MUQARNAS

AN ANNUAL ON THE VISUAL CULTURE
OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD

HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY: ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF THE "LANDS OF RUM"

EDITORS

SİBEL BOZDOĞAN
GÜLRU NECİPOĞLU

MANAGING EDITOR

JULIA BAILEY

VOLUME 24

BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2007

KISHWAR RIZVI

ART HISTORY AND THE NATION: ARTHUR UPHAM POPE AND THE DISCOURSE ON "PERSIAN ART" IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Knowledge about the artistic culture of a place and the people who created that culture, particularly when inscribed in a book, is always an approximation. Objects and architecture are understood through rituals of praxis and inhabitation, through social and political realities, and through the aspirations of individual artists and patrons. Descriptions, be they textual or visual, are nonetheless powerful conveyors of meaning that reveal information not only about their subjects but also about their authors. A vital example of the complexity inherent in the representations of Iranian culture is the subject of "Persian art" as disseminated in the early years of the twentieth century through exhibition catalogues and survey texts.

Books on the art and architecture of Iran, which was called Persia by Western nations until 1935, were produced primarily in Europe and the United States and were based on archaeological data as well as material objects popular on the art market of the time. Already in the nineteenth century such objects had been displayed in national pavilions in European world fairs and were documented in accompanying catalogues and pamphlets.[1] Thanks to important archaeological explorations of the early twentieth century, the history of Iran was characterized by scholars as an ancient and influential one, whose artifacts were worthy of study and admiration. (The Islamic history of Iran, unlike that of other regions in the Middle East at this time, was conceived as part of a continuous story of an indigenous "people" who had experienced the onslaught of multiple cultures, from the Arabs to the Mongols, and yet somehow retained their unique aesthetic and cultural sensibility.) Through this characterization, Persian art, with a history of more than 2,500 years, was represented as a monolithic if not immaculate whole.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the discourse on Persian art was situated simultaneously in the academies and museums of Europe and America and in the Iranian Parliament, sites that were intricately connected to each other. Thus it is necessary to analyze together the political, the economic, and, perhaps most important, the aesthetic meaning of Persian art in both Western and Iranian contexts. I discuss these complex relationships through a study of select projects sponsored by the nationalist Society for National Heritage, an institution established for the preservation of the Iranian heritage. In particular, the focus of this paper will be on two important academic and cultural events, both underwritten by the Society, that took place in London in 1931—namely, the International Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House and the Second International Congress for Persian Art and Archeology. These events were followed by publication in 1938–39 of *A Survey of Persian Art*, edited by Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman.[2] All three interrelated projects were central to the development and dissemination of what could be considered the canons of not only Iranian but also Islamic art and architecture.[3]

THE NEW HISTORIOGRAPHY

The Pahlavi dynasty was established in Iran by a commander of the Qajar Cossack Brigade, Riza Khan. Following a strategic coup d'etat in 1921, in which he became minister of war, he was appointed in 1923 to the post of prime minister. By 1925 the Qajar dynasty ruled in name alone, and Riza Khan was crowned the Shah of Iran and took the family name Pahlavi (a term designating the Middle Persian language of the Sasanian rulers of Iran). With the advent of this "traditionalist, nationalist, and modernist" ruler,[4] a new political agenda for Iran was set into motion. The artistic and architectural heritage of the country was deemed a worthy indicator of the rich history and great civilization embodied by the nation and became

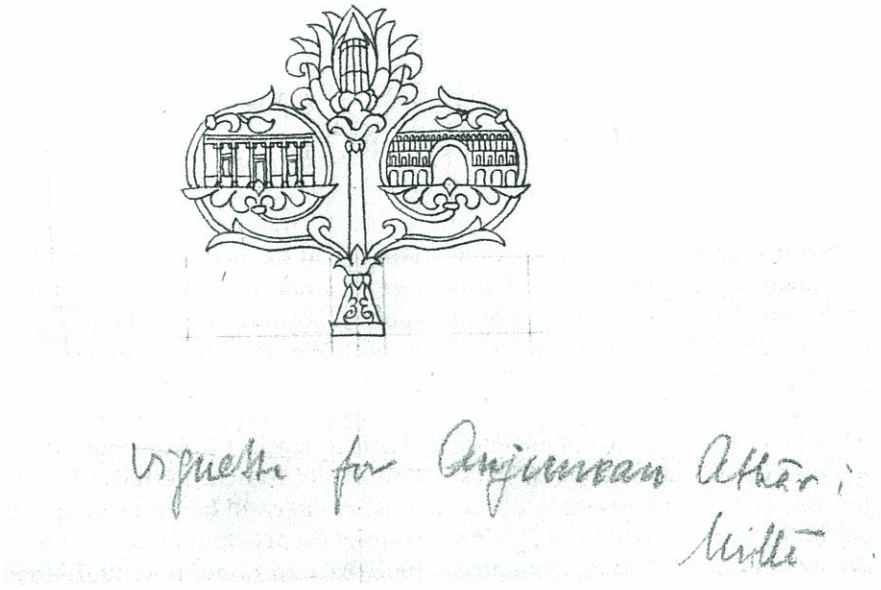


Fig. 1. Vignette for the Society for National Heritage (*Anjuman-i āṯār-i millī*), Tehran, D-759. Ink on paper. Ernst Herzfeld papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Ernst Herzfeld, 1946.

a subject of investigation by Iranian intellectuals and the foreign scholars they invited to Iran. Through their interpretations, antiquity was "discovered" to cohere with the ideals of the new nation.[5] The antiquity of Iran's roots had already been established by European historians and archaeologists; what remained was to marshal that information in a rhetoric that would serve the nationalist goals of self-legitimacy and racial identification.

The Society for National Heritage (*Anjuman-i āṯār-i millī*) was formed in 1922 to "enhance public interest in ancient knowledge and crafts and to preserve antiquities and handicrafts and their ancient techniques."[6] According to such nationalists as the education minister Muhammad Furughi and the noted statesman ʿAbd al-Husayn Khan Teymourtash, who were among the founders of the society, revival of the historical past was the key to envisioning Iran's future. In a 1927 lecture, ʿAli Hannibal, the founder of Tehran's Museum of Ethnography, captured the sentiments of these men: "[The formation of the society] coincides with another important event, namely the beginning of one of the historic moments for Iran..." (by which he meant the dawn of the Pahlavi empire).[7] The mobilizing of history as a source of national identity is a common trope in the rhetoric of nation building; in the case of Iran, the language of mobilization was formulated not only internally but also in the academies of Europe and the United States.

In 1925 the society had invited the German archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld to Iran to produce a survey of architectural and archaeological sites deemed worthy of preservation.[8] The logo he designed for the society (fig. 1) is a telling example of the role of architectural history in the formation of this cultural institution. The sketch shows a scrolling lotus, the leaves of which enclose the facades of the Achaemenid palace at Persepolis (left) and the Sasanian arch Taq-i Kisra at Ctesiphon (right). Within the bud rising from the center is the form of the Seljuk Gunbad-i Qabus. For him, all three monuments marked the apogee of Persian architecture. The approbation of the cultural heritage of Iran by eminent scholars such as Herzfeld was of profound interest to the nationalists who had

founded the society because of its potential as an ideological tool. In Iran—unlike Turkey, which was similarly dependent on Western philosophical and political models—these judgments of value were applied in order to mask the totalitarian policies and dynastic ambitions of the new Pahlavi regime. Even the concept expressed by the word "Iran" was borrowed from European literature, with little regard to several centuries of its usage in the Persian language itself.[9]

The foremost promoter of Persian art and architecture in Iran, Europe, and the United States was Arthur Upham Pope. He received a BA (1904) and an MA (1906) from Brown University, after which he taught in the philosophy department at the University of California, Berkeley, from 1911 until 1918. Although he became the advisory curator of Muhammadan Art at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1919, Pope's interest in Oriental carpets had begun in his boyhood.[10] At Berkeley Pope taught a range of courses from "Problems of Philosophy" to "Advanced Aesthetics," a seminar that touched upon contemporary interests of art history and philosophy through "applications of aesthetic principles to recent tendencies in art"—a subject that would influence his later writing on Persian art history.[11] In 1925, at the invitation of the Society for National Heritage, he visited Iran for the first time, to deliver a lecture at the Ministry of Culture; during this trip he impressed many high officials, including the shah, by his enthusiasm for and knowledge of Persian art.

In a stirring speech given in 1925 to the Society of National Heritage in Tehran, Pope pointed to the artistic culture of Iran as a testimony to the greatness of an ancient civilization deserving of the world's attention and admiration.[12] He deemed the art of Persia instrumental in developments not only in Turkish and Indian art but also in the art of Europe and China from as early as the fifth century BC. According to Pope, after Islam arrived in the region, Persian architects traveled throughout Western Asia,

> ...building mosques and colleges for the Seljuqs in Asia Minor, and later for the Ottoman Turks, building glorious buildings of every sort at Samarqand and Bokhara that still astonish all who behold them, and contributing their portion of skill and imagination to buildings in Syria and Egypt.[13]

The characteristics of Persian art were formed through contrast with the cultures of other regional entities, in particular the Semitic Arabs and the "barbaric" Turks, for, in Pope's words,

> [There are] hardly any of the arts that are now called Turkish but what were in considerable measure of Persian origin. And in many ways Persian art reached the shores of Europe, there to teach new methods and new arts, to lend elegance, grace and decorative charm to those already established.[14]

The racial and political foundations of these characterizations could be found in contemporary literature in Iran, in which the national image was constructed, both by local ideologues and by foreign scholars, through comparison with neighboring Arab countries (under European mandates) and with the newly formed Turkish Republic.[15]

The superior achievements of "the nation" were gained through the excellence and perseverance of what Pope called "the Persian spirit," which combined within it mystical truths and aesthetic ideals. Nonetheless, as Pope saw it, the greatness of Persian culture ultimately came about not only through the innate talent of the indigenous people but also through the patronage of great rulers, from Cyrus to Shah ʿAbbas. The goal of all civilizations, culminating in the present, was thus to link the political with the aesthetic in creating great art. Pope's audience included Riza Khan, who, recognizing the propagandist potential of this rhetoric, took up the American's challenge to invest heavily in cultural heritage. Pope's words resonated with the leader and his officials, who were trying to redefine Iranian statehood after the decline of the Qajar monarchy.[16] Their actions were similar to those in the newly established state of Turkey under Mustafa Kemal, with its European-style judicial system and nationalist ambitions, which also sought legitimacy in the distant past.

