. Some believed that Mamluk art would be the natural choice. Not only it was a genuine pre-Ottoman style which was disrupted by the Ottomans, but it had some early connections to the Balkans as well.[16] Furthermore, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was deeply involved at the time in the formation of a Mamluk revivalist artistic style through the efforts of—among others—Max Herz Pasha (1856–1919), the director of the Arab Museum in Cairo (between 1892 and 1914) and chief architect of the Egyptian Commission for the

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[14] Albertini 1952, vol. 1, 33-34.
[15] Erzini 2000, 75.
[16] Szántó 2010A, 192-203.

Preservation of Monuments of Arab Art.[17] Without doubt, the building of the Sarajevo city hall, designed by Alexander Wittek (1852–1894) and built between 1892 and 1894, became the Bosnian landmark of this concept.[18]

Others, however, looked for different sources of inspiration. For instance, in his 1894 proposal concerning the architecture of the Bosnian Regional Museum (founded in 1888), the historian (and personal secretary of Kállay) Lajos Thallóczy suggested that unless the edifice was to be built in a local popular style, it should employ "motifs from Persia or Art Nouveau modernism."[19] Nevertheless, two decades later the museum would eventually be realised in a neoclassical style by Karl Pařik (1857–1942), as suggested by Kállay, whose concept of urban development prescribed European forms for buildings which would house newly-established state institutions.[20] Thallóczy's dismissed Persian initiative, like that of other advocates of the usage of Central Asian and Iranian art, was fuelled by Hungarian state-funded and private investigations of the 1890s which were, as shown below, carried out in these regions in the aim of clarifying the origin of Magyars.

In both the Egyptian and the Persian approach a pragmatic element prevailed over historically objective considerations. Bosnia, which has been aptly described as a "proximate colony,"[21] was geographically close to the colonisers, but this very proximity gave reason to invest it with a distancing image in which its oriental otherness could be articulated, as opposed to the European outlook of the occupiers. On the other hand, the former masters of the colony, the Ottomans also remained dangerously close, and this explains the Austro-Hungarian programme of de-Ottomanisation. Because of the geographic preconditions, no other civilising mission needed such a sharp distinction between coloniser and colonised as the Austro-Hungarian enterprise of Bosnia.

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[17] Ormos 2009. Herz's activities in Cairo had a profound effect on the arts and crafts of Austria-Hungary. See, for instance, the Mamluk influence on Austrian glassware in Vernoit 1997, cat. nos. 180-1. For the Egyptian background of Mamluk revivalist architecture, see Rabbat 1997, 363-86; Volait 2006, 131-55.

[18] Krzović 1987, 27.

[19] Besarović 1968, 385-95 (no. 173). On the influence of imported Persian carpets on the growing local carpet industry, see Popić-Filipović 2006.

[20] Hartmuth 2012.

[21] Donia forthcoming.

Persian Art in Millennial Hungary

Nobody in Hungary or Austria at the time seems to have had a realistic image of Persian art: instead, the image which was still awaiting crystallisation in international scholarship until the 1900s, suffered a premature but long-lasting distortion by the preconceptions of 19th-century Magyar nationalism. Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913), for example, as late as 1895, championed the idea of a Persianised substratum of the early Hungarians in line with the romantic patriotism of his early 19th-century compatriots, despite his extensive travels and language skills. He claimed that the Huns, and especially their ruler, Attila, himself—far from being nomadic barbarians—had adopted Sasanian principles of kingship,[22] a practice followed by the Timurids, Shaybanids, and other later Turkic dynasties the Iranian acculturation of which he presented as an analogy for early Hungarian state organisation. It was this assimilative model, he claimed, that the Huns and the Hungarians did follow; both having established a Sasanian-influenced legal and social system in their newly-conquered land.[23] In support of this argument, the leading Hungarian archaeologists of the late 1800s strove to reveal the Sasanian essence of many archaeological finds which they claimed to be Hunnic or Hungarian.[24]

Perso-Islamic art was not collected or examined by Hungarians in a systematic way during these years.[25] Nearly all discussions about this topic were generated by the nationalist and imperialist fervour which was running high by 1896, the year of the Millennial Exposition (celebrating the Magyar conquest of Hungary). This approach also prevailed in the Oriental Academy of Commerce (*Keleti Kereskedelmi Akadémia*), a school of economics, originating in 1891 (and formally existing between 1899 and 1919), where civil servants were trained for the imperialist race into which Hungary had thrown itself. Turkish and Arabic—as opposed to Persian—were regularly taught at the Academy apart from the major European languages, and a particularly strong emphasis was laid on South Slavic languages.[26] Oriental anthropology and ethnography also bore a lot

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[22] Vámbéry 1895, 49.
[23] Vámbéry 1895, 228.
[24] For example Ferenc Pulszky (1814–1897) and József Hampel (1849–1913).
[25] The only exception is the acquisition of the collection of Lajos Bertalan (n. d), a Tehran-based Hungarian coach-builder, by the Budapest Museum of Ethnography in 1890; see Kelényi and Szántó 2010, 142, cat. nos. C.4.2.23-24, C.6.1.16-25, C.8.2.5.
[26] It seems that Persian was also offered occasionally, see Zsidi 1995, 89. A critical history of the Academy is still to be written.

of weight in the curriculum, reflecting the demands of the founder and first president Ignác Kúnos (1860–1945), himself a noted Turkic ethnographer. Apparently, the Academy did not consider the art and architecture of the subject areas worthy of study, as it regarded the craftsmanship of these areas to stagnate on an ethnographic level or inseparably bound to religion. Yet popular art was highly valued as a precondition for the creation of applied (or industrial) arts which represented the progress towards civilisation. It was believed that the study of Bosnian ethnography would yield a better understanding of the local working ethos and market conditions, both of which were eagerly exploited by economists.

Those who denied the existence of a fully-developed Bosnian national style within the general artistic horizon of the Balkans, emphasised that the task of creating such a style was part of the civilising mission of the occupational power. Whereas traditional Bosnian art was downplayed throughout the 1880s and 1890s, the arts of Persia were firmly recognised as the highest achievements of Muslim artistic creativity. European scholarship went on to construct a hierarchy for the various “schools” of “Muhammadan” art, and Persia, especially its carpets, received the highest place, taking precedence over the arts of the Arabs and Turks.[27] But the almost desperate attempts of western scholars at strictly defining and categorising the essentials of Persian, Arab and Turkish national arts in formal terms were ultimately failed, and this led to the establishment of the—equally atavistic but highly persistent—notion of Islamic art as the ultimate framework which would accommodate the artistic production of every Muslim land.[28] Within this synthetic perception of Islamic art, regional differences could be regarded merely as qualitative, downplaying the separate national identities of Muslims, even if the term “Muhammadan” in the European—and indeed, Iranian and Arabic—usage came increasingly to denote “Arab,” while in official Turkish terminology the same term became synonymous with “Ottoman.”

The Bosnian artistic identity was pursued similarly through the conflation of the religious with the national. Although the idea and the resulting “Austrian-made” Oriental art had received certain criticism from the beginning even in Vienna, this equation still provided the ground on which modern Bosnian art, and eventually, industry, was hoped to be built.[29] Persian and Central Asian art not only represented a politically

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[27] Baker 2002, 77-82; Helfgott 1990, 171-81.

[28] By the last decade of the 19th century, scholarship began to realise that a serious theoretical and methodological problem was underlying the conflicting terminology. See, for instance, Marye 1893.

[29] Reynolds Cordileone 2010, 188-9.

neutral contribution to this achievement, but they also offered the aesthetically most satisfying choice. To this end, a special institute was organised in Vienna under the supervision of the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry. Originated in 1881, the Office for the Affairs of Home Industry and Crafts in Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Büro für die Angelegenheiten des Haus-, und Kunstgewerbes in Bosnien und Herzegovina*, BAHKBH) was a laboratory dedicated to the industrialisation of Bosnia. It was a collection, workshop, and commercial enterprise at the same time. The Viennese location not only enabled close governmental control of the production process, but it had the benefit of bringing the products near the consumers, thus the artefacts could be immediately tested on the open market. Although the BAHKBH supplied "Orientalising" artefacts throughout the 1880s, the desire of enhancing their quality through direct copies of Iranian art grew only gradually, in parallel with the increasing prestige of the latter.[30]

Following the Viennese *Weltausstellung* of 1873, the carpet became the most sought-after product of Persia and quickly emerged as a key theme in the arts and crafts movement on the one hand and in the burgeoning scholarship of the history of ornament on the other. The Viennese firm, *Philipp Haas & Söhne*, which was purveyor to the imperial court, established a weaving mill (the *Tkaonica Ćilima*) in Sarajevo in 1888, with the aim of raising the level of local carpet production from that of domestic craftsmanship to industrial heights.[31] By the outbreak of World War I, Philipp Haas established similar workshops throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, some of which continuing to work even today. While most designs—made under the supervision of the BAHKBH—were inspired by local traditions, the raising of the aesthetic value towards a presumed ideal was hoped to be achieved through Persian influences, based on the principles of Alois Riegl's fundamental *Altorientalische Teppiche* which was published in 1891 as the first modern approach to the subject. Promoted, among others, by Philipp Haas, this book was in fact the companion to a landmark display of Oriental carpets in Vienna.[32]

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[30] Reynolds Cordileone 2010, 180-7.

[31] Popić-Filipović 2006, 9-11. The company established similar mills all over the Habsburg Empire and built stores in prestigious locations of the main cities where the carpets and textiles were sold. For an overview, see Reynolds Cordileone forthcoming. It is worth noting that carpet-making and textile-weaving were expressly mentioned to be on a household level as late as 1887; see Asbóth 1887, vol. 1, 176.

[32] Slaby 1982, 218; see also Karl's article in this volume.

We learn from an undated, typewritten document (datable c. 1902), preserved in the bequest of Béla Rakovszky, that the Safavid carpets which were exhibited in Vienna made a revelatory impact on Kállay.[33] Whereas he found the work of Austrian craftsmen flawless in technique but unimaginative, he praised the Persians as true artists blessed with boundless inspiration. From the natural dyes of their carpets to the ingenious designs of their metalwork, Persian masters had set the standards of craftsmanship to emulate. It was here at this exhibition that the idea of the perfusion of Bosnian art with Persian aesthetics was born and within a few days a draft was made about the feasibility of a collecting expedition.[34] Kállay put forward the idea of creating a reserve collection of outstanding Persian objects which would display archetypes or starting points for local wares. In addition to the acquisition of classic examples of Persian art, he decided to hire modern Iranian craftsmen too, to train the Bosnian pupils working at the BAHKBH. A Persian artist, Mirza Muhammad ʻAli Tabrizi (n.d.), indeed, became staff member, and it is not unlikely that he came to Austria with Rakovszky, the man in charge of the expedition.[35]

Béla Rakovszky and His Expedition

Baron Albert Béla Rakovszky de Nagyrákó's (1860–1916) mission belongs to the golden age of Central Asian travels. Following the footsteps of Ármin Vámbéry who visited the Emirate of Bukhara and the Khanate of Khiva between 1861 and 1864 shortly before the end of their sovereignty, many European countries had sent there expeditions for various reasons. In contrast with pre-Russian visitors whose motives were mostly political, travellers of the 1880s and 1890s visited these areas under Russian guidance to study local natural history, ethnography, as well as the arts and crafts. The first West European visitor who had built up a considerable Central Asian collection was the Hungarian scholar Károly Ujfalvy (1842–1904, travelling between 1876 and 1877) and the Russian-born Swiss watchmaker, Henri Moser (1844–1923, travelling between 1882 and 1883), followed by the Danish Ole Olufsen (1865–1929) between 1896 and 1897 and between 1898 and 1899, the German Willi Rickmer Rickmers (1873–1965) between 1896-1900, and another Hungarian, Jenő

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[33] Archives of Győr-Moson-Sopron County (Mosonmagyaróvár branch), A22.

[34] The exhibition was, in turn, inspired by a similar event, held in Budapest in 1885, with some overlaps in the exhibited material.

[35] Archives of Győr-Moson-Sopron County (Mosonmagyaróvár branch), bequest of Béla Rakovszky, A22.

Zichy (1837–1906) in 1896.[36] Being an independent state, travel conditions in Iran differed from travelling in Central Asia. Foreign diplomatic missions could send their staff to explore remote regions of the country; more powerful states could even have gained concessions for archaeological research. Rakovszky's expedition, however, covered Iran and Central Asia in a single journey.

A career diplomat, Rakovszky served at the Austro-Hungarian consular board since 1885.[37] Between 1888 and 1892 he was at the Tehran consulate as vice consul and *chargé d'affaires*, before receiving appointment to Kállay's Bosnian adminstration in 1892.[38] He was a high-tempered *bon vivant*: the Iranologist Sándor Kégl (1862–1920), for instance, hinted on his affair with the daughter of Antonio Conte di Monteforte (n. d.), the Italian police superintendent of Tehran;[39] others were taken aback by his pet bear which roamed freely inside the gardens of the consulate.[40] Some of his reports from Tehran between 1888 and 1890 have survived,[41] but many files of the consulate seem to have vanished. Although we do not know whether he started collecting during his tenure in Tehran, it is known that his compatriot Albert Eperjessy (n. d.), the Austro-Hungarian consul in 1895 amassed a small Persian collection, some items of which have survived.[42] It appears that Rakovszky was in Sarajevo from late 1892 for about a year.[43] In an atmosphere which nourished the idea of reconstructing the Bosnian nation using Islamic imports from beyond the Ottoman world, the Iranian connections of Rakovszky gave him qualification to handle "Islamic" affairs in Bosnia, too. Although there is

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[36] Újfalvy de Mezőkövesd 1878-1880; Zeller and Rohrer 1955. For the collections of Olufsen and Rickmers, see Westphal-Hellbusch and Bruns 1974; for Zichy, see: Jankó and Pósta 1897.

[37] His bequest provides valuable data on his family background and early years. According to a letter, dated 26 August, 1873, written by a Pressburg (Bratislava) private teacher, István Tamaskó, a thirteen-year old Rakovszky was inquiring about the local availability of Oriental language courses. Archives of Győr-Moson-Sopron County (Mosonmagyaróvár branch), bequest of Béla Rakovszky, XIII/1.

[38] Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Ministerium des Äußern, Politisches Archiv, *XXXVIII Konsulate*.

[39] For Kégl's letters, written in Persian in Tehran, see Sárközy 2010, 57-58.

[40] Slaby 1982, 209, 221.

[41] Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Ministerium des Äußern, Admininistrative Registratur *F 4 Personalien Kt. 278*.

[42] Kelényi and Szántó 2010, cat. no. C.2.2.2. On Eperjessy's diplomatic activities, see Slaby 1982, 221.

[43] Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Ministerium des Äußern, Admininistrative Registratur *F 4 Personalien Kt. 278*.

documentary evidence, mentioned above, that the initial idea of the expedition dates back to 1892, fundraising took almost two years and the final decision was not made until 1894. A further event in that year might have been contributive to the voyage, even if this event occurred as late as Rakovszky's departure to Iran.

Between 15 and 21 August, 1894, Sarajevo held the Archaeological and Anthropological Congress in which Ćiro Truhelka (1865–1942), the director of the newly-founded Regional Museum, introduced a distinguished group of attendants to the holdings. The participants included Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903) and Albert Voss (n. d.) from Berlin, Franz Wickhoff (1853–1909) and Josef von Karabacek (1845–1918) from Vienna, Osman Hamdi Bey (1842–1910) from Istanbul, Robert Munro (n. d.) from the Society of Antiquities of Scotland in Edinburgh, as well as Ferenc Pulszky (1814–1897), József Hampel (1849–1913) and Baron Loránd Eötvös (1848–1919) from Budapest.[44] This unprecedented scholarly gathering, organised in part as a regional session of the Imperial Limes Commission (*Reichs-Limeskommission*, founded in 1892 and headed by Mommsen), was clearly meant to announce the arrival of European scholarship in this part of Europe. While the presence of three leading Hungarian scholars underscored Bosnia's position within a Hungarian cultural sphere, the guests from Berlin and Edinburgh ensured that the meeting was representing state-of-the-art scholarship on the highest international level. In contrast, Osman Hamdi was invited partly to appeal to Ottoman sensibilities, and partly in order to reciprocate the active presence of Austro-Hungarian archaeologists at Ottoman sites, particularly Ephesus. Strictly speaking, he and Karabacek were the only experts of Islamic art at this meeting.

Although proposals were surely made by the visitors for the directions in which the collection could be strengthened, Rakovszky's expedition must have been fully prepared and well underway by this time. Considering, however, that in 1896 Truhelka would become guardian of the Bosnian pavilion at the Millennium Exposition in Budapest (Fig. 2.5), these events can hardly be regarded as coincidental, but rather seem to be parts of a well-orchestrated series.[45] Indeed, archival evidence shows that

[44] Besarović 1968, 54, 68.

[45] The Bosnian pavilion represented a continuation of the Mamluk idiom of the Sarajevo City Hall, confirming that the Mamluk style enjoyed unchallenged popularity in architecture. Ironically, a mock-mediaeval pleasure-ground which was built near the pavilion in the same year, the so-called "Old Buda Castle," had been furnished with a mosque resembling the Mamluk mausolea at the Northern Cemetery of Cairo. Although it was as alien to the Ottoman architecture of

another goal of the expedition was not museological but agricultural: Rakovszky had to purchase horses for the Bábolna stud farm.[46] This explains why the expedition was financed partly by the Austrian Ministry of Agriculture and partly by the Bosnian Commission of the Joint Ministry of Finances.

The event history of the journey is fragmentary.[47] After departure in late summer 1894, Rakovszky went first to Bukhara, then Samarqand and Khiva, thence to ‘Ishqabad where he fell ill in November.[48] He was hospitalised for more than a month with typhoid before he could continue to Tehran, but—despite the lack of information for this period—he must have travelled around East Iran for some time before arriving at the capital in May. Here a message was awaiting him from the Hungarian National Museum requesting him to purchase Turkoman objects for Hungary’s Millennial Exhibition.[49] Given that he could not return to the eastern frontier any more, he rejected this request. As for the other purpose of the mission, Rakovszky had left Tehran for Baghdad in May 1895, losing contact with his consigners somewhere around Najaf; but re-emerging triumphantly in Beirut with fifteen horses in October 1895.

While it is not clear whether the Hungarian National Museum synchronised its wish-list with that of Truhelka and Kállay, there are signs which suggest cooperation. The most important indicator is that some Islamic artefacts now in Sarajevo had been on display in Budapest at the Millennial Exhibition shortly before they were sent to Bosnia in December,

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Hungary as its Neo-Mamluk counterparts in Sarajevo were to Ottoman Bosnia, the Budapest mosque was more than a mere stage set: in fact, it was a functioning place of worship for the Turkish procession men who were hired to re-enact Muslim life as it had been in Ottoman Buda. The true architectural inspiration, on the other hand, may have come from Henri-Jules Saladin’s *Rue du Caire* of 1889; see Çelik 1992, 70-80, figs. 35, 37.

[46] Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Ministerium des Äußern, Admininistrative Registratur *F 34 Handel und Gewerbe (auch Schiffahrt) Sonderreiche der handelspolitischen Akten 1866-1897*, Kt. 761, 1893-1895 rub. 1 (74/1-10).

[47] Kt. 761, 1893-1895 rub. 1.

[48] Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Ministerium des Äußern, Admininistrative Registratur *F 34*; a telegram, sent by a family member to Pressburg about Rakovszky’s illness on 18 November, is preserved in the Mosonmagyaróvár archives (XIII.5).

[49] Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Ministerium des Äußern, Admininistrative Registratur *F 34*, Kt. 761, 1893-1895 rub. 1 (74/1-10).

1896.[50] Thus, the National Museum could have received something from Rakovszky, even if only for a temporary event. Admittedly however, none of the items which were sent from Hungary to Sarajevo can be traced back definitely to Rakovszky's expedition and this shortage of information is unlikely to change given that the files of the National Museum were destroyed by fire in 1956. The majority of the objects were not directly sent to Sarajevo but they were deposited at the *Büro* in Vienna whence certain items were periodically forwarded to Bosnia throughout the remaining years of Austro-Hungarian rule.[51] The attribution of these objects to Rakovszky remains largely conjectural. Only three sources mention artefacts collected by Rakovszky in Iran and Central Asia, and there is only one surviving group of objects which was undeniably brought by him. The first source is a short letter by Kállay dated 14 February 1896, acknowledging the success of the mission which he himself was given to Rakovszky on behalf of the BAHKBH.[52] The other two references were made by Ella (1863–1939) and Percy Sykes (1867–1945), respectively. Ella Sykes, describing her travels with his brother between 1894 and 1897, mentions their encounter with Rakovszky in Tehran in May 1895.[53] He showed them his most precious purchase, fragments of a ragged royal Safavid carpet which he allegedly obtained from the Shrine of Shah Ni'matullah Vali at Mahan, south of Kirman, after a month of heavy bargaining. In his own account, Percy Sykes adds that the carpet bears a date equivalent to 1656 (Figs. 2.6 and 2.7).[54]

In fact, the seven Mahan fragments belonged to at least three slightly different carpets, tailored asymmetrically to fit into designated spaces.[55]

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[50] The following items were acquired from Budapest in 1896: Regional Museum, old inventory nos. 908, 910, 912, 917, 915, 920, 921, 924, 928, 23 (originally belonged to Hasan Smaiš). The list may not be complete.

[51] The following items originate from the *Büro*: Regional Museum, old inventory nos: 2703, 2710, 2711, 2714 (acquired in 1903); 3020, 3024, 3029 (acquired in 1909). The list is incomplete.

[52] Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Ministerium des Äußern, Admininistrative Registratur *F 34 Handel und Gewerbe (auch Schiffahrt) Sonderreiche der handelspolitischen Akten 1866-1897*, Kt. 761, 1893-1895 rub. 1 (74/1-10); the archives of the *Büro für die Angelegenheiten des Haus-, und Kunstgewerbes in Bosnien und Herzegovina* are divided between the National Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Austrian State Archives (Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Gemeinsames Finanzministerium).

[53] Sykes 1901, 83-4.

[54] Sykes 1902, 149.

[55] Popović 1955, 31-50.

Despite a well-researched analysis by Cvetko Č. Popović published in 1955, this recognition remained practically unnoticed, as later comments still refer to the material as "the" Sarajevo carpet, echoing Arthur Upham Pope (1881–1969)'s *Survey of Persian Art*.[56] Pope's dating of the carpet(s) to 1066/1655-6 was also corrected by Popović and other Bosnian scholars, proposing—for the largest section which is the only one with a fully preserved inscription and which is signed by *ustad* Mu'min b. Qutb al-Din Mahani—1047/1637 instead. One fragment bears the date which was published in the *Survey*; while the dating of the third carpet, completed by a certain Mahdi directly for the shrine, is missing but some patterns of this carpet are almost identical with the preceding one. The inscriptions leave no doubt that Rakovszky removed the fragments from their original location. Having survived further vicissitudes in their new environment, the badly worn-out fragments are still preserved in Sarajevo.[57] The acquisition well accords with the constantly rising esteem for carpets in the Habsburg Empire.

The Mahan carpets are not the only objects in the Regional Museum which can be related to the 1894-95 mission of Rakovszky. According to the inventory, at least a dozen items, chiefly tinned copperware, were acquired from Budapest in the end of 1896, following the closure of the Millennial Exposition (Fig. 2.8).[58] Some of them are illustrated, although with insufficient textual information, in a 1980 book by Muhamed Karamehmedović.[59] As mentioned above, a far greater number of artefacts arrived later, via the Vienna *Büro*.

Furthermore, Rakovszky perhaps did not disclose all his findings. At the outbreak of the world war, his apartment in Paris was sequestered by the French state.[60] Rakovszky started a long legal struggle for recovering at least its rich furnishing which was consisted of carpets and other oriental artefacts. After his death his widow continued the lawsuit with

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[56] SPA, 2381, pl. 1238; cf. Szántó 2010B, 51-52; ill. 1.14. For further information on Pope, see Kadoi's article in the present volume.

[57] They were catalogued under a common inventory number, 1049.

[58] Szántó forthcoming.

[59] See for example Regional Museum, old inv. no. 912 / new inv. no. 7201/III, owner's mark of Abu'l-Qasim b. Muhammad Qasim is written on the rim; the object is photographed in Karamehmedović 1980, no. 118; see also nos. 204-6. For items which were acquired by the Sarajevo museum later, via Vienna, see nos. 116-7, 192.

[60] About his bequest, Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Ministerium des Äußern, Admininistrative Registratur 278 *F 4 Personalien* 32791 IV. 1917.

unknown results.[61] Some family members, who had found themselves in newly-established Czechoslovakia after the partition of Hungary in 1920, also possessed a number of Persian objects.[62] Nothing is known about the present whereabouts of these objects. Contrary to general historical trends, the Bosnian part of his collection fared better than the Paris one: although Kállay's Persian-inspired Bosnian national style came to nothing alongside his other utopias, these Persian and Central Asian metal wares, woodworks, lacquers and the aforementioned carpets in Sarajevo remind that his legacy is far from being purely immaterial.

Conclusion

While, as we have seen, the contending arguments on the modern Bosnian style arose out of a practical need for securing Bosnia's geopolitical position in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, they can also be interpreted as one practical aspect of the "Orient oder Rom" discourse. The debate rapidly developed in the last decades of the empire over the origin of mediaeval European art. Underlying the overtly theoretical arguments about the inherent or foreign foundation of Late Roman imperial styles one can discern a growing sense of instability of the German-speaking imperial elite, which finds explanation in the fact that the Austrian conquests in East and South Europe during the 1870s caused this elite to become a minority. Thus, by the time the academic dilemma was put on the table by Joseph Strzygowski (1862–1941) in his eponymous book in 1901, the question had been in the air for decades.[63] Another version of what would become the "Orient oder Rom" debate captivated Hungary, the aspiring eastern half of the empire, even earlier. There, the question emerged partly as a scientific problem about the origin of Magyars and partly as a benchmark of nationalist commitment along with the development of pro- and anti-western self-identities. Kállay, in his programmatic volume *Hungary on the Border of the Occident and the Orient* (1883), regarded this situation as a valuable resource to exploit, whereas for others it remained a dilemma.

Amidst these unresolved regional debates, it was even harder to reach a common ground within Austro-Hungarian contexts. Yet with the occupation of Bosnia, a controlled export of the discourse to a hitherto

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[61] Petition of Baroness Marianne Tallián, Vienna, 31 January, Admininistrative Registratur 278 *F 4 Personalien* 32791 IV. 1917.

[62] Mosonmagyaróvár archives, XIII.1.

[63] Elsner 2002. For the "Orient oder Rom" debate, see Introduction.

unspoilt land offered itself as an attractive opportunity for experimentation. Under the auspices of the Joint Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kállay strove to instil a liberal, inclusionist cultural policy in Bosnia, in which the arts were to play a leading role. Kállay's ideas were more akin to Riegl's concept of stylistic development than to Strzygowski's racialist model. He and his staff envisaged a flexible national framework and went on to fill the latter with a meaningful content as they laid the ground for modern Bosnian institutions. They regarded the use of Persian art as a commendable, yet neutral model to follow. Ultimately, however, this Austro-Hungarian experiment failed to engender, and, with the fall of the empire, the enterprise lost its political context. As its adherents left the country, the idea ceased to exist. In the artistic heritage of the newly-formed Yugoslav state, Islamic—let alone Persian—art played a marginal role, and the same is true for post-empire Austria and Hungary. Except for a few occasions when some items were exhibited, the Rakovszky collection has been deposited in the storerooms of the Regional Museum of Sarajevo ever since. As the objects and their history fell out of memory, Yugoslavian, Austrian, and Hungarian scholarship ever more frequently rediscovered Persia in its Strzygowskian reading during the post-World War I decades.

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Fig. 2.5 View of the Bosnian Pavilion of the Millennial Exposition in Budapest, 1896, Ervin Szabó Metropolitan Library, Budapest (architect: Franz Blazek, photograph: György Klösz).

Fig. 2.6 Fragment of a pile carpet, signed by Mahdi, Iran (Kirman), c. 1635-55, Regional Museum, Sarajevo (1049) (photograph © Iván Szántó, with permission of the Regional Museum).

Fig. 2.7 Fragment of a pile carpet, Iran (Kirman), c. 1635-55, Regional Museum, Sarajevo (1049) (photograph © Iván Szántó, with permission of the Regional Museum).

Fig. 2.8 Tinned copper bowl, East Iran, 17th century, Regional Museum, Sarajevo (7980/III [912]) (photograph © Iván Szántó, with permission of the Regional Museum).

THE RECEPTION OF PERSIAN ART IN THE CZECH LANDS: COLLECTIONS AND STUDIES*

SABINA DVOŘÁKOVÁ

When it comes to Islamic art in general, the general public would not distinguish between Arab, Turkish, Persian, or other, broadly non-western styles. Instead, it is often conceptualised in the framework of an East-West polarity, in which European and American art represents one side, and non-western art—including examples from East and South Asia and the Middle East—represents the other. In terms of religion, most people in the present Czech Republic distinguish mainly between Buddhist and Islamic arts, when, following the same pattern, they refer to non-western cultures. Thus, if asked about Persian culture or art, the ordinary Czech citizen would most probably refer to the *One Thousand and One Nights*, no matter which part of the Islamic world its tales belong to, or carpets.

Among the Czechs the carpet has always been considered as a trademark of Persian culture, and it is doubtlessly by far the best-known product of Persian art. Indeed, the Czech term for "Persian" (Peršan [noun, masculine]) is most commonly understood not as an inhabitant of Persia but as a hand-woven carpet, regardless of its exact geographic origin. Such a perception of Persian art has been a remarkably stable cultural pattern in Czech society during the last two centuries.

This article examines the formation of modern collections and studies of Persian art in the Czech lands. In addition to the 19th and early 20th centuries, when the principal museum collections and scientific studies were established, the article also briefly considers the mediaeval and early modern times, when Czech-Persian contacts took shape. As for the "Czech lands," this collective term should be understood as the region covering Bohemia, Moravia, and a smaller part of Silesia. Most of these areas are lying within the borders of the modern Czech Republic.

The Formation of Persian Art Collections in the Czech Lands

Unlike their northern and southern neighbours, the Czech lands have never had any significant and intensive direct contacts with Islamic countries. As a result, the reflection of Islamic culture has not been as strong in Czech culture as it used to be in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Poland. For historical reasons, Czech society at large formed its picture about Islamic culture out of fear from an Ottoman threat.[1] Persian culture was too far to be reflected by lower social classes and thus it was perceptible for the upper classes only, though its influence was small even on this group. This situation would change only in the 19th century when the phenomenon of international travels on the one hand and the establishment of modern museums on the other reached Czech society as well.

Among the earliest groups of Oriental objects in the Czech Republic a few finds from the royal tombs at Prague Castle can be mentioned. The textile fragments which were recovered from the coffins of the wives and sons of Emperor Charles IV (1316–1378)[2] include fabrics of Chinese, Persian or Central Asian origin, datable to the Mongol period.[3] It is noteworthy that in 1314 or 1316—a few generations before Emperor Charles IV—Pope John XXII (r. 1316–34) sent Odoric of Pordenone (1274–1331), a Franciscan monk of Czech origin,[4] to Beijing, the capital of the Mongol Empire. During his long journey, Odoric crossed Persia and Central Asia and he described the history, traditions, and cultures of these lands in his travelogue.[5]

Although comprehensive collections of Islamic, including Persian, art did not emerge before the second half of the 19th century, there is at least one earlier example which cannot be overlooked. Without doubt, Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612), a passionate lover of art, takes pride of place among the early collectors of world art in the Czech lands. His art cabinet at Prague Castle, the famous *Kunstkomora* (Kunstkammer), also included

* The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of the Moravian Gallery in Brno, as well as the National Gallery (NGP) and the National Museum (NMP), both in Prague. In particular I am grateful to Dr Zdenka Klimtová of the NGP and Dr Dagmar Pospíšilová of the NMP for their help during my research.

[1] Rataj 2002.

[2] The most outstanding example is the funeral garment of Wenceslaus (Václav) IV (1361–1419).

[3] Bažantová 1993, 18, 30.

[4] Also known as Odoricus Boemus.

[5] See Odoricus Boemus de Foro Julii, 1962.

Persian objects.[6] Rudolf enlarged his collections through purchases and exchanges, as well as through numerous diplomatic gifts or spoils of war. Striving for more than the official diplomatic gifts, which will be mentioned below, Rudolf summoned his ambassadors to purchase new objects for him. Friedrich von Kreckwitz (d. 1594), a permanent imperial ambassador to the Ottoman court who had been stationed in Constantinople since 1574, supplied Rudolf with valuable objects, such as a collection of 206 Persian folios of manuscripts.[7]

Rudolf's direct contacts with the Middle East were maintained in a diplomatic framework. Several Persian envoys visited Prague during his reign, notably in 1600-1, 1604, 1605, 1609, 1610 and 1611.[8] The first visit was reciprocated by an imperial mission to the court of Shah 'Abbas I (r. 1587–1629), led by the Hungarian Stephan Kakas (1556–1603). To his embarrassment, Georg Tectander (1581–1614), the only member of the mission to reach the Persian court, could not recognise the Shah among the courtiers upon arrival in Tabriz on 15 November 1603, as the ruler was not wearing any luxurious dress. The event is described by Tectander himself, who joined Kakas, Rudolf II's envoy to Poland, Russia and Persia.[9] As a consequence of the death of his master and all other participants of the mission, Tectander was forced to take over the leadership. He followed the Shah to his Ottoman campaigns to Nakhchivan and Yerevan. On his way back to Prague, he was accompanied by the third Persian envoy to Rudolf II and they jointly reached Prague in the autumn of 1605, by which time the second embassy, under the leadership of Zaynal Khan, already took place.