The possession of an ancient cultural heritage would provide Iran with political capital both within the nation and in the West—especially in Britain, which had supported Riza Khan's 1921 coup d'etat.[17] Nationalist rhetoric employed history and love of the homeland (*Īrānzamīn*) to fabricate a homogenous concept of the country, which in reality consisted of diverse ethnic and religious populations. History was conceived as a continuum of great achievements in art and culture (if not always in military accomplishments), which served well to bond the disparate pasts and the fractured present of the nation.[18]

As recent scholars have shown, much of the rhetoric on the history of Iran was a product of Western scholarship deeply permeated with European concerns of race and colonialism. When Iranian intel-

lectuals "encountered their 'history'...it tended to be mediated through Western historians, while their own, largely oral, traditions were dismissed as fable and at best as literary artifacts, skillfully written but of little historical value."[19] Thus the aggrandizing of Iranian history was achieved through works of European Orientalist literature and the local scholarship that translated and reconceptualized it.[20] For this aggrandizement, archaeologists such as Ernst Herzfeld, architects such as André Godard, and scholars such as Pope were enlisted by the officers of the Society of National Heritage to discover and document Iranian history; at a time when education and many professions in Iran were being reformed along Western models, European and American expertise was deemed superior. As an Iranian official wrote in a 1928 letter to Pope,

> [The Iranians] appreciate a great deal what you are doing to popularize Persian art in America and in Europe. We can only congratulate you for the books you intend to publish and I believe every Persian will be enthusiastic about learning from authoritative leaders in the knowledge of art, 'What the World Owes to Persia,' a fact which Persians themselves do not know.[21]

In other words, it was French, German, and American men who were to provide the information needed in order that Iranians might know themselves.

The enthusiasm for the arts of Iran, as expressed by Pope, was a passion shared by many scholars and collectors. Since the nineteenth century, pottery, textiles, and carpets from Iran, Turkey, Egypt, and India had been sold at Western auctions and studied in relation to graphic design and industrial production. Persia was considered "the principal source of artistic creativity in the Muslim world,"[22] with the result that its arts were collected with great enthusiasm throughout Europe (and to a lesser degree the United States). However, during the period between the two world wars, the value of the historical artifacts of Persia was represented in Iran through nationalist dogma. The tensions between international scholarship, museum and private collecting, and Iranian self-definition were tamed through careful intellectual negotiation and the prospect of shared profit, both commercial and ideological.

In 1926 Pope was made the Special Commissioner for Persia and was invited by the Iranian government to design the Persian pavilion for the Sesquicentennial International Exposition, held the same year in Philadelphia.[23] Built by the Philadelphia architect Carl Ziegler, the pavilion (fig. 2) was a large-scale replica of the Safavid Masjid-i Shah in Isfahan. The space allotted to Persian artifacts was too small to house the numerous objects pledged by dealers and collectors, prompting Pope to organize a subsequent exhibition at the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, also in Philadelphia, where important carpets, textiles, and manuscripts were displayed. Major donors to this exhibition included the dealers Dikran Kelekian and Georges Demotte, who lent objects from their galleries, as well as the New York socialite Louisine Havemeyer, the wife of a prominent sugar refinery magnate.[24] These collectors and dealer-curators were the primary arbiters of judgment on Persian art; their involvment highlights the commercial aspects that stoked the enthusiasm for the subject beyond the diplomatic and aesthetic aspirations of the Sesquicentennial and Pennsylvania Museum exhibitions.

In conjunction with the International Exposition, Pope also organized the First International Congress for Persian Art and Archaeology, originally named the International Conference on Oriental Art. Among participants were prominent historians of Islamic and Persian art of the time, including Ernst Kühnel, Gaston Migeon, Ernst Diez, and Laurence Binyon. Ananda Coomaraswamy, the renowned scholar of Indian art and the first keeper of Indian art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, thenceforth would continue to be a great supporter of Pope's projects.[25] The success of the conference and exhibition was noted, and plans were soon underway for an extravagant and comprehensive British exhibition of Persian art, to be organized by Laurence Binyon, the keeper of prints at the British Museum, and Sir Thomas Arnold, the Orientalist scholar and ex-High Commissioner of Iraq. The host would be the Royal Academy of Art, and the exhibition would be held at the Burlington House in London.

Pope's transformation from philosophy professor to art historian is a curious one. In an interview in 1940, he explained his grave dissatisfaction, both intellectual and economic, with academic life, noting that it was much more lucrative to act as a "consultant" to people wanting to collect Persian art.[26] Pope called himself a "purveyor" of Persian art and was quite open about his role as liaison between collectors in the United States and dealers in Europe and Iran. As is shown by his correspondence, housed at the New York Public Library, Pope purchased objects and consequently sold them to institutions such as the Fogg Museum,

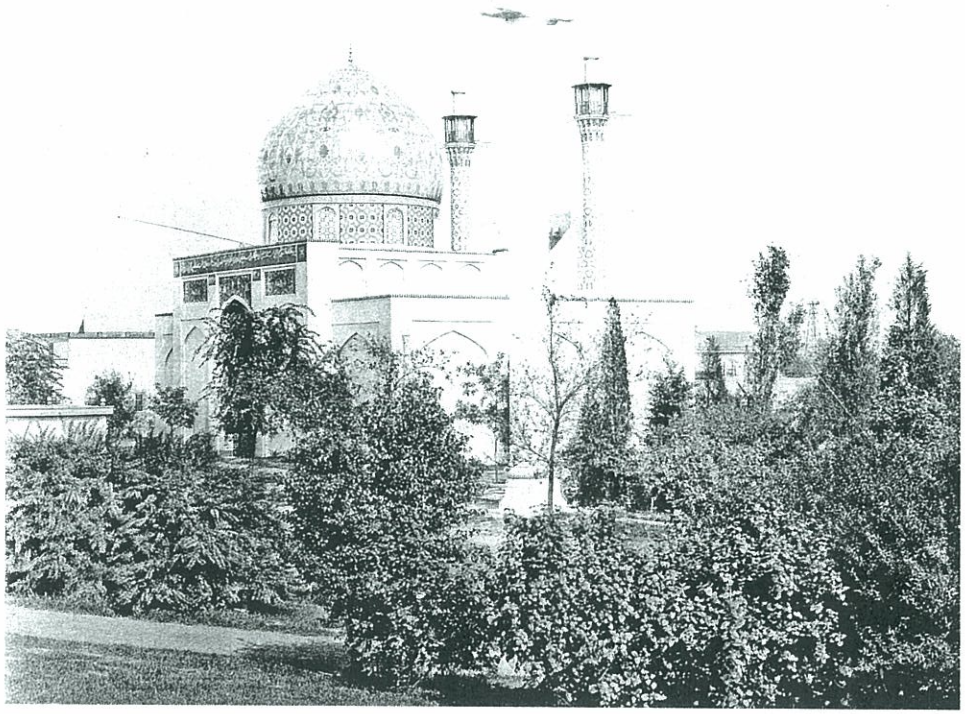


Fig. 2. The Persia Building, a large-scale model of the Masjid-i Shah in Isfahan. Designed by Arthur Upham Pope and Carl Feidler and exhibited at the Sesquicentennial International Exposition in Philadelphia, 1926. (After Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 119, reproduced with permission)

the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Pennsylvania Museum—often, he records, at a profit of ten percent.[27]

In 1927 Pope broached the idea of founding an institution, and by 1930 the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology was inaugurated in New York.[28] The founding charter, apparently endorsed by the Iranian government, stated that the purpose of the Institute was

> to encourage and extend an appreciation of Persian art in its various forms by promoting research and assisting scholars, organizing and assisting archaeological expeditions and excavations, organizing and assisting exhibitions of Persian art and congresses, both national and international, publishing books and other material, and assisting in the conservation of ancient Persian monuments.[29]

The officers of the institute were the intellectual and social luminaries of their time. The diplomat Franklin Mott Gunther (the U.S. minister to Egypt in 1928) was president of the organization, and the scholar of Persian history A. V. Williams Jackson was honorary president; the Persian Minister was honorary first vice-president, and the director was Pope himself.[30] Also involved were local philanthropists and collectors such as Sam A. Lewisohn and the famed dealer and arbiter of taste Joseph Duveen. The institute would serve as headquarters for American participation in the 1931 exhibition at Burlington House, through a special committee organized for the purpose.[31] In the establishment of the institute, commercial, political, and academic endeavors were coalesced in order to facilitate the dissemination of a comprehensive history of Persian art and architecture.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION AND CONGRESS OF PERSIAN ART

The second International Exhibition of Persian Art (fig. 3) was sponsored by the Royal Academy of Art and held in 1931 at the Burlington House Fine Arts Club, London. It followed other region-specific shows mounted there: of Flemish art in 1927, of Dutch art in 1929, and of Italian art in 1930.[32] By succeeding these prestigious events, the exhibition placed Persian art on equal footing with the arts of Europe and drew attention to the emerging importance of the Iranian nation. Earlier, the Burlington House had housed an exhibition devoted to Persian ceramics in 1907; the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris had held an exhibition of "art persan," consisting solely of paintings, in 1912; and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, had in 1914 exhibited works on paper, both Persian and Indian, from the collection of Denman Ross. These events were followed in 1926 by the two major exhibitions in Philadelphia. None of these shows (nor, with one exception,[33] others devoted more broadly to the arts of the Islamic world) were as ambitious in scope or scale as the 1931 exhibition.[34]

The distinction in categorization—whether art was labeled by national or ethnic categories such as "Persian" or "Turkish," or by religious or historical designations such as "Muhammadan" or "Oriental"—reveals the simultaneous tension and complicity between colonial and nationalist agendas as they competed to define the Middle East.[35] Although the situation was different for each country, in Iran ethno-racial terminology (such as "Iranian" and "Aryan") was utilized by nationalist historians and officials as a way to distinguish themselves from their neighbors (despite the fact that they often shared with these neighbors not only language but history) and also to distance themselves from terms such as "Islamic" or "Muslim," which were sometimes equated with the Arabic-speaking Middle East.

In New York, as in London, 1931 was an important year for the advancement of Persian art in particular and Islamic art in general. Private galleries were among the foremost disseminators of this work: Heeramanek, for example, showed pre-Islamic Luristan bronzes, Demotte exhibited miniature paintings, and Kelekian displayed Persian and "Muhammadan" objects.[36] In addition, the Brooklyn Museum of Art held a large loan exhibition with a focus on the arts of pre-Islamic and Islamic Iran. The majority of manuscripts and objects shown were borrowed from private commercial collections, such as those of the gallery owners just mentioned.[37] In London itself, there was debate about establishing a national museum of Asiatic art and archaeology that would display Near Eastern and Islamic artifacts in British collections.[38] The art-historical milieu on both sides of the Atlantic was clearly responsive to the eventful show at Burlington House.