An important piece of information about the state gifts of Persian origin can be found in three inventories written in German in 1607-11, 1619 and 1621.[10] These are currently the only witnesses to Rudolf's collections. Based on the first inventory written by the imperial antiquarian Daniel Froeschl (1573–1613), we know that in 1610 Rudolf II acquired a

[6] Jirásková 2007, 52; Karl 2011, 17-20.
[7] Jirásková 2007, 52.
[8] Jirásková 2007. Esaye le Gillon (active c. 1590–1610), a court artist in Prague, executed the portraits of two ambassadors, Zaynal Khan Shamlu in the June or July of 1604 and Mahdi Quli Beg in the November or December of the following year. The paintings, which were sold at Christie's in London in 2010 (5 October 2010, lots 249-250), were acquired by the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha (MS.724 and MS. 725). Le Gillon's portraits, in turn, were used for further portraits by Aegidius Sadeler (c. 1570–1629), a Flemish engraver active at Rudolf's court.
[9] Binková and Polišenský 1989, 66-86.
[10] For more on inventories, see Fučíková 1997, 199-208.

Persian gift containing luxurious fabrics, precious stones, as well as a golden crucifix from the Temple of Solomon, which was especially valuable for the emperor not only on artistic but also on spiritual grounds. The gift also included two swords of Damascene steel with ornate handles, a writing-case covered with red leather and a hunting scene attributed, according to the text, to "*Sultan Selim Redi Lohor*."[11] Other two inventories mention an *escritoire* (writing desk) made of "Persian sticks," three Persian books in gilded *etui*s (caskets), a cover of yellow silk and other "Turkish items," indicating that Asian objects were mixed up.[12]

Unfortunately, a reconstruction of Rudolf's collections, which were in its period extensive and exceptionally well-documented, is almost impossible. Only a handful items, such as the etuis and luxurious boxes remain in Bohemia where they are preserved in Prague Castle. One portion was transferred to Vienna almost immediately after the death of Rudolf. Another part was irretrievably lost when Swedish troops plundered Prague at the end of the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), although some items are still in Stockholm.[13] The rest was auctioned during the reign of Emperor Joseph II (r. 1765–90).[14]

The Development of Persian Art Collections in the Czech Lands in Modern Times

With the exception of the National Gallery in Prague (*Národní galerie v Praze*), the most important Czech museums that contain objects of Persian origin were established in the 19th century, concurrently with the foundation of several large museums in Europe. Although most of the Persian material in Czech museums represent typical examples of ceramics, metalwork, textiles, etc., several items merit special mention either on account of their artistry or acquisition history.

The most comprehensive material is preserved in the National Museum (*Národní muzeum*) and the National Gallery, both in Prague. A section of Persian art belonging to the Oriental collections of the National Museum which are stored in the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures (*Náprstkovo muzeum asijských, afrických a amerických kultur*), is the most representative one among Czech collections. Apart from objects originating from what is now the modern state of Iran, there are examples

[11] For further discussion, see Jirásková 2007.
[12] Jirásková 2007, 52-53.
[13] Fučíková 2007, 209-11; Szántó 2009.
[14] Fučíková 2007, 209-11.

from the Caucasus and Central Asia as well, although most objects coming from these areas have been collectively described as Persian in the inventories. The Oriental collections of the Náprstek Museum are based on donations of Czech travellers of the 19th and early 20th centuries, such as Josef Wünsch (1842–1907) and Josef Kořenský (1847–1938), as well as the famous Czech painter Antonín Chittusi (1847–1891) and the poet and writer Julius Zeyer (1841–1901). Additional objects were purchased later in the 20th century from several Prague antique dealers. Characteristic examples of late 18th and 19th century Persian art include an impressive set of scissors, lanterns and incense burners.[15] Earlier metalwork is represented by magic bowls from the 16th and 18th centuries, while from Central Asia Bukharan and Samarqand metal vessels as well as Turkmen jewellery stand out.[16] Mention should also be made of 14th-century Kashan lustre tiles, blue-and-white stoneware from the 17th-18th centuries[17] and fine Qajar lacquer works,[18] such as pen cases, book covers and three oil paintings.[19] It is also necessary to mention that there is a large and important numismatic collection in the museum as well: this collection consists of both ancient Near Eastern and Islamic coins, including examples from modern-day Iran.[20]

Another important collection in Prague can be found in the National Gallery.[21] In contrast with the National Museum, the collections of the Gallery were not systematically formed. Instead of acquisitions from collectors or travellers, the collection of Islamic art grew as a result of the centralising policies of the 1950s and 60s when objects were transferred from various Czech museums and castles. Nevertheless, its sub-collection of Persian art is rich and representative enough. The largest part originates from the Museum of Decorative Arts (MDA) in Prague, the original collections of which had developed during the second half of the 19th century, in parallel with the Moravian Gallery in Brno. A fine example of the transferred objects from the MDA is a manuscript of the Qur'an, dated 866 (1462) and copied in Tabriz under the Qara Qoyunlus.[22] Bound in a gilded cover, the MDA acquired it in 1909 from the famous collection of

[15] Pospíšilová 2003.
[16] Belaňová 2009.
[17] Nováková 2004.
[18] Mleziva 2007.
[19] *Yusif wa Zulaykhe*, inv. no. NMP A3901, *Dancer* (Salomé?): inv. no. NMP A3902, and Harpist (maybe King David with a harp): inv. no. NMP A3903.
[20] Novák 1998.
[21] Kubíčková 1960.
[22] Inv. no. NGP Vm1888.

Franz Bock (1823–1899), an honorary canon from Aachen and a collector of and expert in European and Oriental arts. Persian and Central Asian ceramics came to the National Gallery in Prague from a large collection of the famous Czech painter Emil Filla (1882–1953) who was a passionate collector and admirer of Oriental art. In the inventories we find names of a number of individuals who previously possessed some pieces of Persian art; among them there is the ancient Near Eastern linguist Bedřich Hrozný (1879–1952), the Persian philologist and translator Věra Kubíčková-Stivínová (1918–2009)[23] and the theatre historian and dramatist Jan Bartoš (1893–1946). In addition, the Gallery preserves a large collection of fine manuscripts and book paintings spanning between the 16th and the 19th centuries, and there is one portrait from the Qajar period.[24] The collection of Persian art of the National Gallery in Prague is, together with the collection of the National Museum, by far the most comprehensive one in the Czech Republic, featuring a wide selection of techniques and styles.

The largest Czech collection of Persian manuscripts is preserved in the National Library (*Národní knihovna České republiky*). The Department of Manuscripts contains 150 volumes[25] of Persian books—besides Turkish and Arab manuscripts—including three copies from the 14th century, three examples from the 15th century and twenty-four from the 16th century.[26] The Persian volumes were obtained mainly through the efforts of Jan Rypka (1886–1968) in 1934.[27] Other books are more recent (18th-20th centuries). The manuscripts include Persian Qur'an commentaries, poetry, mystical literature, philosophy and geography, as well as essays on logic, mathematics, divination, astronomy and religion.[28] The collection covers various schools and periods of not only classical Persian literature, but also the Persianate book culture of the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire. Among the most valuable volumes, mention should be made of two copies of the *Khamse* of Nizami (d. 1209), dated 1593/4[29] and 1674[30] respectively; the latter containing sixty-two fine illustrations and a sumptuous painted binding. Earlier periods of book art are represented by

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[23] For more on Hrozný and Kubíčková-Stivínová, see below.
[24] *Lovers*. Inv. no. NGP Vm4744.
[25] With one exception, they are numbered 1-149 under the inventory number NL XVIII B. Volumes vary between a few pages to more than one thousand.
[26] Fárek 2000; Hejnová 2007.
[27] For more on Rypka, see below.
[28] It is worth mentioning that manuscripts nos. NL XVIII B 55-6, 87-8, 90, 113, 140, and 149 contain paintings.
[29] Inv. no. NL XVIII B 140.
[30] Inv. no. NL XVIII B 90.

a *Marzubanname* of Saʿd al-Din Varavini (active c. 1210–25), dated 1395/6,[31] and a *Masnavi* of Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273), of 1492/30.[32] Belonging to the last manuscripts of the *Bustan* of Saʿdi (d. 1292), an 1854/5 copy in the Gallery is accompanied by fifteen illustrations in a typical Qajar style.[33] The oldest manuscript is another copy of the *Khamse* of Nizami, dated 1390, containing numerous paintings.[34]

Following industrial developments across Europe, the museums of applied arts were established during the 19th century not only in West Europe but also in Central Europe, including the Czech lands. Such museums came to be regarded as the symbols of progress and every modern industrial city aimed to create its own version. In contrast with the abovementioned institutions, the museums of applied or decorative arts displayed the artefacts according to materials and techniques instead of regional or cultural arrangements.

The Museum of Applied Arts (*Uměleckoprůmyslové muzeum*) was founded in 1873 and it now forms part of the Moravian Gallery in Brno (*Moravská galerie v Brně*)—one of the most important cultural institutions in the Czech Republic. The richness of its Islamic art collection had not been recognised until the first major exhibition took place in 2011.[35] All objects, including those of Persian origin, were incorporated into the collection as exemplary handicrafts from different periods and different parts of the world. While the aesthetic value of a certain object was also taken into consideration, the main criterion of its display was its usefulness for industrial purposes. Persian objects were no exception: they were seen not so much as embodiments of a cultural circle but as depositories of exotic motifs, shapes, and techniques. Unlike the National Museum which obtained most of its objects from travellers, the Brno collection was shaped by purchases, as well as donations of patrons and likeminded institutions. For example, several 13th-14th-century Kashan lustre ceramics[36] were purchased in 1889 from the Society for Applied Arts (*Kunstgewerbeverein*) of Frankfurt, whereas a few metal vessels and a ceramic flask came from what is now the Museum of Applied Arts (*Museum für angewandte Kunst* [MAK]) in Vienna, and there are two pieces of a fabric sample[37] which were sold by the Northern Bohemian

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[31] Inv. no. NL XVIII B 65.
[32] Inv. no. NL XVIII B 144.
[33] In two volumes. Inv. no. NL XVIII B 55-6.
[34] Inv. no. NL XVIII B 114. For more about this manuscript, see Fárek 2000.
[35] Dvořáková 2011.
[36] Dvořáková 2011, 146-54.
[37] Inv. nos. MG 4267, MAK T3837.

Industrial Museum (*Severočeské průmyslové muzeum*) in Liberec in 1885 to the Brno and Vienna Museums of Applied Arts respectively.[38] The collection of fabrics is very interesting due to the fact that Brno was one of the most developed centres of textile industry in the Habsburg monarchy during the second half of the 19th century for which reason it was called the "Moravian Manchester." The Persian textile industry is represented by around fifty samples of various fabrics, such as silk brocades, women's trousers leggings (*naqshe*), and block-printed textiles and embroideries from the main textile production centres such as Yazd, Isfahan and Kashan of the 18th-19th centuries.[39] Unlike the collection of the National Gallery, there are no printing blocks in Brno. The textile samples were purchased mainly from Franz Bock, mentioned above, and the Viennese antiquarian Theodor Graf (1840–1903).

The Moravian Gallery in Brno does not possess any outstanding examples of Persian metalwork and weaponry. All the Islamic artifacts, counting some fifty items about half of which originating from Persia, date from the 18th and 19th centuries.[40] Some of them were donated to the Museum by the knight Theodor von Offermann (1822–1892), an active member of the *Kuratorium*, the Museum's executive committee. Others were purchased from various Austrian or German antiquarians, such as Theodor Graf or Thomas Haas of Vienna, Carl Althaus of Bayreuth or G. A. Wiencken of Bremen.[41] These names in Oriental art dealership occur frequently on invoices in the DAM in Prague and the MAK in Vienna as well.[42]

The Moravian Museum (*Moravské zemské muzeum*), which is also situated in Brno, also used to hold Persian objects but due to the previously mentioned centralisation of collections these were transferred to Prague institutions, mainly the Náprstek Museum. However, several items had been transferred earlier also to the Museum of Applied Arts.

Persian artefacts can also be found in smaller museums outside Prague and Brno, such as the North Bohemian Museum in Liberec (*Severočeské muzeum v Liberci,* successor of the previously mentioned Northern Bohemian Industrial Museum), which supplied both the Brno and Vienna museums of applied arts with textile samples in the 19th century, or the Town Museum (*Městské muzeum*) in Moravská Třebová where Oriental arms and other artworks are kept. A representative collection of metalwork

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[38] Dvořáková 2011, 49 and 52.
[39] Dvořáková 2011, 88-98.
[40] Dvořáková 2011, 107-38.
[41] I was unable to find their biographical records at the time of writing this article.
[42] For more, see Dvořáková 2011.

can be found in the repositories of the West Bohemian Museum in Pilsen (*Západočeské muzeum v Plzni*). Many more objects still remain in castles under the administration of the National Heritage Institute (*Národní památkový ústav*).

Collections of Persian carpets consist of mostly 19th-century urban manufactures of average quality. However, there is an important exception hidden in the state castle of Jindřichův Hradec (Neuhaus), a silk carpet with floral decorations, datable to 17th-century Isfahan.[43] Among other castles, Konopiště (Konopischt) and Žleby (Zleby)[44] should also be mentioned, with their armouries. Both of them contain Persian weaponry which was brought mainly as souvenirs during the 19th century to decorate the walls of Oriental salons which were popular not only among the nobility but the bourgeoisie as well (Fig. 2.9).[45] The collections of Franz Ferdinand d'Este (1863–1914) at Konopiště, those of the Liechtenstein estates at Lednice (Eisgrub), or those of Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859) at Kynžvart (Bad Königsberg), feature a few additional examples mainly of Persian arms and metalworks.[46] In summary, we can say that the depositories of Czech, Moravian and Silesian castles are of considerable research potential and still await further scholarly investigation.

The Rise of Persian Studies in Prague

Before the 19th century, scientific interest in the Middle East focused on Biblical and Hebraic studies. It was only in 1849 that a separate branch of Oriental philology was created in Prague within the Faculty of Arts of the Charles-Ferdinand University,[47] where Arabic, Turkish and Persian studies were added to Hebrew. This specialisation gradually led to the development of modern Iranian (Persian) studies,[48] still during the 19th

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[43] Unpublished. Inv. no. JH 2780.

[44] The Germanised form Schleb was in use during World War II.

[45] For Konopiště see Dolínek 2004, for Žleby see Šnajdrová 1996.

[46] According to the author's personal inspection. It is hoped that relevant references on these largely unpublished collections will be available in the near future.

[47] The previous name of today's Charles University was in use between 1654 and 1918.

[48] Currently Iranian studies are taught at the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy (*Filozoficka fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze*), Charles University in Prague, in a separate programme at the Institute of Near Eastern and African Studies (*Ústav Blízkého východu a Afriky*). For more information, see http://ubva.ff.cuni.cz/UBVA-130.html (accessed 5 November 2012).

century. Closely connected with Austrian and German Oriental studies, the pioneers of New Persian philology at Prague University were Max Grünert (1826–1929), Jaromír Břetislav Košut (1854–1880) and Rudolf Dvořák (1860–1920). However, New Persian (and Turkish) philology became an independent branch only in 1925 thanks to the efforts of Jan Rypka (1886–1968). He studied in Vienna University but he dedicated all his professional life to Charles University, serving as its dean between 1939 and 1940. Although Rypka was primarily a Persian and Turkish linguist and literary historian, publishing his magisterial *History of Iranian Literature* in 1968, his interests extended as far as palaeography and diplomacy.[49] Of Rypka's pupils we should mention first and foremost Jiří Bečka (1915–2004) and Věra Stivínová-Kubíčková (1918–2009).

Jiří Bečka was one of the most significant Czech scholars focusing on Central Asian (mainly Tajik and Afghan) and Persian linguistics.[50] Věra Stivínová-Kubíčková contributed to the perception of Persian culture through numerous translations of classical Persian poetry and modern Persian prose as well as a number of academic articles and books.[51] As a specialist on Persian art, she co-operated with the National Gallery and the National Library.[52] As translators, both Bečka and Stivínová-Kubíčková worked together with leading Czech poets, such as Vladimír Holan (1905–1980), Vítězslav Nezval (1900–1958) or the Nobel Prize laureate Jaroslav Seifert (1901–1986).

In other fields, like archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic have always been focusing on Egypt and, to a lesser extent, Assyria and Babylonia. In this respect, however, at least Bedřich Hrozný (1879–1952) deserves a special attention. Following his studies in Vienna and Berlin, he established an Institute of Comparative Linguistics at the Charles University in 1919.[53] His importance lies foremost in the deciphering of the Hittite language. Hrozný was also one of the founders of *Archiv Orientální* (Oriental Archive), the first Czech scientific journal on Asian and African studies

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[49] For detailed information, see Tauer 1956; Veselá 1986.

[50] For more, see Lorenz 2008.

[51] Her translations of Hafiz and Firdawsi are especially appreciated. For more on Stivínvá-Kubíčková, see Bečka 1989.

[52] Her widely-disseminated book about Persian painting, based on manuscripts from the Gulistan Palace Library, Tehran, made the Iranian Royal Collection accessible for a wide international audience. See Kubíčková 1960.

[53] http://enlil.ff.cuni.cz/ang_Oustavu.htm (accessed 10 September 2012).

which has been published by the Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences (*Orientální ústav Akademie věd České republiky*) since 1929.[54]

The Oriental Institute was established upon a joint initiative by the first Czechoslovak president Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937) and the Arabist Alois Musil (1868–1944) in 1922 as a research institution specialised in Asian and African studies.[55] It is of note that Musil contributed not only to Arabic studies with his focus on early Islamic archaeology, Semitic linguistics and ethnography, but he fostered research on Sasanian influence on early Islamic art[56] and published about Iranian geopolitics and history.[57] Apart from *Archiv Orientální*, the Institute also publishes *Nový Orient* (New Orient),[58] a journal about Asian and African issues, aiming to reach both the academic and the general public.

Conclusion

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was so much inter-connected that experts from Bohemia or Moravia cannot be fully separated and recognised as purely Czech scholars. Thus, for example, the Austrian physician Jakob Eduard Polak (Polák; 1818–1891), who established modern medicine in Iran, was born in Bohemia but is seen much more as an Austrian expert.[59] There were numerous other scholars of Czech origin who represented the Monarchy as a whole, such as Joseph von Karabacek (1845–1918),[60] but in this article only those were discussed who acted in the Czech lands.

A century after World War I which closed the Habsburg period, the state of Persian art scholarship in Czech museums and universities, and Iranian studies in general, seem to have developed little since the time of Polak and Karabacek. However, it is worth to mention that several individual efforts have been made in the field. The translation of Michael Axworthy's *History of Iran* by Jan Marek (b. 1931) and Zuzana Kříhová (b. 1979) is supplemented by an excursus on Czech-Persian relations.[61] The abovementioned Persian manuscripts in the National Library of the

[54] http://www.aror.orient.cas.cz/ (accessed 10 September 2012).
[55] http://www.orient.cas.cz/index.html (accessed 10 September 2012). On Musil, see Rypka 1938; Fiegl 1985.
[56] Musil 1907.
[57] Musil 1936.
[58] http://www.orient.cas.cz/Journals/novy_orient/ (accessed 10 September 2012).
[59] For Polak as a collector, see Karl's article in the present volume, with additional literature.
[60] The activity of Karabacek is discussed elsewhere in this volume by Karl.
[61] Axworthy 2009.

Czech Republic are still being surveyed; the restoration process of one of them, using the most advanced technologies, has been documented and published in a ground-breaking study by the conservator, Jana Dvořáková.[62] The first comprehensive exhibition of Islamic art in the Czech Republic, entitled *Tales from the Thousand and One Nights: Islamic Art from the Collections of the Moravian Gallery*, was held in 2011 in Brno and it was accompanied by a detailed catalogue by Sabina Dvořáková (b. 1978).[63] Another recent exhibition introduced Czech involvement in the art of Central Asia. Written by Tereza Hejzlarová (b. 1976) and Dagmar Pospíšilová (b. 1955), its catalogue, entitled *Czech Travellers and Collectors in Central Asia: Collections of the National Museum–Náprstek Museum, Prague*, was published at the end of 2012.[64] While the cataloguing of objects from the Islamic world in the National Museum–Náprstek Museum is still in the process, a variety of decorative steel objects in the Islamic art collection of the Náprstek Museum has been described in an eponymous article, written by Jindřich Mleziva (b. 1976).[65] Thus, finally the present article is able to report about what may be the prelude of a Czech revival of Persian and Central Asian art studies.

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[62] Dvořáková 2009.
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[65] Mleziva forthcoming.

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Fig. 2.9 Photograph of an unspecified Central-European Oriental salon decorated with Oriental weapons including those of Persian and Turkish origin, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (possibly Brno or Graz), 1904, private collection.

PART THREE

EXPLORING AND DISPLAYING PERSIAN ART

THE MEDIATION OF PHOTOGRAPHY: PERSIAN PAINTINGS IN EUROPEAN PRINTED BOOKS AND JOURNALS*

IVÁN SZÁNTÓ AND TATJÁNA KARDOS

Although there is little reason to deny that true familiarity with artefacts can only be attained through examining them in their tangible reality, we also have to admit that many works of art we know through reproductions only and that reproductions remain the most effective means for spreading knowledge about them. Yet despite the decisive epistemic status of illustrations, they themselves rarely become the subject of analysis and much of the indirect information which they might convey is glossed over. Acting as transparent windows to the originals, their intermediary existence—which has been realised, studied and exploited by modern artists for over a century—is usually denied by scholars.[1] This negligence characterises authors, editors and readers of scientific publications alike.

Reproductions began to appear alongside the first scientific publications on art in order to present previously unseen artefacts to the audience, or, more specifically, to underpin the written argument. Some of the authors of these early publications were very careful about the quality and supportive value of their illustrations, but even they often forgot to give due recognition to the authors of the images, like Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945) in the case of Antoine Sevruguin (c. 1838–1933) or Joseph Strzygowski (1862–1941) in that of Rudolf-Ernst Brünnow (1858–1917),

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[1] For the interaction of art and reproduction, see Walter Benjamin's (1892–1940) classic essay, Benjamin 1980, 431-69; for the role of intermediality in Islamic art, see Grabar 1992.

as mentioned elsewhere in this book.[2] Rarer was K. A. C. Creswell (1879–1974)'s type of Islamic art historian who ensured the consonance between his texts and images by being the author of both.[3] An extreme case of this latter type is represented by Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948) who effectively forbade visitors of Persepolis to take photographs in "his" site, as if being a descendant of the Achaemenids.[4] The presence of comparable attitudes in earlier Ottoman archaeology was shown by Shaw.[5] It was not chiefly the ownership of photographs these scholars were wary of, but rather the risk of losing their hardly-won exclusive access to the subjects depicted in the images and the consequent loss of control over academic discussion—photographs are likely to become public, spread, and start a life of their own. This shows an indirect admission of the power of illustrations, namely that reproductions—and other displays, including exhibitions[6]—are no less effective instruments in shaping public appreciation of a particular artistic heritage than texts. The latter would lose credibility and testability without images. One may not forget how much of knowledge depends on the mere availability of visual material. It may seem banal but worth noting that the initial European perception of non-European art was largely determined by the incalculable supply of artefacts on the market and in collections. It appears likewise that a great deal of early scholarship of Persian art relied on limited visual resources. Entire theories could be built on the thin basis of a single collection or publication, and these naturally led to distorted perceptions which would remain persistent despite the gradual emergence of new visual aids.[7]

Owen Jones (1809–1874), for instance, made the following introductory statement about Persia in the *Grammar of Ornament* (1856):

> "The Mohammadan architecture of Persia, if we may judge from the representations published in Flandin and Coste's 'Voyages en Perse', does not appear to have ever reached the perfection of the Arabian buildings of Cairo."[8]

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[2] For the Strzygowski-Brünnow connection, see Gierlichs' article in this volume (note 4); for Sarre and Sevruguin, see Kelényi and Szántó 2010, 66, with previous literature.
[3] "Once behind the camera, he became a born communicator" (Fitzherbert 1991, 127). For the legacy of Creswell the photographer, see Fitzherbert 1991.
[4] Byron 1937/1982, 164-6.
[5] Shaw 2003, 136-48.
[6] On Islamic art and its display, see Grabar 1976.
[7] The interaction of early reproductions and forgeries in early Persian art studies is analysed in Simpson 2008, Szántó 2010 and Szántó 2011.
[8] Jones 1868, 75.

For us, this bold assertion signifies something else than the supposed qualitative relationship of Persian architecture to Egyptian buildings: it reveals Jones' more limited understanding of the former. This is not the only instance when Jones, who never visited Persia and Egypt, draws general conclusions from specific premises, as shown by his examples of Persian book illumination which come similarly from one single source, namely the British Museum, the most accessible repository of Persian art in Britain at the time. Like Eugène Flandin (1809–1889), Pascal Coste (1787–1879) and many others in the mid-19th century, Jones chose drawings to illustrate his own book. Within a few years, but still during the 19th century, photography came to offer an incomparably higher degree of exactitude in the visual rendering of monuments and artefacts. Photography, on the other hand, had its own drawback. It often put on view easily available but not necessarily representative collections, creating a false sense of objectivity, thus posing a new threat against the formation of balanced judgments about style, quality, and authenticity, especially in cases when even the author did not see the original artefact in question.[9]

Several early publications had to do entirely without illustrations. Some of the authors, determined to promulgate Persian art, were well aware that real knowledge cannot emerge without direct contact with the sources. Some were condemning those who ignored even the few available information supplies and created untrue impressions of non-European art as a result. In his pioneering study on Persian painting (1832), Ferdinand Denis (1798–1890), for instance, made the following complaint:

> "But when all the wonders of the East have been popularised among the artists; when the poetically spirited peoples of Polynesia and America have also revealed their true nature, where shall, then, they [the artists] turn to draw the necessary information about the characteristics of their manners, the costumes of so many foreign lands; information that may make no art, but what may help artists make it? In the little-consulted manuscripts of our libraries and in ancient and barely-known travelogues. These are treasures about these [people], yet they are often ignored because, other than a few instances, so little effort has been made to make them better-known."[10]

Writing only a few years ahead of the invention of photography and having in mind artists as his target audience, Denis, a librarian, welcomed the triumphant entry of science into art, considering it as a logical

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[9] As shown, for example, by the notoriously uneven quality of artefacts illustrated in Sarre 1923 and Kühnel 1923.
[10] Denis 1832, 221.

development in the course of 19th-century progress.[11] He urged the state to acquire “Oriental” paintings from French private collections for aesthetic as well as scientific purposes.[12] His essay was published without accompanying illustrations. Other publications, like the *Grammar of Ornament*, employed mechanic reproductions, including etchings or lithographs, which were created after handmade prototypes. Photographic renderings of artworks were not universally favoured for some time after the invention of the technology, partly because high-quality prints could not be cost-effectively produced and partly because some voices from the arts-and-crafts movement initially opposed their use.[13] Although photography cannot be uncritically equated with scientific neutrality in the process of visual transmission, it became by far the most accepted form of pictorial reproduction of artefacts during the 20th century. This was because the insertion of etchings or lithographs in 19th-century publications doubtlessly added an extra link to the already long and subjective chain between the original artefact and the viewer, thus it hindered rather than fostered direct encounters. As late as 1895, the first monograph about Persian art, *L’Art Persan* by Albert Gayet (1856–1916), employed engravings side by side photographs of paintings.[14] Some paintings are in fact Indian which Gayet could not always distinguish from their Persian counterparts.[15] The original paintings once again came without exception from a single collection, this time the Khedivial Library of Cairo.[16] Considering his decades-long activity in Egypt—as opposed to his relative unfamiliarity with Persia—this choice is understandable.

Jenő Radisics and His 1888 Essay

Establishing the chronology of the first European scholars who brought the various aspects of Turko-Persian painting into academic discussion is

[11] Denis 1832, 221. His investigations, however, about the intersection of science and art, eventually led Denis towards spiritualism.
[12] Denis 1832, 222.
[13] On this subject, see Harvey 1984.
[14] Gayet 1895, 252-305.
[15] One of his main concerns was the identification of a mysterious Safavid painter who signed his works as Mani. Gayet 1895, 334-336. The problem was further elaborated, and partially solved, in Huart 1908, 334, which used Gayet’s illustrations as reference but included a much larger body of comparative material.
[16] The library had been publishing a yearbook since 1887, under the title *Rapport sur la Bibliothèque Khédiviale du Caire.*

neither an easy nor it is a highly rewarding task.[17] But Eugène (Jenő) Radisics de Kutas (1856–1917), a Hungarian art historian whose name does not feature even in the most comprehensive surveys, deserves to be remembered as one of these scholars (Fig. 3.1).[18] Not that he would be a forgotten figure in Hungarian art history; he remains unknown only when it comes to Islamic art. The simple reason of his omission from the imaginary list of "firsts" might well be that his experimental study was published too early to receive wider attention.[19] There is little wonder that his 1888 publication had no expert audience, if Radisics himself, a leading European authority on industrial arts, was forced to admit his own incapability to grasp the essence of the subject he was writing about. The material which he published in that year would not gain significance until decades later, with the development of the field of Islamic art studies. In hindsight, we must add self-critically that in some respects our understanding of these paintings still remains inadequate, regardless of the enormous increase of knowledge during the twelve decades since Radisics wrote his article.[20]

Jenő Radisics was a civil servant, serving first, from 1881, in the Ministry of Religious and Educational Affairs, then in the Royal Museum of Industrial Arts (today's Museum of Applied Arts), the director of which he became in 1887. A year later he was awarded with the French Légion d'Honneur. He played a leading role in the organisation of the Hungarian Millennial Exhibition in 1896, assembling several catalogues about the artefacts on view and writing many articles about the event both in Hungary and abroad.[21] Between 1905 and 1906 he acted as a member of the Hungarian Parliament. As a scholar, his strength was metalwork, but he wrote about multiple areas ranging from national antiquities to modern forgeries.[22] Although he frequently published articles in various journals, his chief forum was *Művészi Ipar* (Industrial Art), Hungary's main journal devoted to decorative arts.

His 1888 article, written in Hungarian for this journal, is based on a series of photographs which Radisics came across in a bequest. They

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[17] On the 19th-century scholarly reception of Persian painting, see Porter 2007; Szántó 2010.
[18] Csányi 1917.
[19] Radisics 1888, 20-26, 60-65 and 119-27; plates I-III, IV -V and IX-XI.
[20] For a summary of the problems related to the paintings, see Grube 1981A; the most detailed 20th-century bibliography of the Istanbul Albums is Grube 1981B.
[21] See, for example, Radisics 1897 (fully illustrated with lithographs, chromolithographs and xylographs, but without any photograph).
[22] Horváth 2006.

showed, among other things, images from Timurid, Turkoman and Safavid albums, as well as Ottoman manuscripts and bindings. While he was appraising their significance, he had the following to say about the collection, which had originally been put together by Dániel Szilágyi (1831–1885),[23] an Istanbul-based Hungarian bookseller:

> "The Museum of Applied Arts has recently acquired 47 photographs from the bequest of Dániel Szilágyi, a Hungarian national who died in Constantinople. It has been quite some time since our museum purchased a material of such great, or one might even say exceptional, interest."[24]

In his essay, Jenő Radisics published twenty-eight photographs.[25] These and more still survive in the File Archives of the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts in Budapest but they were left unnoticed until Tatjána Kardos, librarian of the Museum, rediscovered and catalogued them in 2009. One of the boards in the collection is marked with a vignette with the handwritten words *Szilágy/Const*. The rest of the boards are numbered from 1 to 47, written next to the inventory number, which suggests that forty-seven boards were added simultaneously to the File Archives under the same inventory number.

The collection consists of albumin pictures of large but varying dimensions: they are contact prints made using same-size negatives.[26] Judging from the quality of the pictures and the large size of the negatives, these were the works of a professional photographer. Since the clippers, pins, strings and even a pocket-knife used to keep the books in position are visible, the photographs must have been taken for the purpose of scientific research, rather than artistic reproduction. Three additional boards, apparently somewhat later celloidin prints of the same set of negatives, were found in 2011. These must be early 20th-century copies of the originals (Fig. 3.2).[27]

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[23] For more on Szilágyi, with further references, see Szántó and Kardos 2010, 70, note 1.

[24] Radisics 1888, 20. For more details on Szilágyi, see Szántó and Kardos 2010, 70, note 1.

[25] Inventory number: Hopp Museum Archives (in the following: HMA) F 2009. 42-69, F 2012. 1-5.

[26] The larger ones measure 32 x 27 cm on average, the smaller ones 20 x 16 cm, with only three photographs that measure less (10 x 20 cm on average).

[27] HMA F 2012. 3-5. The original compositions are H. 2153, folio 8b, 28a, and 64a.

In twelve cases the words *El' Chark Société Photographic* are stamped in the corner of the photographs (Fig. 3.3).[28] This sheds light on the creation of photographs. *El' Chark* ("Orient") was the name of a famous studio that the Syrian-born photographer, Pascal Sébah (1823–1886), opened in 1857.[29] The photographs must have been made in the 1870s or 1880s, but in any case no later than 1885, the year when Dániel Szilágyi died. On occasions, the stamps on the photographs overlapped the boards, proving that the work of affixing the photographs to the boards was also done in the studio. The stamps had apparently escaped the attention of Radisics, who erroneously believed that the photographs might have been taken by Szilágyi himself, after the latter had discovered the original paintings somewhere in Istanbul.[30]

Four of the photographs affixed to the twenty-nine boards presently held at the Ferenc Hopp Museum show book covers made of leather,[31] while four of them depict title pages;[32] there are three pictures of album pages;[33] five images of separate drawings;[34] five depictions of calligraphies;[35] four reproductions of miniatures or illustrated book pages;[36] and three additional boards with photographs of various other subject-matters.[37] There are boards with photographs, juxtaposed in a random fashion, showing enlarged details of paintings (Fig. 3.4).

According to our current understanding, these were the earliest photographs of the—by now world-renowned—*muraqqa'*s (albums) preserved inside the Topkapı Saray in Istanbul;[38] and Jenő Radisics' study was the earliest scholarly publication about them. Radisics did more than just publishing a few photographs: he actually revealed, knowingly or inadvertently, a whole chapter from Islamic art history, which had until then been completely unknown in Europe. Yet, other than faltering descriptions, enthusiastic praise, or, rarely, slight criticism of the

[28] On boards nos. 5, 16, 18, 34, 36, 39, 40, 42, 43, and 45 (photographs nos. HMA F 2009. 47, 51-55, 57, 59.1-3, 64, 67).

[29] After the founder's death, his son, Jean, kept the business running using the same name until 1888. Özendes 2001, 46.

[30] Radisics 1888, 63.

[31] The boards unmarked with numbers (marked with vignettes) and also, cardboards nos. 1, 3, 7 (HMA 2009.42-45).

[32] Boards nos. 5, 8-10 (HMA 2009.46-49).

[33] Boards nos. 29, 42, 45 (HMA 2009.50-52).

[34] Boards nos. 34, 36, 40-43 (HMA 2009.53-57).

[35] Boards nos. 13-16, 23 (HMA 2009.61-65).

[36] Boards nos. 17, 18, 20, 23 (HMA 2009. 66-69).

[37] Boards nos. 31, 39, 47 (HMA 2009.58.1-2, 59.1-3, 60.1-2).

[38] A digitisation project of the Istanbul Saray Albums has currently been undertaken.

draughtsmanship, his essay had little to say about the compositions. He describes, for instance, a scene showing the combat of fabulous creatures, in the following way:

> "11. A Sketch, painted on paper with brush. Square format. From the left corner, a wide, large tree with finger-like leaves grows towards the centre. Coiling on the rugged trunk of the tree with its claw (...), an imaginary dragon, together with a similar but smaller creature, threatens a nestling which is depicted in the upper part of the tree and ferociously defended by a crested bird-mother. This must have been a popular subject in certain areas of Oriental art, as shown by numerous examples in the collection. As we have mentioned, the bird resembles the Chinese phoenix, one of the four symbolic animals which have been present in the art of that country since the earliest times."[39] (Fig. 3.5)

The scene—from the Yaʿqub Beg Album, H. 2153, fol. 83a—has been recently identified by Filiz Çağman as the Turkish *Er-Töshtük* epic.[40]

"Monsters," Radisics ponders while analysing a painting in the style of Siah Qalam ("Black Pen"),[41] "are the figment of Oriental imagination. Now again, we admire the abhorring beasts into which the artist has breathed formidable strength and passionate wildness."[42] In another description, Radisics praises the keen ability of the artist to observe nature's infinite variation, yet criticises the incorrect rendering of some natural forms.[43] At one occasion, he daringly links two or more paintings to a single artist.[44] He takes great pain at describing non-figural designs and analysing certain technical details, such as pounces, which are visible on the photographic renderings.[45] His high esteem for book bindings is counterbalanced by his disinterest in calligraphy: Radisics did consider none of the five photographs depicting calligraphic specimens worthy of mention or reproduction. Yet he summoned the celebrated Hungarian Orientalist, Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913), and asked him to decipher the signatures and other texts and provide further explanation of the

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[39] F.2012.2. Radisics 1888, 60-62, fig. 11. The painting is preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul (H. 2153, fol. 83a).
[40] Çağman in London 2005, cat. no. 143.
[41] For the paintings and drawings attributed to the school of Siah Qalam, see recently Istanbul 2004.
[42] Radisics 1888, 60-62.
[43] Radisics 1888, 62.
[44] Radisics 1888, 62.
[45] Radisics 1888, 63.

compositions.[46] Vámbéry did so to the best of his knowledge, as shown by the faintly visible glosses in his handwriting beside a few photographs. At the side of the mythological combat scene, mentioned above, Vámbéry made a remark about the role of Shah Rukh (r. 1405–47) in the development of art and architecture.[47] This almost prophetic remark and its placement on the panel, next to a Timurid painting, are important, although we cannot regard the sentence as an explicit dating of the paintings to the Timurid period. Besides, these valuable starting points were not utilised by Radisics who disregarded Vámbéry's historical notes throughout his essay about the photographs. He made no attempt to link the compositions to any definite time or place: Timurid and Safavid art were far beyond his horizon. He quoted Vámbéry's translations of Ottoman marginal attributions (to Husayn Shirazi and Shaykhi), but he did not ask who these people were.[48] Instead, he entered into a pedantic discussion of whether the name "Shaykhi" referred to the right or left-hand side of two neighbouring paintings.[49]

The Impact of the Essay

Apparently, by the early 20th century a few art collectors took notice of not only the album paintings but also the photographs and the article showing them, and by that time they were very much aware of their significance. The Swedish art collector and art dealer Fredrik Robert Martin (1868–1933) connected the photographs to the so-called "Bellini Album."[50] According to Martin, the Album "remained in the possession of the various sultans until about forty years ago, when a large number of its pages were photographed. The plates (or of the negatives) were soon afterwards sold to a photographer, who, after printing a few copies for which he found no sale, destroyed the plates (or of the negatives). A complete collection of these photographs is to be found in the library of Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris."[51] He also added, however, that "some

[46] Radisics 1888, 20.
[47] F.2012.2.
[48] Radisics 1888, 121.
[49] Radisics 1888, 123.
[50] Martin 1912, vol. 1, 59; It is now generally believed that Martin invented the legend of the Bellini album in order to prove the provenience of the pictures he was selling; see Roxburgh 1998, 47-48. The section of the album that remained in Martin's possession was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of New York in 1967; Roxburgh 1998, 54, note 4.
[51] Martin 1912, vol. 1, 59.

of them were published in the 1888 issue of the Hungarian review, *Művészi Ipar* [Industrial Art].[52] Only one piece from the Szilágyi collection was published in Martin's book as "an extract from the first page of the Bellini Album."[53]

Martin failed to name his sources. There was no way that he could have any personal memories about the circumstances of the photographic session;[54] also, the dating of the photographs (the first half of the 1870s) could have been merely an estimate, perhaps based precisely on Radisics' study. Martin, just like Radisics, had apparently no information about the identity of the photographer, although the authorship of Sébah is made clear for us by the vignette, described above. His comments on the later fate of the negatives are equally unclear, yet he mentions that a set of the photographs were taken to the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, where they still exist, as part of the Collection Iconographique of the latter museum.

Containing at present nearly one million images, this encyclopaedic collection was assembled by Jules Maciet (1846–1911) in numerous thematic albums with the initial aim of providing a high-standard stock of visual resources for craftspeople and designers.[55] Earlier he had been instrumental in creating a public collection of original Islamic paintings when in 1881 he had donated the first "Persian miniature" to the museum's predecessor, the Union centrale des arts décoratifs (the painting would later turn out to be Indian).[56] Although Maciet sought the finest available original examples, he realised that they alone would never present a concise picture of the development of an entire style or artist; hence his idea about a comprehensive visual databank. He had deposited his Collection Iconographique at the museum in 1904, a year before the museum's official opening, thus by the time Martin wrote his book, the material had been readily available for anybody, although it remains questionable whether the Topkapı images themselves were already part of the ever-expanding collection.

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[52] Martin 1912, vol. 1, 59.
[53] Martin 1912, vol. 2, plate 269.
[54] Between 1902 and 1908 Martin worked as an interpreter at the Swedish Embassy in Istanbul, although he claims that he had already visited Istanbul before, in 1896, see Martin 1912, 140, note 52.
[55] At the time of the death of Maciet the number of albums was about 4000; by the early 21st century it totalled 4727 volumes. About the formation of the Collection Maciet, see Krikorian, Sartre and Delaporte 2004. I am indebted to Béatrice Krikorian for assisting me in the collection.
[56] Paris 2007, 211-2.

With the truncated details of single photographs also counted, currently we know of seventy-eight images in the Collection Iconographique which are distributed within three albums.[57] Maciet may have taken possession of them during a trip to Istanbul which was specially made to enrich his collection with Near Eastern material. To this end he visited the leading Istanbul photographic ateliers, including that of Sébah & Joaillier (as well as those of the Abdullah frères, and Basile Kargopoulo), in 1891.[58] However, at least two images in his Paris albums, appearing amid real photographs, are in fact cut-outs from Radisics' 1888 article, as confirmed by the headline of *Művészi Ipar* which remains visible over the pictures.[59] It may well be that Martin came to know about the existence of this journal while he was turning the pages of the Maciet Album. He may have felt ill at ease while turning the pages, as he knew that not all the captions, naming the "Bibliothèque de Constantinople" as the location of the paintings, held truth anymore: Martin had the habit of leaving Istanbul with some paintings in his suitcase. He could acknowledge with relief, however, that his most dubious field of activity, the so-called Bahram Mirza Album (H. 2154), was not illustrated in the Maciet collection.[60] Nevertheless, these photographs may have prompted him to publish vociferous lamentations about the poor security system of the Imperial Library, bearing in mind his own ongoing activity there.[61]

There is no sign of personal contact between Martin and Radisics. Maciet, on the other hand, must have known Radisics personally because of their affiliation to two leading European museums of decorative arts.

Conclusion: The Topkapı Saray Photographs in Later Publications

The afterlife of these photographs did not end here. They were apparently utilised in Gaston Migeon (1861–1930)'s volume of the two-volume

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[57] Album no. 273: *Miniatures des Manuscrits – Art Oriental 17*. It contains 34 images on 18 neighbouring folios. Album no. 273: *Miniatures des Manuscrits – Orient – Perse / 19*. It contains 34 images on 20 neighbouring folios (of which one is unrelated to the Saray albums). Album no. 431: *Reliures – Orient 27* has 7 original photographs on 5 folios.

[58] Krikorian 2010, 2.

[59] Album no. 431/27, containing Radisics 1888, plates IV-V.

[60] On the problem of the Bahram Mirza Album, see Roxburgh 1998, 32-57; see also Roxburgh 2005, 245-252.

[61] Martin 1912, vol. 1, 33. These comments already aroused the suspicion of Roxburgh, see Roxburgh 1998, 32-33, 47-48.

Manuel d'Art Musulman (1907).[62] This fact is confirmed by the oval-shaped stamps with the initials *A.D.* (i. e., Arts Décoratifs), which are clearly visible on the illustrations of the volume. These also reveal that the illustrations used in Migeon's standard work—or at least the illustrations that concern us–were reproductions of Sébah's photographs from the Maciet Collection, rather than direct photos of the artworks. Of the thirteen photos published in the book, nine were included in Radisics' study, and also in the collection held in the Ferenc Hopp Museum.[63] According to the captions, most of the artworks were held in the "library of Constantinople" (i.e. in the Topkapı Saray Library), while the drawing shown in four photographs could be found in the Yıldız Kiosk Library[64]—Migeon said nothing more about them.[65] Writing five years before the publication of Martin's well-informed study about the Istanbul albums, Migeon was still suffering from the same information vacuum that characterised Radisics' article three decades earlier. In fact, the captions in *Manuel d'Art Musulman* seem simply to repeat Maciet's handwritten comments to the respective images in his own albums, without any additional piece of information.

This book was not the only one to utilise the Paris set of photographs, as shown by numerous later examples, including Arménag Bey Sakisian (n. d.)'s volume, *La Miniature persane du XIIe au XVIe siècles*, published in 1929.[66] Although certain publications illustrate photographs by Sébah

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[62] Migeon and Saladin 1907, vol. 1, several illustrations between pages 116 and 220. On Migeon, see Vernoit (ed.) 2000, 212.

[63] Neither Radisics 1888, nor the Hopp Museum Archives include the following images: Migeon 1927, 102, fig. 1; 117, fig. 7; 217, fig. 71; 220, fig. 73.

[64] Located at the Yıldız Saray, which served from 1877 as the residence of Sultan ʿAbd al-Hamid II (1876–1909), see Roxburgh 1998, 33.

[65] The current location of only one of the miniatures is known: *The Portrait of a Baghdad Dervish*, attributed to Bihzad, is presently in the possession of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (acc. no. 3094.5), see Migeon and Saladin 1907, figs. 42, 36; Migeon 1927, 220, fig. 73. In the picture taken around 1870 and later published by Migeon, the floral decoration surrounding the dervish is still light, while in Martin's book published in 1912 the background of the tendrils is already dark (see Martin 1912, plate 85). The painting in Dublin displays these later characteristics. See Roxburgh 1998, 40, fig. 16. On the basis of the identical framing, Roxburgh assumes that the painting, which also passed through Martin's hands, may have once belonged to the Bahram Mirza Album; see Roxburgh 1998, 56, note 29. It should also be noted that a very accurate copy of the painting, allegedly by Bihzad himself, also exists in a private collection; see Bahari 1996, fig. 106.

[66] Sakisian 1929, fig. 65.

that are not included in the Maciet Collection,[67] the latter remained the principal point of reference for the Saray Albums throughout the 20th century. Indeed, some hard-to-find album paintings are reproduced from Migeon's book even in the most recent monographs, like *The Persian Album* by David Roxburgh (2005), extending the virtual afterlife of Sébah's photographs until the 21st century.[68]

Articles written in unusual languages and published in unexpected publications are likely to be overlooked, similarly to well-guarded works of arts. As shown by what still remains the fullest bibliography of the Album paintings, assembled by Ernst J. Grube (1932–2011) in 1981, modern scholarship at large dates the entry of the paintings into academic discussion to 1907, i. e., the publication of Migeon's *Manuel*.[69] Yet we have seen that Migeon relied on photographs which had been made available three decades earlier by the article in *Művészi Ipar*. Significantly, already Migeon seems to have been unaware of this publication, for he routinely turned to the Maciet Collection for visual material without asking about the source of a particular image. Apart from Jules Maciet, only the nosiest of all Islamic art historians, Fredrik Robert Martin, noticed Radisics'article but his comment likewise escaped attention for a century. Meanwhile a bulky literature has developed around the paintings, shedding more and more light on their various aspects while still often inadvertently reproducing the same old photographs, in the belief of reproducing the original works of art. Thus, in conclusion it might be instructive to contemplate the shared fate of the paintings and the photographs. Throughout the 20th century—which can by now be extended by another decade—the basic problem of the ensemble has been their mysterious origin. What was their original context? Where were they made? Which groups belonged originally together? How and when the original albums which housed them dispersed? Most of these questions can be raised again with regard to the photographs, and this shows us the ways in which the history of images merges into historigraphy, and reproductions become part of art history, making the retrospective view ever more complex and rewarding for the historian.

[67] See, for instance, Kühnel 1923, plates 28-32 and 41. Note the lack of museum stamp on the photographs.
[68] Roxburgh 2005, figs. 15-16.
[69] Grube 1981B.

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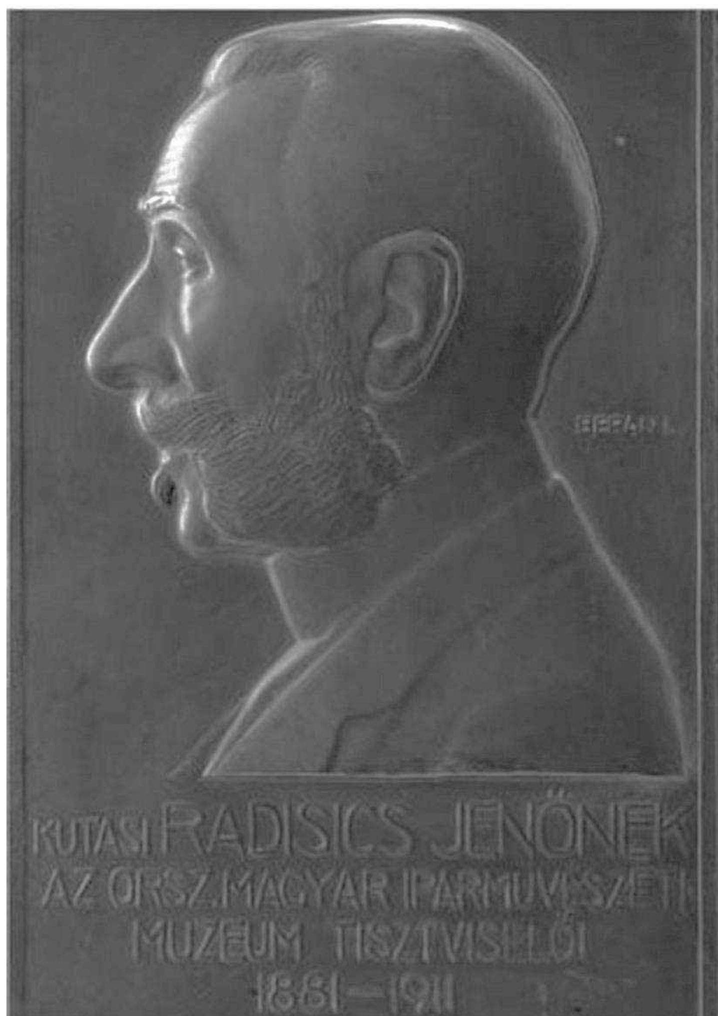


Fig. 3.1 Lajos Berán: Memorial plaque of Eugène Radisics de Kutas, bronze, 1911, Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, 96.98.1 (photograph © Ágnes Kolozs).

Fig. 3.2. Celloidin print of a photograph by Pascal Sébah, Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts, Archives, Budapest, HMA F 20012.5 (photograph © Ferenc Balázs).

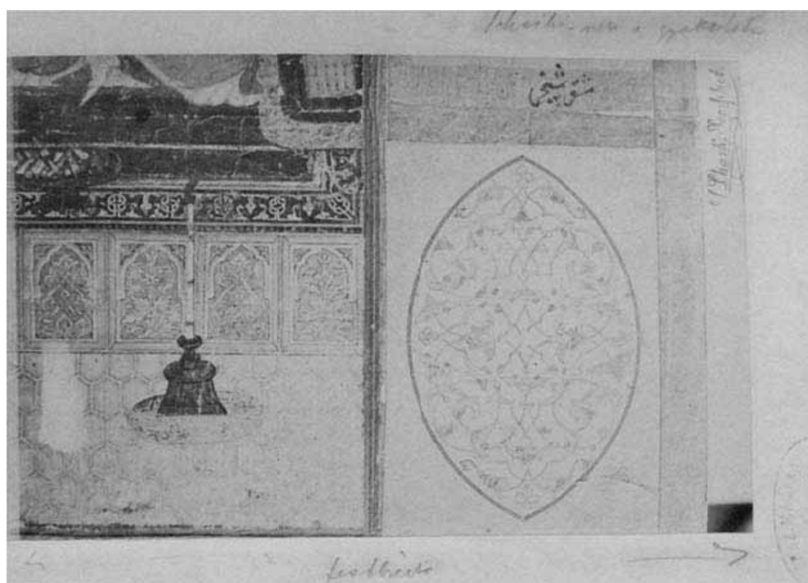


Fig. 3.3. Stamped photograph by Pascal Sébah (detail), Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts, Archives, Budapest, HMA F 2009.58.2 (photograph © Ferenc Balázs).

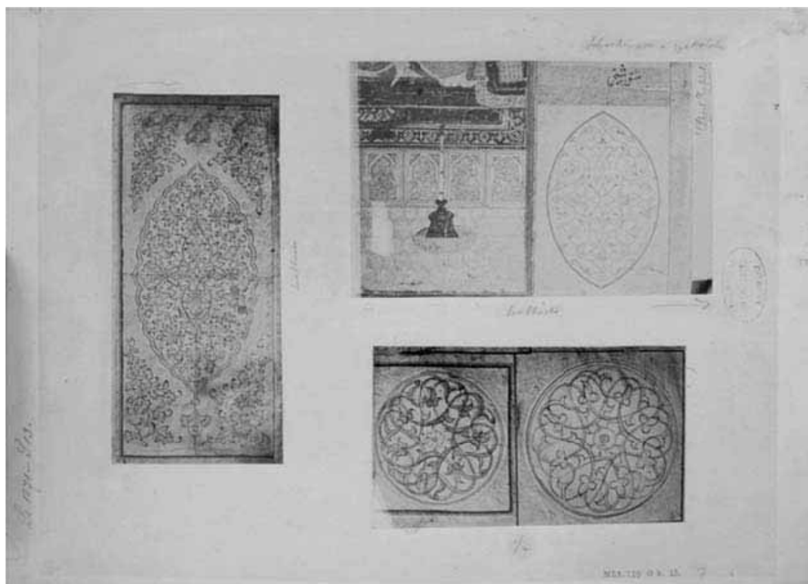
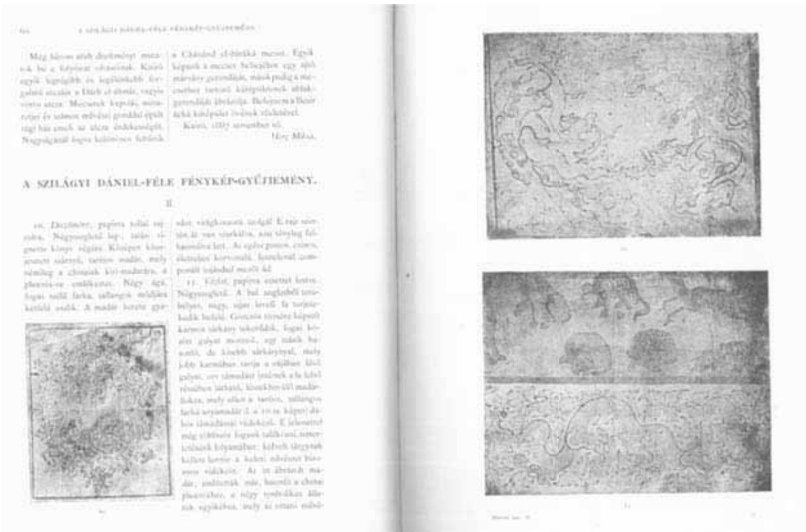


Fig. 3.4. Cardboard with details of photographs by Pascal Sébah, Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts, Archives, Budapest, HMA F 2009.58.2 (photograph © Ferenc Balázs).



A SZILÁGYI DÁNIEL-FÉLE FÉNYKÉP-GYŰJTEMÉNY.

II.

Fig. 3.5. Page from *Művészi Ipar* [Industrial Arts], vol. 1888, 60-61, showing photographs by Pascal Sébah. The original prints are kept in the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts, Archives, Budapest, HMA 2009.50. The paintings are preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul, H. 2153 (photograph © Ferenc Balázs).

PERSIAN ART IN FRANCE IN THE 1930S: THE IRANIAN SOCIETY FOR NATIONAL HERITAGE AND ITS FRENCH CONNECTIONS

ALICE BOMBARDIER

In January 2012, the Institute of the Arab World (*Institut du monde arabe*) in Paris published a study on the changing categorisation that prevailed in the West since the 19th century to define the scope of the arts of Islam.[1] The search for a common term in Europe led in the early 20th century to the invention of so-called "Islamic Art," referring not to the Islamic religion but to the civilisation that flourished in the lands of Islam. Before forging this particular notion of "Islamic Art" based on the idea of a unique visual grammar that many European art historians believed to reside in the ornament, each Oriental culture was categorised according to a "race." Thus, designations were imposed like Turkish art, Arab art and especially Persian art.

According to Yves Porter, an important stage in the recognition of Persian art was set in Europe at the time of the creation of the first public and private collections of Islamic art, between the late 19th century and World War II.[2] Persian art established itself in these collections with strength and precision when compared to the artistic productions of other parts of the Muslim world, with Europe in the context of colonial expansion tending to discredit the merits of Arab and Turkish lands in terms of art and civilisation.

Basking at first sight in the glow of prestige related to its Indo-European roots, Persian art enjoyed a vogue that culminated in France in the 1930s. Despite the abolishment of the French monopoly on archaeological excavations in Iran in 1927, scholars from France continued to work on this field as influential contributors. These included André Godard (1881–1965)'s some thirty-year tenure as the director of the

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[1] Zabbal 2012, 26.
[2] Porter 2012, 51.

Iranian General Office of Archaeology in Tehran.[3] French presence was less obvious in the heart of Central Asia, although in the 1930s the activities of the French Archaeological Delegation of Afghanistan (DAFA) in Afghanistan were thriving and became the first systematic attempt to scholarly evaluate the artistic heritage of this country.[4] The DAFA's activities, along with similar work in other areas of the Middle East, contributed to the formation of a more complex image of Central Asian and Persian art. Soviet Central Asia, however, was completely out of reach for French scholars during these years, marking the limits of the French field of interest.

In the wake of the archaeological discoveries and within the framework of a comparative history of art and civilisation which was booming, some European countries, including France, Germany and England, had competed in the early 20th century for the presentation of "Islamic Art," as exemplified in the exhibitions such as the Paris 1903 show and the Munich 1910 show. At the exhibition of Munich, the organisers planned to stage "the masterpieces of Muhammadan art" on the same plane as the art of other cultures and to "capture the spirit" of this art.[5] The choice of the term "Muhammadan" denoted a more scientific conception: the arts of Islam were from this time onwards defined by their relationship to the Prophet Muhammad while the art inspired by the teachings of Jesus Christ was described as "Christian." This apparent equality of treatment revealed a growing sensibility to "Islamic Art," which began to lose the ethnic dimension introduced by the epithets Arabic, Persian or Turkish.

Nevertheless, the artefacts of Persian culture were again the focus of special attention and even enjoyed increasing success in the 1930s: the London 1931 exhibition specifically dedicated to Persian art benefited from very favourable reception, for instance ensuring the recognition of Persian painting as a part of the universal art history.[6] During this period,

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[3] For example, see Godard 1931. Another notable French archaeologist of the time is Roman Ghirshman (1895–1979), whose early excavations in and studies on Sialk and Bishapur date from the 1930s (see Ghirshman 1938-9). For other activities by French scholars during the 1930s, see the lectures, reports or writings of French archaeologists, historians and linguists, especially Contenau 1931, 1935 and 1936; Grousset 1932; Massé 1935; Massignon 1934.

[4] See Godard, Sirén and Lartique 1925; Grousset 1932; Foucher 1938; and Fenet 2010.

[5] Shalem 2012, 49. For the Munich exhibition, see Troelenberg's article in the present volume.

[6] See BWG 1933.

numerous conferences on Persian art took place at the Musée Guimet in Paris. Why did Persian art come to exert such a fascination on European museums and their experts in the 1930s? What was behind the scholarly trend of Persian art in France and what forms did it take?

By analysing articles found in the *Journal de Téhéran*, an Iranian newspaper published in French which remains largely underexplored, this study will show how on the one hand the growing circulation of Persian artworks and artists, particularly in the years between 1930 and 1940, culminating in the millennial celebrations of the poet Firdawsi in Paris in December 1934, gave visibility to Persian art in France and enhanced its production. On the other hand, it will demonstrate that the circulation of the material vestiges of Persian culture was simultaneously accompanied by the growth of scientific exchange and by a wider dissemination of knowledge of Persian art. Brought about by a growing network of researchers and by the establishment of influential societies, such as the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art (*Société des Etudes Iraniennes et de l'Art Persan*)[7] which was created in Paris in 1930, the dissemination of knowledge about Persian art led to the institutionalisation of Persian studies in France in 1939, when a centre of Iranian Studies was founded in the University of Paris by André Honnorat (1868–1950) and Louis Massignon (1883–1962). Finally and most importantly, the study will clarify the origin of this scientific passion and the progressive institutionalisation of Persian studies in France by highlighting the significant role played in Iran by the Society for National Heritage (*Anjuman-e Asar-e Milli*) which has exported to the West an interest in Persian art and culture that they first generated within the Iranian society itself.[8] The foundation of similar societies abroad, promoted and sponsored by the Society for National Heritage, appointed them in a way as cultural ambassadors of the mother society.

The fundamental mission of the Society for National Heritage was to preserve national monuments and historical relics of ancient Iran, to endorse this heritage and to "cultivate good taste" according to new values in line with the general project of modernity planned for the country, a project designed to give birth to a "New Order" or a "New Iran."[9]

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[7] It is interesting to notice the distinction introduced between "Iranian" and "Persian" in French terminology. While the term "Persian" is associated with art and culture, "Iranian" has a territorial connotation.

[8] For a comprehensive study of the Society for National Heritage in the context of Pahlavi ideology, see Grigor 2004 and 2009. In the following discussion, I refer to these studies rather than original references quoted by Grigor, unless specified.

[9] Grigor 2004, 17.

Conducted efficiently in Iran and exported abroad, this effort of promoting the national heritage influenced international opinion of Persian art. The worldwide activity of the Society for National Heritage through foreign institutions, especially the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art in Paris and the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology in New York (founded in 1928), promoted the circulation and positively conditioned the representation of Persian art.

Since the decisive impact of the Society for National Heritage beyond the borders of Iran has remained up to now little studied, I will focus on and explore here the direct and indirect involvement of this Society in the increasing scholarly emphasis on Persian art in France in the 1930s.

Journal de Téhéran: The Circulation of Persian Art between Iran, France and Europe in the 1930s

The first newspaper to be published in a foreign language in Iran—the *Journal de Téhéran* (Fig. 3.6)—was entirely written in French and was published daily in Tehran from March 1935 till the eve of the Islamic Revolution in 1978.[10] During the last twenty years of the reign of Muhammad Riza Shah Pahlavi (1878–1944), when it had already been published for over thirty years, this newspaper showed a particular activity and enjoyed international recognition. Twice, in 1963 and 1970, the *Journal de Téhéran* was awarded the Cup Emile de Girardin of the best foreign newspaper published in French. In 1963 it was the only newspaper among the winners that was not published in the French-speaking world. The issues published between 15 March 1935 and 2 July 1940 constitute a rich source of information.[11] They reveal the events that attracted the attention of French-speaking scholars in Tehran and the exchanges kept up between these circles and French researchers interested in Iranian studies.

Regularly, the editorial board of the *Journal de Téhéran*, in close contact with French nationals, reported the statements of French travellers passing through Iran. One of these travellers commented in 1935: “A nation is busy coming into existence.”[12] The attachment to an imaginary Persia, marked by the fables of *One Thousand and One Nights*, was still

[10] For a contemporary evaluation of the *Journal de Téhéran*, see Bombardier 2012, 42-45.

[11] The available issues consulted at the archives of Ettela’at Press Group in Tehran were published between 15 March 1935 and 17 August 1937, 15 March 1939 and 21 September 1939, finally 15 March 1940 and 2 July 1940.

[12] Raoul Monmarson, “Etat de transition”, *Journal de Téhéran*, 50, 8 juillet 1935, 1.

reflected in the comments of most of these French travellers. Indeed, in the 19th century, Persia was considered in France as a country of exotic escape, as a country chosen for romantic dreams. Much of the French public imagined Persia as the country of poets, the land of beauty par excellence. But in 1935, the outlook of the country, at least for those who went there at that time, began to change. The accession to power of Riza Khan, who founded the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925, had been accompanied by the construction of a strong nationalism based on the revival of the mythic power of ancient Persia and by a policy of commercial, diplomatic and cultural rapprochement with Europe. Riza Shah's national modernisation project elicited mixed sentiments. For example, the reforms and the transformation of the country were widely acknowledged by French travellers, with both praise and regret. In July 1935, in an article entitled "State in Transition" Raoul Monmarson (b. 1895), French Director of the Colonial Annals, while passing through Mazandaran, associated the changes that took place in the country with a deterioration of the "Persian legend." He expressed in explicit terms this ambivalent feeling he felt about the industrialisation of Iran and the development of its infrastructures:

> "It is very sad for the Europeans of the past to praise as a happy birth the industrial equipment of a nation whose artistic sense and quality of thought have developed with mastery over the centuries. [...] Should I hold against this country for having now destroyed in my mind Persia so that I can better admire Iran?"[13]

Similarly in 1937, an anonymous French traveller expressed his surprise in the *Journal de Téhéran* and observed that the mysterious East which had filled his youthful dreams no longer existed in Iran. In an effort to regain the Persia of his dreams, he took a close interest in the recent undertaking of the French archaeologist posted to Tehran, André Godard, who had listed the monuments and archaeological sites of the country and published the results in the first volume of the Annals of the Archaeological Service of Iran (*Athār-é Īrān: Annales du Service Archéologique de l'Īrān*).[14] This traveller welcomed the methodical statement, the rigor and highlighted the attractive presentation of these now clearly identified remains. He admired their noble demeanour and vividly commented on

[13] Monmarson 1935, 1.
[14] Godard 1936-49.

their brilliance that he equated with the traditions of Greco-Roman and Gothic art.[15]

From 1925, Riza Shah had put Persia on the path of reforms and intensive modernisation. In 1935, he imposed on the international community the use of the name “Iran” to designate the country, the traditional hat was replaced by the kepi, the veil was abolished, a network of railway lines was planned throughout the country, the creation of corporations and industries was booming along with the foundation of national museums in Tehran and in the provinces. The country’s first university (University of Tehran) was inaugurated in 1934. This evolution that occurred in less than two decades had led, simultaneously to the spread of photography, to a shift in perception which prompted travellers to change their outlook on Persia and kindled their curiosity of Persian art. Although the prejudices of the time tended to relegate the greatness of this art to the past, to associate it with the processes and techniques of another age and to consign it more specifically to the dawn of “Western modernity,” some admiration was expressed, increased partly by ongoing archaeological discoveries—including those of Persepolis between 1931 and 1934—and partly by the effort of the Society’s recollection. This preservation of relics had been initiated by the new government, under the aegis of the Service of Antiquities headed by André Godard and of the Society for National Heritage. Persian art was by then no longer equated in the minds of these travellers to a mythical and anachronistic Persia but to the emergence of a new nation-state.