CATALOGUE OF THE
INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF
PERSIAN ART

Patrons
HIS MAJESTY THE KING
HIS MAJESTY RIZĀ SHĀH PAHLAVI

7th January to 7th March, 1931
ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS
LONDON

Third Edition

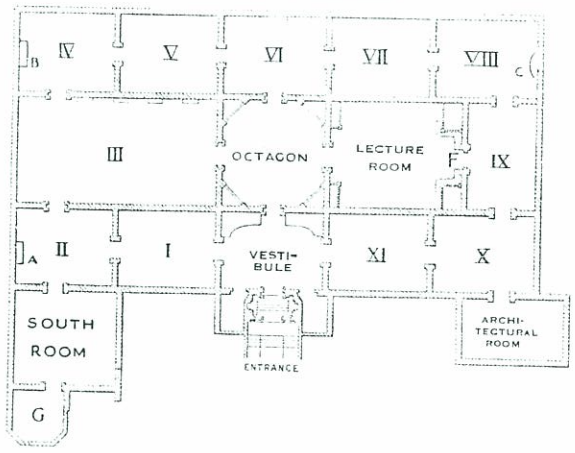
Office of the Exhibition
5/6 CORK STREET, LONDON, W.1

Fig. 3. Title page, *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art (CIEPA).*

The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art may be understood as a conflation of two nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century forms of spectatorship—the world exhibition and the museum display. In Philadelphia five years earlier, Pope's exhibition at the Pennsylvania Museum had been mounted in conjunction with the Sesquicentennial exposition; in London the two separate types of display were combined into one, as were their seemingly different agendas. In one case the goal was to promote the treasures of the Iranian

xxiii

PLAN OF GALLERIES



OCTAGON. 16th century carpets.
I. Prehistoric. Archaic, Achaemenid.
II. Sāsānian, Proto-Islamic, Seljuk.
A. *Lustre Mihrāb.*
III. Masterpieces.
IV. Timurid and early 16th century.
B. *Mosaic Faience Mihrāb.*
V, VI, VII. 16th and 17th centuries
VIII. Carpets in gold, silver, silk.
C. *Jewelled appurtenances to Persian Crown.*
IX. Textiles.
X *and* ARCHITECTURAL ROOM. Miniatures and the Art of the Book.
XI. 18th and 19th centuries.
LECTURE ROOM. Armour and Embroideries.
F. *Model of Mosque Portal.*
SOUTH ROOM. Objects showing Persian influence: not in Catalogue. Photographs for sale.
G. Office.
VESTIBULE. Catalogues and Books.

Ceramics are distributed throughout the galleries. Carpets, textiles and miniatures will be found in other galleries besides those specified above.

Fig. 4. Gallery plan of the International Exhibition of Persian Art, 1931. (After *CIEPA*, xxiii)

nation, in the other to display artifacts of cultural and artistic value; one referenced a specific political entity, the other the politics of aesthetic judgment situated within the canons of Western art.

The official patrons of the 1931 exhibition were Riza Shah Pahlavi of Iran and King George of Britain. Vice patrons included the crown prince of Sweden, the prince of Denmark, the British prime minister, and the Isma'ili leader Muhammad Shah Aga Khan among other luminaries. The prominent scholars of Persian archaeology Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Herzfeld, the historian A. V. Williams Jackson, and art historians Roger Fry and Josef Strzygowski were among the honorary vice presidents. The chairman was Arnold Wilson, a former colonial administrator in Mesopotamia, but Pope himself was the director and organizer. Their vision was supported by the scholar Laurence Binyon and the renowned collectors Alfred Chester Beatty (a mining magnate), Philip Sassoon, and Joseph Duveen.

As Wilson stated in the catalogue of the exhibition, the event required negotiations "in over thirty different countries, with some hundred different museums and libraries and over 300 private individuals, who... lent over 2,000 separate items, many of immense value, requiring elaborate arrangements for packing, transport and insurance."[39] The artifacts were acquired from private lenders as well as important museum collections from India to Spain. The entire cost of transporting and insuring exhibits from the United States was borne by Joseph Duveen, who had lent important pieces from his own collection.[40]

The galleries of Burlington House (fig. 4) housed a dazzling display of power and wealth and were a

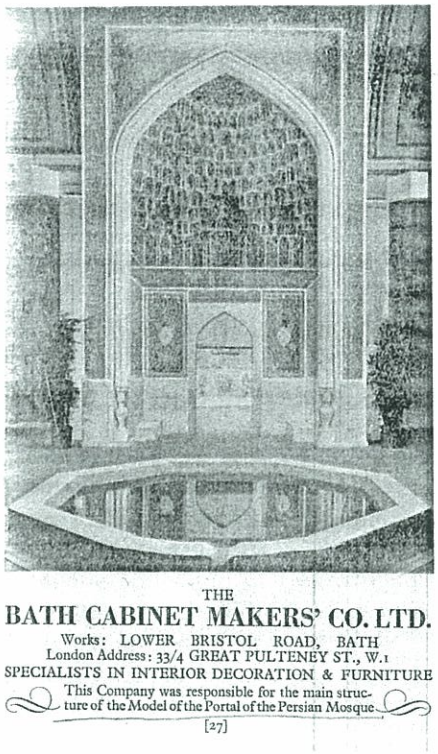


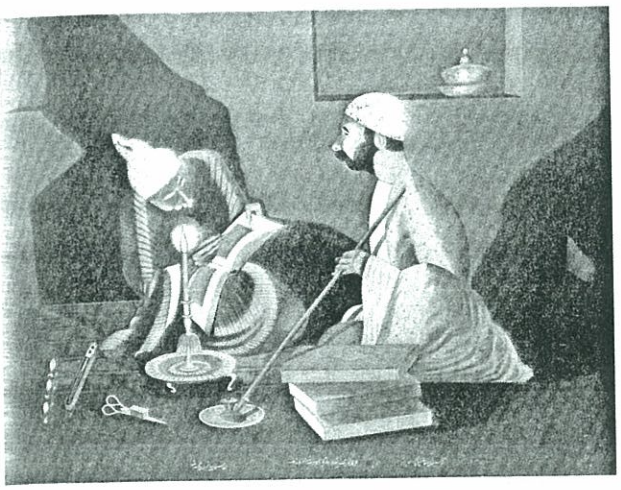
Fig. 5. Model of the portal of the Masjid-i Shah, Isfahan, built by Bath Cabinetmakers' Co. Ltd. and displayed in the Lecture Room of the second International Exhibition of Persian Art, 1931. (After *CIEPA*, advertising section, [27])

source of pride for the Iranian government of Riza Shah Pahlavi, which had underwritten the project. At the entrance vestibule were sold catalogues and books on Persian art, in addition to photographs of objects in the exhibition.[41] The visitor could then proceed into a grand octagonal space at the center, where the main attractions were displayed, or take a left into the first gallery and follow a chronological tour culminating in art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The organizers' intention was to arrange the exhibits "in accordance with the historical development of Persian Art," although select spaces were reserved for "masterpieces."[42] On the opposite flank of the Octagon was a lecture room containing a large wooden model of the portal and pool of the Masjid-i Shah (fig. 5). The choice of that monument, after which the 1926 Sesquicentennial Persian pavilion in Philadelphia had also been modeled, was both political and aesthetic: it was the first religious edifice opened to Western scholars—a fact that Pope viewed as his personal achievement—and it embodied many of the formal architectural and decorative qualities that he and others considered typical of Persian architecture.

On the north and west walls of the lecture room were hung fine specimens of armor, many of which were contributed by the King of England.[43] Similarly, jeweled swords and "four of the world's most famous carpets" were displayed in the Octagon,[44] which was flanked by Gallery III, exhibiting a variety of media from the Safavid period, considered by the organizers to be the most prestigious era in Islamic Persian history.[45] (I will return to this point, for it is indicative not only of the aesthetic judgments of the curators but also of the self-definition of the Iranian patrons of the exhibition.)In addition to carpets, ceramics and textiles were displayed throughout all the galleries, often irrespective of their chronological relevance. In the South Room were gathered objects from cultures supposedly influenced by Persian art—that is, China and Mughal India. Notably absent in this category were the arts of Seljuk or Ottoman Turkey that, according to the authors of the catalogues, were so dependent on Persian artistic influence.

The last gallery, XI, contained examples of art from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (fig. 6), "with a few objects of contemporary work," represented mainly by archaizing handicrafts. As the catalogue makes obvious, the main sponsor of the 1931 exhibition was the Shah of Iran, whose patronage would suggest that the exhibition represented the heritage of a new nation-state. The omission of work from its living artists is therefore curious, since they were the interpreters of its present as well as its future. Indeed, the Iranian government did lend major works of Qajar imperial portraiture as well as more recent oil paintings by master artists of the Pahlavi court, but these were not chosen for discussion in the English-language texts accompanying the exhibition.[46] Instead, the future of Persian art was "proved by the skill and beauty of carpets, doors, paintings and embroideries"[47] that aimed to replicate the distant, if glorious, past. Here, too, Persian art was characterized as a historical artifact, and modernity was reserved for Western art and history. Just as the name Persia, chosen by European and American scholars, ignored the reality of modern Iran, so too did the chosen artworks exclude any form of art that was not categorically revivalist.[48]

In the investigation of why the artistic production of Iran was perceived as ending at the turn of the twentieth century and was represented by works that were



Vestibule. MODERN OIL PAINTING
NINTH CENTURY
Persian Government

Fig. 6. Nineteenth-century oil painting shown in the International Exhibition of Persian Art, 1931. (After *Persian Art: An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition of Persian Art at the Burlington House, London, 1931* [London: Hudson and Kearns, 1931], 51)

backward-glancing, an obvious factor is the Orientalist and colonialist attitude toward the Middle East and other non-Western cultures that construed these cultures as traditional (that is, not modern) and timeless (that is, not part of a progressive history).[49] In Iran, the best-known court artist of the early part of the twentieth century was Muhammad Ghaffari (1852–1940), who in 1911 opened the first Academy of Fine Arts (*Madrasa-i Sanāyiʿ-i Mustaẓrafa*), in Tehran. Although Ghaffari and his peers had been sent to Europe to study Western techniques, their works were dismissed by European observers as mere curiosities or as derivative from superior Western models.[50]

The Second International Congress on Persian Art, concurrent with the 1931 exhibition, epitomized the intellectual ambitions expressed in the exhibition briefs and catalogues. Under the direction of Pope and Sir Edward Denison Ross, the congress was presided over by Lawrence Dundas, Second Marquess of Zetland, a noted British politician. The members of the organizing committee were the preeminent scholars of Persian art and history, as well as intellectuals sympathetic to the promotion of these young disciplines. Papers at the congress ranged from detailed descriptions (e.g., "The Character of Seljuk Art with a Special Reference to Metal-work," by Ernst Kühnel) and general surveys ("Early Persian Moslem Architecture," by K. A. C. Creswell) to comparative studies by historians of non-Persian art such as P. Pelliot ("The Influence of Persian Art on the Art of China"), T. J. Arne ("The Influence of Persian Art on Scandinavian Art Forms"), and, notably, Josef Strzygowski ("The Influence of Persian Art on European Architecture").