Moreover, Riza Shah’s government tried to improve the showcase of Persian artworks inherited from past centuries, but also more recent ones, intentionally reconstituted according to old models. A School of Ancient Arts (*Madrase-ye sanayi’-e qadime*) in Tehran and a specialised artistic secondary school (*Hunaristan*) in Isfahan were founded respectively in 1931 and 1936 by Riza Shah in order to revive endangered craft and artistic practices, such as wood marquetry and the manufacture of brocades. Manuscript painting, at the heart of these new teachings, was also revived in the School of Ancient Arts. This restoration of the practice of painting was executed in a neo-Safavid style to reconnect it with its former influence and likely in response to the enthusiasm expressed in Europe to the masterpieces of the Safavid dynasty (16th-18th centuries). The Society of Iranian Goods (*Kala-ye Iran*) was inaugurated in April 1940 to sell the crafts of this revival of ancestral know-how.[16]

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[15] “Impressions de séjour”, *Journal de Téhéran*, 513, 25 mars 1937, 1.
[16] “L’inauguration du Kala-ye Iran”, *Journal de Téhéran*, 1466, 30 avril 1940, 1.

During international fairs and exhibitions, Persian art was even used as a stooge for the industrial products alongside which it was exposed. This was the case in July 1935 at the international Exhibition of Brussels in which Iran was involved, as well as in August 1935 in Bari (Italy), in September 1935 in Smyrna (Izmir, Turkey) and in May 1936 in Damascus. In 1937, Iran refused to participate in the international Exhibition of Paris for diplomatic reasons.[17] At the Damascus fair, the *Journal de Téhéran* noticed that "the Fine Arts' samples of Isfahan and Shiraz" were exposed parallel to the "latest products from Iran" such as cotton, wool, hides, nuts, soap and perfumes.[18] Consequently, the visibility of Persian art was enhanced alongside the increasing trade activity that characterised the relations between Iran, its neighbours, as well as France and Europe in the interwar period. The success of Persian art in the 1930s in Europe probably stemmed from the fact that it had been consistently associated with the modern productions of the country and with the idea of such know-how.

At the same time, Persian art was propagated, in an even more persuasive manner, as a catalyst for the diplomatic relations with neighbouring countries and with Europe through exhibitions and congresses that were exclusively devoted to Persian art. The London International Exhibition in 1931 dedicated solely to Persian art is a perfect example. This exhibition was followed in 1934 by a similar exhibition at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris on the occasion of Firdawsi's Millennium;[19] in 1935 by a large exhibition of Iranian art in Warsaw with the help of the Polish Society of Iranian Studies;[20] the same year in Leningrad (St. Petersburg) by the Third Congress of Iranian Art and an international exhibition of Persian painting;[21] also in 1935 but in Egypt by another exhibition of Persian art inaugurated by a representative of King Fuad (r. 1917–36);[22] and finally in 1936 in Moscow by an exhibition of

[17] See below for more discussion on the deterioration of Franco-Iranian relations in the second half of the 1930s.

[18] "Le Pavillon de l'Iran à la Foire-Expo de Damas", *Journal de Téhéran*, 289, 24 juin 1936, 1.

[19] For this event, see Pelliot 1933; Contenau 1935; Massé 1934 and Massé 1935.

[20] Stanislas Brzezinski, "Une grande manifestation de la civilisation iranienne en Pologne", *Journal de Téhéran*, 25, 10 mai 1935, 1. For the development of Persian art studies in Poland, see Ginter-Frołow's article in the present volume.

[21] "L'ouverture du IIIème Congrès International des Arts Iraniens", *Journal de Téhéran* 80, 16 sept. 1935, 1.

[22] "L'art et la littérature de l'Iran en Egypte", *Journal de Téhéran*, 9, 3 avril 1935, 1.

children's paintings which obtained a great success.[23] Thus, in the mid 1930s, benefitting from the favourable impact of the International Exhibition of London, the government of Riza Shah has greatly encouraged the multiplication of these events. At that time, Persian art had become a leverage of international recognition for the new dynasty.

As a result, the government of Riza Shah proved to have cleverly orchestrated the export of this new outlook that was shared by the local society with European travellers in Persia/Iran. Inside the country as well as abroad, the idea of a revival of the mythical Persia associated with the arts that were embodied by modern Iran was steadily spread. The reinvention of the ancient land using its fabulous cultural riches served to forge "Persian art": a flexible artistic category which included, in the broad sense, any artefacts from both ancient and contemporary times—particularly those under a veneer of "Persian" cultural authenticity and not necessarily with obvious "Islamic" religious evocations. Objects such as sculptural reliefs, carpets and miniature painting became the cornerstones of Persian art in this new interpretative framework. On the one hand, this strategy was part of a process that we would describe nowadays as advertising, in that Persian art was displayed as a prestigious "brand" simultaneously in the commercial register and at the highest level of international policy. Putting Persian art into circulation in the context of international trade fairs or international artistic exhibitions led to the enhancement of the products displayed and established the brand image of the producing country. On the other hand, with regard to Persian art itself, it was also planned to boost its knowledge internationally and to convey new information about it. Indeed, the export of Persian art and its newfound visibility were accompanied by a scientific discourse. The synchronised dissemination of the latest European and American research results, whether reached by archaeologists, linguists, theologians or historians, thus indirectly contributed to confirming the ideal of an emerging "New Iran." By breaking away with preconceptions associated with the Persia of *One Thousand and One Nights*, the benefit achieved consisted both in consecrating Persian art and in shaping a new public opinion increasingly convinced of the immemorial power of modern Iran.

[23] "Autour de l'exposition de peinture des enfants de l'Iran", *Journal de Téhéran*, 316, 26 juillet 1936, 2.

The French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art: Building and Legitimizing a New Image of Iran

The circulation of Persian art throughout France, Europe or even the United States would not have reached such a scale without the action of a global network of the scholarly community fascinated by this field; such scholars were eager to share their knowledge and to organise various events to promote their research. Thus, Persian art has established its pedigree in France thanks to the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art. This Society reached a significant impact in particular with the help of the Musée Guimet in Paris and the French Association of the Friends of the East (*Association Française des Amis de l'Orient*), which extended at that time the efforts of the researchers. This Society was not the only one in the West during this period to focus specifically on Persian art. Besides the Polish Society of Iranian Studies already named above, another group of researchers converged in New York around Arthur Upham Pope (1881–1969) and established the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology (AIPAA; later renamed the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology and reestablished as the Asia Institute in Shiraz in 1966): founded in 1928, two years before the French Society, this Institute also dedicated its focus on the recognition of Persian art.[24] Pope, the founding director of the AIPAA, made numerous trips to Persia from 1929 to 1939 in order to photograph monuments and archaeological sites, and subsequently exhibited his photographic documentation of Persian architecture all around the world.[25]

As for the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art, it was founded on 18 June 1930 at the Embassy of Persia in Paris. Its main contribution consisted of the dissemination of the recent research on Iran. Regular conferences were scheduled and various exhibitions were organised. A major effort of linking European researchers and Persian students was also noteworthy.

The financial resources and the institutional patronage of the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art were substantial. It is interesting to note that it was respectively financed by the Persian Ministry of Public Instruction—which multiplied its budget sixfold between 1925 and 1935[26]—by the subscriptions of Iranian students studying in France

[24] For the history of the AIPAA, see Gluck and Siver (eds.) 1996, 142-9.
[25] For a detailed study of Pope's architectural survey and his exhibitions of Persian architectural photography, see Kadoi forthcoming.
[26] Grigor 2004, 31.

and by the subscriptions of European researchers. This Society was the instigator of one of the first libraries on Iranian studies and regularly scheduled scholarly lectures on Persian art in partnership with the Musée Guimet in Paris. These lectures were held about once a month at the Musée Guimet thanks to the support of René Grousset (1885–1952), curator at the Musée Guimet and also Vice-President of the Society. In order to increase the scope of these events, a bulletin was published by the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art and reproduced many of these lectures in their entirety. The American Institute for Persian Art also published a regular newsletter, but, in contrast with the French Society, Pope's vision extended into the publication of a six-volume *magnum opus* on the study of Persian art in 1938-39, entitled *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*.[27]

The third General Assembly of the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art took place in Paris in 1933, and the report that was transcribed and published in a bulletin provides thought-provoking information. It refers to, for example, among the activities of the Society, nine lectures which were held at the Musée Guimet between July 1932 and July 1933.[28] These lectures were delivered by a variety of renowned experts in Persian studies, such as Henri Massé (1886–1969), Georges Contenau (1877–1964), Arthur Upham Pope, Emile Benvéniste (1902–1976), Jean Przyluski (1885–1945), Sir Denison Ross (1871–1940), Vladimir Minorsky (1877–1966) and Louis Massignon. An international network of scholars was federated through this Society, making it a space of joint work. The subjects of their lectures were both pre-Islamic and Islamic Persia—Emile Benvéniste gave a talk about ancient languages and literatures of East Turkestan; Arthur Upham Pope detailed the recent archaeological discoveries; and numerous lectures on various topics, such as Persian poetry, Persian holy sites and the roots of Shi'ism, were delivered.[29] The late-mediaeval history of Persia was tackled by a study by Vladimir Minorsky on the relations between Persia, Venice and Turkey in the 15th century.[30] A curator of the Trocadero Ethnographic Museum, Wilhelm Staude (1904–1977), also became the eulogist of "Greater Iran," partial to the Pahlavi dynasty, by giving a talk on the "Iranian roots of the Mughal miniature."[31] Indeed, the nationalist ideology advocated by the new government of Riza Shah tended to consider the neighbouring

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[27] SPA.
[28] Pelliot 1933.
[29] Quoted in Pelliot 1933, 13.
[30] Minorsky 1933.
[31] Quoted in Pelliot 1933, 13.

countries of Persian culture as extensions of Iran, seen as the cradle and the centre of the Persian civilisation.

Given the lectures' themes, it seems that the notion of Persian art included at that time various aspects of Persian culture dating from antiquity to the Safavid dynasty. The category of "Persian Art" was used to describe multi-disciplinary research on very different periods and subjects which had only in common the fact that they were directly or indirectly related to the history and culture of the country. In the same bulletin, devoted to the third General Assembly of the Society, it is stated that its members had even committed themselves for a "militant archaeology,"[32] characterised by openness to various strands of Persian art, including the contemporary artists of Iran.

Thus, in addition to major exhibition projects on Achaemenid or Sasanian Art, contemporary artists from Iran were officially invited by the French Society for the first time in France to present their works of art. An Iranian-Armenian painter, Sarkis Katchadourian (1896–1947), who was previously discovered and recommended by the American Institute for Persian Art in New York, was then solicited to present in Paris the reconstruction he had undertaken of frescoes that were previously in a fragmentary condition inside various Safavid monuments in Isfahan, including the palace of ʻAli Qapu, and the ruins at Ashraf in Mazandaran province. These reconstructed frescoes were shown to the public at the Musée Guimet in 1932 and at the Georges Petit Gallery in Paris in March 1934.[33] The artist also exhibited his personal work in Tehran and then in Paris in May 1935 when he presented paintings on the theme "Isfahan and its roses" in a Gallery of the Faubourg Saint Honoré.[34] These exhibitions organised in conjunction with the American Institute for Persian Art in New York show the sense of intimacy that existed at that time between the different western societies dedicated to Persian art. It is also important to note that the Armenians were in a position of interface in Iranian society: foreigners had frequent contact with Armenians in Iran. Indeed, the Armenians, often merchants of art, represented key links of the art market in Persia since the 19th century until the middle of the 20th century.[35] They mostly played the role of the broker (*dallal* in Persian) between Persian diggers and foreign collectors or antique dealers.

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[32] Pelliot 1933, 6.
[33] Esther Van Loo, "Fresques iraniennes reconstituées par Sarkis Katchadourian", *Journal de Téhéran*, 14/15, 15 avril 1935/17 avril 1935, 1. See also Katchadourian 1934.
[34] "Une exposition d'art iranien à Paris", *Journal de Téhéran*, 45, 26 juin 1935, 2.
[35] Nasiri-Moghaddam 2004, 265.

The French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art also contributed to the recognition of the disciples of the last court painter, Kamal al-Mulk (1847–1940), who founded the first School of Fine Arts in Iran in 1911 and introduced the practice of academic painting. Between 1933 and 1935, Hasan ʻAli Vaziri (c. 1889–1954) toured the United States, London, Paris and Berlin. At the instigation of the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art, the exhibition he made in July 1935 at the Ecalle Gallery in Paris was, according to the French newspaper *La Nouvelle Dépêche*, an extract of which is quoted by the *Journal de Téhéran*, the opportunity for Parisians to honour the "renovated Persia."[36] And in Berlin, an exhibition of his academic paintings was held in September 1935 at the Nierdof Gallery.[37]

In the context of these cultural exchanges, miniaturists were not outdone. In August 1935, Husayn Bihzad (Hossein Behzad; 1894–1968) was also in France as part of an international tour devoted, according to the *Journal de Téhéran*, to the "renovation of the Iranian art."[38] In an interview which took place in Paris, Husayn Bihzad specifically mentioned "the benefits of a connection of Iranian painting with the painting of foreign countries."[39] His trip throughout Europe and the views expressed on the spot by Bihzad probably explain why the painter initiated on his return a radical change in the field of miniature. Appointed Professor of miniature painting at the School of Ancient Arts in Tehran, Bihzad diametrically changed in the late 1930s the practice of painting in the country. Under his leadership, many miniaturists turned away from the style of Riza ʻAbbasi (c. 1565/70–1635) that they were practicing in a neo-Safavid idiom, to produce a new type of "miniature" emancipated from the formal structure, the traditional media and from some aesthetic conventions of the former style. Imaginative, these new paintings have merged the ancestral fine line with some visual principles of European realism. Therefore, partly in response to the vogue of Persian art that occurred in Europe in the 1930s and that he had witnessed, Husayn Bihzad probably gave birth to a new artistic movement called today "new miniature" (*nigargari-ye jadid*).

Consequently, the 1930s constituted an intense period of artistic and scientific exchange with the idea of "renovation" as a focal point in order

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[36] "L'art iranien à Paris", *Journal de Téhéran*, 58, 28 juillet 1935, 2.
[37] "L'art artistique iranien à l'étranger", *Journal de Téhéran*, 101, 3 novembre 1935, 1.
[38] For further discussion on the career of Hosein Behzad, see Diba 1990; Bombardier 2012.
[39] "Monsieur Hosein Behzad", *Journal de Téhéran*, 71, 26 août 1935, 2.

to build the New Iran. France and more generally Europe were assiduous in following the waves preluding the birth of a modern Iran and, in line with the curiosity aroused by Persian art and its transformations, began focusing on the contemporary artists of this country, including restorers, academic painters or miniaturists. The enthusiastic reception that was bestowed upon these artists in the European press denotes the interest of Europe in any artistic emanation from Persia. Well before the pioneers of new painting who emerged on the Iranian art scene in the late 1940s and most often extended their studies at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts of Paris, it is noticeable that Iranian artists had already regularly travelled between Iran and France beginning the 1930s. At the invitation of the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art, these journeys and the contact with a foreign audience whose awareness of Persian art had been increased, influenced in reciprocation the artistic representations particular to Iranian artists themselves. It is in this way that Husayn Bihzad brought important changes to miniature painting upon his return to Iran, bringing the heart of the aesthetic heritage of the country to renovation. In the context of contemporary artistic creation, the traditional image-illustration parted then with the Persian manuscript and was invested with new secularist political and social customs.

The International Spread of the Iranian Society for National Heritage

Founded in Tehran in 1922, the Society for National Heritage—which perpetuated under the guise of its cultural mission despite the dissolution of all political parties and groups ordered by Riza Shah in 1927—was first and foremost aimed at preserving, protecting and promoting the country's national heritage. Its effort was primarily directed towards the construction of modern mausoleums commemorating well-known figures who shaped Iran's history. Thus, the elevation of Firdawsi's tomb was made a reality in 1934, and another tomb was built by Maxime Siroux (1907–1975) for the poet Hafiz in Shiraz in 1938.[40] Many other mausoleums followed. Some well-aimed founding members of the Society for National Heritage, such as the Court Minister Abd al-Husayn Teymurtash (1883–1933), one of the Prime Ministers of Riza Shah, Muhammad ʻAli Furughi (Foroughi, 1877–1942), or ʻAli Asghar Hikmat (Hekmatt, 1892–1980), Minister of

[40] Grigor 2009, 29-30. The tomb of Firdawsi was designed by Godard; that of Hafiz by fellow-Frenchman Siroux. As one of Siroux's scholarly contributions, see Siroux. 1949.

the Public Instruction, desired to operate a radical change. The antiques had to be demolished to allow for the advent of modernity and to "re-cultivate good taste."[41]

The production of a nationalist political discourse with Persian art as catcher angle was inspired in part in these elites by a series of lectures conducted by Arthur Upham Pope in Tehran in 1925.[42] Organised in front of Riza Shah by Husayn 'Ala' (Hossein Ala; 1882–1964), Iranian Ambassador to the United States, these lectures specifically focused on "The Past and the Future of Persian Art."[43] In fact, under the guise of a history of Persian arts and crafts, the implicit content of the speech was political. Indeed, from the first paragraph, the names of the founders of the Achaemenid and Sasanian dynasties, Cyrus II (c. 550 BC – 530 BC) and Ardashir I (c. 224 AD – 241), were cited by Pope as "pure" Persian heroes, having given birth to the Iranian nation. According to Talinn Grigor, it is clear that these historical periods were selected to serve a certain vision of history, shared by the modernist elites supporting the founding of the Pahlavi dynasty.[44] Thus, in his lectures, Pope began by glorifying the history of Persia, its historical figures and the spirit of the nation. Then he listed the brilliant historical phases of Persian art and their influence on other civilisations. He concluded that "above all, Persia is well-known for its bright decorative arts." Following these assessments, he conversely claimed that the industrial and technical inventions "often increase power at the expense of happiness and become a cause of jealousy...."[45] Putting emphasis on the value of Persian art and ornamentation was a hallmark of the Orientalist tradition which, at the time, considered decorative art as the domain of Eastern civilisation while technology and science were more representative of the western world.

In 1930 the Persian ambassador posted to Paris was Husayn 'Ala', who was not only an audience and organiser of Pope's lectures in Tehran but also a loyal and influential member of the Society for National Heritage. In the headquarters of the Persian Embassy in Paris, it was he who acted as the instigator of the founding of the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art.[46] According to the report of the third General Assembly of the Society, he was going to establish also direct relations with the Society for

[41] Grigor 2004, 17.
[42] Grigor 2004, 36.
[43] For this lecture, see Gluck and Siver (eds.) 1996, 93-110.
[44] Grigor 2004, 36.
[45] Grigor 2004, 36-37.
[46] Contenau 1931.

National Heritage in Iran.[47] The aims of these two societies, as highlighted above, were the same: firstly, to deepen the knowledge of Persian civilisation, its archaeological remains, its artwork or its history in general; secondly, to disseminate this knowledge so as to raise public awareness of these discoveries and thirdly, to strengthen the renewed image of Iran.

At this stage, the Society for National Heritage which counted among its members politically influential and determined figures, appears as a key factor of the historical context favourable to the academic vogue of Persian art in France in the 1930s. The Society for National Heritage, influential in Iran, succeeded in exporting its objectives and extending its activities abroad through similar societies, such as the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art. Catalysed by the Society for National Heritage and under the guise of Persian art, the all-out effort to win public support for the recognition of modern Iran was thus orchestrated both inside Iran and abroad.

Conclusion

At a time when communications were more limited than today, the image that the public had of a foreign country was either promoted by ideas inherited from the previous generation, or communicated by the nationals of the country in question, or reported by travellers and journalists. In the 1930s, according to the government of the new Pahlavi dynasty and foreign travellers, the perception of Iran in the West had become obsolete and no longer matched the reality. Since its name had changed in 1935 on the international scene, Iran should no longer be regarded as the ancient Persia which had so much attracted the romantics. In the logic of the new system of values put forward by the Pahlavi dynasty, it was necessary to distinguish the past from the present and mostly to highlight a promising future without losing the benefit of a prestigious history. In order to create a new public opinion, the government of Riza Shah Pahlavi not only founded the Society for National Heritage (*Anjuman-e Asar-e Milli*) in 1922, but also gave greater visibility to the legacy of Persian civilisation and cleverly attracted and supported the western experts on "Persian art"—a generic term which encompasses any aspect of Persian visual and material culture from antiquity to the end of the Safavid dynasty in the 18th century. Therefore, it was the western researchers, reporting either the results of their findings or their personal experience in the field, who transferred a new image of Iran and directly conditioned public opinion.

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[47] Pelliot 1933, 16.

As shown above, a network of international cultural societies structured on the model of the Society for National Heritage was encouraged by the new Iranian government in order to bring these researchers together and influence their comments so as to promote the new image of the country and indirectly to legitimise the new dynasty. The scientific societies founded in the 1930s, such as the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art in Paris or the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology in New York, maintained direct links with the Society for National Heritage based in Iran. An active member of the Iranian Society, Husayn 'Ala', was the architect of the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art, which was largely funded by the Iranian Ministry of Public Instruction. This Ministry was headed at the time by 'Ali Asghar Hikmat, himself a founding member of the Iranian Society for National Heritage. Thus, powerful in Iran, the Society for National Heritage also reached an international scope and had influence through these satellite-societies on the relations between Iran and the rest of the world. Indeed, these satellite-societies contributed to the promotion of the dissemination of knowledge and the circulation of artwork and artists, participating in the transformation of the country's image. Some contemporary Iranian artists were even invited for the first time to show their work to the European public and returned to Iran by bringing major artistic evolutions.

But in November 1936, an article unfavourable to Iran was published in the *Revue de France* in the form of a travel diary. In the troubled context preceding World War II, this article and others that followed weakened the relations between Iran and France and had an influence on the future of the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art.[48] This scandal sealed the end of the merging of Persian art with politics and led to the recall of the Iranian ambassador posted to Paris. Riza Shah also recalled all the Iranian students staying in France and broke many contracts binding his country to French firms. It was at this time that the French Society for Iranian Studies and Persian Art ceased the publication of its bulletins. However, despite the complete rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1938, Iranian studies have continued to develop in France, from then on regardless of the intervention of the Iranian government but most likely in the furrows that the Iranian Society for National Heritage had ploughed since 1930. Thus, new research centres emerged in the French academic system. In 1939, a research centre of Iranian studies was created under the umbrella of the

[48] Habibi 2004, 367.

University of Paris by André Honnorat and Louis Massignon.[49] In 1945, the Society of Iranology was founded under the aegis of Ibrahim Pur-e Davud (Pour-e Davoud; 1885–1968) and Henry Corbin (1903–1978).[50]

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[49] "Un centre d'études iraniennes à l'Université de Paris", *Journal de Téhéran*, 1236, 23 août 1939, 2.

[50] Corbin 1946, 439-42.

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Journal de Tehran

Le N° 50 Dinars

UNE DATE GLORIEUSE

Ce numéro paraît le jour où la nation entière fête l'anniversaire de naissance de Sa Majesté Impériale le Chahinchah et où l'acte du mariage de Son Altesse Impériale le Prince Héritier de l'Iran avec Son Altesse la Princesse Fowzieh sera signé au Caire.

Nous sommes donc heureux de présenter nos plus sincères félicitations à tous nos compatriotes aussi bien qu'à nos amis égyptiens et de souhaiter bien des jours de bonheur aux deux nations unies pour toujours.

Heureux anniversaire

Le 24 Esfand

... et R. Scott (parlant anglais)

Fig. 3.6 "Une date glorieuse," *Journal de Téhéran*, N°1104, 15 March 1939, 1. Riza Shah Pahlavi Birthday issue and fourth anniversary edition of the *Journal de Téhéran.*

PHILIPP WALTER SCHULZ AND FRIEDRICH SARRE: TWO GERMAN PIONEERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN ART STUDIES

JOACHIM GIERLICHS

Both Philipp Walter Schulz (1864–1920) and Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945) belong to the first generation of scholars who focused on a subject later called Islamic art history. Sarre is widely known for his travels, collection, publications, as well as his career as the first director of the Islamic Department (*Islamische Abteilung*) of the Imperial Museums in Berlin (now the Museum of Islamic Art) from 1905 until 1931, thus being acknowledged by many scholars as the founder of the study of Islamic art and architecture in the German-speaking countries. On the other hand, the achievements and contributions of Philipp Walter Schulz are only aware of a few specialists in the field of Islamic art history.[1]

Vitae—Friedrich Sarre

Friedrich Sarre (Fig. 3.7) was born in Berlin in 1865. His family—being Huguenots (members of the Reformed Church of France during the 16th and 17th centuries)—came from France in the 18th century to Brandenburg, where they were offered privileges by Emperor Frederick the Great (1712–1786). Sarre studied art history with the famous Anton Springer (1825–1891) in Leipzig, where he received a Ph.D. in 1890 with the study of the terracotta sculpture of the royal court of Weimar ("Terrakottaplastik des Fürstenhofes zu Weimar"). Since it was not possible during this time to study the history of Islamic art, a subject which had not even developed, all those who later worked in this field,

[1] For providing all kind of information, whether published or unpublished, I would like to thank Jens Kröger, the former deputy director of the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin.

including architecture and archaeology, came either from the European art history background or had been trained as archaeologists or architects.

Immediately after the completion of his doctoral study, Sarre worked at the Museum of Applied Arts (*Kunstgewerbemuseum*) in Berlin under Julius Lessing (1843–1908), the first director of the museum. He then moved to the Museum of Paintings and Sculptures, where he met Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929), who later became the general director of the Royal Museums of Berlin, in 1892. The encounter of these two personalities was crucial for the emergence as well as sudden development of Islamic art studies not only in the German-speaking countries but also in Europe.[2]

From 1895 onwards, Sarre undertook six large journeys to Anatolia, the Caucasus, Persia, Central Asia (Turkestan) and later to Syria and Mesopotamia.

In 1905 he became the first director of the Islamic Department of the Royal Museums of Prussia that had been founded the year before.[3] The initiative to set up a collection as well as to create a museum of Islamic art in Berlin was the acquisition of the decorated front part of the so-called desert castle of Mshatta (c. 743–44) in present-day Jordan, which belonged to the Ottoman Empire at that time. The monument was highly endangered to be used as the quarry for the new Hijaz railway built by the empire from 1900 to 1908. In 1902 Josef Strzygowski (1865–1941), a professor of art history from Graz, Austria, who is regarded as one of the most influential figures in the formation of Islamic art history as a scholarly discipline, had showed photographs of the Mshatta façade to Wilhelm Bode. With the support of Richard Schöne (1844–1921), the then general director of the Royal Museums, Bode was able to attract the interest of Emperor Wilhelm II (1859–1941) who received the dismantled reliefs only a few months later as a gift of the Ottoman sultan Abdül Hamid II (1842–1918).[4]

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[2] Bit by bit can be retrieved from various obituaries and articles published on occasion of Sarre's 100th birthday by a number of art historians, including Samuel Guyer, Ernst Herzfeld, Richard Ettinghausen, Ernst Kühnel, Franz Babinger, Heinz Demisch and Ludwig Riedemeister. For a comprehensive overview on Friedrich Sarre, see Kröger 2004, 32-55, especially 33-40.

[3] The museum changed its name several times during the last 100 years; finally it became known as Museum of Islamic Art, which is part of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (SMB).

[4] For a detailed acquisition history of the Mshatta façade, see Enderlein 1987, which corrects some repeated mistakes regarding the discovery of the façade and the role of some scholars (e.g. the photographs used by Strzygowski were in fact taken by Rudolf-Ernst Brünnow [1858–1917] in 1897-98, who prepared a publication of the site).

When the Islamic Department opened on the 18th of October in 1904 in the *Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum* (later named the *Bode-Museum*), the reconstructed Mshatta façade, as well as twenty-one Oriental carpets collected by Bode since the 1880s that were given as a present to the museum on this occasion, were substantially enlarged by Sarre's private collection of Islamic art objects acquired mainly in Turkey and Persia during his travels in the 1890s.

Friedrich Sarre served as the director from 1905 until 1931, although until 1921 he was not on the payroll of the Royal Museums. This status gave him a great flexibility to continue to collect objects on a large scale. Having been taken into state service in 1921, Sarre donated some 750 objects—many of which had already been on display for more than a decade—to the museum that laid the foundation of its Islamic art collection.[5]

In 1910, together with the Swedish diplomat, collector and dealer Fredrik Robert Martin (1868–1933), Sarre organised the first grand-scale exhibition on Islamic art in Germany—*Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst* in Munich in 1910—where more than 3000 objects from the Islamic world were displayed; the scale of this show still surpass any other exhibitions of this kind.[6]

On occasion of his sixtieth birthday, Sarre received a Festschrift, to which many leading scholars of the time made contributions on various topics of Islamic art and architecture, from Spain to India. [7] Thanks to the donations of some wealthy members of the society, mainly merchants and bankers, the Islamic Department was able to make some important acquisitions, such as the Sasanian hunting bowl (I. 4925) and the anthology of the Timurid prince Baysunqur (1397–1433; I. 4628). His well-established social network also led to the acquisition of the Holbein

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[5] See Kröger 2004, 40-41, which suggests a slightly different number of objects (683).

[6] A three-volume set has been published in 1912 as Friedrich Sarre and Fredrik Robert Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München* (Munich, 1912). For this exhibition, see Shalem and Lermer (eds.) 2010 and Troelenberg's article in the current volume.

[7] The contributors include: Ernst Diez, Samuel Flury, Josef Strzygowski, Ernst Cohn-Wiener, Heinrich Glück, Franz Taeschner, Armenag Sakisian, Hermann Goetz, Hans Stöcklein, Arthur Upham Pope, Rudolf M. Riefstahl, Ernst Kühnel, H. Gallois, Leo A. Mayer, Franz Babinger, Johannes Heinrich Mordtmann and Oskar Reuther.

carpet (I. 5526) that was funded by the banker Jacob Goldschmidt (1882–1955) in 1928.[8]

After his retirement in 1931, Ernst Kühnel (1882–1964) succeeded the directorship of the Islamic Department, but Sarre continued to work in the field of Islamic art and architecture. In 1936, for instance, he published *Der Kiosk von Konya*—a study on the palace of the Rum-Saljuqs in Konya; this remains the main source of this building.[9] His villa in Babelsberg near Potsdam (today part of that city) was a well-known centre of the wealthy and scholarly circles, where he kept his private collection as well as his huge and systematically structured scholarly library on Islamic art history. While most of the collection had been transferred to southern Germany and later to Switzerland in the first few years of World War II (1939–41) and therefore survived the war, his library as well as his archives (including his travel diaries) were destroyed when the property had been looted by the Russian army in May 1945. Sarre—nearby 80 years old at the time—died only a few days later by a heart attack.[10]

Vitae—Philipp Walter Schulz

Philipp Walter Schulz was born in Leipzig in 1864 as one of four children (see a photograph of Schulz with his three brothers; Fig. 3.8) into a wealthy family. His father was a merchant and banker and at the time served as the Swedish and Norwegian consul. In 1877, he moved from a college in Leipzig to the renowned monastery school (*Klosterschule*) at Ilfeld in central Germany, from where many famous scholars, such as Georg Friedrich Grotefend (1775–1853), the epigrapher with the expertise of the cuneiform inscriptions of Persia, had graduated.

In 1891 he received a Ph. D. in law from the University of Leipzig. But immediately after this doctorate, he began to study Persian in Berlin at the Seminar of Oriental Languages. His teachers included a certain Dschami Chan Ghori and later a certain Ardeschir Vacha.[11] At the same time he

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[8] Goldschmidt belonged to a group of Jewish Germans who collected Islamic objects as well as sponsored the acquisition of Islamic objects for the museum in one way or the other. See Kröger 2004, 40-42, fig. 23.

[9] A slightly amended version in Turkish has been re-published by Şahabettin Uzluk as *Friedrich Sarre: Konya Köskü* (Ankara, 1967).

[10] Sarre died on the 31st of May 1945, and his villa was occupied on the 6th of June in 1945 on the occasion of the preparations of the Potsdam conference. See Kröger 2009, 121.

[11] No biographical records on Ghori and Vacha is available at the time of writing this article.

enrolled in tropical medicine. In the winter semester of 1893-94 and the summer semester of 1894, he also studied Arabic (focusing on the Syrian dialect) with Martin Hartmann (1851–1918) and Bernhard Moritz (1859–1939), both of who were established scholars in the field of Oriental studies. It is interesting to mention that Sarre had enrolled in Turkish language at the same seminar during the winter semester of 1894-95. It seems plausible that both men met personally during this time, as their contact is proved by some remaining letters sent from Schulz to Sarre.[12]

Schulz himself explains in a letter written in 1901 to the Museum of Ethnography (*Völkerkundemuseum*; part of the Grassi Museum) in Leipzig why he had studied Oriental languages: the reason was to be well prepared for his travel to Persia ("weshalb er "mehrere Jahre zuerst auf dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen in Berlin, später privat bei einem Lehrer desselben und in Constantinople studiert hatte").[13]

His first teacher Ghori went back to Istanbul where he used to live, due to the difficulty of prolonging his contact at the Seminar of Oriental Languages. What is clear is that Schulz followed him and must have stayed in the city for a while, although little information is available regarding Schulz's private life during this period.

In the autumn of 1897, Schulz set off for his long and well planned journey to Persia, where he stayed for two years. He has been photographed in front of his house in Isfahan, which he might have rented (Fig. 3.9). When he returned to his home town Leipzig in 1899, he owned a wide ranged collection of pre-Islamic and Islamic objects with both art-historical and ethnographical emphasis. He had planned to set off for a second expedition to Persia and India in 1901, but this travel could not be realised most probably due to his on-going health problems.

His collection was on display at the Museum of Applied Arts (*Kunstgewerbemuseum*; part of the Grassi Museum) in Leipzig in the spring of 1900, and this event was featured in two newspaper articles.[14] After the show, many of the exhibits stayed in the Grassi Museum either as donation or on long-term loan. During the rest of his life, Schulz kept a close contact with the museum, and especially with the director Richard Graul (1862–1944), who was an active figure in museum studies in early 20th-century Germany.

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[12] The best source for the biography of Schulz is found in Neumann 2000A, and more recently Neumann 2012 with some new information. I would like to thank Reingard Neumann for providing an offprint of the article.
[13] See Neumann 2000 A, 16.
[14] Leipziger Tageblatt, 25 February1900; Illustrierte Zeitung, 22 March, 1900 (see Neumann 2000A, 18).

Schulz was a man of wide ranged interests: he wrote a theatre poem called *The Shah and The Dancer* (“Der Schah und die Tänzerin”) (c. 1900-2), and in 1903 he translated the travelogue of Ibrahim Beg (“Reisebeschreibung des Ibrahim Beg”) by Zayn al-‘Abidin (1839–1910), one of the earliest modern Persian novels, into German.[15] This demonstrates his command of Persian as well as his literary skills.

In 1900 Schulz, then unmarried and without children, moved from Leipzig to Berlin, where he stayed in several flats in Berlin-Schöneberg. He was mentioned in the Berlin address book as “Privatgelehrter” (i.e. independent scholar), indicating his financial independence owing to his wealthy family background. After many years of health problems, he died— only fifty-five years old—on the 2nd of February in 1920.

Sarre and Schulz—Journeys though Persia and Beyond

Both men explored the Islamic world at the end of the 19th century, when travelling by train, ship and on horseback has been an exhausting and time consuming adventure.

Sarre’s first journey in 1895 led him to Anatolia, then part of the Ottoman Empire.[16] He prepared himself well for his first expedition: in the winter semester of 1894-5, he studied Turkish at the Seminar of Oriental Languages in Berlin. He also paid much attention to professional photographic equipment, which included two cameras, a portable darkroom (“Dunkelkammer in Schirmform”) as well a special prepared box for the safe transport of the large (24 x 30 cm) glass negatives, some hundreds of which survived and still belong to the photographic archive of the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin.[17]

This very successful journey led him to more and longer expeditions to Persia and Central Asia and yet another travel to Anatolia between 1897 and 1900, and a final expedition with Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948) to Syria and Mesopotamia in 1907-8.[18]

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[15] For the original work and its author, see Richard 2002.

[16] His journey has been published only one year later as Friedrich Sarre and O. Geerke, *Reise in Kleinasien - Sommer 1895* (Berlin, 1896)(see Sarre and Geerke 1896). I am grateful to Oya Pancaroğlu, who sent me a draft of her article on Friedrich Sarre’s *Kleinasiatische Reise* in October 2010 (published as Pancaroğlu 2011), for a fruitful discussion of some details regarding the biography of Friedrich Sarre.

[17] See Kröger 1995.

[18] For Sarre and Herzfeld, see Kröger 2005.

The list below is a summary of his travels. Two of his expeditions were devoted to Persia (nos. 2 and 5), while the third one (no. 3) led him to the Caucasus and parts of Central Asia:[19]

1. Travel to Anatolia or Asia Minor (8 June – 24 July 1895, together with the British physician A. Osborne [n. d.])[20]

Smyrna (Izmir) – Alaşehir – Ak Han – Çay – Ishaklı – Akşehir – Ilgün – Konya – Obruk Han – Sultan Han – Aksaray – Sultan Han – Konya – Beyşehir – Eğirdir – Isparta – Dinar – Smyrna

2. Travel to West Iran and Mesopotamia (11 September 1897 – 11 April 1898, together with the architect Bruno Schulz [1865–1932])

Constantinople – Samsun – Ordu – Trabzon – Batumi – Tbilisi – Nakhchivan – Tabriz – Ardabil – Zanjan – Qazvin – Tehran – Qum – Kirmanshah – Baghdad – along the Euphrates – through the Syrian desert (Tadmor – Palmyra) – Damascus – Beirut

3. Travel to the Caucasus and Russian Central Asia (5 May – 10 June 1898)

While Bruno Schulz went back to Germany, Friedrich Sarre started again from Constantinople – Batumi – Tbilisi – Ganja – Baku – Krasnovodsk – ‘Ishqabad (Ashgabat) – Marv – Bukhara – Samarqand

4. Travel to Asia Minor (1899; with Georg Krecker [b. 1863])[21]

Constantinople – Akşehir – Konya – Karaman

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[19] Central Asia was called Turkestan, part of the Russian Empire since the 1860s. The monuments of these areas were included in his *Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst* as well as *Konia: Seldschukische Baudenkmäler*. I owe some information regarding Sarre’s travel itineraries to Jens Kröger, to whom I acknowledge for his support.

[20] Alfred Osborne was then the Director of the European Ophthalmology Clinic in Alexandria, Egypt (Sarre and Geerke 1896, V).

[21] Krecker studied architecture at the Technische Hochschule, Charlottenburg (TU [Technische Universität], Berlin) from 1892 to 1896. He later worked in the field of monument preservation. I thank Martin Gussone, TU Berlin, for finding this information.

5. Travel to Persia (1899–1900)

Constantinople (?) – Tbilisi – Baku – Rasht – Tehran – Amul – Sari – Ashraf – Astarabad – Shahrud – Simnan – Varamin – Tehran – Qum – Kashan – Isfahan – Ruins of Persepolis – Shiraz – Kazarun – Bushehr – Bandar ʻAbbas – and from there on the sea to Muscat (Oman) – Bombay – Suez – Cairo – Alexandria – Constantinople, and back to Berlin

6. Travel to Mesopotamia (16 October 1907 – mid-January 1908; so-called "Euphrates-Tigris expedition" together with Ernst Herzfeld).

Constantinople – Anatolia – Aleppo – Rusafa – Raqqa – Dayr al-Zawr – Sinjar – Al-Khan – Mosul – Samarra – Baghdad – Ctesiphon – Bushehr – Bombay – Cairo – Constantinople[22]

The scholarly output of his Persian expeditions has been well documented in the folio-seize volume of Persian monuments, *Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst*.[23]

Philipp Walter Schulz set off for his long and well-planned trip to Persia in the autumn of 1897. He travelled from Odessa first to the Crimean Peninsula and the Caucasus and then from Baku by ship to Anzali on the Caspian shore where he entered Persian territory. On horseback he crossed the high gate ("Hochpaß") of Karsan to Qazvin, from where a horse drive ("Wagenfahrt") brought him to Tehran where he had to stay in the European quarter. From his detailed travelogue added to a letter written to the Museum of Ethnography at Leipzig on 28th of August in 1901 on occasion of a donation to the museum, we learn that he did not like the Qajar capital. His aim was to collect Islamic artefacts, but the "Halbcivilisation [*sic*] der persischen Hauptstadt ist für den Sammler und Ethnographen nicht sehr günstig, zumal er im europäischen Viertel leben muß."[24]

After six months he travelled via Qazvin and Ardabil to Tabriz often on small tracks through the mountains. At Tabriz, the capital of the Turkish speaking area in Persia, he faced a hunger revolt that caused troubles for all foreigners, especially regarding their freedom to move around. Due to these problems, the official meeting together with two other scholars (Carl Ferdinand Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt [1861–1938] and Waldemar Belck [n. d.]) at the court of the crown prince had been

[22] For more details, see Kröger 2006.
[23] For this volume, see the following discussion under publications.
[24] For Schulz's Persian expedition, see Neumann 2000A, 16; Stein (ed.) 2000, 112.

cancelled.[25] When he tried to visit the Blue Mosque of Tabriz, his servants were threatened, and stones were thrown on them.

He continued his trip with his own horses and his own caravan surrounding Lake Urmia to the town of Sunjbulaq, where he entered Kurdish territory. From Saqqiz in the south, he visited Takht-i Sulayman with its magnificent Sasanian and antique ruins, although he did not mention the Mongol Ilkhanid remains.[26] He then crossed Kurdistan via Sikhna to Kirmanshah, the capital of that province, and visited Persepolis, Taq-i Bustan, and Bisutun among others on his way to Hamadan. From there—after a few days in the carpet city of Sultanabad (today called Arak), where the Anglo-Swiss firm Ziegler & Co. was based—he went to Qum, the Holy city in the salt desert.

The next stop was Kashan, famous for the *kashi* (ceramics and tiles), as well as for its bazaar and its textile production. Via Kuhrud, a garden city with many water reservoirs—called "qanat" in Persian—he finally reached Isfahan, the former Safavid capital. Here, Schulz stayed for seven months and found many of the objects which formed his collection. On one of the very few surviving photographs (Fig. 3.9), he is shown in front of his house together most probably with his Persian servants.[27]

Sarre and Schulz—The Formation of Art Collections

Both Philipp Walter Schulz and Friedrich Sarre were important art collectors, whose collections partly survived as part of public collections, mainly in Leipzig and Berlin. The following discussion is an overview regarding the range, quality and amount of these collections.[28]

Both personalities started collecting Islamic objects at the same time—namely at the end of the 19th century, mainly through their travels. In spite

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[25] Lehmann-Haupt and Belck undertook an expedition via Tabriz to Van in East Turkey in 1898-99. See Lehmann 1910.

[26] "unternahm ich einen Abstecher nach Takht-i Sulayman mit seinen großartigen sassanidischen und antiken Ruinen, heißen Quellen und Versinterungen" (quoted in Stein [ed.] 2000, 113).

[27] Stein (ed.) 2000, 67.

[28] The reconstruction of Friedrich Sarre's collection of Islamic art is the topic of an ongoing research project by the author. For some interim results, see my paper given at the 2nd Biennale Symposium of the Historians of Islamic Art Association (HIAA) at the Freer and Sackler Galleries in Washington in October 2010. This paper is not included in the symposium proceedings but will be eventually published separately elsewhere.

of these similarities, there are some differences that reflect their art collections.

While Sarre had an academic background of European art history and has been trained in the two important museums in Berlin before he began to build up his own private collections, Schulz studied law and then moved into an entirely new field. On the other hand, he had grown up in a family with close connections to the Museum of Applied Arts in Leipzig. His father, mother and brothers are known as members and donors of this institution.

Sarre seems to have bought his first Islamic objects during his expeditions to Anatolia, the Caucasus, Persia and Central Asia from 1895 to 1900. The next acquisitions were made through Paris—the centre of the Islamic art market at that time. He also collected Islamic art during his journey with Herzfeld to Syria and Mesopotamia in 1907-08.

In 1899 his collection (or major parts of it) was for the first time on public display at the Martin-Gropius-Bau in Berlin (Fig. 3.10), which was then used for the Museum of Applied Arts in Berlin.[29] Only a few years later, he took part in the 1903 exhibition of Islamic art (*Exposition des Arts Musulmans*) in Paris, where some of his objects were included, for instance the metal jug (I. 3556) acquired in Tbilisi in 1897, which is currently dated to the post-Sasanian period (7th-8th centuries AD).[30]

In the Munich exhibition of Islamic art in 1910, which was organised by Martin and Sarre, many objects from the Sarre collection were exhibited. Some came from the Islamic department in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, where they were on long term loan since 1904, others from his private collection.

Sarre collected Islamic art on a wide scale, including all materials, periods and regions, but his collection was especially strong in medieval metalwork. In 1906 he published his metalwork collection in a monograph (*Islamische Metallarbeiten* [Islamic metalwork]), including many pieces from Persia, e.g. candlesticks, bowls and weapons among others.[31] When the Islamic Department in Berlin was opened in 1904, a large part of his private collection was on display. In 1922 after Sarre had become a paid director, he donated those objects to the museum.[32] Sarre continued to collect and kept important objects, mainly manuscripts, as his private collection. After his retirement in 1931 his private collection was shown again in Frankfurt in 1932, accompanied by a catalogue with only very

[29] Berlin 1899.
[30] Paris 1903, no. 64.
[31] Sarre 1906.
[32] See note 5.

few black-and-white illustrations due to the financial crisis in Europe and especially in Germany.[33]

After his death in 1945 and the loss of the villa in Neubabelsberg, his widow Maria Sarre-Humann (1875–1971) had to sell many objects from the Sarre collection, which had been transferred to South Germany and Switzerland during the first years of World War II, so as to be able to make a comfortable living in Switzerland. Among these objects is, for example, the so-called "Sarre Qazvini,"[34] which has been in the United States since the 1950s, currently dispersed among the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington DC and the New York Public Library in New York.[35] The Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin was fortunately able to purchase the remaining part of the Sarre collection—and this was a great success of Klaus Brisch (1923–2001), the director of the museum in the 1980s.[36]

The collections of Philipp Walter Schulz are directly linked to the two museums of his home town Leipzig—the Museum of Applied Arts and the Museum of Ethnography. Both institutions, part of the Grassi Museum, received major donations during his lifetime or from the heirs of Philipp Walter Schulz.[37] Although his collection remained invisible after his death, it was finally during the first decade of the 21st century that the collection began to be featured and became incorporated into the permanent display of Asian art at the Grassi Museum of Applied Arts (now named *Angewandte Kunst*) in Leipzig.[38]

Schulz started collecting objects during his travel through Persia in 1897, mainly in the cities of Isfahan and Shiraz. In Tehran, where he had to stay for a while, he found the situation not very convenient.[39]

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[33] Sarre 1932.

[34] While the manuscript has been attributed to the late 14th- or early 15th-century Iraq or South-East Turkey (Diyarbakır) by Julie Badiee (Badiee 1984), Barbara Schmitz (Schmitz 1992, 7-13, no. I.1) has argued that it is a 17th-century copy of a 14th- to 15th-century manuscript.

[35] "The folios of the manuscript in the Freer Gallery include numbers 54.33 through 54.114, and 57.13. The folios in the New York Public Library are in the Spencer Collection (Ms. 45). The manuscript was purchased at the beginning of this century [i.e. 20th century] in Algiers by Friedrich Sarre and was divided and sold in 1954" (Badiee 1984, 104, note 4). "The Spencer portion was purchased from Mrs. Friedrich Sarre in 1962" (Schmitz 1992, 8).

[36] See e.g. the page from the 16th-century copy of the *Gulistan* of Sa'di from Shiraz, Iran (I. 1986.104v).

[37] For his collection, see Neumann 2000B.

[38] Leipzig 2009, 108-91, which includes many examples from the Schulz collection of Persian art.

[39] See above his comment about that city.

Immediately after his return from Persia, his collections were on display at the Museum of Applied Arts in Leipzig as well as the Museum of Ethnography in Leipzig in the spring of 1900 (Fig. 3.11).[40] The public was informed about these events through the two newspaper articles.[41] In 1907 a part of his manuscript collection was on display, again at the Museum of Applied Arts in Leipzig, when Schulz informed Sarre in a letter: "Dieser Tage schicke ich einen Teil meiner Ms.sammlung an das Leipziger Kunstgewerbemuseum …."[42]

Most of the ethnographical objects, which had been on display as long-term loans since 1900 in the Museum of Ethnography in Leipzig, were donated by him in 1901, while the art-historical items, which had been displayed also since 1900 in the Museum of Applied Arts in Leipzig, were permanently given by Schulz to this museum in 1907.

In 1910 Schulz lent manuscripts or single illustrated pages from his collection to a temporary exhibition of Oriental book art (*Orientalische Buchkunst*) organised by the Museum of Applied Arts in Berlin. This exhibition consisted of some 150 loans from private and public collections in Germany. As the main contributor to this exhibition, Schulz was deeply involved in the organisation of the exhibition and wrote some catalogue entries.[43]

Schulz also made a significant contribution to the aforementioned exhibition of Islamic art, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst*, which took place in Munich in the same year (1910), as a lender of several manuscripts and paintings.

Taken together, Schulz became one of the most important collectors of Islamic manuscripts and paintings, not only in Germany, but also on an international level.

In 1908 Graul wrote in a journal, stating that the Schulz collection was not yet surpassed in terms of variety and art-historical value.[44] Consequently, Schulz used his splendid collection for the preparation of the study of Islamic painting with the emphasis on Persian examples, and a

[40] A total of 1462 objects is mentioned by Stein (ed.) 2000, 9.
[41] See note 14.
[42] Neumann 2000A, 20.
[43] Schulz's contribution is found in *Katalog der Sonderausstellung Orientalische Buchkunst* (Berlin, 1910), 36-40, nos. 173-323 (cited in Neumann 2000, 20). Neumann mentions that Schulz had not favored Sarre's concept, but he had finally to accept it.
[44] Graul 1908, 10.

large two-volume monograph, entitled *Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, was published under difficult circumstances in 1914.[45]

In the meantime, the major part of his painting collection left Germany and eventually found its way to the New World. It is interesting to note that the acquisition of the Persian painting collection of the Russian aristocrat and Paris-based collector Victor Goloubew (1878–1945) in 1914 by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston included the Schulz collection; this indicates that the collection had already been dispersed by this time, partially moved to France, and then crossed the Atlantic.[46]

Sarre and Schulz—Publications

Sarre widely published on more or less all fields of Islamic art and architecture between 1896 and 1945. His publications, more than 200 writings until 1935, were collected and organised chronologically as well as by region and topic by Heinrich Schmidt (b. 1897) in the Festschrift dedicated to Sarre on occasion of his 70th birthday in 1935.[47]

The scholarly output of Sarre's journeys to Persia and Turkestan has been documented in the folio-size volume, *Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst*, which was published in several fascicules between 1901 and 1910.[48] Already in 1899 an interim report on his Persian expedition of 1897-98 was published.[49] Two articles on Ardabil and Zanjan and on Mazandaran and Gilan appeared in the well-known journals, such as *Petermanns Mitteilungen* and *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, [50] which reached out into a wider public, as he did with his booklet *Transkaukasien, Persien, Mesopotamien, Transkaspien* (1899)[51] where used the many informative photos documentation of the late 19th century

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[45] Schulz 1914.

[46] According to Kühnel 1922, VI (which gives the spelling of von Golubew). For the acquisition of the Goloubew collection by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1914, see Boston 1915. The exact identification of the ex-Schulz collection in the Goloubew-Boston collections of Persian painting remains to be done.

[47] Schmidt 1935.

[48] Sarre 1901-10. The Boston Public Library is in the process of scanning all the three volumes of Sarre's *Denkmäler*; volume 3 is available online (http://www.flickr.com/photos/boston_public_library/sets/72157626063180603/, accessed 21 August 2012).

[49] Anonymous 1899.

[50] See Sarre 1899A; Sarre 1902.

[51] Sarre 1899B.

Middle East, especially of the daily life of Persia during the late Qajar period.

Friedrich Sarre made an important contribution to the study of Persian art and architecture of the pre-Islamic period as well. While his predecessors were mainly interested in the Achaemenid period, Sarre focused more on the art and architecture of the Parthians and Sasanians. There is no space for extensive analysis on these contributions in this article, but it is necessary to refer at least to one important study on the Persian rock reliefs, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (1910), together with Ernst Herzfeld.[52]

Besides his research in pre-Islamic Persian art, his work on Persian painting is also worth mentioning. It includes articles and a monograph-length study on the Safavid painter Riza ‘Abbasi based on an important album in his possession.[53]

Schulz’s major publication was, undoubtedly, *Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei*. Published in 1914, this was the first comprehensive study on this subject. In addition to this, he published a few articles: he wrote not only on Isfahan (“Isfahan, die persische Kunstmetropole” [1900]) [54] but also on the famous painter Riza ‘Abbasi (“Die Wahrheit über Riza Abbasi, den Maler” [1917]),[55] an interest which he shared with Sarre. His article, “Wie man in Persien reist,” provides interesting information concerning travelling at the very end of the 19th century.[56]

Sarre and Schulz—Achievements

Both Friedrich Sarre and Philipp Walter Schulz were not just mere travellers, who randomly collected data and took photos by chance, but belonged to the first generation of genuine scholars. They well prepared for their travels to the Middle East with a special interest in the regions they had chosen before. Both Sarre and Schulz researched monuments and collected artefacts, but the achievements of the two researchers are different.

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[52] Sarre and Herzfeld 1910.

[53] This study was conducted together with Eugen Mittwoch (1876–1942)(see Sarre and Mittwoch 1914; for the Riza ‘Abbasi controversy, see Introduction, note 41). Most of the album leaves are now kept in the Freer and Sackler Galleries in Washington, DC; see Atıl 1978 and a forthcoming article of the author dealing with the dispersed Sarre collection (see footnote 28).

[54] Schulz, 1900A.

[55] Schulz 1917.

[56] Schulz 1900B.

Sarre's *Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst* became immediately the main source for all those who were interested in Persian architecture. Providing excellent large size photographs, his study has been widely used since then, and it remained the main source on the topic for nearly thirty years, only surpassed by *A Survey of Persian Art*, the multi-volume survey carried out and written by a dozen of scholars from various countries during the 1930s and finally published in 1938-9.[57] Sarre, who was aged over seventy at that time, did not contribute to *A Survey*, but his *Denkmäler* was extensively used by Eric Schroeder (1904–1971), Arthur Upham Pope (1881–1969) and others. It could be possibly argued that his *Denkmäler* continued to influence the field of Persian architecture through *A Survey*.

Sarre was, without doubt, one of the most influential figures regarding the scholarly formation of Islamic art at the time when it was somehow identical with the art of Persia. He directed the development of the Islamic collection in Berlin for more than twenty-five years from 1905 to 1931, a collection which has been considered to be the most comprehensive collection of Islamic art outside the Islamic world during this period.[58] Sarre worked in various areas, from Anatolia, where he was one of the first scholars who focused on the architecture of the Saljuqs in Anatolia, to Persia and Central Asia (Turkestan). Together with Herzfeld, he travelled to Mesopotamia (modern-day Iraq) to find a place where a systematically planned excavation of an entirely Islamic site could be carried out. Leaving behind the field of architecture, Sarre was also very interested in applied arts, especially metalwork and ceramics. He was one of those who tried to solve the provenance of the Iznik ceramics, a type of pottery which was still vaguely attributed to Rhodes or the Golden Horn. Together with Hermann Trenkwald (1866–1942), he prepared the two-volume monograph, *Altorientalische Teppiche*, in 1926-8, and this study is considered as one of the major publications on Persian carpets of this time.[59] In the field of the art of the book, he also made a significant contribution, with the special attention to the famous Safavid painter Riza 'Abbasi.

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[57] SPA; for Pope's career, see Kadoi's article in the present volume.

[58] After World War II, due to losses, the split of the collection into the Pergamon Museum (East) and Dahlem (West), the lack of money for new acquisitions among other reasons, it lost this position.

[59] Sarre and Trenkwald 1926-8. It was perhaps not by accident that Friedrich Sarre got the young Kurt Erdmann (1901–1964) involved in this publication (for example, compiling the bibliography); Erdmann later became one of the leading experts in the field of Oriental carpets.

As a multi-talented person, a traveller, researcher and scholar, known also as an editor, museum director and manager, Sarre was extremely well networked in the international scholarly community. In recognition of his reputation, he was elected president of the Third International Congress on Iranian Art and Archaeology which took place in St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad) in 1935.

Different from Friedrich Sarre, who had a state institution behind his career, Philipp Walter Schulz was in a certain sense a typical independent scholar (Privatgelehrte) of the time. His groundbreaking two-volume study of Islamic painting, *Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, experienced a difficult start, being published at the eve of World War I in 1914. At this time it was not recognised, neither in Germany nor abroad. It took some years before even a few, rather negative reviews on this publication appeared. This is a marked contrast with other, more celebrated, well-illustrated volumes on Islamic painting of the time, such as Martin's *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* (1912) and Georges Marteau (1852–1916) and Henri Vever (1854–1942)'s *Miniatures persanes* (1913). The latter, one of the influential studies which was published in conjunction with the exhibition of Persian painting at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs Paris in 1912, mirrors the French dominance in the field of Persian painting studies before World War II.[60]

In his *Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Schulz attempts not only to highlight the chronological development of Persian painting style, but also to provide very helpful, even by the contemporary standard, lists of artist names and signatures. But it is difficult to read, not only because of the German language, but also due to fact that too many details are given in the text in a confusing way.[61] The complexity found in this book had already been criticised by colleagues such as Ernst Diez (1878–1961)[62] and Ernst Kühnel.[63] Furthermore, since the two volumes were expensive and not easy to acquire, Schulz's well-organised study with new

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[60] See Hillenbrand 2010.

[61] In addition to footnotes he gives bibliographical information in an abbreviated form also in the running text (in brackets) which is rather confusing. Hillenbrand also comments on Schulz's work as: "—perhaps because of its rarity, perhaps because it is in German—has never had the recognition that it deserves" (Hillenbrand 2010, 215).

[62] Diez 1917-18, 55.

[63] In the introductiory section of *Die Miniaturenmalerei des islamischen Orients*, Kühnel notes: " … der schon im nächsten Jahre das auf gründliche Studien beruhende, sehr aufschlußreiche, aber ganz unübersichtliche Buch von Ph.W. Schulz (Die persisch-islamische ...) folgte" (Kühnel 1922, VI).

attributions based on a thorough study of various sources, including those written in Persian, did not receive the deserved recognition at the time of publication. Only a few years later, other, more affordable and accessible publications, such as Kühnel's *Die Miniaturenmalerei des islamischen Orients* (1922), were published. The methodological approaches that Schulz achieved in his study were used in later publications, but this did not result in the increase of an awareness of his achievements. For instance, *Persian Miniature Painting* (1931) by Laurence Binyon (1869–1943), James Vere Stewart Wilkinson (1885–1957) and Basil Gray (1904–1989), a book which was published in conjunction with the Persian art exhibition at the Burlington House in London, does only sometimes refer to Schulz' work.[64]

Although it was overlooked and underestimated by a wider public as well as by many colleagues, Schulz's *Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei* provided the best overview of Persian painting by the standard of the time and should be reappraised as an important piece of early 20th-century scholarly work that challenged the complex puzzle of the development of Persian art.

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[64] See Rührdanz 2000, 56. A systematical check of the literature on Persian painting published after 1914 and before World War II concerning the quotations as well as the ideas taken from earlier scholarly works would be necessary for more valid results, but this would be a project on its own.

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Fig. 3.7 Friedrich Sarre (c. 1890–5) (image courtesy of the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).

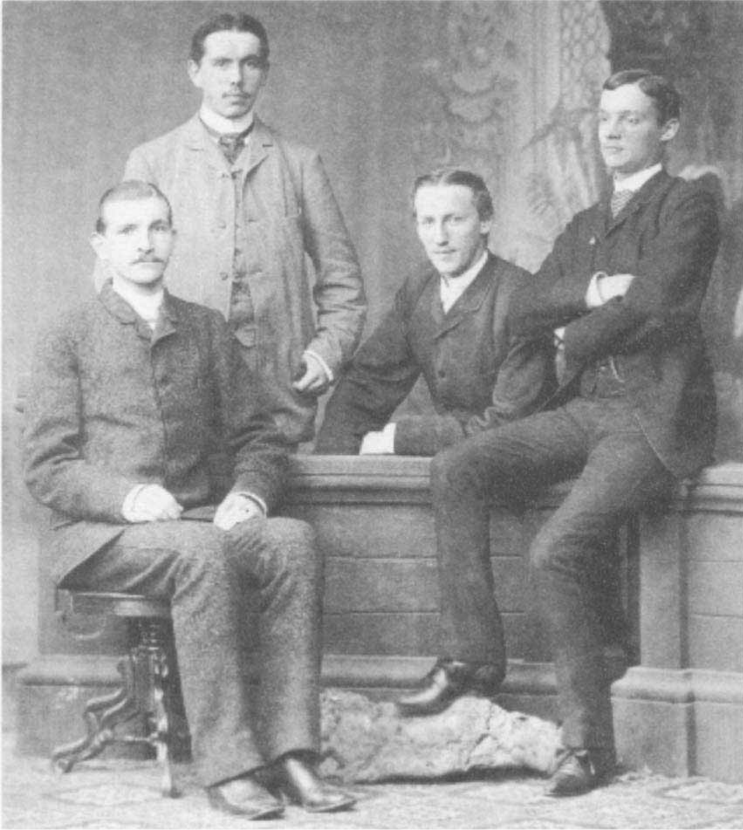

Fig. 3.8 Philipp Walter Schulz with his three brothers (date unknown) (after Stein [ed.] 2000, 14).

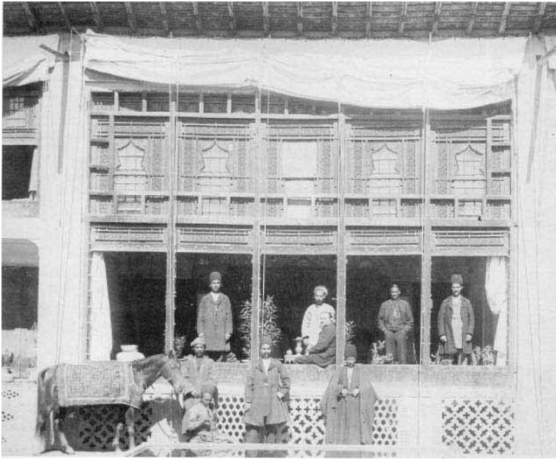

Fig. 3.9 Philipp Walter Schulz in front of his house in Isfahan (1898–9) (after Stein [ed.] 2000, 18).

Fig. 3.10 View of the exhibition, *Führer durch die 81. Sonder-Ausstellung: Aufnahmen und Erwerbungen in Kleinasien und Persien 1895-1898 von Dr. Friedrich Sarre nebst Aufnahmen Orientalischer Bauwerke von Professor Eduard Jacobstal*, showing the Sarre collection, Museum of Applied Arts (Martin-Gropius-Bau), Berlin, 1899 (after Kröger 2004, 38, fig. 18).

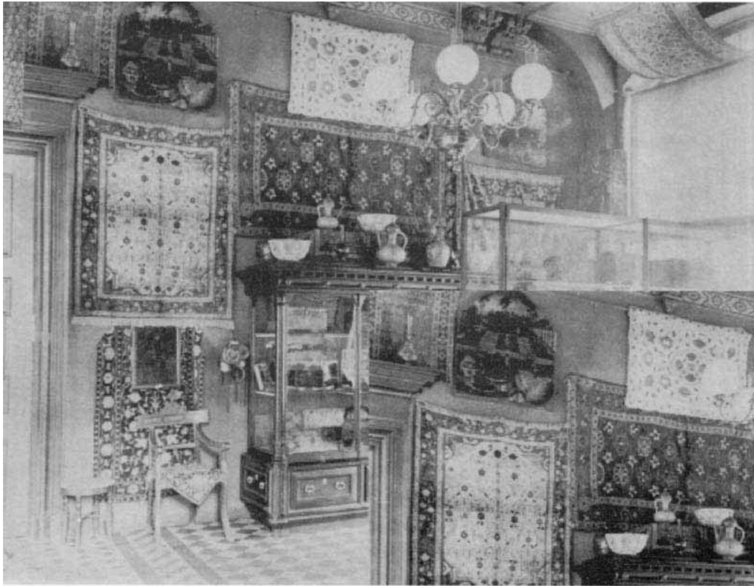

Fig. 3.11 View of gallery installation, showing the Schulz collection, Grassi Museum, Leipzig, 1900 (after Stein [ed.] 2000, 67).

"THE MOST IMPORTANT BRANCH OF MUHAMMADAN ART": MUNICH 1910 AND THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY IMAGE OF PERSIAN ART

EVA-MARIA TROELENBERG*

A Universe of Islamic Arts

In the summer of 1910, Munich was home to the largest exhibition of Islamic art ever held. Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945), at the time the most renowned expert in the field of Islamic art studies in the German-speaking world, was appointed as a curator for this undertaking, and his scholarly vocation as an art historian left an unmistakable mark on the show.[1] It was not only the largest, but the first one to claim a comprehensive and at the same time truly academic approach. More than 3,500 artefacts from 250 international collections and museums were brought together under the title of "Masterpieces of Muhammadan art" (*Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst*).[2] The basic idea was, in Sarre's words, to bring together "the best things"[3] from all fields of Islamic minor arts, covering all genres, all important epochs and regions, to be studied and compared in the light of contemporary methods of *Kunstwissenschaft*.[4] The visitor's route thus led through a multifaceted artistic universe of Islam. Textile works constituted the largest material group with almost 750 catalogue numbers, followed by ceramics, book arts, metalwork, arms and armour, jewellery and carpets. Glass and rock crystal, ivory and wood,

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* The author's English has been revised by Rebecca Milner.

[1] For Sarre's biography and academic profile, see: Schmidt 1935; Kühnel 1949; Ettinghausen 1965; Kröger 2008. See also Gierlich's essay in this volume.

[2] Amtlicher Katalog 1910, 41-48.

[3] "die besten Sachen": Museum of Islamic Art Berlin, Archive: Letter from Friedrich Sarre to Max van Berchem, Neubabelsberg, Oct. 5, 1909.

[4] For comprehensive studies on the 1910 exhibition, see Lermer and Shalem (eds.) 2010; Troelenberg 2011; Troelenberg 2012.