The presence of Strzygowski highlights two important issues underlying the rhetoric of Persian cultural identity espoused by the participants of the 1931 congress, namely, race and nationalism. Strzygowski was a professor at the prestigious University of Vienna and was renowned as the proponent of a racial theory that saw the roots of Aryan art history in the Near East. His influential works proposed crucial connections between the Orient, in particular Iran, and European architecture, which was also the topic of his lecture at Burlington House.[51] This connection, as Annabel Wharton has noted, "was not a benign, academic enterprise but, rather, part of a larger cultural project of aestheticizing and legitimizing neocolonialism, racism and, ultimately, fascism."[52] The idea of Iranian/Aryan cultural superiority espoused by Pope and others was grounded on racial theories such as Strzygowski's that legitimized the political charge of Persian art-historical discourse, although it should be noted that the manner in which these theories were framed and their political contexts differed for European scholars and Iranian nationalists.

Observers of the 1931 exhibition commented on the political necessity of the British government's patronizing the government of Riza Shah Pahlavi, since Iran, like Afghanistan, was "vital to Britain's defence of India...[increasing] British importance as the site of enormously rich British-controlled oil fields."[53] Added to the immediate British interests were those of a Western community striving to understand the new Pahlavi regime that, in their view, "illustrated the same paradox as the new Turkey," which had recently overthrown Ottoman rule in favor of Mustafa Kemal's republican ideals. Turkey and Iran were equated as political entities governed by charismatic and reformist leaders whose Western sympathies were best exploited through understanding their nations' historical and cultural past. An astute commentator for the London *Times* wrote,

> The political defeat of Europe in Western Asia...has been followed by the victory of European organization and technique over the traditional Oriental routine, a victory signaled by the adoption of Western methods of

> administration, by the introduction of new legal codes based upon Western models, and by a sudden secularization of the State and its institutions which would have been impossible twenty years ago.[54]

As central as Iran was to European interests, the Pahlavi regime itself was in need of legitimacy and political support. Riza Khan continued the Qajar project of nation building by utilizing Western paradigms. In the nineteenth century Iranian intellectuals had been empathetic to the racial and nationalist theories of the French philosopher Ernst Renan and the diplomat Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau. Gobineau's view that Aryan supremacy was realized in the races of Europe and also linked to Iran was noted by Iranian ideologues, who translated his works into Persian,[55] and nationalists in the early twentieth century exploited the idea of Aryan-Iranian racial identity, forging dynastic links between the "original" Persians and the Pahlavi regime of Riza Khan.[56] For example, a 1924 history textbook written by Muhammad Zuka' al-Mulk Furughi (one of the founders of the Society for National Heritage and a supporter of Pope) built upon Firdawsi's eleventh-century epic to evince the superiority of "authentic" Iranian empires—the Sasanian and the Safavid—of which another indigenous dynasty, the Pahlavi, would be a natural successor. Furthering ethnic stereotypes, the historian 'Ali Ashtiyani in 1926 contrasted the warlike races of Turks and Bedouin Arabs with the refined Persians.[57]

Regional politics and even language were often a cause of friction on the multiple frontiers of the newly defined nation. Although ethnic markers were used to distinguish Iranians from outsiders, local differences were subsumed under a single homogeneous, if fictive, Iranian identity. Tribal insurgency, in particular of the Bakhtiyari and Qashqa'i tribes in the west, was a constant in Riza Khan's rule in the 1920s and 30s and was addressed with force as well as political propaganda.[58] Similarly, cities and provinces, such as those in Iranian Azerbaijan, were in competition for autonomous governance as well as national recognition.[59] These factors both belie and explain the constant reiteration of themes of timeless unity and seamless ethnography—especially by scholars involved in the publication and propagation of a new, nationalist, history of Persian art.

WRITING THE HISTORY OF PERSIAN ART

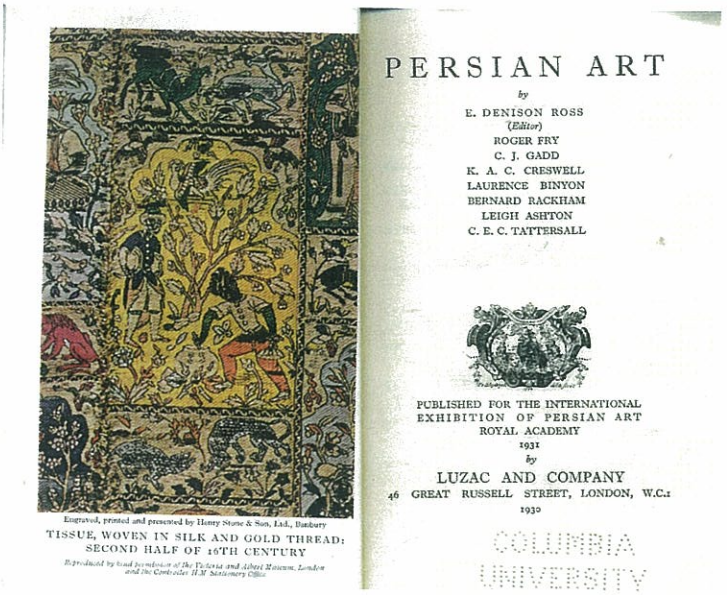
The International Exhibition of Persian Art was a social and cultural extravaganza in which groundbreaking discoveries of the previous twenty years, such as the famed Luristan bronzes, were displayed. According to a contemporary review in *Parnassus*, the magazine of the College Art Association,

> The Persian Exhibition has transformed Burlington House into a delightful and undreamed fairyland...Thanks to its preeminently decorative interest, and its conservatism of style, Persian art is perfectly adapted to exhibitions of such ambitious scope as the present one...In general the decorative arts required the collaboration of several craftsmen and demanded rather the fresh development of accepted subject matter, than the invention of the new. Thus a *collective* art was produced. Let the objects at the exhibition be compared to the experimental work of modern Russia and it will be seen at once how remarkable a homogeneity the Persians attained.[60]

In his memoirs Pope remembered the event thus:

> Over 225,000 people crowded into the Burlington House Galleries in the eight short weeks that the exhibition was on...Special trains came up from the Five Towns bringing several hundred potters to admire the works of their colleagues many centuries dead; to take new pride in their work, and with true British practicality, to translate their inspirations in new ceramic qualities. There were special excursions from the schools and all the great of the land were there. Winston Churchill peering at a miniature; Ramsey Macdonald with a look of weary exaltation exclaiming over a carpet; H. G. Wells looking as if he were having a holiday at the beach...[61]

Persian art was considered exemplary for Western artists, whether they were British potters or Russian modernists finding truths in its collective and cooperative nature. Contemporary artists held "the Orient" in general to be a rich source of inspiration for European and American art,[62] which perhaps explains why the critic and artist Roger Fry wrote the lead article in *Persian Art*, one of the books accompanying the catalogue (fig. 7).[63] *Persian Art* was intended as an intellectual guide to the exhibition and gives important clues about how the objects on display were meant to be understood.[64] Fry's goal, as he pointed out in his opening paragraph, was to "elucidate those nebulous mental and emotional reactions which the word 'Persian,' when applied to any object of art, evokes within us."[65]


Engraved, printed and presented by Henry Stone & Son, Ltd., Banbury
TISSUE, WOVEN IN SILK AND GOLD THREAD: SECOND HALF OF 16TH CENTURY
Reproduced by kind permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London and the Controller H.M. Stationery Office

PERSIAN ART
by
E. DENISON ROSS
(*Editor*)
ROGER FRY
C. J. GADD
K. A. C. CRESWELL
LAURENCE BINYON
BERNARD RACKHAM
LEIGH ASHTON
C. E. C. TATTERSALL

PUBLISHED FOR THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF PERSIAN ART ROYAL ACADEMY
1931
by
LUZAC AND COMPANY
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1
1930

Fig. 7. Frontispiece and title page, *Persian Art.*

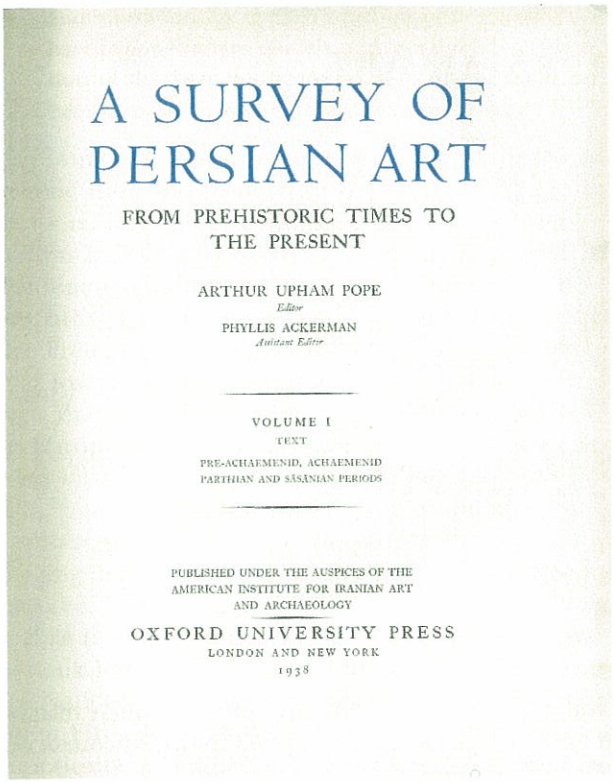
Fry's emphasis was on the formal qualities of Persian art, such as the "freely moving and intensely vital rhythms" of pottery (p. 32) or the "important position of linearity" in the general aesthetic sensibility of Persian artists. Fry was a founding member of the Bloomsbury Group, which included the writers Virginia Woolf and E. M. Forster, and was a proponent of a formalist aesthetic theory that defined art as a purely visual and aesthetic (vs. semantic) experience.[66] Fellow Bloomsburian Clive Bell had earlier expressed this view as follows:

> What quality is shared by all works that stir our aesthetic emotions? What quality is common to S. Sophia and the windows at Chartres, Mexican sculpture, a Persian bowl, Chinese carpets, Giotto's frescoes at Padua, the masterpieces of Poussin, of Cezanne, and of Henri Matisse? Only one answer seems possible—significant form. Form is the one quality common to all works of visual art.[67]

Of the works mentioned by Bell, the Persian bowl and the Chinese carpet would provide the purest formal pleasure, since they offered no means of intellectual engagement; their beauty emanated from their form alone.[68] To many artists, critics, and art historians of the early twentieth century, this sort of universalism provided access to the appreciation—if not the understanding—of other forms of art.[69] Although Bell's arguments were made in the context of post-Impressionist art in Europe, the arts of Iran, albeit distant in time and place, were amended to this discourse on Western modernism.