European depictions of the Orient and other marginalia accomplished the image. The items on display were arranged in a regional and vaguely historical sequence, with technical or material subcategories, but partly also in mixed-media presentations. This approach was remarkably modern, liberating items of Islamic art from the image of "bazaar" or "Arabian Nights" props or commodities which had too often been associated with them during the age of the romantic Orientalism of World Fairs, notably in the 19th century.[5] In 1910, the exhibits were presented in their own terms, in a neutral and "unethnographic" setting, valuated as works of art standing on an equal footing with the big canonised "Masterpieces" of western art history.[6]

Mapping Persia in the Exhibition

In the Munich show, there was a certain idea of hierarchy implied in the objects' presentation—most visible for example where carpets of outstanding quality were presented prominently on central podiums. There was also a hierarchy of regions and historical epochs: while Spain, the Maghrib and India were quite underrepresented, large parts of the exhibition were dedicated to Syria and Egypt, Ottoman lands and the Iranian world. These proportions were certainly in no small part a result of contemporary lending networks, thus in turn reflecting early twentieth-century political landscapes: the large quantity of exhibits sent from Turkish institutions and museums should, for example, be seen in the light of economic and political relations between the *Kaiserreich* and the Ottomans at the time.[7] In the case of Egypt, diplomatic relations with important cultural institutions were obviously not as intense, but the market for Islamic antiques from Egypt in Europe was bustling, moreover a number of European collectors based in Cairo, such as Max von Oppenheim (1860–1946), sent their treasures.[8]

As for Persia, however, there was hardly any direct connection. Given the particular diplomatic background around 1910 this should come as no surprise: Germany was striving for economic participation in the region. But compared to its involvement in the Ottoman Empire, attempts to gain

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[5] See Çelik 1992; Mitchell 1989; Ganim 2005, 83-129; for a comprehensive perspective on the Munich Exhibition's relation to other earlier exhibitions, see also Roxburgh 2000.

[6] Shalem and Troelenberg 2010.

[7] For cultural politics in the late Ottoman Empire, see Shaw 2003; for the political background, see e.g. Schöllgen 2000; Jaschinsky 2002.

[8] For Oppenheim, see for example Teichmann 2001; Berlin 2011.

influence in Persia remained very cautious, mainly because the German Empire did not want to risk conflicts with Russia which, along with Britain, was dominant in this realm.[9] It fits very well into this context that a large part of Persian loans to Munich came from Russian private collections. In any case, the tense political situation in Persia, where the Shah's absolutistic regime had just been overthrown,[10] may have contributed to the fact that, in spite of the lack of direct loan exchanges, so many Persian artefacts reached European markets and could finally be put on display in the Munich exhibition: "Just before he was overthrown, the former Shah clandestinely had his miniatures by the greatest painters sold in Paris to make money, and these treasures will partly be shown in Munich,"[11] informed one of Munich's most read periodicals in March 1910, just a few weeks before the opening of the show.

In order to understand how expectations, particularly regarding the arts of Persia, were announced in the run-up to the exhibition, we need to take a closer look at the genesis of the whole undertaking in Munich. Back in 1909, Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria (1869–1955), himself an ardent traveller and connoisseur of non-European art, had discovered a set of fine Persian carpets that range among the finest specimens of "so-called Polish rugs" and had been forgotten in the Wittelsbach collections for a long time.[12] Together with Ludwig von Bürkel (1843–1903), editor of the renowned *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, Rupprecht promoted the idea to launch an "Oriental exhibition." In Bürkel's first draft for the exhibition, presented in the very early stages of planning in August 1909, he states: "As we can see, in scholarly terms the past century has brought extraordinary progress; as a conclusion of these activities it is now necessary to create an exhibition which will expand the suggestions of this period and turn hypotheses into facts."[13] This claim is an articulate reference

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[9] Schöllgen 2000, especially 226-33, 319, see also Abdi 2001, especially 53ff.

[10] Abdi 2001, 55.

[11] "Der frühere Schah liess nämlich kurz vor seiner Absetzung, um Geld zu erhalten, heimlich seine Manuskripte mit Miniaturen von den größten Künstlern in Paris veräussern und diese Schätze werden teilweise auf der Ausstellung zu sehen sein": Münchener Rundschau 1910, 24.

[12] Kröger 2001; Shalem 2005; Troelenberg 2009.

[13] "Man sieht, wissenschaftlich hat das letzte Jahrhundert einen außerordentlichen Fortschritt gebracht; als Abschluss dieser Tätigkeit ist es notwendig, nunmehr eine Ausstellung zu schaffen, welche die Anregungen dieser Zeit ausbauen und die Hypothesen zu Tatsachen gestalten könnte." BayHsta, MH No. 9286, Acten des Königlichen Staats-Ministeriums des Königl. Hauses und des Aeußern, Betreff: Ausstellung München 1910 (Muhammaedanische Ausstellung 1909-11), Aug. 4, 1909.

to the famous exhibition of oriental carpets featured by the Vienna *Handelsmuseum* in 1891,[14] moreover Bürkel mentions relevant recent publications on carpets by Alois Riegl (1858–1905) and Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929). Consequently, he stands for an exhibition concept that focuses very much on the carpet—a familiar topos for "the Orient" per se and at the same time a central element of western material culture, here put into the frame of a particularly noble or high bourgeois context. The idea was to show the development of the carpet from antiquity onwards, displaying examples from all available regions and periods, only partly completed by other objects. The core of the exhibition was reserved for the exquisite "Polish rugs" from Munich and other related works of comparable quality, whose importance is defined both in artistic and economic terms: "It should be an established fact that the most important pieces of this art are valued at millions and achieve prices that even the works of the most famous painters hardly ever reach."[15] Indeed, the so-called "Polish rugs," typically kilims with a very high density and fine design figure among the most refined specimens of Islamic art, their value being increased by their exclusive material: silk interwoven with precious metal threads.[16] The best specimens of these carpets were produced between 1600 and 1650 in manufacturing centres such as Kashan, and a number of them were destined for solvent western clients (including several Polish nobles who had their coats of arms woven into the fabric, these pieces became eponymous for the whole group). From a western perspective, the 16th and 17th century "Persian rug" thus represented a classical or golden age of carpet making, and perhaps even stood pars pro toto for the refinement of Islamic arts and crafts in general. Of course this notion was more and more popularised in the centuries to come, to the extent that the "Persian" became synonymous with all kinds of splendid Oriental or even just orientalising rugs, antique and modern alike, which could be found in castles, churches, bourgeois salons or artists' ateliers.

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[14] Scala 1891; Völker 2001, especially 16-17: This show was the first comprehensive exhibition on Oriental carpets, focusing both on traditional techniques and styles and on contemporary consumer culture and production.

[15] "Es dürfte bekannt sein, daß die bedeutendsten Exemplare dieser Kunst mit Millionen aufgewogen werden und Preise erreichen, die Werke der berühmtesten Maler nur in einzelnen Fällen erzielen." BayHsta, MH No. 9286, Acten des Königlichen Staats-Ministeriums des Königl. Hauses und des Aeußern, Betreff: Ausstellung München 1910 (Muhammaedanische Ausstellung 1909-11), Aug. 4, 1909.

[16] Spuhler 1968, for the research history, especially 15-34; for the Munich rugs, see Spuhler 1968, especially 23-24 and cat. nos. 182-5 and 237-9.

It is against this background that we should view the notion of "Persian" in the very first plan of the Munich exhibition, deeply rooted in the history of European material culture. With the rediscovered "Polish rugs" from the royal collection, this notion was traced back to its historical and most exclusive context.

When Sarre came in as a curator a few weeks later he changed this outline gradually but significantly, developing the "Oriental Exhibition" into the varied universe of "Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art" described above. Sarre's "scientification" of the exhibition's scope went hand in hand with an important shift in meaning for the "Persian" component, which nonetheless remained central, even becoming more complex in this new concept.

Lorenz Korn has described several important aspects of the particular role of the arts of Persia in Munich in 1910, especially considering nationalist (or even racist) connotations and the impact on later scholarly approaches as represented by Arthur Upham Pope's "Survey of Persian Art" or the Burlington House exhibition in 1931.[17] He explained that in Munich Persian art and culture was explicitly considered the origin and basis for artistic developments in both eastern and western Islamic lands.[18] Indeed, the exhibition guide's chapter on "Muhammadan art in Persia" starts with the statement that "The most important branch of Muhammadan art is the Persian branch."[19]

It must be underlined how much gravity was attached to this idea. In general, the exhibition's new aim was that "the spirit of the grand and solemn arts of Islam's people of universal significance shall take its effect all by itself."[20] As the exhibition guide introduction—most likely written by Sarre himself—further explains, Shi'ite-Persian art was regarded as the result of a permeation of older "national" elements by Islam:[21] according to the text, the Arab "Barbarians" subjugated the ancient Sasanian *Kulturstaat* whose art and culture remained nonetheless strong and superior. The 'Abbasid caliphate sees the final integration of Sasanian

[17] Korn 2010; for the role of Arthur Upham Pope, see also Rizvi 2007 as well as Kadoi's essay in the present volume.

[18] Korn 2010, 317.

[19] Amtlicher Katalog 1910, 55: "Die muhammedanische Kunst in Persien. Der wichtigste Zweig der muhammedanischen Kunst ist der persische."

[20] Amtlicher Katalog 1910, 32: "Der Geist der großen, ernsten Kunst der weltgeschichtlichen Völker des Islam sollte rein durch sich selbst wirken…."

[21] Amtlicher Katalog 1910, 52.

culture into Islam.[22] Departing from there this pristine "Persian spirit" left its traces in more or less every branch of "Muhammadan Art" to come.

It should not be overlooked that this focus on the "Persian" aspect serves as an instrument to tie in with current subjects and criteria of western art history: "As Shi'ites, the Persians cared less about the prohibition to render living beings than any other Muhammadan people—a prohibition which was not established by the Prophet himself in the Qur'an, but by later orthodoxy."[23] According to this narrative, it was mainly the "Persian" tradition that allowed the development of figurative iconography in the arts of Islam—a factor which further helps to emphasize parallels with European cultural history: the exhibition guide properly describes the path of these "Persian" characteristics along with and right into western art: after the Middle Ages with the Saljuq and Mongol invasions, the text detects another florescence during the Savavid 16th and 17th centuries, an "artistic Renaissance" which it sees reflected in the monuments of Isfahan, but also in miniature painting which shows almost "pre-Raphaelite traits" during this era. A continuous stylistic line leads to Ottoman art and finally directly to Europe: "Based on … Sasanian textiles Muhammadan Persia refined the production of fabrics which reached its peak with Persian and Turkish velvets and brocades in the 15th to 17th centuries. Exported to Europe, they mainly conveyed the coloristic splendour of the Orient to the Italians and their painting and were finally also imitated in the workshops of Venice and Genoa."[24] These considerations sketch a red line of artistic gravity throughout Islamic cultural history, closely bound to the "Persian spirit" and conveniently connectible to the "Masterpieces" and grand epochs of occidental art history. Even though this narrative leads at least into the early modern centuries, the emphasis is clearly on the transition point between ancient and Islamic Persia, which is understood to be the basis for everything else

[22] Amtlicher Katalog 1910, 61-62.

[23] Amtlicher Katalog 1910, 57: "Die Perser haben sich als Schiiten am wenigsten von allen muhammedanischen Völkern um das zwar nicht vom Propheten selbst im Koran, aber von der späteren Orthodoxie aufgestellte Verbot, lebende Wesen darzustellen, gekümmert."

[24] Amtlicher Katalog 1910, 58-59: "Auf Grund der (…) sassanidischen Stoffe entwickelte sich im muhammedanischen Persien die Fabrikation von Geweben weiter und erreichte ihren Höhepunkt in den persischen und türkischen Sammet- und Brokatstoffen des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts, die durch ihren Export nach Europa hauptsächlich die Farbenpracht des Orients den Italienern und ihrer Malerei vermittelten und dann auch in den Manufakturen von Venedig und Genua nachgeahmt wurden."

to follow. It thus comes as no surprise that the Munich exhibition was the first to promote a large corpus of pre-Islamic Sasanian art as part of the "Persian" focus.

This approach certainly helped to put Islamic art into a much larger, universal context of cultural history, way beyond the picturesque notions of medieval Cairo or "Moorish" decoration which had mainly been associated with the Islamic "Orient" throughout the 19th century.

Beyond the Showcase: Persia in Contemporary Narratives of Cultural History

In order to fully understand the significance of this position in the cultural environment around 1910, we need to take a closer look at the broader background of art historical debates during those years, particularly where objects from the Near East or Central Asia were involved.

When the *Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum* in Berlin opened its gates in 1904, this exclusive and imperial institution included a small but distinguished "Persian-Islamic" department—the first department of this kind in a large museum whose main focus was on canonised works of European art. In fact, the *Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum* had been designed to feature mainly Italian Masters and, as a background to this tradition, Byzantine art. While the building was still under construction, Emperor Wilhelm II received an extraordinary gift from the Ottoman Sultan Abdül Hamid. The ornamented façade of the early Islamic desert castle of Mshatta, situated near present-day Amman, was dismantled and shipped to Berlin. It arrived there in December 1903, awaiting its *mise-en-scène* as an archaeological exhibit.[25] Due to the façade's sheer monumentality, measuring c. 30 x 5 metres, this was quite a challenge—and the unfinished *Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum* a convenient occasion to integrate such a huge exhibit. Besides that, the designation of a Byzantine department for the museum may have been a plausible conceptual reason to integrate the façade of Mshatta here. By the time of its acquisition for the collection in Berlin, there had not been any consensus on its date and origin, and it was often still referred to as an "early Christian portal."[26] It thus became a keystone for discussions about

[25] For the museological implications, see Enderlein and Meinecke 1992, Weber and Troelenberg 2011, as well as a book by the present author which is currently in preparation for publication; for the origin and art historical position of Mshatta, see e.g. Creswell 1969, 578-606, 623-41; Hillenbrand 1981; Grabar 1987; and the recent contribution by Perlich 2010.

[26] For example in a letter from Gottfried Schumacher (who was responsible for dismantling and wrapping the pieces for transport) to Wilhelm von Bode, March

late antiquity in the Middle East, a realm which was subject to broader intellectual debates that were emerging in the first decade of the 20th century.

These discussions must be seen in the light of Josef Strzygowski’s (1862–1941) work. The Austrian scholar, working in Graz and later in Vienna, published a most startling book under the premise “Orient oder Rom?” in 1901.[27] In this study he challenged the notion of classical Greco-Roman culture as the basis for all important stages of cultural history and instead argued for looking further to the east, namely to the ancient oriental cultures. According to his argumentation, the shape of the arabesque and the shape of the classical acanthus leaves originated from the same, ancient oriental roots. Eastern and western art traditions were thus to be regarded as interdependent, related to each other and on an equal level. Other contemporary scholars regarded this line of thinking as a downright attack on the traditional narrative of European cultural history and Humanism—and it was indeed meant to be an important paradigm shift.[28] Mshatta with its complex and unique ornamentation was—quite literally—the ideal touchstone for such discussions: while some of its decorative elements like vine scrolls or acanthus leaves clearly show Hellenistic traits, the overall composition dominated by a large zigzag band is unfamiliar to Greco-Roman conventions. Indeed, some of the iconographic motives such as the simurgh or the gryphon recall Sasanian traditions. Strzygowski dated the monument to the pre-Islamic period (4th-6th centuries) and argued that the workmen must have come from Amida (Diyarbakır).[29] This city, situated in northern Mesopotamia, had been a particular arena of conflict in the Roman-Persian wars during the mid-4th century: conquered by the Romans around 230 AD, it was sieged and at least temporarily taken over by the Sasanians in 359 AD.[30] This was exactly the historical stage for Strzygowski to deploy his argumentation. Together with the architect Bruno Schulz (1865–1932), he prominently published Mshatta in the *Jahrbuch der königlichen Kunstsammlungen* in

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17, 1902. Central Archive SMB, IM 6, Königliche Museen. Acta betr. Die Mschatta-Ruine vol. 1 vom 27. März 1902 bis 31 August 1903.

[27] Strzygowski 1901; on Strzygowski see e.g. Jäggi 2002; Marchand 1994; Marchand 2001; Marchand 2010, especially 403-10; on the nationalist appropriation of some aspects in the “Orient or Rome” discourse in Qajar architecture, see Grigor 2007. See also for Mietke (ed.) 2012 for a recent exhibition on Strzygowski and his association with Berliner museums.

[28] Marchand 1994, especially 106.

[29] Schulz and Strzygowski 1904.

[30] Sellwood 1984.

1904,[31] using it as an argument for his thesis. In his discussion of the broader historical and stylistic context of the monument, he extensively resorts to parallels and relations to other also much later artefacts from the region—many of them from the Islamic periods. A number of artistic works were thus introduced into western art historical discourse.

Debates on Mshatta and its origin went on for several years until 1910 when the archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948)[32] convincingly argued for its classification as an early Umayyad monument. By comparing it to other buildings such as the Dome of the Rock or the Mosque of Ibn Tulun, he explained that the system of combining very different styles and techniques which can be observed in Mshatta was an outspoken quality of early Islamic architecture: such monumental public commissions could only be realised by engaging the most skilled workmen from all provinces of the Islamic dominion—a tactic which at the same effectively demonstrated the power of the caliph.

Herzfeld's narrative was much less biased than Strzygowski's. It did not put "classical" and ancient oriental antiquity into rivalry. Instead it was based on the assumption that a number of earlier traditions sort of merged into the stage of early Islamic art as represented by Mshatta. Sasanian and ancient Iranian preconditions were nonetheless regarded as crucial for these developments. The system of combining the skills of workmen from different regions had, for example, already been practised by Sasanian rulers.

This very brief outline of the debate concerning Mshatta around 1910 demonstrates how much the notion of Islamic art was determined by much larger contemporary narratives of cultural history on the verge between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, and how important the link back to older oriental high cultures became in this context. The integration of the Mshatta façade into the Berlin museum landscape, along with the establishment of the "Persian-Islamic Department," was the most tangible sign of this current.

It is important to note the direct connection between Berlin and Munich in terms of staff. Friedrich Sarre was chosen as a consultant and curator for the 1910 exhibition because he had been working as a volunteer supervisor of the "Persisch-Islamische Abteilung" in the *Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum* since 1904. He was the only expert on Islamic arts in Germany with experience as a field archaeologist, museum curator and art

[31] Schulz and Strzygowski 1904.
[32] Herzfeld 1910; on Herzfeld, see various essays in Gunter and Hauser 2005.

historical scholar at the same time. He had the expertise required to tackle such big topics as historiography and material culture.

Interestingly though, the Munich exhibition itself does not provide much explicit comment on those ongoing debates. Also, as a scholar, Sarre did never engage much with the debate around Mshatta. However, the strong focus on “Persian art” as the most important branch of Islamic art must clearly be seen against this background—the questions raised by “Orient oder Rom” were certainly a momentous subtext to this claim. The red line traced from the Ancient Orient via Persia to the arts of the western Renaissance in the exhibition guide implicitly reflects this idea of a changing paradigm, contesting Greco-Roman culture as the only source of all significant developments in history.[33]

Without any doubt this can be regarded as an important step to open up new horizons of thinking in the field of cultural history, exemplified directly on the basis of material culture.[34] The notion of “Persia” in the Munich exhibition demonstrates this amplification of perspectives, from a rather narrow and conservative approach focused on the “Persian carpet” and its popularity in Europe to one of the most important and profound narratives in world history.

“The Most Important Branch”—A Dialectic Prelude?

However, with a view to further developments in the 20th century, the cataclysmic potential of this line of thought cannot be denied. Racist undertones can be traced throughout this discussion—where there was talk about “Iranian” or “Persian” culture, the “Aryan” argument was never far behind[35] and became more and more overt as it went on towards the 1930s. A striking example can be found in one of Strzygowski’s later articles which he published in 1937. Entitled “Iran, Hellas of Asia,”[36] it

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[33] Gruber’s essay on “Questioning the ‘classical’ in Persian painting” traces the notion of “classic” and “classicist” categories and their adoption for the perception of Persian miniature painting, particularly by scholars and connoisseurs with a background in Renaissance studies: Gruber 2012, especially 3-4.

[34] See Marchand 2010, 406-7.

[35] See also Korn 2010, especially 323 and Grigor 2007, especially 565-6. For the origin and development of the originally linguistic concept of “Aryanism” as a self-designation of those people of Ancient India and Iran who spoke Aryan languages, see Schmitt 1987, 274-85, for the meaning of the term in the context of racist discourses, see Marchand 2010, 295-300. Rizvi, 2007, 53, has also pointed to the obvious nexus between Strzygowski’s art history and race and nationalism.

[36] Strzygowski 1937.

clearly reveals what things would finally boil down to in the cultural climate of fascism. First of all, he makes an important distinction between "Persia" and "Iran," the two terms that had been in use more or less interchangeably for centuries. In Strzygowski's text, "Persia" is defined as a historical political power that has had many points of contact with Hellenistic culture. "Iran," etymologically going back to the word "Aryan," represents a pure and more spiritual force.[37] This "Iranian" spirit is regarded as the important factor in the shaping of Persian culture, be it in its Ancient Oriental, Indo-Buddhist or Islamic variations—the relationship between "Iran" and "Persia" is systematically compared to the relationship between Hellas and Rome. The racist interpretation of the "Aryan" aspect leads on to the notion of a so-called "Northern-Iranian character": Strzygowski explains, "The visual arts provide good insight into this basic Northern-Iranian character and its genesis."[38] Under this premise, it was possible to draw direct lines to those incunables of western cultural history which were contemporarily most appreciated such as the artistic works of Dürer or the verses of the Codex Manesse.[39]

Again we find a red line leading from "Iran/Persia" right into the heart of European cultural history—very similar to the texts of the Munich exhibition guide, but now under a clearly racist prefix. Moreover, this time it is combined with the polemic polarity between "North" and "South" based on anti-Semitic and anti-Humanist thinking:

> "The Romans and their African appendage, the negroes, are not considered as a smaller danger than the Jews. We sense that, if we don't pull ourselves together soon and consider our own soul, the decline of the West will be sealed. Northern consciousness (Nordbesinnung) is needed, spiritually we must not remain in the hands of the Humanists and Romans any longer, we must decisively counter the expansion of the equatorial lust for life with our northern soul. The northern peoples should rouse themselves, the North Americans as well, otherwise they will all be in for it. The northern man (Nordmensch) must return to the old unity which also encompassed Asia."[40]

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[37] This must certainly be seen against the background of Riza Shah Pahlavi's decision to choose "Iran" as the official name of the country from 1934 onwards. See also Grigor 2007, 562, 571.

[38] Strzygowski 1937, 45: "Die Bildende Kunst gibt in dieses nordisch-iranische Grundwesen und sein Werden einen guten Einblick."

[39] Strzygowski 1937, 48.

[40] Strzygowski 1937, 49: "Wir sehen in den Romanen und ihrem Anhange in Afrika, den Negern, keine geringere Gefahr als in den Juden, ahnen, dass wenn wir uns nicht bald zusammennehmen und auf die eigene Seele besinnen, der Untergang des Abendlandes besiegelt sei. Nordbesinnung tut not, wir dürfen uns nicht länger

From the outset, the whole line of thought in this essay originates from the establishment of a new “Aryan” classic, in line with the political premises of national socialism—and with very obvious references to Winckelmann’s formula of “noble simplicity and quiet grandeur”:

> “Up to now it was Hellas in its simple and plain sobriety that could convey the idea of a humanity that lingered far from the dynasties’, churches’ or savants’ striving for power and regarded the beauty of quiet simplicity and grandeur as their confession in the visual arts; now another such stronghold reveals itself, coming from Asia.”[41]

Looking back to Munich 1910, it cannot be overlooked that the root idea of “grandeur” was already present in the show’s interior design. The big entrance hall (“Repräsentationsraum”; Fig. 3.12) was designed by the Munich architect Ernst Fiechter as a fulminant prelude to the show. Using modernised ornamental language, its outline followed the scheme of an open courtyard surrounded by four iwans—an architectural type that was already common in pre-Islamic Persia and later on entered the vocabulary of Islamic architecture within and beyond the Iranian world. This entrance hall was the setting for the so-called “Polish rugs” from the Royal Bavarian collection. They were the nucleus of the idea for the exhibition in the first place and at the same time represented one of the great—classical—periods in the history of Persian art. The exhibition catalogue explains:

> “The square-shaped entrance hall of the exhibition in its design, i.e. the four deep niches under pointed arches whose walls are livened up by geometric surface ornamentation, allows an idea of the simplicity and grandeur of Persian-Muhammedan art.”[42]

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geistig in den Händen der Humanisten und Romanen lassen, müssen dem Vordringen der äquatorialen Lebensgier mit aller Entschiedenheit die nordische Seele entgegenhalten. Die Nordvölker sollten sich aufraffen, auch die Nordamerikaner, sonst geht es ihnen allen an den Kragen. Der Nordmensch muss zur alten Einheit, die Asien mitumfasste, zurückkehren.”

[41] Strzygowski 1937, 42: “Bisher war es Hellas, das in seiner einfachen und schlichten Sachlichkeit die Ahnung eines Menschentums vermitteln konnte, das fern von den Machtgelüsten der Dynastien, Kirchen und Schriftgelehrten sich tummelte und dem in der bildenden Kunst die Schönheit in stiller Einfalt und Grösse Glaubensbekenntnis war; jetzt kommt von Asien her ein anderer solcher Hort zum Vorschein.”

[42] Amtlicher Katalog 1910, 56: “Der quadratische Eingangsraum der Ausstellung gibt in seinem Aufbau, in den vier tiefen Spitzbogennischen, deren Wände durch

This congruence in rhetoric is most striking and itself an important admonition that even the most proverbial quotation must always be considered in its particular context and questioned for potential exploitations. Of course, in Munich 1910 the disastrous direction of later decades had not been taken yet, and the reference to Winckelmann was certainly chosen primarily to connect Islamic arts with an established European discourse on aesthetics. It was part of the encompassing "Masterpiece" approach which in a way constituted the most innovative and groundbreaking aspect of the show, putting the works of Islamic art on an equal footing with the established canon of western "Masterpieces" and thus strongly contributing to their appreciation by European audiences.

However, from our retrospective point of view, the academic notion of "Persia" in the Munich exhibition of "Masterpieces of Muhammadan art" shares the ambiguity of many cultural phenomena of early modernism. It was part of a real expansion of horizons, leading beyond the Eurocentric canons of traditional art and cultural history—but obviously the exhibition's "most important branch of Muhammadan art" also had the potential for an ideologically charged career.

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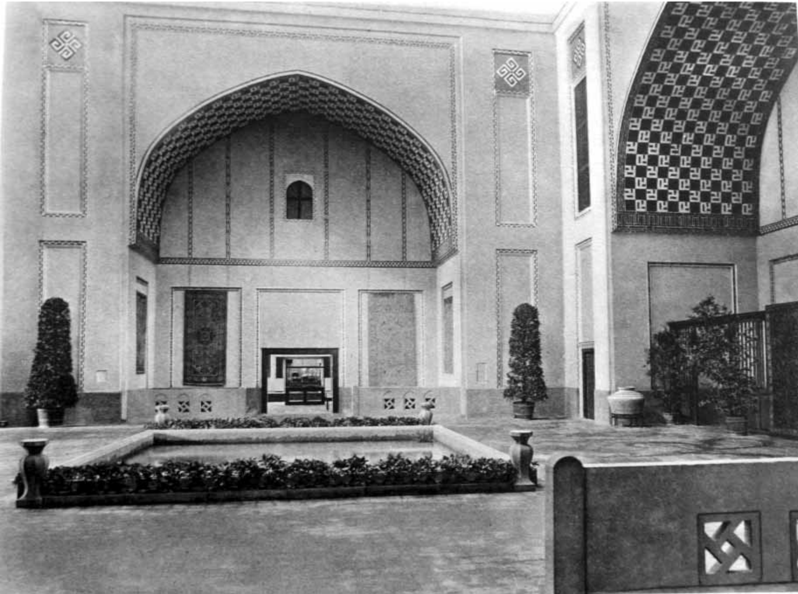

Fig. 3.12 Entrance hall to the Munich Exhibition of “Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art” 1910, designed by Ernst Fiechter (after F. Sarre and F. R. Martin [eds.], *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910*, Munich, 1912).

A LOAN EXHIBITION OF EARLY ORIENTAL CARPETS, CHICAGO 1926*

YUKA KADOI

Derived from a rich and complex artistic inheritance of the lands covering modern-day Iran, West Afghanistan, north India, the Caucasus, East Anatolia and a major part of Central Asia, the so-called Persian style in art and architecture became one of the principal artistic grammars that developed across a wide geographical area of the Eurasian continent. Apart from this art-historical fact, which continues to encourage a number of monographs and exhibitions on the essence of the arts of Persia, it is important to understand how this discipline was formed and shaped under a particular socio-cultural environment. In fact the notion of Persian art is something more than a pure visual representation of Persian culture and civilisation but should be regarded as the manifestation of the ideas of collectors, curators, scholars and art dealers during the formative period of Persian art scholarship and connoisseurship in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Among the media of the arts with a strong evocation of Persianness that was and is still much praised by western scholars and collectors, the carpet stands out for its uniformed style, beauty, craftsmanship, practicality and commercial value. Originally coming from the domestic setting, it was widely appreciated by European nobles since it became available as a commodity in the market in early modern times and began to be viewed as a collectable object among western collectors, perhaps much earlier than other forms of Persian artefacts. An idea for displaying a carpet on the wall itself is likely to be of western derivation rather than intrinsically Persian, although it has been incorporated in the interior design of modern homes in Iran.[1]

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[1] See SPA, pl. 1529.F, G and H. Clearly, the woven material provided a source of inspiration for the development of architectural decoration and became symbolically

This article sheds new light on a small exhibition of Oriental carpets in Chicago curated by Arthur Upham Pope (1881–1969), who left an indelible impact on the development of Persian art studies and collections across the globe.[2] While Pope's scholarship in Oriental carpets is among some contemporary scholars considered to be rubbish,[3] it is intriguing to overview his management and rhetorical skills as well as his influence on the understanding and appreciation of Oriental carpets, especially those from modern-day Iran, in early 20th-century North America, and to consider how this laid an important foundation for this field for successive generations.

Briefly surveying the growth of scholarship and connoisseurship in Persian carpets, this study aims at offering a detailed picture of the Chicago Oriental carpet exhibition in 1926, which was a pioneering event of this kind in the early 20th century. While the lack of photographic documentation on the Chicago carpet show hampers discussion on its actual visual presentation, the rich survivals of archival records on the exhibition, as well as the publication of the catalogue, serve to offer a deeper understanding of how Pope acted behind the scenes.

A Short Historiographical Note on Persian Carpet Studies and Collections up to 1926

Since the historiographical study of Persian carpets has been made by several scholars in the past few decades,[4] the following discussion intends to summarise the rise of carpet studies and collections in the West up to the time of the Chicago carpet show. The initial western encounter with Oriental carpets occurred mainly through Turkish rugs and some carpets of Persian origin which came westwards to Europe via Anatolia rather than

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incorporated into ceremonial settings in the Persian cultural sphere in pre-modern times (see Golombek 1988), although it remains unclear how such items were viewed as objects for appreciation as in the case of modern museums.

[2] The author has been conducting the project on the re-consideration of the career of Arthur Upham Pope, entitled "Arthur Upham Pope and A New Survey of Persian Art", since 2009. A volume based on the Pope symposium that took place in Chicago in early autumn 2010 is under preparation. For the moment, see Gluck and Siver (eds.) 1996.

[3] Thompson 2003, 271. For further discussion on Pope and his discourse on Persian carpets, see Kadoi 2012.

[4] For example, see Baker 1997; Baker 2002.

directly exported from Persia.[5] What we now know as "Persian" carpets, especially those from the Safavid period, came to the attention of Europeans as early as the 17th century,[6] and records of the Dutch and English East Indian companies show, though to a limited extent, the existence of the Persian carpet trade between Europe and Persia or broadly Asia.[7] It was only in the 19th century when Persian carpets entered the western market to a large quantity due to various factors, not only because of the western demand for outlandish furnishing to the interiors of mansions and country houses, but also, from a Persian point of view, the decline of the silk trade, the increase of cheap European imports and the need for an alternative export.[8] Along with the general downturn of the silk industry, the art of carpet weaving saw a sharp decline in Persia since the 17th century. The Persian carpet industry, however, did not die out and revived from the last few decades of the 19th century, thanks to a growing demand of Persian carpets in the western market.[9] Yet the quality never reached the level of previous centuries, taken over by modern machine making and the increasing use of synthetic dyes instead of vegetable dyes.

The carpets eventually acquired a special symbolic status in the West as a true manifestation of material culture or exotic, native, primitive and nomadic pastoral cultural practices of the mysterious Orient in a series of world's fairs in Europe, especially since the landmark display of Oriental carpets at the Vienna exposition in 1873.[10] This initiated the Oriental

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[5] Most Oriental carpets depicted in European painting appear to be Turkish rather than Persian. See London 1983 for an overview of this subject of research.

[6] Perhaps more than geometrically composed designs typical of Turkish rugs, decorative features of Persian carpets might have well suited Baroque taste in Europe at that time (Helfgott 1994, 58).

[7] See Floor 1999, 76-82; Baker 2002, 77-78. According to Floor, Persian woven products were considered to be too expensive and sometimes gaudy in Europe during the 16th-18th and most of the 19th century; Persian textiles and carpets were traded but such products were, especially in the case of the Dutch, often used as presents to Asian countries rather than exclusively for the European market (Floor 1999, 80). For the reception of Persian carpets in pre-modern Central and East Europe, see Szántó 2010, 41-48, and Dunca's article in the present volume.

[8] Housego 1973, 171. For the silk industry of Qajar Persia, see Floor 1999, 93-127.

[9] See Maktabi 2007 for further discussion on post-Safavid carpets. Interestingly, there was an attempt to copy Oriental carpets in Europe, for instance by using cheap labour of women in Germany and Holland in the 19th century but this attempt failed, thus re-confirming the value of labour-intense crafts of West Asia (Helfgott 1994, 97-98).

[10] Helfgott (1994, 15 and 87, for example) thus underlines this date as the beginning of Oriental carpet craze in the West. Vienna also hosted one of the first important

carpet boom in Europe, culminating in the formation of the carpet collections in major public museums and private hands. Although the rugs of Persia were not specially treated during the formative period of Oriental carpet collections, they gradually acquired artistic and socio-cultural merits among western audiences; it seems that the Persian carpets were, for instance, viewed by the British public as educational tools of teaching "good" design and taste, a cultural phenomenon which coincided with the arts and crafts movement.[11]

As in the development of Islamic art studies as a whole, the scholarship of Oriental carpets was largely owed to German scholars of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Julius Lessing (1843–1908), the first director of the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, was credited for his pioneering role of studying and appreciating Oriental carpets, more than just as a source of inspiration for ornamental pleasures.[12] This was followed by the publication of several key monographs by other notable art historians of the Berlin school, such as Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929) and Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945).[13] Their scholarship and connoisseurship took a quick shape in tandem with a monumental publication on Oriental carpet by Fredrik Robert Martin (1868–1933), an enigmatic Swedish scholar-collector-dealer who set an important guideline for collecting, studying and classifying Oriental carpets.[14]

The Arrival of Persian Carpets in Late 19th- and Early 20th-Century North America

Different from Europe where Oriental carpets had already been viewed as a material of aesthetic value as well as a practical product for enhancing

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exhibitions dedicated to Oriental carpets in 1891 ("Ausstellung orientalischer Teppiche"; for further discussion, see Erdmann 1970, 33-34). In the context of the current volume, it is important to note that the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest, probably as the first European public cultural institution, organised an exhibition dedicated to ancient Oriental carpets in 1887 (see Szántó 2010, 48-49).

[11] Baker 2002, 77.

[12] Thus Alois Riegl (1858–1905) can belong to the previous generation of German-speaking art historians who primarily viewed Oriental carpets within their own theoretical dimensions rather than studied the essence of such objects.

[13] For further information on the Berlin school of Oriental carpet studies and collections, see Spuhler 1987, 9-17. For Sarre's career, see Gierlichs's essay in the present volume.

[14] See his deluxe volume on Oriental carpets, *A History of Oriental Carpets before 1800* (Vienna, 1906-8).

living space since Renaissance times, this media of art was still relatively exotic to American audiences during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While some crossed the Atlantic through the British controlled shipping routes and family immigration in earlier times as commodities,[15] the arrival of Oriental carpets was mainly due to the growing immigration of carpet dealers from the old world, particularly those from Turkey with Armenian origin who fled the Ottoman territory after the persecutions in 1890-1918,[16] as well as the shift of the centre of art business from Europe to the new world after World War I. Notable carpet dealers of this period include the brothers of the Benguiat family (Vitall [the Pasha] (1859–1937) and Ephraim Benguiat [n. d.]), who first emigrated from Smyrna in western Turkey to Europe and eventually came to New York at the turn of the century.[17] The beauty of Oriental rugs soon caught the eyes of American magnates and art collectors, such as James F. Ballard (1851–1931), whose fine collection of Oriental carpets is now housed in the Saint Louis Art Museum, George Hewitt Myers (1875–1957), whose collection formed the core of the Textile Museum in Washington DC, Joseph V. McMullan (1896–1973), whose collections are now chiefly found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and Charles T. Yerkes (1837–1905), whose collection was later purchased by several museums in the country.[18]

Perhaps the most important event related to the growth of carpet collections in North America was a loan exhibition of early Oriental rugs at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1910.[19] Wilhelm R. Valentiner (1880–1958), a German-born curator of the decorative arts at the MET, assembled fifty carpets from ten private collections and three museums (Museum of Fine Arts in Boston; Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin), and Persian carpets constituted half of the exhibits. In the catalogue, the carpets are divided into three major categories—Turkey, Persia and India—and three

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[15] See Sherrill 1978.

[16] Helfgott 1994, 120. There was a long tradition for Armenian merchants to play an active role in the trans-Mediterranean trade, especially silk trade, mediating among Europe, Iran and Turkey (Helfgott 1994, 60-61).

[17] For Vitall Benguiat, see Towner 1970, 159-75. His obituary is found in the New York Times, 18 March 1937.

[18] See Mumford 1910; London 1972; Walker 1988. For Myers and his Oriental carpet collections, see http://www.textilemuseum.org/aheadofhistime/index.html (accessed 4 July 2011).

[19] New York 1910.

periods—15th, 16th and 17th centuries, referring to some familiar carpet terms, such as the "Persian hunting rug" and the "Polonaise carpet."[20]

In general, North America followed European taste of Persian carpets that was nourished during the late 19th century. Underlining dual aspects of the urban and village life style in the Persianate world, the admiration for the beauty of Persian carpets was developed under the imagination of sophisticated courtly workshops in urban locations and to be found in the collections of European aristocrats and later wealthy American socialites, while simple yet enduring tribal carpets were often idealised and associated with primitive, pastoral nomadism; in particular, the latter met the growing demand for affordable, exotic products intended for middle-class clients in the western market and was conceived as objects that represent ideas about primitivism.[21] Such a romantic, if not biased, view to Persian carpets eventually led to label carpets according to their provenance—i. e. courtly workshops or tribal groups—rather than technical features; this also generated a certain hierarchy in Oriental carpets in the western minds—the courtly rug is an example of the ruling class of the Persians (thus Aryans), whereas the tribal carpet is a product of barbarian nomads of Central Asian origin.[22]

Chicago and Oriental Carpets 1893-1926

Hosting the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, which resulted in regaining the city's pride in the aftermath of the Great Fire in 1871, Chicago came in a close contact with non-western culture during the last decade of the 19th century. While the art and material culture of East Asia attracted much interest of fin-de-siècle Chicagoans as a subject of art collections,[23] the 1893 Exposition also brought the arts of the Islamic world to their attention. This exposition was linked to a number of art dealers, such as Dikran Garabed Kelekian (1868–1951), who acted as commissioner for the Persian Pavilion,[24] and Ephraim Benguitat, who was involved in the display of carpets at the Turkish Pavilion.[25] Among

[20] See New York 1910, Introduction. For the terminology in early Oriental carpet scholarship, see Erdmann 1970, 37.
[21] See Helfgott 1994, 168-9.
[22] Baker 1997, 363. This view remained dominant until the mid-20th century.
[23] See Pearlstein 1993.
[24] Jenkins-Madina 2000, 73. See note 54 for further information about Kelekian.
[25] Towner 1989, 168; Helfgott 1994, 104. Carpets were also lavishly hung throughout the interior walls of a room with exotic themes, such as the "Ceylon Tea Room" (Chicago 1893, Ceylon Tea Room, Woman's Building [n. p.]).

Chicago's leading cultural advocates of this time, the architect Louis Sullivan (1856–1924) is known to have owned non-western art collections, including Oriental carpets, which were eventually sold at an auction.[26] Along with the display and possession of non-western artefacts among private hands, a number of research and cultural institutions, such as the Field Museum of Natural History (found in 1893), the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago (found in 1919) and the Art Institute of Chicago (found in 1879)—with ethnographical, archaeological and fine arts missions, respectively—took a thriving growth after the Exposition.

Having been aware of growing exhibitions and collections on Muhammadan (an early term for Islamic or Muslim) art in Europe, such as the Munich Exhibition in 1910 which showcased some 230 carpets,[27] it was merely a matter of time that Chicago embarked on the formation of its own collections of Islamic art. In the Art Institute of Chicago, for instance, a small yet important collection of mediaeval Persian potter was already established in the 1910s, based on the gifts of Frank W. Gunsaulus (1856–1921).[28] Although New York remained the major centre of Oriental art business during the early 20th century, Persian or Islamic objects were by degrees incorporated into the art market of the Windy City, as reflected, for instance, in some Persian art sales held in Chicago in the late 1910s and 1920s.[29]

The artistic value of Oriental carpets was equally recognised by Chicagoans soon after the Exposition, along with the growing awareness of this medium of art as a displayable object or an item incorporeal to European decorative arts. In the 1910s, for instance, carpets were integral parts of the interior design in the galleries of the Antiquarian Society (founded in 1877), one of the important supporting groups of the Art Institute of Chicago and known for its patronage towards European decorative arts and textiles.[30] This followed a home furnish exhibition of the Ballard collection of Oriental rugs organised by the Marshall Field & Company (now Marcy's) in 1916, evoking the style of the Liberty

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[26] Chicago 1909, nos. 75-90.
[27] For the 1910 Munich exhibition, see Troelenberg's article in the present volume.
[28] Some fifty Persian ceramics from the Saljuq to Safavid periods were donated to the Art Institute in 1913-19.
[29] Chicago 1919. Khan Monif also organised a Persian exhibition at the Arts Club of Chicago in 1927 (*Rare Persian Antiquities from the Collection of Mr. H. Khan Monif*, 4-18 January).
[30] The photo taken in 1914 shows a number of Oriental carpets and textiles displayed on the wall, the floor and in the showcase (see Hilliard 2002, fig. 6).

Department Store in London.[31] The Ballard collection was also exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1922.[32]

One of the key figures in the growth of interest in Oriental carpets in Chicago was Arthur Upham Pope. Besides his image of the scholarly figure who was devoted to the appraisal of Persian culture and heritage, it is unquestionable that he had a side-business in order to support his own research institution, acting as a broker or "purveyor" between museums and art dealers.[33] Already developed his interest in Oriental carpets in earlier times, for instance organising the Hearst show in San Francisco in 1917,[34] he became involved in the carpet business and art consultancy soon after his resignation as college professor which was caused by a student-professor romance with Phyllis Ackerman (1893–1977). This aspect of his career were further cultivated in Chicago, when Pope officially came to the Art Institute in the winter of 1925 as an advisory curator for the collection development of Muhammadan art.[35] This was indeed just a right time for him to embark on the venture on the promotion of Persian artistic legacy, for a newly established monarchy in Persia was eager to establish a cultural link to the past.[36] While he was in an advisory-basis contract with the AIC (thus unpaid), Pope made his first official visit to Persia in the spring of 1925, including his legendary lecture, "the past and future of Persian art" in front of Riza Khan (a few month later officially became the Shah of Persia) and high-ranking officials.[37] This defined Pope's status as a cultural attaché of Pahlavi Persia and thus made it easier to conduct the "Chicago mission," namely to study and acquire Persian antiquities for the Art Institute of Chicago.[38] He also continued to work on a number of projects outside the Art Institute, including the carpet show at the Arts Club of Chicago.

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[31] Chicago 1916.
[32] Chicago 1922.
[33] Gluck and Siver (eds.) 1996, 46.
[34] San Francisco 1917, 67-155. His interest in carpets can be traced back to his childhood (Gluck and Siver [eds.] 1996, 44).
[35] For further information, see Kadoi 2010.
[36] See Grigor 2009.
[37] Gluck and Siver (eds.) 1996, 93-110.
[38] Kadoi 2010, 66.

Pope and "A Loan Exhibition of Early Oriental Carpets" at the Arts Club of Chicago

A Loan Exhibition of Early Oriental Carpets was held at the Arts Club of Chicago, one of the leading private art clubs in North America. Incorporated in 1916, the Club intended to encourage, foster and develop higher standards of art; to promote the mutual acquaintance of art lovers and art workers; to maintain in the City of Chicago a club house and to provide therein galleries and exhibition facilities in support of the foregoing purposes.[39] Since its earlier times, it has played a pioneering role in the promotion of modern and contemporary art exhibitions and events in Chicago but also hosted several shows of non-western art.[40]

Due to the lack of archival records for the initial organisational process of the exhibition, it remains difficult to track down exactly how the exhibition was conceptualised and by whom, whether Pope was an active event planner or he was recommended by someone to act as a curator. What seems likely is that opulent potentials of Oriental carpets had reasonably been understood in Chicago's growing art society by the 1920s, judging by the above-mentioned carpet exhibitions. Pope, who then established his reputation as a carpet scholar or consultant and set on foot in Chicago during this time, must have been in a better position to get involved in the initiative of the show.

The exhibition gathered fifty-five carpets from a wide geographical area of the Islamic world, including twenty-nine carpets ascribed to Persia according to the attributions found in the catalogue.[41] The exhibits came from not only North American collections but several European countries, such as England, Germany, Switzerland and France. More intriguingly, it involved a number of loans from well-known Oriental carpet collectors and Islamic art dealers of the early 20th century, as well as carpets which were sold to renowned collectors.

Two of the leading North American collectors of Oriental rugs of the time—Ballard and Edith Rockefeller McCormick (1872–1932)—acted as a patron of the show. While the former lent one Turkish rug (no. 42), the latter provided two Persian carpets (nos. 13 and 16).[42]

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[39] Chicago 1966, 3.
[40] A complete list of the exhibitions held at the Arts Club of Chicago is available online: http://www.newberry.org/collections/FindingAids/artsclub/ArtsClub.html (accessed 5 May 2011).
[41] See Pope 1926.
[42] These numbers are according to the Chicago carpet show catalogue (Pope 1926).

One of the start pieces was a portion of the Ardabil Carpet (no. 6) now in the collection of Los Angeles County Museum of Art (53.50.2).[43] Lent by the Duveen Brothers, then owned by Joseph Duveen (1869-1939), one of the legendary art dealers in the late 19th and early 20th century,[44] this iconic carpet received high admiration from the people of Chicago. There was even an idea to acquire it for the Art Institute, yet in the end this did not materialise due to the absence of major donors[45] and the carpet remained unsold. Its price was indeed astronomically set: Duveen's suggested price of the carpets he lent to the Arts Club was generally higher than others, for example $75,000 (equivalent to approximately $900,000) for the Ardabil piece,[46] $25,000 for the Isfahan red-ground rug (no. 15) and $ 30,000 for the Polonaise rug (no. 25). Clearly, Duveen performed as a bold, charismatic art dealer in this exhibition; he states, for instance, in a letter to Pope in a rather sarcastic way: "… I very much dislike to appear to create an atmosphere suggesting that they are necessarily for sale. My main idea in loaning them is for the benefit of the Museum and the art loving public."[47]

George Hewitt Myers was a major buyer in the exhibition. Myers, who had already established a love-and-hate business relation with Pope by this time, was bewitched by Pope's rhetoric for considering a major acquisition: "Ballard was here (i.e. the rug show in Chicago). He was really quite astonished at what he saw. He stayed three hours and left quite lip-up. He said, 'when you write George Myers, tell him that if I were his age, and had health as good as his, I should buy at least half of the collection.'"[48] Although not half of the exhibits, Myers ultimately bought nine carpets, spending in total $65,000.[49] This includes the Safavid silk *gilim* (kilim) (no. 27; R33.28.1, Textile Museum, Washington DC), which was later used as the design for his book-plate, demonstrating his fondness of this

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[43] This carpet was exhibited at the London Persian Art exhibition in 1931 (London 1931, no. 856) and was later purchased by J. Paul Getty (1892–1976). For further provenance research into the Ardabil carpet, see Erdmann 1970, 29-32.

[44] For further information about the life and career of Joseph Duveen, see Secrest 2004.

[45] "… they are going to try to get it for the Art Institute, but they cannot do anything for about three or four months until the most likely donor, who heads the subscription, gets back …", letter from Pope to Myers, 19 January 1926, ACCR.

[46] It is interesting to note that the V&A Ardabil carpet was purchased at £2.500 in 1892 (Helfgott 1994, 87).

[47] Letter from Duveen to Pope, 14 January 1926, ACCR.

[48] Letter from Pope to Myers, 19 January 1926, ACCR.

[49] Namely nos. 2, 17, 27, 33, 35, 36, 39, 41 and 53.

piece.[50] Another carpet purchased by him is the medallion carpet (no. 2; R33.1.2, Textile Museum, Washington DC), currently attributed to early 17th century Isfahan.[51] Both carpets were lent by Bernheimer Brothers in Munich, a renewed art dealer which is still active in the art market sphere;[52] these were two examples of the nine carpets from this firm.[53]

Four carpets were lent by Dikran Garabed Kelekian, one of the most influential dealers in the formation of Islamic art in American museums.[54] He offered one medallion and animal carpet, two floral carpets attributed to Isfahan and the so-called vase carpet.[55] Besides these Persian pieces, "Papa" Kelekian also brought one Turkish rug in the Chicago show. His Holbein carpet (no. 39) was sold at $11.000,[56] pleasing him: "your client will make a very wise purchase, if he secures this rug, which is the finest example of its kind. In all my forty-one years experience I have never seen so fine a specimen."[57]

Another dealer to get involved in this exhibition was the Demotte, which was founded by Georges J. Demotte (1877–1923), perhaps the most infamous dealer in the history of Islamic art collections, owing to his cannibalistic act to split the pages of the Great Mongol *Shahname*.[58] Compared with the above-mentioned individuals, however, the dealer played a low-profile role in the Chicago carpet show, lending only one Persian rug and four non-Persian pieces.[59]

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[50] Pope 1926, no. 27; Bier 1987, no. 40; Kadoi 2010, fig. 3. I am grateful to Daniel Shaffer for this information.

[51] Pope 1926, no. 2; Bier 1987, no. 47.

[52] Founded in 1864 by Lehmann Bernheimer (1841–1918), the firm opened as a shop for textiles and Oriental carpets and later expanded its business into other objects of arts and European painting. Now known as the Bernheimer Fine Old Masters, it mainly deals with European paintings of the 16th-19th centuries (for further information about this firm, see Pfeiffer-Belli 1964; for its relations with Oriental carpets, see London 1996). Some correspondences from/to Bernheimer to/from the ACC or Pope are now in Box 3, Folder 66, ACCR.

[53] Nos. 2, 9, 17, 21, 27, 31, 40 and 49-50. No. 21 appeared in the Bernheimer sales at Christie's in 1996 (London 1996, no. 150).

[54] For Kelekian, see Simpson 2000; Nielsen (ed.) 2008, 172-3. His obituary was published in the New York Times (31 January, 1951).

[55] No. 3, 10, 14 and 19.

[56] Telegram from Pope to Kelekian, 18 January 1926, ACCR.

[57] Letter from Kelekian to Pope, 18 January 1926, ACCR.

[58] For his life, see Blair and Bloom (eds.) 2009, vol. 2, 12; Nielsen (ed.) 2008, 169-70. During the time of the Chicago show, Lucien Demotte (d. 1934) succeeded his father's firm after Georges's death in 1923.

[59] Nos. 12, 33 and 52-54.

Other notable exhibitors include: B. Altman & Co., New York;[60] E. Beghian, London;[61] Bachstitz Gallery of the Hague, New York;[62] M. and R. Stora in Paris, which was run by Raphael Stora (1888–1963) in partnership with his brother Mauruce (n. d.).[63] Parish Watson, which was perhaps famous for its Islamic ceramic holding, also sent three Persian carpets (nos. 1, 8 and 26) to the show.[64]

Although primarily as a sale, the show gave visitors a greater understanding of the extraordinary beauty and craftsmanship of Oriental carpets. Many types of the carpets exhibited in the Chicago show eventually laid the foundation for defining the "classical" style and design in this genre of Persian art.[65] The show also intended to recontexualise the carpet as a subject of the fine arts, a topic which was explored in Pope's opening lecture on 12 January in 1926, entitled "early Oriental rugs as fine art."[66]

The exhibition received rapturous acclaim. One of the Chicago Tribune's reviews on the show says, "connoisseurs have come great distances to see the remarkable exhibit […] which is the finest that has been shown in the United States."[67] Its reputation reached New York, addressing Pope as "a

[60] Some correspondences from/to Altman to/from the ACC or Pope are now in Box 3, Folder 62, ACCR.

[61] Some correspondences from/to Beghian to/from the ACC or Pope are now in Box 3, Folder 65, ACCR.

[62] Some correspondences from/to Bachstitz to/from the ACC or Pope are now in Box 3, Folder 63. ACCR.

[63] Nielsen (ed.) 2008, 177. Some correspondences from/to Stora to/from the ACC or Pope are now in Box 3, Folder 80, ACCR.

[64] For its Islamic ceramic holding, see Meyer-Riefstahl 1922. The shop was located in 44 East 57th Street, New York. A large dark blue jar attributed to 12th-century Kashan from the ex-Parish-Watson collection (Meyer-Riefstahl 1922, no. 40) has been sold at Sotheby's in 2010 (Arts of the Islamic World, 14 April, lot 142) at £361,250.

[65] It is interesting to compare the idea of the "classical" style of Persian carpets and the notion of the "classical" style (i.e. Timurid and Safavid paintings) that evolved in the scholarship and connoisseurship of Persian painting during the 20th century (see Gruber 2012 for a recent study of the term "classical" in Persian painting; see also Troelenberg's article in the present volume).

[66] See Box 3, Folder 61, ACCR. This topic was already explored by Pope before the Chicago show; see, for instance, San Francisco 1917, 67-155 and also a series of articles entitled "Oriental rugs as fine art" published in *The International Studio* in 1922-23 (for bibliographical details of these articles, see Gluck and Siver [eds.] 1996, 601).

[67] Chicago Tribune, 9 January 1926. This review also refers to C. E. C. Tattersall (1877–1957), Keeper of the Department of Textiles at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, who visited the show.

very eminent authority on Oriental rugs, who enjoys the title of Honorary Advisor in Art to the Persian Government."[68]

Catalogue of the Show

The catalogue (Fig. 3.13) was quite a costly task: the printing of the catalogue, including four colour plates, cost about $4,000; the copy was sold at $4-7.50, while complimentary copies were sent off to dealers and scholars.[69] The Arts Club, which financed the publication of the catalogue, was very much keen on selling the catalogue for profit gain, advertising it in a glorious way: "the catalogue contains for the first time in English the announcement of a number of significant discoveries in the history of rugs made by Mr. Pope last year in Persia, Russia, the Caucasus, Germany and Italy. It thus becomes one of the most important publications on the subject of early rugs that has yet appeared."[70] While it was sent to Pope's colleagues as complimentary copies in exchange of favourable book reviews,[71] the catalogue attracted a great deal of interest and received a number of requests for purchase from various places, including museums, schools and individuals.[72]

While acknowledging Ackerman and some other individuals who got involved in the organisation of the exhibition and catalogue publication, the catalogue is dedicated to Sarre on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday.[73] This suggests a certain friendship and collaboration across the Atlantic among two of the most influential men in the development of scholarship and connoisseurship in Islamic art studies in the early 20th century.[74]

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[68] New York Times, 17 January 1926.

[69] Letter from Pope to Altman, 30 January 1926, ACCR. The published price was quoted as seven dollars and a half but the Arts Club members received the discount price (4 dollars; see a small note "important", Box 3, folder 85, ACCR).

[70] 'Important', Box 3, folder 85, ACCR.

[71] "The Chicago Arts Club who financed this publication want to send out a notice to their members containing various reviews and favorable expressions which have come from my overgenerous colleagues. I wonder if you would allow me to quote part of your letter? They are naturally anxious to congratulate themselves on the success of the publication and the only way we hope to secure finds for research and publication is by convincing donors that the professional opinion of the world is approving," letter from Pope to Thomas Arnold, 30 May 1927, AUPP.

[72] Correspondences regarding the catalogue request are found in Box 3, Folder 85, ACCR.

[73] Pope 1926, prefatory note.

[74] For Sarre, see Gierlichs's essay in the present volume.

Carpets from Persia occupy nearly half of the entire catalogue pages. Starting from North-West Persia, which indicates a hierarchical mind-set for placing Persian pieces more important than other regions, the entries are further sub-categorised according to Persian carpet provenance, such as Kashan or West Persia, East Persia (so-called Isfahan carpets), central Persia (so-called Vase carpets), and the courtly workshop (so-called Polonaise carpets). The problem of scholarship in Persian carpets is visible in the catalogue, as little is still known about the exact place of production and workshop prior to the time of Shah ʻAbbas.[75] This was also due to the lack of time in research, given that only two weeks were spent for writing up the catalogue.[76] The weakness of scholarship is covered by Pope's eloquence. Praising Persian carpets to outrank all others, he states: "the Persian genius was responsible for much of the glory of all Muhammadan art and the art of rug weaving of the high school type was essentially a creation of Persian weavers, painters and designers."[77]

Maurice S. Dimand (1892–1986), then curator in charge of the newly created section for Islamic art in the Department of Decorative Arts, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, who came to be known as an expert of Oriental carpets and later became a major rival of Pope, wrote a book review on his catalogue in a less critical manner and gently points out the lack of Indian carpets in the show.[78]

After the ACC Show

Owing to its popularity, the carpet show was extended till 10 February. Pope proposed to move the show to the Art Institute of Chicago during the rest of February in conjunction with an exhibition of Islamic art. Thus immediately after the sales, twenty-four carpets from the show were transferred to the Art Institute,[79] and these were incorporated into some

[75] Thompson 2003, 271.

[76] For example, a letter from Pope to Trask, 29 January 1926, ACCR. Pope says, "…catalogue was written for 14 days and printed in 6 and half days and arrived at the exhibition 12 hours before the opening …."

[77] Pope 1926, 18.

[78] Dimand 1926, 181. On the other hand, Pope comments on Dimand's scholarship in carpets in a rather critical manner in an article published in 1925 (Pope 1925). The catalogue was also reviewed in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeiting* (OLZ), 33/6 (1930), 430-2, by M. Meyerhof, and in the *Kunstwanderer*, July (1926), 502-3, by F. Sarre.

[79] Receipt number R 2671, Museum Registration Archives, Art Institute of Chicago.

400 exhibits of Islamic art at the Art Institute of Chicago that opened on 13 February 1926.[80]

The total sales of rugs were some $67,000; even deducting the cost of rugs ($55,000), the profit reached almost $12,000. The profit was equally divided into the Arts Club and Pope.[81] Aiming at raising the arts club gift purchase fund to support the acquisitions of the Art Institute and the Field Museum, the carpet show contributed to the addition of $ 1,500 to this fund from the exhibition committee's commission on carpets sales.[82]

Besides the financial gain, the carpet show must have captured a particular awe, a sense that is still conceivable in any display of Persian carpets, and generated a growing interest in this art form among the art community of the Windy City. It was perhaps not coincidence that in the same year Emily Crane Chadbourne (1871–1964) presented hundreds of diverse objects to the Art Institute, including some Oriental carpets.[83] The most notable example from the Chadbourne carpet collection is a rug (1926.1617), which was attributed to 15th-century Shiraz by Martin,[84] or to the Damascus group according to the carpet scholarship of the early 20th century.[85]

This small yet focused exhibition was probably an ideal exercise for Pope, whose ambitious was extended to a large-scale event in the following years, such as the Sesquicentennial Exposition in Philadelphia, where he, as Special Commissioner for Persia, gathered a number of Persian carpets and other types of artefacts. While self-promoting the Chicago show to the director of the fine arts department at the Philadelphia exposition,[86] Pope smartly arranged a transfer of the Bernheimer carpets

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[80] According to Chicago Tribune, 14 February 1926, and the AIC newsletter, 20 February 1926. Both articles refer to a pair of early Turkish velvets from the Sarre collection in Berlin (this is testified by a letter from Pope to Sarre, 18 February 1926, AUPP [quoted in Gluck and Siver [eds.] 1996, 154]) and textiles from the King of Saxony's collection.

[81] See Folder 81, particularly a letter from the Arts Club to Pope, 12 March 1926, ACCR.

[82] Chicago 1966, 5.

[83] Nelson 2008, 132. Her donations of objects to the museum ranged from 1918 to 1957 and reached more than 2,000 objects. She also presented some mediaeval Persian ceramics (Nelson 2008, 137).

[84] Martin 1909.

[85] Michelet 1931. This rug is currently attributed vaguely to North Africa, Syria, the Caucasus and Shiraz and the period ranging from the late 17th to the early 18th century.

[86] "… the exhibition of the carpets here [i.e. Chicago] is the most important that has been gathered together temporality in America, with the single exception of the

from Chicago to Philadelphia.[87] His creative endeavours culminated in the organisation of the London Persian art exhibition in 1931, where some hundred carpets, including loans from the shrines of Qum, Mashhad and Ardabil, were sumptuously present.[88]

As a final remark, it is worthy of mentioning that Pope's Oriental carpet show in Chicago was followed by an exhibition on Gothic tapestry curated by Phyllis Ackerman at the same venue.[89] This reveals some aspects of the wife-and-husband team's continuous attempt to conquest the field of carpets and textiles, partially as a business strategy and partially as a scholarly venture, until their fame became firmly established in the early 1930s. On the other hand, this also illustrates the intertwined ideas of Mediaevalism and Orientalism whose origins were viewed as "non-western," a notion which deeply rooted in the European art-historical and socio-cultural psyche of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[90]

Although modest in scale, the early Oriental carpet show in Chicago in 1926 became a turning point in the display of Persian carpets in North America. It recast for the scholarly as well as market value of this type of medium among the targeted audiences, namely emerging collectors and philanthropists in the heart of the Midwest, and served to formulate ideas for what Persian carpets should be appreciated, traded and classified in relation to other branches of Oriental rugs. Taken together, the Chicago show successfully set a new career passage to Persian art for Arthur Upham Pope—who was then in the process of transforming from a college professor to a unique, independent entrepreneur.

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exhibition in 1910 at the Metropolitan. It is by far the most important group of carpets that has ever been made available for purchase, even in modern times …," letter from Pope to Trask, 29 January 1926, ACCR.

[87] Letter from Pope to the Arts Club of Chicago, 19 May 1926, ACCR.

[88] See London 1931, nos. 100, 106, 140, 252, 325, 328, 331, 334, 339-40, 343, 347, 365, 394, 517-9 and 522.

[89] The show ran from 12 to 27 December 1926. The catalogue (*Catalogue of A Loan Exhibition of Gothic Tapestry*) was written by Ackerman.

[90] See Ganim 2005. See also Troelenberg's article in the present volume for further discussion on Mediaevalim and Orientalism in Islamic art history.

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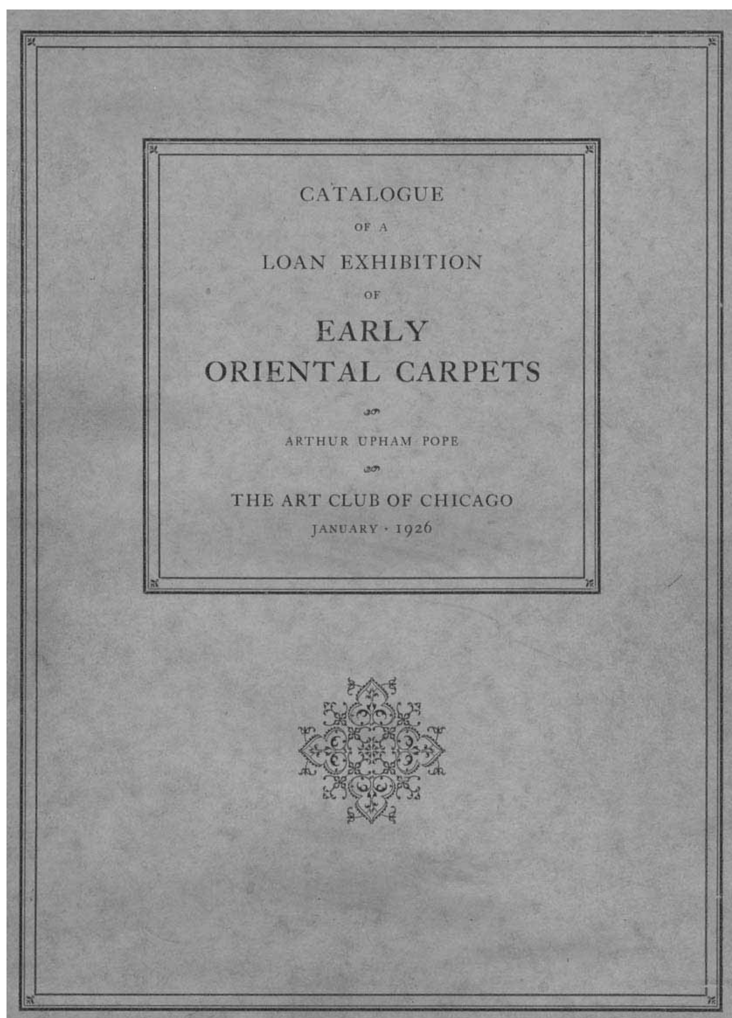

Fig. 3.13 A. U. Pope. *Catalogue of A Loan Exhibition of Early Oriental Carpets* (Chicago, 1926).

PART FOUR

PERSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA, CENTRAL ASIA IN PERSIA

TAJIK ART: A CENTURY OF NEW TRADITIONS

LARISA DODKHUDOEVA, RUSTAM MUKIMOV AND KATHERINE HUGHES

From the Russian conquest of Central Asia in the late 19th century and throughout the 20th century, a century which saw the rise and downfall of the Soviet Union, followed by the birth of independent republics, national consciousness in the region has been shaped by multiple attempts at establishing definitive traditions for peoples living within artificially created borders. Although in the temporal, geographic and anthropological sense these attempts often resulted in creating socio-cultural tension and conflict, the current outlook of Central Asia was formed during this dramatic period of transition, as exemplified here by the interpretive layers of artistic patrimony in what is now called the Republic of Tajikistan.

The Background

The victory of the October Revolution in 1917 in Petrograd and the establishment of Soviet power in Tajikistan in 1922 brought radical changes into the social, political, economic and cultural aspects of this hitherto outlying district of Tsarist Russia. Before the Revolution, Tajik lands had been a part of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan and the Emirate of Bukhara. Now, with the proclamation of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic in 1929, the process of tradition-making accelerated and became more specified to meet the needs of this newly created entity.