In the brief section of *Persian Art* entitled "Modern Times," Fry refers only to nineteenth-century Qajar art, which he views as an inferior continuation of sixteenth-century works. He ends his essay with the hope that "the Persian genius which has survived so many apparently overwhelming disasters may in future years find the way to revive its [i.e., Persia's] ancient splendour and recover its position as one of the great cultural centers of the civilized world."[70] The subject of a "modern" Iranian art is not even broached; the underlying assumption is that modern art belongs in the salons and ateliers of Europe and perhaps America, and contemporary Persian art should therefore aspire for a recovery and imitation of the past.[71]

Also available at the Burlington House bookshop during the 1931 exhibition was Arthur Upham Pope's *An Introduction to Persian Art since the Seventh Century A.D.* Like the exhibition catalogue, it was published through the patronage of the shah and his minister Teymourtash.[72] Its aim, like that of the briefer *Persian Art*, was to "assist the observation of the objects" in a manner that strove for balance between contemporary "doctrinaire" scholarship and the "romantic effusions of the late Victorians."[73] Here Persian art is understood in terms of its decorative (rather than


A SURVEY OF PERSIAN ART

FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO THE PRESENT

ARTHUR UPHAM POPE
Editor

PHYLLIS ACKERMAN
Assistant Editor

VOLUME I
TEXT
PRE-ACHAEMENID, ACHAEMENID
PARTHIAN AND SĀSĀNIAN PERIODS

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR IRANIAN ART
AND ARCHAEOLOGY

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON AND NEW YORK
1938

Fig. 8. Title page, *A Survey of Persian Art.*

representational) form, which "may characterize and reveal ultimate values and give just expression to the basal and universal forms of the mind itself." Such universalism was a theme that would recur in subsequent publications on the subject by Pope as well as his collaborators on *A Survey of Persian Art.*

An Introduction to Persian Art opens with a historical outline, based on recent archaeological discoveries, of more than 5,000 years of Persian art and culture. In a complex maneuver, Pope simultaneously asserts the racial (Aryan) specificity of the Iranians and dismisses race and language as determinants of cultural identity. Despite numerous invasions from Turks and Mongols, he maintains, the Persians were able to sustain their artistic vigor and creative genius. The "Turks," starting with the Parthians, whom he characterizes as of mixed ethnicity, are particularly singled out as sources of constant incursions that "disturbed as well as often renewed" the cultural and political life of Persia. The section on the Seljuks is noteworthy in that it highlights racial and political tensions not so much of the eleventh century as of the early twentieth.[74] These "sturdy monarchs," although "lacking in the graces of civilization...nevertheless brought with them a quality of courage, of energy and of sincerity that Persia, at the moment, greatly needed."[75] The Seljuks are portrayed as a barbaric race that "came upon literature and the arts as a thrilling discovery" learned from the great Persian authors and artists at their courts. Beyond his oversimplified and somewhat anachronistic division of "Turk" and "Persian" in the eleventh century, Pope formulates the polarization of ethnic and racial types in order to assert the superiority of all things Iranian.

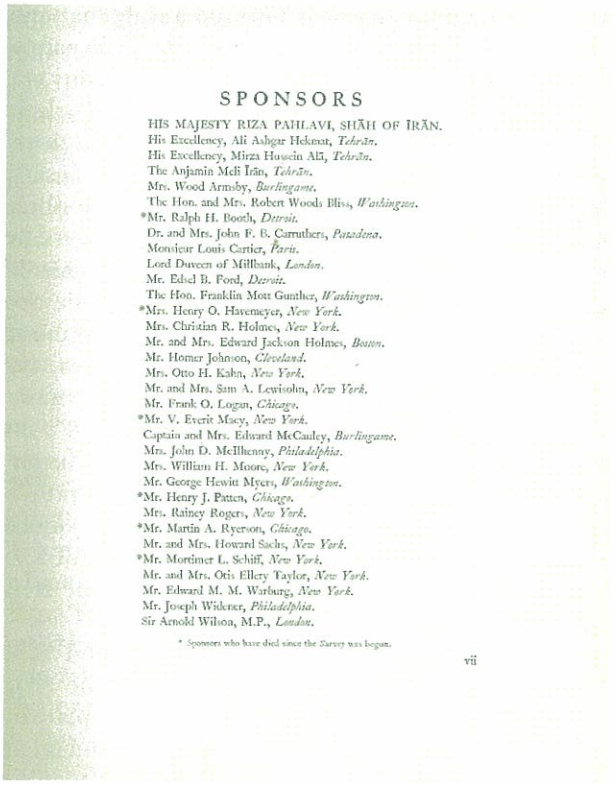
Information about Iran was not limited to these "scholarly" texts but was also disseminated by public events held in conjunction with the 1931 exhibition. A series of lectures at the British Academy and the Victoria and Albert Museum focused on Persian pottery, carpets, textiles, and book illustration—objects of interest in the art market.[76] The aim of the lectures was twofold: on the one hand to assert the continuity of Persian culture as a monolithic entity that defied historical circumstance, and on the other to find connections with artistic traditions of the Christian world and East Asia. The combined effect of these assertions was to situate Iranian civilization firmly within world civilizations, both historically and artistically.

Originally planned to coincide with the 1931 exhibition and congress was the publication of a grand work entitled *A Survey of Persian Art,* to be edited by Pope and Phyllis Ackerman,[77] with essays that would augment earlier research by providing thorough documentation and analysis of the artistic heritage of Iran.[78] This goal was not realized until 1938 and 1939, however, when six volumes (rather than the three originally envisioned) containing 2,817 pages and 3,500 photographs, were published (fig. 8). *A Survey of Persian Art* was nonetheless closely related to the earlier events, a spatial and temporal display realized in the form of a book.[79] If the preceding exhibition and congress were spectacles of early-twentieth-century urbanity and the art market, the *Survey* concretized their aesthetic concerns in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. Unsurprisingly, the sponsor and underwriter of the monumental work was again Riza Shah Pahlavi, joined by his ministers and the Society for National Heritage (fig. 9).[80] Other sponsors included diplomats and a large representation of New York's elite, such as Havemeyer and Lewisohn, who were early supporters of Pope.[81]

The *Survey* aimed "to be comprehensive, systematic, consistent, and organized."[82] The table of contents of the first volume (published in 1938) echoes in some ways the gallery guide of the 1931 International Exhibition; it comprises introductory essays on the significance, prehistory, history, and geography of Persian art, followed by chronological discussion of arts from prehistory to the Sasanian period. The second volume (published in 1939) includes chapters on architecture of the Islamic period, ceramic arts, and calligraphy and epigraphy,[83] while the third (also published in 1939) has chapters devoted to painting and the arts of the book, textile arts, carpets, metalwork, minor arts (such as enamel, furniture, and jewelry), ornament, and, at the end, music and music theory. The fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes contain extensive photographic documentation illustrating the first three volumes. As Meyer Schapiro, the prominent young art historian at Columbia University, wrote in a review, the aim of the *Survey* was to satisfy the "interests of all who might be concerned with Persian art—the collector, the museum official, the traveler, the aesthetic critic, the designer, and the historians of art, religion, and culture in general."[84] One could, in other words, divide the books into corresponding contemporary concerns that informed the emerging "canon" of Persian art, namely, archaeology, art history, and connoisseurship.

Beyond its relationship to the previous exhibitions, congresses, and introductory texts, the *Survey* collated archaeological and architectural data collected since the beginning of the twentieth century.[85] The Pahlavi government in particular was moved by the Society for National Heritage and Pope's exhortations to open up the country to academic research. As Pope acknowledged in his notes, the *Survey* would not have been possible without this support; it was a testimony to the aspirations of the regime to appear to nationalists and the international community alike as progressive and sensitive to Iran's cultural treasures. Mosques and shrines were no longer the exclusive dominion of the pious; religious edifices were ordered to admit Western scholars, such as Pope and his assistant Eric Schroeder. Survey drawings and extensive photography documented the architectural legacy from the earliest Zoroastrian fire temples to the grand mosques of the Safavid period.

Once again, history was mobilized to define racial boundaries and prophesy the emergent power of an indigenous Iranian nation, forged through Pahlavi



SPONSORS

HIS MAJESTY RIZA PAHLAVI, SHÄH OF IRÄN.
His Excellency, Ali Asḥgar Ḥekmat, *Tehrän.*
His Excellency, Mirza Ḥussein Alä, *Tehrän.*
The Anjamin Meli Irän, *Tehrän.*
Mrs. Wood Armsby, *Burlingame.*
The Hon. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss, *Washington.*
*Mr. Ralph H. Booth, *Detroit.*
Dr. and Mrs. John F. B. Carruthers, *Pasadena.*
Monsieur Louis Cartier, *Paris.*
Lord Duveen of Millbank, *London.*
Mr. Edsel B. Ford, *Detroit.*
The Hon. Franklin Mott Gunther, *Washington.*
*Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer, *New York.*
Mrs. Christian R. Holmes, *New York.*
Mr. and Mrs. Edward Jackson Holmes, *Boston.*
Mr. Homer Johnson, *Cleveland.*
Mrs. Otto H. Kahn, *New York.*
Mr. and Mrs. Sam A. Lewisohn, *New York.*
Mr. Frank O. Logan, *Chicago.*
*Mr. V. Everit Macy, *New York.*
Captain and Mrs. Edward McCauley, *Burlingame.*
Mrs. John D. McIlhenny, *Philadelphia.*
Mrs. William H. Moore, *New York.*
Mr. George Hewitt Myers, *Washington.*
*Mr. Henry J. Patten, *Chicago.*
Mrs. Rainey Rogers, *New York.*
*Mr. Martin A. Ryerson, *Chicago.*
Mr. and Mrs. Howard Sachs, *New York.*
*Mr. Mortimer L. Schiff, *New York.*
Mr. and Mrs. Otis Ellery Taylor, *New York.*
Mr. Edward M. M. Warburg, *New York.*
Mr. Joseph Widener, *Philadelphia.*
Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P., *London.*

* Sponsors who have died since the Survey was begun.

vii

Fig. 9. Dedicatory page, *A Survey of Persian Art.*

ambitions. The chapter "An Outline of the History of Persia," by the French historian René Grousset, director of the Cernuschi Museum in Paris, lays down a vast chronological swath in which regional history consists of "Iranian" dynasties such as the Sasanians and Saffarids and outside invaders such as the disparate "Turkish" dynasties, starting with the Ghaznavids from the east. According to Grousset, the Seljuk Turks "entered Islamic history as barbarian invaders, but proved to be the saviours of the Islamic empire and the regenerators of Persia."[86] Similar characterization is accorded the "Turkish" Timurids, who ushered in the classical period of Persian art and history, akin to the Italian Renaissance in Europe. Although Grousset professes grudging admiration for "the Turks" (despite the limiting factor of their feudalism), he considers them separate from "the Persians," as though assimilation or adaptation were not even possibilities. Rather, he maintains throughout the essay a persistent notion of racial and ethnic purity.

As Grousset would have it, only with the advent of

the Shiite Safavid dynasty in 1501 did a truly "national dynasty" came into being, after four hundred years of Turkish and Mongol rule: "Restored in nationality and in territorial integrity and victorious over the Turks of Turkistān on the east, Persia now undertook to throw her strength against the Ottoman Turks on the west."[87] For Grousset, the Safavid period is the undoubted epitome of Persian artistic and historical greatness, an idealogically driven view reinforced by the art-historical evidence presented in later chapters of the *Survey* as well as in the 1931 exhibition and its publications. Safavid preeminence, Grousset maintains, can only be matched by that of the great Pahlavi dynasty, an empire "more than two thousand years old"; the preceding Qajar dynasty is largely ignored. The ennobling of the Sasanian, Safavid, and Pahlavi eras was without doubt in keeping with contemporary politics, which sought legitimacy for the new kingdom of Riza Khan; the new Shahanshah would follow in the footsteps of Cyrus the Great and Shah ʿAbbas.