It was amidst the turmoil of the Russian takeover in the 1870s that the first local modernist social movements emerged. The Jadidist ("Innovator") reformers or Juvonbukhori ("Young Bukharans") strove to overcome the crisis of the Emirate of Bukhara by setting out the direction towards cultural enlightenment through modernisation on one hand, and national revival on the other.[1] By degrees Jadidism was developed into some kind

[1] See Khalid 1998; Bennigsen and Wimbush 1979; Khodzaev 1926.

of a synthesis of Islam, socialism and nationalism:[2] both modernisation and its presumed antipode—namely, Islam, which also originated outside the boundaries of the Emirate—were employed to stimulate the interest of the masses in their own history and cultural heritage. However, as this national framework was reciprocally intended to bolster the process of technological and societal modernisation, it became ever more embedded in a transnational, increasingly Russian-influenced, system of thought.[3] Thus, the progressive movement of these Muslim intellectuals was perhaps more closely linked to European Orientalism than the intellectual traditions of their homeland.

The 1930s saw the formation of the Soviet state under the leadership of Joseph Stalin (1878–1953). The Soviets employed three synchronised goals throughout their vast empire: collectivisation, industrialisation and cultural revolution. Western forms of mass media, fine arts and cinematography offered new means for propaganda, information, and tradition-setting. This era was known as the "Great Overturn" for the Bolsheviks, the first stage of their involvement in socio-economic and political processes all over the USSR, which included the formation of a new lifestyle, a new model of social behaviour, a new vocabulary based on the printed book, the formation of secular education, the emancipation of women, the establishment of new cultural institutions as well as the refashioning of traditional costumes.[4]

The ambitious programme for the elimination of illiteracy, which was launched throughout the whole USSR, focused not only on the spread of literacy but also on the implementation of the Cyrillic script for most languages of the USSR. This culminated in the spread of the Russian education system, with an attempt to unite the diverse population of the vast country as well as to indoctrinate the fundamental tenets of Communist theory. The creation of an autonomous Tajikistan proceeded amidst heated debates, as it had to deal not only with the geographic boundaries but also with the unresolved issues of the Tajik language, culture and ultimately the Tajik nation as a whole. In addition to the Soviet policy of bilingualism, Tajik linguists were compromised by the Uzbek language—the Turkic *lingua franca* of the region—and had an even more complicated task of emancipating the Tajik language from its "parent language"—namely, Persian.[5] From the very beginning, the interpretative choice between a

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[2] Khalid 1998, 80-113.
[3] See Chigabdinov 2004, 231-41.
[4] See, for instance, Harris 2006.
[5] The tensions are reflected by the frequent changes of script used for Tajiks. The Arabic script was used in Tajikistan but in 1926 it was replaced by Latin, followed

sovereign Tajik nationhood and a greater Iranian identity remained a source of debate. Yet in the 1920s, the basic requirements of modern life were more immediate problems to be solved in Tajikistan.

Tajik Visual Arts in the Transitional Period

The Jadidists paved the way for an artistic upheaval, bringing in western techniques and ideas through Russian mediation and in turn did away with the monopoly of traditional education. In particular, they desacralised the process of writing, which had been considered to be sacred in the Muslim world. The era of individual handwriting as a major component of Central Asian culture was thus over. Due to its inseparable relation to all aspects of intellectual life, calligraphy had been the most vital artistic activity of the mediaeval Muslim East. But along with the development of printing technology, it quickly began to lose ground. Other related genres of traditional arts, including book painting, also ceased to exist as an independent expression of creativity, while the impact of other cultures was increasingly intensified.

In correlation with the final decline of traditional book production, the art of Tajik graphic design emerged in the 1920s, with the introduction of a new educational system. Great emphasis was given to the publication of illustrated books that were part of the Soviet project of enlightening the East. Didactic imagery was used to reach the broadest section of the populace and to persuade them of the usefulness of new social and economic ideals. School textbooks were printed with Arabic script until 1926. In many ways the texts and images in the textbooks were derived from Jadidist newspapers, such as the richly illustrated *Oina* (Mirror) in which Sadr al-Din (Sadriddin) ʻAyni (1878–1954) published some of his groundbreaking pieces of modern Tajik literature.[6]

Just as in earlier times, Tajikistan remained open to foreign influences during the Soviet period. Images from abroad were copied or reinterpreted by local artists; foreign artists came to the country to educate locals; and Tajik artists were sent to receive training in the artistic centres of the USSR. Figurative arts—painting, sculpture and graphic art—appeared in Tajikistan around the early twentieth century as a weapon in the fight against what reformists considered outdated. With the establishment of

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by the introduction of Cyrillic in 1939. The formation of Tajik linguistic identity and the conflicting notions of Persian vs. Tajik nationhood during the 1920s are discussed in Rzehak 2001, 88-168.

[6] Dodkhudoeva 2006, 36.

Bolshevik power, art became a leading propaganda tool used to introduce and promulgate a modern Soviet lifestyle, as opposed to traditional social and public norms.

Although modernist tendencies were developing with great speed, before long Soviet power began to persecute avant-garde movements, modernism was considered as “formalistic” and a challenge to communist ideology. As elsewhere in the USSR, realism was the single recognised and promoted artistic trend, since the chief role assigned to art was social education. Adherents of other views were subject to persecution, and any open discussion about the continuation of Islamic art became unfeasible. Yet, as in the case of architecture, certain “Islamic” elements deprived of their religious background, including arabesque decoration and miniature painting, found their way into the reinvented indigenous “Tajik” decorative arts. The boundary between national and religious was thin and dangerous: mediaeval miniature painters were praised, while calligraphers—practitioners of the banned Arabic writing—were discouraged.

Dushanbe: The National Capital

Since Dushanbe came to be the undisputed Tajik centre of artistic activity in a remarkably short time, it is important to understand how it was transformed from an obscure Persian town in Central Asia into a modern metropolis.

Despite Jadidism and other modernist movements, architecture and urban planning in this region did not generate any creative spirits during the last decades of Tsarist rule. Productivity was stagnating and inefficient; and even when something was built, such constructions had a purely local significance: newly-built structures, like old ones, met the needs of private individuals, such as merchants, industrialists and *bey*s, as well as religious institutions. This activity was neither conducive to improving the living standards of the general population of cities and villages, nor did it contribute to the beautification, infrastructural and socio-cultural improvement of these settlements. Urban centres grew slowly and spontaneously as a result of population growth; and the residential areas were extended without plans or long-term calculations.[7] There were neither locally established architectural schools available at that time, nor architects, nor did even the most basic concepts of town planning exist. The names of mediaeval architects and craftsmen who created the distinctive buildings and ensembles of Tajikistan’s past were forgotten.

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[7] Veselovskiy, Mukimov, Mamadnazarov and Mamadzhanova 1987, 61.

Soviet architecture in Tajikistan sought to formulate the economic, technological and aesthetic basis for a style that, while bearing a vernacular imprint, was fully integrated into the Communist vision of the future. In a historical perspective, the art and architecture of the Soviet period represent a transitional phase of Tajik visual culture between pre-industrial and contemporary times.[8] Over the last ninety years of Dushanbe's growth—during which time what was a small rural marketplace developed into a large industrial centre and a national capital—the practice of merging modern technologies, classical European aesthetics and Orientalist elaborations of local traditions is notable. In fact this was also a predominant feature since the Soviet takeover. As the "recipe" for this development trend was applied to the capital, its experimental phase was formulated and tested there. Thus, Dushanbe had some teething trouble that many cities and villages of the republic would later skip over. Still, Dushanbe in its entirety—more than just its architectural plan—encapsulates the cultural transformation of Tajikistan and Central Asia as a whole.

In pre-revolutionary Central Asia, the lack of specialised institutions for architectural education was compensated by the the construction industry guild organisations, where expertise was passed on from one generation to the next, sometimes in the form of family or guild secrets. This knowledge transfer ensured the continuity of regional traditions in construction. But after the October Revolution of 1917, this knowledge had to be reformulated on an entirely different basis: due to the development of new construction materials (cement, burnt brick of new Russian type, glass, metal, plywood, etc.), building techniques and methods, as well as new principles of urban planning, and many other aspects of modern architecture. Ravaged by years of civil war,[9] there was no talk about any continuity in the architecture of Dushanbe. While the town had two thousand houses in 1910, only some forty small one-storey dwellings survived in 1925. The population started declining in 1920, and by the end of 1924 it decreased from 3140 to 283.[10] Therefore, the inhabitants of the reawakening town largely consisted of immigrants who arrived after the establishment of Dushanbe as capital of the young autonomous socialist republic in 1925. While the unusual conditions of Tajikistan (hot climate, high seismicity, soil slump, etc.) had convinced the architects, mostly of foreign origin, that their imported methods of construction and urban

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[8] See Mamadzhanova and Mukimov, 2008.

[9] The main events of the anti-Russian Basmachi Revolt in what is now Tajikistan lasted between 1916 and 1923.

[10] Veselovskiy, Mukimov, Mamadnazarov and Mamadzhanova 1987, 61; see also Atkin 1996.

development, especially large-scale multi-storey architecture, could not be implemented routinely; investigations began during the early 1930s in order to consider how local craftsmen had adapted to these specific conditions. This is how Soviet architecture of Tajikistan first came to realise the usability of pre-modern traditions.

In preparation of the restoration of Dushanbe, the Emergency Dictatorial Commission (EDC) decided to settle in nearby Hissar in November 1922 and took additional measures for the early restoration of Dushanbe.[11] According to these measures the EDC had committed the Dushanbe Revolutionary Committee to ensure the attendance of five hundred local people with hoes, spades, axes and other tools for basic construction works. To this effect, fifty men led by an authoritative person from each locality were mobilised from the closest villages such as Lakay, Yavan, Fayzabad, Nurak, Ramit, Khanaqa and other localities. In addition, ten master craftsmen—carpenters and masons—were selected from each of the above-named localities. This was how the initial efforts on urban improvement were organised, as an aspect of the restoration of everyday life and stability.[12]

Different conditions characterised the ancient cities of Khujand, Ura-Tube and Isfara, where the small guilds of masons with their own traditions remained operational after the October Revolution. According to archival data, for example, there were five hundred people engaged in the construction business, including masons, bricklayers, plaster workers (*gilkar*), carpenters (*durudgar*), carvers and other craftspeople, who were incorporated in several workshops in Khujand in the early 1920s.[13] After the Revolution, most of these craftsmen took part in the construction of Soviet Tajikistan using their ancient techniques. Among them there were the carvers such as Karimdzhan Babadzhanov, Mamur Karimdzhanov, Naim Aminov and Yusuf Kurbanov, as well as the decorator Abdu-Nabi and the *durudgar* Mahmud Ayubov, who built residential houses, clubs, tea houses, cultural centres, reading rooms, bathhouses and other buildings in cities and villages of northern Tajikistan.[14] The continuity of traditions in these ancient cities of the country, unlike in the capital, had remained comparatively intact.

The specific conditions that prevailed in Dushanbe during the late 1920s and early 30s, especially the almost total lack of modern

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[11] The old urban network of this last stronghold of the anti-communist forces was also eradicated during the civil war (see Mukhtorov 1999).

[12] Mamadzhanova, Mukimov and Tilloev 2008, 60-61.

[13] See Tursunov 1976, 91-100.

[14] Voronina 1959, 66-98, figs. 88-123.

infrastructure, did not allow the building of large-scale structures of special architectural merit. Judging by archive photographs from those early years, mainly one-story, simple buildings were built, without any distinctive features. Then, in 1930, the Council of People's Commissars of the Tajik SSR approved the first draft of the development plan of Dushanbe. Soon thereafter, one of the largest design organisations in the USSR, the Leningrad branch of *Giprogor* (State Institute of Urban Development and Investment), was entrusted with developing the first general plan of the capital. In 1935 the architects Mikhail Baranov and Nikolay Baranov, as well as the engineers Georgiy Sitko, Grigoriy Sheleykhovskiy of the *Giprogor*, started designing this general plan, and in late 1937, the Council of People's Commissars of the Tajik SSR approved the general plan of Dushanbe. At this time 4295 buildings had already been built in Dushanbe, 73 of which were two-storey and only two three-storey buildings. The city population was 50,000 people.

Following the establishment of Dushanbe as the national capital in 1925 (between 1926 and 1961 it was known as Stalinabad), specialists of different fields, including architects, designers, builders and engineers began to arrive from various parts of the Soviet Union, in particular from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Odessa. Among the first architects to come to Dushanbe were Pyotr Ivanovitch Vaulin (1880–1945)[15] and Sergey Kutin (1906–1964), the graduates of the Institute of Civil Engineers in Leningrad, who were influenced by modernist tendencies, including constructivism.[16] In 1936-7 a large number of additional young architects arrived in the Republic. These included Stefan Anisimov, Vsevolod Veselovskiy, Alexey Pokrovskiy, Ivan Tkachev and Viktor Kozlov who graduated from the Leningrad Institute of Public Construction Engineers and were practitioners of the new Soviet architecture—international (i. e. neoclassical and European) in form, but national in content.[17]

In the second half of the 1930s and early 40s the architecture of Dushanbe was characterised by European neoclassicism, in accordance with the directives of the then current Soviet architectural theory. Perhaps the first implementation of this style was Kutin's Kuibyshev Street Secondary School (1934–5; later the seat of the People's Committee of

[15] Vaulin was the brother of the ceramicist Pyotr Kuzmich Vaulin (1870–1943) who was the decorator of the Great Mosque of Petrograd, the most important example of Orientalist architecture in late-Tsarist Russia. Inspired by the Mausoleum of Timur in Samarqand, it was completed after 1917.

[16] Data concerning their activities in Tajikistan is preserved in the Union of Tajik Architects.

[17] Veselovskiy and Gendlin 1972, 18-33.

Education, *Narcompros*, now housing the National Museum of Antiquities; Fig. 4.1), followed by the light wooden pavilions of the Central Pioneer Park of Culture and Recreation in 1936 (architect S. Anisimov, design office “State Project”) and the Agricultural Exhibition of the Tajik SSR in 1937 (architects S. Kutin, S. Anisimov, R. Rudovskayz, A. Pokrovskiy, engineers M. Karadumov, A. Rekant, design office “Architectural Planning Department of the People's Commissariat of Communal Services of the Tajik SSR”).[18] The architecture of these constructions conformed to a pure neoclassical style or eclecticism. From this period neoclassicism has been interpreted as the manifestation of Tajikistan’s entering into an era of enlightened internationalism, thereby displaying a disconnection with the pre-modern internationalism of Islamic architecture that represented, in the view of Soviet ideologists including the historian Babadzhan (Bobojon) Gafurov (1908–1977), repression and foreign rule.[19] The symbols of the new era were the school, the theatre, and the sports hall. Nevertheless, certain desacralised Islamic or Persian patterns (arabesques, arches and *ivan*s, etc.) were selected as “national” motifs, and their combination with neoclassicism was perceived to be a solution to the problem of expressing the national spirit in an international language (Fig. 4.2).

The formulation and official approval of the principles of Tajik national style gave rise to the study of the local architectural and artistic heritage in order to incorporate them into residential and public constructions. To this end, systematic researches were conducted in the field of architectural decoration.[20] Columned teahouses (*chaykhane*s) took over the role of mosques as the centres of community life where traditional wood-carvers and painters could still demonstrate their skills. In particular, artists from Ura-Tube (now Istarawshan) excelled in these crafts, achieving nationwide fame. They created the masterful carved and painted decorations of the finest *chaykhane*s in the capital (including the Rakhat and the Sa‘dat Teahouses).[21]

[18] Central State Archives of Tajik SSR. General fund department, list 6, file 989.
[19] Gafurov 1989, 303-6.
[20] Andreyev 1928. The study of architectural decoration continued to be carried out in Soviet Central Asia (see Rempel’ 1962).
[21] Dodkhudoeva 2007, 61.

The Rise of Fine Arts, Archaeology and Cultural Institutions in Tajikistan

Fine arts in the European sense as well as artistic and museum activity began to develop in Tajikistan in the 1920s and 1930s. Artistic expression was going through a rapid transition period from traditional media to European principles, and by the middle of the 20th century the basics of modern Tajik art had already been formed. The most revolutionary effect that western art exerted on the arts of Tajikistan, and Central Asia as a whole, was the introduction and enforced acceptance of the free-standing, independently framed artefact as the norm: these artefacts hang on the wall as separate objects, instead of forming an organic symbiosis with the wall, as in the past.

For the Tajik artists who had started to tap western artistic norms and techniques, it proved to be a unique experience of the most utmost complexity. The painters, ceramicists and woodcarvers could not detach themselves from their old techniques, but the thematic choice of their traditional crafts became Sovietised and modernised.[22] Amid this grievous sense of rupture and disintegration, these artists were forced to adopt and absorb almost the whole history of European aesthetics in a matter of years, from the Old Masters to the almost incomprehensible apocalypse that was continuously folding and unfolding on the stage of European art. The drive for artists to witness, record, register, apply and satirise was becoming an increasingly powerful call, because of the serious political and social challenges that Central Asia was facing.

After the October Revolution of Russia in 1917, a stream of Russian Orientalists, scholars and artists poured into Tajikistan and their activity resulted in the establishment of new institutions. Archaeological investigations, which gained momentum after the restructuring of the Central Asian Soviet socialist republics in 1929, were coordinated by the Museum of Oriental Cultures in Moscow. Breaking the opposition of those who argued that scientific life in the USSR had to be concentrated in Moscow and Leningrad, the Tajik branch of the Academy of Sciences was established in 1932. Art schools appeared on the scene soon thereafter, followed by a number of museums and picture galleries. Through these institutions Tajik art has been indoctrinated to a bi-cultural, national and European, identity; ultimately, however, both were masterminded by Russian mediators. Formal art education was introduced into schools and many local artists were encouraged to study in various centres of the

[22] Dodkhudoeva 2007, 54, 57.

USSR, including Moscow, Leningrad, Riga and Tashkent. In 1936 an art college was established in the capital. The first museums in Tajikistan were likewise founded in the 1930s; importantly, the very first such institution (a museum of local history) came into being in 1931, not in the capital but in Leninabad (Khujand), the regional centre of the economically developed Ferghana area. In the capital Stalinabad (Dushanbe), the Central Museum was opened in 1934, while the Museum of Fine Arts was established in 1945, with the help of donations from Russian museums and artists. This latter museum was renamed on its tenth anniversary in honour of the famous Herat painter Kamal al-Din Bihzad (c. 1450–c.1536). Later it was merged with the Museum of Local History, gaining its third name, Kamal al-Din Bihzad Republican Museum of Local History and Fine Arts, in 1959.[23]

With these museums, the basic standards of collecting, cataloguing and exposition practices were formed. Scientific archaeological research has been conducted by the Academy of Sciences since 1946, making a huge contribution to the development of museum activity in Tajikistan. It should be noted, however, that the leading explorers, including Alexander M. Belenitskiy (1904–1993) who began his general survey in 1947 and Boris A. Litvinskiy (1913–2010), continued to come from Russia.[24] As a result of numerous expeditions, the museums of Tajikistan were enriched with unique collections of the natural and cultural heritage, some of which have a global significance. Preference was given to the pre-Islamic period, especially to Sogdian art that was regarded as the embodiment of Tajik national spirit, and the lively narrative scenes of Sogdian wall paintings from Panjikent became sources of inspiration for Soviet monumental art.[25] On the other hand, the rich Buddhist heritage in the region was rarely emphasised outside scientific discussions.[26] An early-Islamic successor state of Sogdiana, the Samanid Empire (819–999), also enjoyed a high regard, and as the anti-religious sentiments diminished with the fall of the USSR, this period took over as the main "official" precursor of independent

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[23] For the collections of these and other museums, see Zeymal' 1985 and Dodkhudoeva 2006.

[24] For early assessments of Soviet archaeology in the region and first preliminary reports for future study, see Belenitskiy 1950; Litvinsky 1954; Litvinsky and Davidovitch 1954; see also Zeymal'1985, for a catalogue of the main findings of the previous forty decades.

[25] A pioneering study of Sogdian art was conducted by Boris Marshak (1933–2006), who spent some fifty years excavating the Sogdian sites in Panjikent.

[26] Soviet and Post-Soviet research on Buddhism in Central Asia is summarised in Koshelenko 2001.

Tajikistan. Although archaeological research had furnished scholarship with a wealth of systematically excavated material, the presentation of these periods to the general public did not strive for historical authenticity. A monumental portrait of the Samanid poet Rudaki (858–941), for instance, painted by Mukhammed Hushmukhammedov (b. 1912) in 1958 for the reopening of the Bihzad Museum, surrounds the poet with a rather anachronistic assortment of "Oriental" artefacts (Fig. 4.3).

The Legacy of the Samanids and the Tajik Cultural Identity

Since the 1990s, the Samanid "Renaissance" has become the core of Tajik state ideology. The forging of a new tradition has begun. Dushanbe's *Vahdat-e Milli* (National Unity) complex was the focus of the Samanid Celebration in 1999, which proclaimed the Samanid Empire as pivotal to the national identity of the new state. On this occasion, a ten-metre high bronze statue of the empire's founder, Isma'il ibn Ahmad (r. 892–907; or Ismoil Somoni, as he is known in Tajik), flanked by seated lions and surmounted by an arc, was unveiled (Fig. 4.4). Although portraying a Muslim ruler, the statue wears the pre-Islamic stepped crown of Sasanian kingship. According to the creator of the monument, Bahovadin Zuhurdinov (b. 1946), "the enlightened Amir is not put on a high pedestal; on the contrary, he is placed as close as possible to the people [...] the noble arc [...] is a signpost, symbol, an image of the nation."[27]

The Samanid period in the 9th-10th centuries is considered a time of cultural florescence when Central Asia was the "intellectual epicentre of the world."[28] As such the Samanids were consummate intermediary rulers: "this was the superb creation of a Persian Islamic culture which had reconciled and absorbed the West Iranian Sasanian past with a Central Asian and Eastern past, mixed into an Arabic Islamic crucible, with a resulting genius which opened a new vista in the history of Islam."[29]

The Samanids themselves were inventors of traditions, adapting them to a new cultural identity to create a new "self-image." Some of the outstanding masterpieces of the time, such as the so-called Samanid Mausoleum in Bukhara, the spectacular Iskodar Mihrab (from the Zarafshan valley in West Tajikistan; Fig. 4.5), as well as the first literary works in New Persian, look back to the preceding pre-Islamic period as

[27] Nourzhanov 2001, 21.
[28] Starr 2009, 34.
[29] Frye 1975, 202.

well as arguably being trailblazers for the Islamic age.[30] Certainly it can be argued that in post-Soviet Tajikistan Somoni is a Hobsbawmian invented tradition,[31] a symbolic core around which a nation, based on a difficult geographic territory and disparate population, has been formed.[32]

Behind the Somoni statue is a map which clearly shows that this indigenous Persian-speaking dynasty ruled vast swathes of Central Asia, before the dominance of Turkic speaking dynasties. Their empire included the high-cultural Tajik centres of Samarqand and Bukhara, now in Uzbekistan, but still seen by many Tajiks as an integral part of their heritage. Therefore the Persian language and Sunni form of Islam are symbolic elements that create strong links between past and present.[33] Various Samanid cultural strands are emphasised by different groups in Tajikistan today, and the dynasty acts to unify the country thrown into chaos by its civil war in 1992-7, and still beset by regionalism and suffering from *anomie*. In addition, the Samanids' orthodox Sunni beliefs play well to the Tajik Sunni majority. Thus, Ismoil Somoni is arguably an ideal figurehead, a firm leader who united his country after a period of unrest; a symbolic ruler whose presumed ideas resonate strongly in post-Soviet Tajikistan. Nizam al-Mulk (1018–1092), who wrote two centuries after the time of Somoni, described him as a model of a prince and praised his piety.[34] Members of the *Hukumat*, or local government point to the Samanid tradition of good government as important for them.[35]

The Samanids are better known for their cultural patronage rather than their religious beliefs. This aspect was highlighted by the secular, post-Soviet, Tajik government as well as the cultural elite. Commemorated in bronze, eminent poets and scientists of the Samanid period, such as Rudaki and Ibn Sina (980–1037), are, like Somoni, now part of the nation's pantheon of heroes. Just as Somoni's statue has replaced the statue of Lenin on the most potent site opposite the Parliament, he is also seen as a replacement for Lenin as "father of the Tajik nation." Even the currency is now called Somoni, linking his name to the wealth that is so desperately sought after by many Tajiks. However it is highly questionable whether Somoni had as much to do with the birth of the Tajik nation as Lenin. Unlike many of the invented traditions that were incorporated into

[30] Hillenbrand 1994, 290, Dodkhudoeva 2007, 18.
[31] Hobsbawm 1983.
[32] Beeman 1999, 100.
[33] E.g. Bashiri 1998; Negmatov 1999; Shozimov 2005; Laruelle 2007 and Yountchi 2011.
[34] Frye 1965, 42.
[35] During fieldwork in Qurghonteppa in May-June 2011 (Katherine Hughes).

Tajik culture during the Soviet period, the Samanids are indigenous in content; but the expressed forms remain familiarly Soviet or otherwise link to earlier Russian iconographical traditions. For example, the bronze statue of the ruler on his horse in the city of Qurghonteppa, which is a conscious reference to the famous statue of Peter the Great, as stated by K. K. Mulloev, the architect of the site.[36]

Over ten years after the Samanid Celebration, the invention of tradition might be seen as a self-fulfilling prophesy. The Somoni statue is a symbol for Dushanbe and is incorporated in the city crest. Images have been turned into tourist souvenirs and the site is a popular backdrop for family photographs. Reproductions of the statue are also prominently displayed on the posters celebrating twenty years of independence. The displays of the Samanid dynasty are found in the Kamal al-Din Bihzad Museum, run by the Ministry of Culture,[37] as well as the City Museum in Qurghonteppa. These include the obligatory map and family tree, and in the former there is the model of the Samanid Mausoleum in Bukhara, the Iskodar Mihrab,[38] as well as Samanid ceramics and metalwork. In the National Museum of Antiquities run by Tajikistan's Academy of Sciences, there are no museum interpretation panels explaining the significance of the Samanid state to visitors, although it also exhibits artefacts that date from the period. Although much has been written on post-Soviet identity formation in Central Asia,[39] comparatively little work has looked at material culture or museums in this context, especially at links to historical memory. Halbwachs sees the latter as the representation of a lost past and its only recollection; this is a past which no longer exists as collective memory. [40] All that remains are fragments in the form of artefacts.

The Samanid period also has inspired contemporary art and architecture not sponsored by the state. The impressive Ismaili Centre on Ismoili Somoni Avenue in Dushanbe was opened by His Highness the Aga Khan on 12 October 2009 (although the building is not yet fully functioning as a faith and community centre). It evokes elements of the brickwork of the Samanid Mausoleum, effortlessly combining ancient forms with modern functions of a faith and community education centre. Mirzo Muhiddin, an artist and calligrapher from Qumsangir in South Tajikistan, has illustrated

[36] During fieldwork in Qurghonteppa in May-June 2011 (Katherine Hughes).
[37] This was the National Museum of Tajikistan until 2013, when a new National Museum was opened in Dushanbe on Somoni Street (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/22839993, accessed 28 June 2013).
[38] Dodkhudoeva 2007, 18.
[39] E.g. Rather 2004; Roy 2007; Tishkov 2007.
[40] Halbwachs 1992.

the arch and other elements of the Somoni statue to spell the names of Ismoil Somoni, Imam ʻAli (the Prophet Muhammad's son-in-law) and Emomali Rahmon (b. 1952; the President of Tajikistan, 1992–), in Arabic calligraphy. These incidences suggest that while the foregrounding of the Samanids remains a top down phenomenon, large segments of the society support Ismoil Somoni as the symbol of Tajikistan. In a poll conducted by the Zerkalo group in 2003, Ismoil Somoni as a Tajik state symbol gained the support of almost 65% of respondents.[41]

The Samanids are acknowledged in the Persian-speaking world as founders of the New Persian language. However, as Sunnis they manage to sideline the religion of Shiʻite Iran, seen as problematic to the Tajik state. Due mainly to the contested cities of Samarqand and Bukhara, the emphasis of the Samanid period plays less well in Uzbekistan. Uzbeks are reminded that the Samanids fought the incoming pagan Turks. On the other hand, the use of the Samanids in Tajik national identity formation mirrors the use of Timur in Uzbekistan and Manas in Kyrgyzstan. Part of Babadzhan Gafurov's projection of the Samanids in his seminal work *The Tajiks* is the emphasis on Tajik historical figures who were global players, and receptive to multiculturalism, sentiments which were designed to speak to an international audience.[42] Can an understanding of the Samanid era provide pointers for Tajikistan to negotiate its present between the Muslim world, Russia and China?

Throughout history all new states and political entities have had to engage with invention of traditions to some extent. Whether or not they are successful depends on whether this invention meshes with the needs and symbolic landscapes of the citizens. While the Samanid dynasty was only short lived, its heritage of successful invented traditions has had a long history in the area intertwining as it did its pre-Islamic Central Asian past with the Islamic present, producing the core of the future national consciousness of Tajikistan.[43] One of the ways in which these ideas are cemented in the wider populace is the creation of monuments and buildings that display national identity and "a sense of belonging which is not verbalised."[44]

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[41] Shozimov 2005.
[42] Gafurov 1972, 332-76.
[43] Nourzhanov 2001, 21.
[44] Holod 1979, ix.

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Fig. 4.1 Sergey Kutin: Kuibyshev Avenue Ten-year Secondary School, Dushanbe, 1934-5 (now Museum of National Antiquities; engineer: Peter Drachuk) (photograph courtesy of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan).

Fig. 4.2 Grigoriy M. Yakubov: Cinema “Yubiley,” Dushanbe, 1940 (now Cinema “Vatan”; engineer: Evgeniya L. Barsukova) (photograph © Iván Szántó).

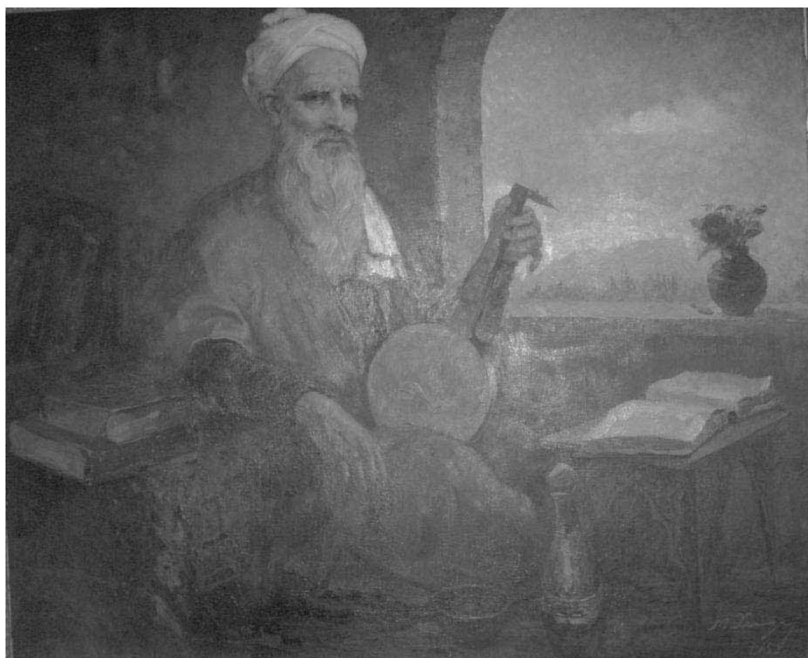

Fig. 4.3 Mukhammed Hushmukhammedov: *Portrait of the Poet Rudaki*, oil on canvas, 1958, Kamal al-Din Bihzad National Museum, Dushanbe (photograph © Iván Szántó).

Fig. 4.4 Bahovadin Zuhurdinov: Monument of Isma‘il Samani, Dushanbe, 1999 (photograph © Katherine Hughes).

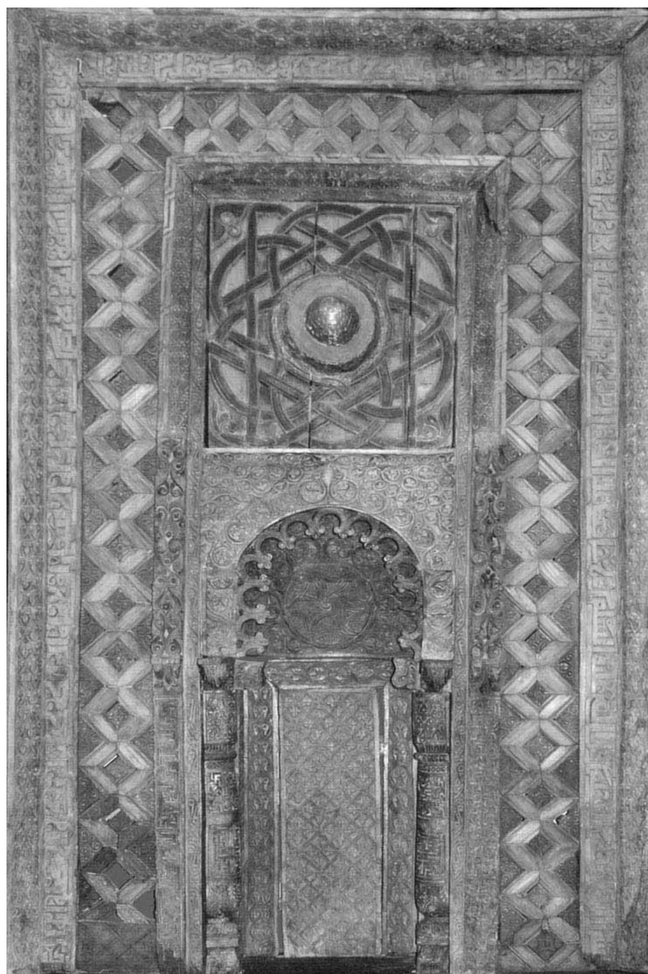

Fig. 4.5 Wooden Mihrab from Iskodar, Tajikistan, 9th-10th century, Kamal al-Din Bihzad National Museum, Dushanbe (photograph © Abduvali Sharifov).

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