In his introductory essay to the *Survey*, titled "The Significance of Persian Art," Pope stresses the artistic genius of the inhabitants of the Iranian plateau, such that "Art seems to have been the most fundamental and characteristic activity of the Iranian peoples, the most adequate record of their life, their valuable contribution to world civilization..."[88] Yet according to Pope this characteristic activity was primarily the decoration of surfaces, best exemplified in the arts of pottery and carpet weaving. In this introduction, as in the publications accompanying the 1931 exhibition, the significance of Iran is argued through a complex amalgam of historical reasoning and nation-building rhetoric. The longevity of Persian civilization (seen as a monolithic, singular entity) is considered a genuine achievement, on a par with those of Greece and China, and one that affected the arts of Europe, Mesopotamia, and South Asia; even neighboring Turkey is accepted as being part of the region influenced by Iran.

The time has arrived, Pope maintains, for Iran's contributions to world art to be recognized. Its artists are characterized as a nation of poets who have withstood the vagaries of time and multiple invasions, from the Arabs to the Mongols. The culture of Iran is distinguished from that of Islam, taken over at its advent by "barbarians fired by a strange combination of pious zeal and a lust for plunder."[89] Nonetheless, in the final section of the introduction, subtitled "The Relation of Art and Religion in Īrān," Pope asserts that "religion and art were inextricably interwoven" in the consciousness of the early Persian, not as a form of orthodoxy but as transcendent emotion whereby beauty and truth were in communication. It was through mystical visions and the search for abstraction that the Sufi (mystical) spirit of the nation was revealed.[90] That Pope's introduction is deeply concerned with religio-aesthetic experience is not surprising, given his education in aesthetics as well as the art historians from whom he drew inspiration, such as Coomaraswamy and Binyon.

A section titled "Architecture of the Islamic Period" begins the second volume of the *Survey* and consists of a historical outline followed by chapters on architectural ornament, mural painting, city plans, tents and pavilions, and gardens. The introduction, written by Pope, begins with a historical outline followed by a discussion of materials such as stone, brick, and wood and a brief consideration of plan and structure. This formalist beginning notwithstanding, a segment of the introduction is devoted to the ritual and cultural significance of the mosque as a unique and "democratic" Islamic institution. Whether such emphasis stems from respect for the sensibilities of the Iranian patrons or from the considerable time Pope spent documenting and studying mosque buildings, this is perhaps the most thoughtful, if sometimes obsequious, part of the introduction. The next part, "Cultural Factors," addresses the aesthetic character of Persian art, since, according to Pope, "...it is beauty that is the ultimate aim and criterion of architecture...To expound, explain, and evaluate architecture as fine art: this is the ultimate aim of architectural history."[91] The cultural superiority of the Persians relative to primitive Arab society is reiterated: in the early years of Islamic influence, Pope asserts, "The Arabs had nothing to offer artistically or architecturally."[92] Although the final pages of this introduction are devoted to brief characterizations of the four chronological periods of Islamic architecture—namely, the Seljuk, Mongol, Timurid, and Safavid—Pope argues for the continuity of Sasanian motifs in all artistic production following the Arab conquests. Even the seventh-century Great Mosque of Kufa, in Iraq, is characterized as indebted to Persian architecture, since such a building would have been too extravagant for the "primitive and austere Bedouins who had emerged from an 'almost perfect architectural vacuum' to conquer the civilized world."[93] Thus

despite universalist claims, the manner in which the architecture of the Islamic period is defined is through national and ethnic criteria.

How does Pope make the universal experience of art cohere with the specifics of national identity—an obvious goal, given the primary sponsor of the book? The abstraction of universalism facilitates the consumption of art works from "other cultures" through a decontextualization that renders peripheral at best their value within the native culture. However, such universalist abstraction also functions well in a rhetoric of political ideology that seeks to co-opt ahistorical and broad themes for the nationalist myth. Thus in a seemingly paradoxical construct, Pope states that although all art is universal, it is defined by its particularities. He writes,

> The identity of a culture is not necessarily correlative with any racial or linguistic unity, or any continuity of political institutions, or even with fixed geographical limits. Indeed, all these principles of identity are now suspect.[94]

These sentiments cogently express the essence of modernity as understood by intellectuals and artists of the early twentieth century. As Binyon stated in a 1933–34 lecture series at Harvard, published as *The Spirit of Man in Asian Art*,

> At the present moment we in the West experience, and in experiencing resent, a consciousness of frustration. We have mastered and harnessed the forces of nature for our own uses, but something, after all our efforts, eludes us. We have divided life into separate compartments, each presided over by a science with an imposing name; but the wholeness of life has somehow been obscured. What we seem to have lost is the art of living. I am inviting you to contemplate the creative achievements of another hemisphere, not only as an object of agreeable distraction, but also as something which may possibly suggest to us not unfruitful ideas on life and the art of living.[95]

A Survey of Persian Art was ultimately a document of its own times. Although it is easy to discount its research as out of date and dismiss its tone as Orientalist, the *Survey* is of historic value beyond its documentation of the art and architecture of Iran. The years between the world wars were wrought with pain and uncertainty; great tragedies and freedoms were around the corner. The *Survey* and the 1931 exhibition and congress allow us insight into the aesthetic, economic, and political realities faced by the early-twentieth-century historians, collectors, and, perhaps, even makers of the art of Iran. They are a testimony of the ambitions of a young nation and of a savvy scholar turned purveyor.

Pope's representation of Persian art responded to the aesthetic and art-historical climate of the period and to the political needs of his Iranian, European, and American sponsors. The abundance of artifacts arriving in the markets of Paris, London, and New York, in addition to the publication of museum collections, provided these diverse communities with great resources with which to construct a dynamic discourse on Persian art history. But as other essays in this volume demonstrate, this situation was not unique to Iran. Publications by Strzygowski, Diez, Arsevan, and Aslanapa similarly interpreted Turkish art and history in a manner coinciding with nationalist ideals. One might even propose that a reason for the establishment of the Turkish Historical Society in 1932, a year after the Exhibition and Congress of Persian Art, was the growing international attention given to Iranian art and history.[96] Interregional competition and cooperation were certainly in effect, as exemplified by the 1932 tour of the poet-intellectual Rabindranath Tagore, who visited Iran in order to witness the enactment of Riza Shah's progressive ideals and to report on the achievements of India's western neighbor.[97] Such "conversations" deserve further scrutiny, since they provide yet another means by which to study the formation and dissemination of Iranian nationalist historiography.

The influence of publications and lectures by scholars of Persian art in the 1930s was evidenced in Iran by architectural projects sponsored by the Society for National Heritage. New buildings incorporated historical references that echoed recent archaeological and art-historical preoccupations and that, in their selective representation of the past, reflected the rhetoric espoused by the nationalist ideologues. The work of the French architect André Godard exemplifies such reinventions of history. One of his commissions was a tomb for the eleventh-century poet Firdawsi, author of the *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings), the "Persian national epic," which extolled the heroic empires of pre-Islamic Iran.[98] Although its construction was mired in political and economic ineptitude, the freestanding building (fig. 10) was completed in 1934; it was in the form of a cube and featured engaged columns with Sasanian-style capitals. On an otherwise blank facade, verses from the *Shāhnāma* were inscribed, reit-

Fig. 10. Tomb of Firdawsi, ca. 1934, designed by André Godard. Photograph by Talinn Grigor, 2000. (Courtesy of the Aga Khan Visual Archive, Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Fig. 11. Iran Bastan Museum, 1938, designed by André Godard. Photograph by Talinn Grigor, 2000. (Courtesy of the Aga Khan Visual Archive, Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

erating the greatness not only of Firdawsi but of Persian history itself. Four years later, around the time of the completion of *A Survey of Persian Art*, Godard designed the National Museum of Iran (*Mūzih-i Īrān Bāstān*) (fig. 11) and was appointed its first director. This building is a simple rectangle punctuated by a gigantic parabolic arch that acts as a central entry portal; its reference to the mythic arch Taq-i Kisra at Ctesiphon appropriately reflected the role of the National Museum as a repository of Iranian archaeology and art history.

The formal references to Achaemenid, Sasanian, and Islamic prototypes in both of Godard's commissions point to the ambivalence and flexibility inherent in the construction of a nationalist architecture. They also highlight the manner in which Iranian architectural history, as defined by Pope and his scholarly colleagues, was utilized as a source and an inspiration for new and modern stylistic idioms.[99]

A self-conscious engagement with modernity defines the discourse that informed the production of a vital and complex history of art and architecture of Iran in the early years of the twentieth century. The diverse sites where this discourse was formulated, from Tehran to New York and London, reinforced its vitality. Museum, parliament, art market, and survey text were all involved in the development and dissemination of Iranian art and architectural history in the 1930s and beyond. The resultant canonical "Persian" art history has continued to shape historiography, not only in Iran but also in the wider Islamic world.

Department of the History of Art
Yale University

NOTES

1. Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). This book is an important initial inquiry into the politics of colonialism and its relationship to exhibitions like world's fairs; nonetheless, the author claims (9) that the reason for Iran's later participation in the fairs was that Iran was not as geographically close to Europe and did not "have a history of continuous contact with the West," which is incorrect. She continues (36), "Westerners did not express as keen an interest in Iran as in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt, however, most likely because of Iran's lesser effect on European history."
2. Later revisions continued until 1968, but these are not the focus of this paper.
3. The connections between nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century exhibitions, their catalogues, and subsequent surveys of architecture are a broader interest of mine, here explored through a case study that sheds important light on the intricate negotiations that informed these discourses.
4. This characterization of Riza Khan, comprising all three aspects of his governance, is by Ali M. Ansari, *Modern Iran Since 1921: The Pahlavis and After* (London: Longman, 2003), 41.
5. This was also an idea germinated during the Qajar period: in 1910 there were calls, albeit inadequately answered, by the culture ministry for the preservation of national monuments: see Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions: Land, Culture, and Shaping the Iranian Nation, 1804–1946* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 100.
6. Statement of the Society for National Heritage (henceforth SNH), 1922, quoted in Kamyar Abdi, "Nationalism, Politics and the Development of Archaeology in Iran," *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (Jan. 2001): 56. Talinn Grigor builds on Abdi's research in her article, "Recultivating 'Good Taste': The Early Pahlavi Modernists and Their Society for National Heritage," *Iranian Studies* 37, 1 (Mar. 2004): 18–45.
7. Cited in Grigor, "Recultivating," 36.
8. SNH, *Fihrist-i mukhtaṣar-i āṯār va abnīyā-yi tārīkhī-yi Īrān* (1925), cited in Grigor, "Recultivating," 30.
9. This point is clearly made by Kashani-Sabet, who cites the example of two academic textbooks from the Pahlavi period. The author of the 1933 textbook explains the terminology of "Iran," but as Kashani-Sabet notes, "Unsurprisingly, it began with the alleged European definition of the term": see Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, "Cultures of Iranianness: The Evolving Polemic of Iranian Nationalism," in *Iran and the Surrounding World: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politics*, ed. Nikki Keddie and Rudi Matthee (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 173.
10. Jay Gluck and Noël Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art: A Documentary Biography of Arthur Upham Pope & Phyllis Ackerman* (Ashiya: SoPA, 1996), 44–45.
11. *University of California Bulletin: Announcement of Courses, 1917–1918* (July 1917): 211.
12. Arthur Upham Pope, "The Past and Future of Persian Art," reprinted in Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 93.
13. Ibid., 97.
14. Ibid., 94.
15. Kashani-Sabet and others have written extensively on the construction of Pahlavi nationhood: see Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions*; Mehrzad Boroujerdi, *Iranian Intellectuals and the West: The Tormented Triumph of Nativism* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996); M. Vaziri, *Iran as Imagined Nation: The Construction of National Identity* (New York: Paragon, 1993).
16. For a general history of the modern Middle East, including Iran, see, e.g., the introduction to Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury, and Mary C. Wilson, eds., *The Modern Middle East: A Reader* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 1993). See also the work of Nikki Keddie, Houshang Chehabi, and others.
17. For a brief summary of Riza Khan's reign see Ahmad Ashraf, "Reza Pahlavi," in *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East & North Africa*, 2nd ed., ed. Philip Mattar (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004), 755.
18. A seminal source on the "invention" of tradition is E. Hobs-

bawm and T. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); for modern Turkey see the work of Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat R. Kasaba, eds., *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997).

19. Ali M. Ansari, *Modern Iran since 1921: The Pahlavis and After* (London: Longman, 2003), 1.
20. Kashani-Sabet, "Cultures of Iranianness," 174.
21. Letter from H. H. Prince Firouz, Tehran, to Pope, 28 March 1928, in Pope's papers at the New York Public Library, reprinted in Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 298.
22. Stephen Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 8.
23. Celebrating the 150th anniversary of American Independence.
24. Marilyn Jenkins-Madina mentions Pope's involvement in the exhibition in her article "Collecting the 'Orient' at the Met: Early Tastemakers in America," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 69–89.
25. See Coomaraswamy's response, in *Art Bulletin* 23, 2 (June 1941): 173, to Meyer Schapiro's negative review of *A Survey of Persian Art*, in *Art Bulletin* 23, 1 (Mar. 1941): 82–86.
26. "'Well, of course,' he said, 'my interest in those days was the study of aesthetics and that is closely related to my present field. But the reason I left teaching is because college teaching is dangerous.' The professor warmed up to that subject and spoke with quick, explosive sentences. 'A young man comes out of college now with his Ph.D. and he has ideas, he has imagination. What happens? His mind is absolutely bogged down with detail. I suppose it's somewhat different now, of course, but I had 23 classes to teach at Brown. Never at Brown or California did I have time to write. I spent six hours in preparation for each lecture, which is bad enough, and the constant going over and over it made me ill. So in 1917 I came to New York and found that people would pay for expert advice in Persian art. One month I collected $18,000 in fees and consequently gave up teaching. There was no comparison in financial returns and I had time to write and study in my own field.'" From an interview with John Tebbel, "Champion of Persia as 'Rhode Island as Johnnycake,'" *Providence Sunday Journal* (May 5, 1940): sect. 6, 2; reprinted in Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 72.
27. Arthur Upham Pope papers, 1921–1951, New York Public Library, Humanities—Manuscripts and Archives.
28. Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 145. The name would soon be changed to the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology.
29. Ibid., 147. The Institute remained in New York until 1965, when it was moved to Shiraz. It functioned for another fourteen years, until the end of the Pahlavi regime in 1979. For a summary description, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982–), s.v. "Asia Institute"; also available electonically: www.iranica.com
30. Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 146–47.
31. The Institute would subsequently be the site from which numerous archaeological and architectural surveys were launched; their documentation is published in *A Survey of Persian Art*.
32. See issues of the affiliated publication, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*—(Apr. 1927): 212–13; (Nov. 1930): 250; and (Jan. 1933): 49—in which these three exhibitions are reviewed and described.
33. The 1910 exhibition of Islamic Art in Munich, entitled "Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst," was at least equally ambitious, but it was not devoted exclusively to Persian art. For brief summaries of the exhibition in London see Barry Wood, "'A Great Symphony of Pure Form': The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art and Its Influence," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 113–30, and B. W. Robinson, "The Burlington House Exhibition of 1931: A Milestone in Islamic Art History," in Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art*, 147–55.
34. Interestingly, although exhibitions of this time were variously labeled Arab, Persian, or some variant of "Muslim," it was primarily Turkish art that was represented in World's Fairs, which were patronized by the Ottoman and, later, the republican governments of Turkey.
35. It is notable that most of the exhibitions of Islamic art (the exhibition in Munich in 1910 being an exception) were in France. In a separate essay I hope to explore the distinctions made between "national/ethnic," e.g., Persian or Arab, art and "religious/historical" art, termed, e.g., "Muhammedan" or "Musulman." The data below are collected from the appendix of Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art*, 201–3.

The first exhibition devoted specifically to Persian art was held at the South Kensington Museum, London, in 1876; it was followed by an exhibition of Persian and Arab art at Burlington House in 1885; one of faience from "Persia and the Nearer East" at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1907; an "Exposition d'Art Persan" at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in 1912; one of Persian and Indian manuscripts, drawings, and paintings from the Ross Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in 1914; and the International Exhibition of Persian Art in Philadelphia in 1926. (Vernoit also lists an exhibition that included Persian, Chinese, and Japanese art, held in Paris in 1925.)

Interspersed with these were other exhibitions of "Islamic art," starting with the 1893 "Exposition d'Art Musulman," at the Palais de l'Industrie, Paris, followed by "Exposition des Arts Musulmans" at the Pavillion de Marsan, Paris, in 1903; "Exposition d'Art Musulman" in Algiers in 1905; "Exposition de Tissues et de Miniatures d'Orient" at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in 1907; "Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst" in Munich in 1910; a loan exhibition of early Oriental rugs at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, in 1910; "Exposition des Arts Marocains" at the Pavillion des Marsan, Paris, in 1917; "Exposition des Arts Musulmans" in Alexandria in 1925; an exhibition of Oriental miniatures and manuscripts in Gothenberg and Copenhagen in 1928–29; "The Fourteenth Loan Exhibition: Mohammedan Decorative Arts," at the Institute of Arts, Detroit, in 1930, and a loan exhibiton of "Polonaise" carpets at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, also in 1930.

Exhibitions in 1931 alone included the International Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House; "Exposition Coloniale" in Paris; and a loan exhibition of ceramic art of the Near East at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

At the same time, museums were establishing their own

collections, the chronology of which is also included in Vernoit's appendix.

36. A. Eastman, "Current Exhibitions of Asiatic Art," *Parnassus* 3, 3 (Mar. 1931): 38–42.
37. A. Eastman, "The Exhibition of Persian Art at the Brooklyn Museum," *Parnassus* 3, 4 (Apr. 1931): 33–35. The title of the essay does not correspond with the subject of the essay, which starts, "The exhibition of *Islamic* art at the Brooklyn Museum ranges in date from the Hittite and Assyrian epochs, through the reign of the great patron of the arts in Persia, Shah Abbas in the 16th and 17th centuries" (italics mine). Clearly the exhibition was limited neither to Islamic nor to Persian art.
38. "Editorial: An Asiatic Museum?" *Burlington Magazine* 336, 58 (Mar. 1931): 111.
39. A. T. Wilson, "Introductory Note," *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art* (henceforth *CIEPA*) (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1931), xiii. The exhibition of private and public collections was then, as now, a way of augmenting the desirability of the objects displayed. As already observed by Pope in 1917, the market for Persian art was vibrant and lucrative. The issue of collecting Persian art has been explored by David Roxburgh, "Heinrich Friedrich von Diez and His Eponymous Albums: Mss. Diez A. Fols. 70–74," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 112–36, and idem, "Disorderly Conduct?: F. R. Martin and the Bahram Mirza Album," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 32–57.
40. For a comprehensive biography of Joseph Duveen see Meryle Secrest, *Duveen: A Life in Art*, (New York: Knopf, 2004).
41. The advertisements included in the pamphlets, catalogues, and other material published in conjunction with the exhibition provide important clues to the market forces driving much of the speculative collection of art in the early twentieth century. Parallel resources are contemporary magazines such as the London-based *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* and *Parnassus*, published in New York by the College Art Association. The notices in *Parnassus* of the 1931 exhibition cited in this essay appear in a section of the publication called "Art Market," in which current sales and commercial gallery shows were announced and advertised.
42. R. Blomfield, A. U. Pope, L. Ashton, "Arrangement of Galleries," *CIEPA*, xvi.
43. Less appreciated today, armor was collected with great fervor in Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and private collections featured large displays. Thus it is not surprising to see pride of place given to Persian armor throughout the 1931 exhibition. My thanks to Anne Higonnet for bringing this point to my attention (personal communication, April, 2006); as she noted, the history of these collections and the assessment of their significance have yet to be written.
44. Among the four carpets was the mate to the famous "Ardabil" carpet in the Victoria and Albert Museum; it was then owned by Joseph Duveen, whose Northwest Persian carpet was also displayed in the Octagon.
45. There were twice as many objects from the Safavid period as from any other. Gallery III, for instance, contained the "great Milan Hunting Carpet lent by the Italian government"; on the floor was the "great silk carpet from the closely guarded tomb chamber of Shah ʿAbbas II" at the shrine of Fatima al-Maʿsuma at Qum: see *CIEPA*, xvii.
46. Fortunately these are published in *Persian Art: An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition at Burlington House* (London, 1931), which accompanied the main catalogue.
47. *CIEPA*, "Arrangement of Galleries," xix.
48. Elisions such as this greatly affected the future study of Islamic art and architecture; scholars even today struggle to include anything "non-Western" in the canon of modernism.
49. Starting with Edward Said, a number of scholars have noted these binary divisions through which Western civilization, posited as culturally and politically superior, is pitted against the colonized "non-West": see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).
50. Important overviews are provided in the collection of essays found in Layla S. Diba, *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch, 1785–1925* (London: I. B. Tauris), 1998. More recent thematic essays by Maryam Ekhtiar et al. in the "Timeline of Art History" on the website of the Metropolitan Museum of Art also expand this narrowly studied field:
www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/crir/hd_crir.htm
www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/irmd/hd_irmd.htm
51. On January 9, 1931, Strzygowski spoke at the eighth session of the congress, chaired by Pope. For a program of the congress proceedings see Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 200–202.
52. Annabel Wharton, "The Scholarly Frame," in idem, *Refiguring the Post-Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 12. See also Suzanne Marchand, "The Rhetoric of Artifacts and the Decline of Classical Humanism: The Case of Josef Strzygowski," *History and Theory* 33 (1994): 106–30, and S. Kite, "South Opposed to East and North: Adrian Stokes and Josef Strzygowski," *Art History* 26, 4 (Sept. 2003): 505–32.
53. "Persia in Piccadilly," *Times* (London), 12 Jan. 1931, 20.
54. "The Persian Exhibition," *Times* (London), 5 Jan. 1931, 13.
55. For a comprehensive overview of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century nationalism in Iran see Kashani-Sabet, "Cultures of Iranianness."
56. Also co-opted into the nationalist rhetoric were language, geography, and history.
57. Ẕukāʾ al-Mulk Furūghī, *Tārīkh-i mukhtasarī-yi Īrān* (1924) and ʿAlī Āshtiyānī, *Jughrāfiyā-yi Āsiyā va Īrān* (1926), both cited in Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions*, 206.
58. The revolts of the Bakhtiyari and Qashqaʾi tribes were forcibly suppressed, and three Bakhtiyari khans were executed in 1934 alone: Ansari, *Modern Iran since 1921*, 50. *Grass*, a 1925 documentary film and monograph by C. Merian Cooper and E. B. Schoedsack (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925) provides a poignant prelude to these reprisals, charting the spring migrations of a Bakhtiyari tribe. I am grateful to Luis Vasquez for this citation.
59. Tabriz, Ardabil, and the province of Azerbaijan exemplify tensions between cities and provinces; for a concise history of the struggles for autonomy there see Houshang E. Chehabi, "Ardabil Becomes a Province: Center-Periphery Relations in Iran," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997): 235–53.
60. M. S. Villard, "The International Exhibition of Persian Art in London," *Parnassus* 3, 2 (Feb. 1931): 30. It should be noted

that this reviewer was also Pope's assistant, with the job of proofreading the manuscript of his *An Introduction to Persian Art since the Seventh Century A.D.* (London: Peter Davies, 1930).

61. Excerpted from Arthur Upham Pope's unfinished autobiography, "Nine Lives," begun in 1956: reprinted in Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 188.
62. Such artists, too numerous to tabulate, include Frederick Church (1826–1900) in the United States, William Morris (1834–96) in Britain, and Henri Matisse (1869–1954) in France.
63. E. Denison Ross et al., *Persian Art* (London: Luzac and Company, 1930). A number of other books, all published at about the same time, were made available for sale during the exhibition; they included E. Denison Ross, *The Persians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (London: Benn, 1930), and Maurice Dimand, *A Handbook of Mohammadan Decorative Arts* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930). These were reviewed in the context of the 1931 exhibition in *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 58, 334 (Jan. 1931): 51–53.
64. E. Denison Ross's "Historical Introduction" was followed by Fry's essay, "Persian Art." Other chapters, in order, were "Early Persian Art," "Architecture," "Painting," "Pottery and Glass," "Textile Art," "Carpets," and "Metal-work," all by different authors.
65. Roger Fry, "Persian Art," in Ross et al., *Persian Art*, 25. Fry's essay is divided into chronological sections starting with Achaemenid art.
66. The Aesthetic Movement had been prevalent in both the United Kingdom and America in the nineteenth century. A prime American architectural example is Olana, the house built by the artist Frederick E. Church in upstate New York. In a letter by written by Church to J. F. Weir on June 8, 1871 (Smithsonian Archives of American Art, Washington, DC), he describes his use of "Persian" motifs, based solely on his own fantasy: "... a Feudal Castle which I am building—under the modest name of a dwelling house—absorbs all of my time and attention. I am obliged to watch it so closely—for having undertaken to get my architecture from Persia where I have never been—nor any of my friends either—I am obliged to imagine Persian architecture—then embody it on paper and explain it to a lot of mechanics whose ideal of architecture is wrapped up in felicitous recollections of a successful brick school house or meeting house or jail. Still—I enjoy thus being afloat on a vast ocean paddling along in a dreamy belief that I shall reach the desired port in due time." (I am grateful to Evelyn D. Trebilcock, Curator at Olana, for this citation.)
67. Clive Bell, "Post-Impressionism and Aesthetics," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 22, 118 (Jan. 1913): 227. In the following year Bell also wrote a piece on Persian painting in which he discussed attributions and styles of Timurid art: idem, "Persian Miniatures," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 25, 135 (May 1914): 110–13, 116–17.
68. I am grateful to Susan Laxton for conversations about early-twentieth-century aesthetics and the central role played by Fry and Bell in the history of modern art.
69. For a discussion of the reception of Persian painting from a complementary perspective see Priscilla Soucek, "Walter Pater, Bernard Berenson, and the Reception of Persian Manuscript Illustration," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 40 (Autumn 2001): 114–28.
70. Fry, "Persian Art," 36.
71. Even as Persian art (and "Oriental" art in general) served as inspiration for the European avant-garde.
72. Pope, *Introduction to Persian Art*.
73. Instead, Pope strove to speak of Persian art "as the Persians themselves have spoken of it," although there is little to suggest how that might be. Pope, *Introduction to Persian Art*, viii.
74. The relationship of Iran with the newly formed Turkish Republic was being conceptualized at this time; as other papers in this volume point out, the Turkish Republic was itself appropriating the Seljuks as part of its nationalist historiography.
75. Pope, *Introduction to Persian Art*, 11. The obverse of this belief in cultural essence is "the myth of the migrant artist" by which scholars of the early twentieth century argued that all things Islamic (from Arab to Turkish) were produced by traveling Persian artists.
76. For a list of lectures, see *CIEPA*, iv–v. In addition, speakers at the Second International Congress presented papers and chaired sessions (see n. 51, above). Although Aryan ideologies were disseminated in this forum, the significance of Persian art through its contributions to Christian art and its influence on the arts of China and Europe were also discussed.
77. In 1935 Riza Khan had formally required that the international community refer to Iran by its native name. According to Pope, he and Ackerman decided to retain "Persia," partly because the decree had not been announced until the majority of the book was set in type; in addition, since it had been advertised from as early as 1930, changing its title might have been viewed as injudicious. Perhaps more crucially, however, "Persia" was retained for its evocation of an ancient (versus a modern) civilization. The legacy of this bias continues unquestioned: numerous scholarly texts and museum catalogs from as late as 2005 use "Persian" when they are in fact referring to the cultural and political region of Iran. Although one could argue for a "Persianate culture"—that is, one dependent on the Persian language—say, in the sixteenth century, that culture would extend to Turkey and South Asia, in addition to Central Asia.
78. According to the proposals for the 1931 exhibition and Pope's fundraising for both projects, publication of the *Survey* was meant to take place in conjunction with the exhibition. The project was conceived in 1926 along with the exhibition and congress and was advertised in announcements of the exhibition and in the catalogue itself.
79. The relevance of Persian culture, including its art, is recognized in *Survey* footnotes, which cite its appreciation by such contemporary literary and artistic figures as H. G. Wells and John Singer Sargent.
80. The dedication may have been modeled on that in K. A. C. Creswell's two-volume opus, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932–40), which reads, "To His Majesty, King Fuad I King of Egypt, whose enlightened encouragement has given a new life to the arts in Egypt and whose generous support is assured for all intellectual and scientific research." The project, as Creswell described it, would catalog "one of

the greatest and most interesting branches of Muslim architecture, which will make known in all parts of the world the glorious achievements, as well as the history and evolution, of modern architecture in Egypt." (Quoted in R. W. Hamilton, "Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell, 1879–1974" *Proceedings of the British Academy* 60 [1974]: 464.)

81. These were prominent public figures, with campus buildings of Columbia University named after them or members of their families. The list also includes Joseph Duveen of Milbank. For a parallel development of the interest in Byzantine art in New York circles see Robert Nelson, "Private Pleasures Made Public: The Beginnings of the Bliss Collection," in A. Kirin, ed., *Sacred Art, Secular Context* (Georgia: Georgia Museum of Art, 2005), 39–51.
82. Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, eds., *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938–39), x.
83. In the section on Islamic architecture, a short subchapter by Eric Schroeder (Pope, *Survey*, 2:981–1046) is devoted to the Seljuk period. Schroeder primarily concentrates, however, on the monuments of the Samanids, Ghaznavids, and Iranian Seljuks, all of whom he considers nomadic, albeit enlightened, barbarians.
84. Meyer Schapiro's review of the *Survey* (see n. 25, above) is an insightful if searing assessment of the entire project. In contrast to Schapiro's dissatisfaction with the lack of academic rigor and scholarly depth in the *Survey* is the reaction of a different reviewer in the London *Observer*: "...this survey does for Persia what has never before been attempted for any place or period...This long, seven-thousand-year story is not one for specialists or art-lovers only. No one who values the world of achievement and culture can afford to be ignorant of the history of survival of intangible things. Nowhere else in the world can the survival values of one people be so clearly studied. Persia alone of the ancient empires has handed down to us values...subtler aspects of life. Fabulous in art, mystic in outlook, subtle in thought, the Persian has contributed to the enrichment of life. The Western world would be wise not to forget Persia and the Persian gifts." Stanley Casson, *Observer* (London), 13 Aug. 1939, 5, and 20 Aug. 1939, 5, reprinted in Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 307–8.
85. Recent contributions of Sarre and Herzfeld, for example, were represented along with earlier works.
86. René Grousset, "An Outline of the History of Persia," in Pope, *Survey*, 1:88.
87. Ibid., 101.
88. Pope, *Survey*, 1:1. Pope had already brought up this point in *Introduction to Persian Art*, which was sold at the London exhibition.
89. Pope, *Survey*, 1:18.
90. Pope, *Survey*, 1:40–41. The conception of Sufism as separate from Islam persists to this day due, for example, to Louis Massignon, who was a collaborator on the *Survey*. After establishing the "abstractness" of Persian art as a non-Western paradigm, Pope argues for its non-representational and subjective qualities, in which human emotions are given precedence. Even architecture, as the most formal of visual arts, is included. According to Pope, "The informing principles are the same as those that give aesthetic significance to a Tempio bronze, a Sung landscape, or a Timurid miniature." Pope, *Survey*, 1:28. (Note the similarity of Pope's examples to those mentioned by Clive Bell in his 1913 essay, cited in n. 67, above.)
91. Pope, *Survey*, 2:905.
92. Ibid., 910.
93. Ibid., 914, quoting Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932–40), 1:35–36.
94. Pope, *Survey*, 1:9.
95. Laurence Binyon, *The Spirit of Man in Asian Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 4.
96. On the Turkish Historical Society see Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 243.
97. Rabindranath Tagore, *Journey to Persia and Iraq, 1932* (Kolkata: Visva-Bharati Pub. Dept., 2003).
98. For an extensive discussion of this monument's construction and the ideologies that surrounded it see Talinn Grigor, *Cultivat(ing) Modernities*, especially chap. 3, on the Firdawsi tomb, 145–227.
99. This "burden of representation" is a point that Sandy Isenstadt and I raise in the introduction to *Modernism and the Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, forthcoming 2008.