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Marion Wenzel (German, b. 1958). Untitled (Winter landscape), 1980/81, gelatin silver print, 15 × 15 cm. From Wolfgang Henne et al., *Landschaft als Zeichen, messbar-vermessbar* (Leipzig: self-published, 1983), n.p. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 93-B10567. © Marion Wenzel, VG Bild Kunst. Courtesy of the artist.

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Editor's Note

Doris Chon

The publication of this inaugural open-access issue of the *Getty Research Journal* signals a vitally important shift in the publication's fifteen-year history. Founded in 2009 by Getty Research Institute (GRI) director Thomas Gaehtgens to publish original research emerging from the collections and activities of the GRI, J. Paul Getty Museum, Getty Foundation, and Getty Conservation Institute, the *Getty Research Journal* was offered in print with a digital complement. The latter was initially available as a download from the GRI's website. Digital editions of entire issues were later accessible via JSTOR. Since 2015, the journal has been available in both print and electronic formats by subscription through the University of Chicago Press.

Effective with this issue of spring 2024, the *Getty Research Journal* is now published on Quire, the Getty's own open-source software, and it is available in web, PDF, and e-book formats free of charge to readers, without a subscription. With this historic transformation into a diamond open-access journal, which furthers the Getty's commitment to open content, we endeavor to reach an even more wide-ranging readership invested in the history of art and visual culture on a global scale. Concurrent with this expanded access, the *Getty Research Journal* also advances scholarship on cultural objects and practices that exceed the current parameters of the Getty's institutional collections and research initiatives. To facilitate the experience of reading the journal online, the invited lengths of research articles as well as shorter notices have decreased. Throughout the issue, enhanced illustrations take advantage of the interactivity afforded by Quire's digital interface.

The present issue features five full-length articles and one shorter notice that collectively address a dynamic range of subjects spanning four continents and eleven centuries. In "Northern Africa or Central Iran? An Investigation into the Production Place of a Fragmentary Kufic Qur'an at the J. Paul Getty Museum," Madhi Sahragard upends the previous geographical attribution of a ninth-century Kufic Qur'an in the Getty Museum's collection through close comparison with related Qur'anic fragments in an Early Abbasid style that remained previously inaccessible to scholars outside of Iran. Beatrice Alai and Peter Kidd offer a comprehensive study of all known cuttings from a large twelfth-century French Bible produced by a Carthusian monastery in the

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orbit of the Grande Chartreuse; "Cuttings from an Illustrated Twelfth-Century French Manuscript Bible in Los Angeles and Berlin" includes an expandable appendix with detailed descriptions of the cuttings in what the authors propose to be their original sequence. Keelan Overton's "Jane Dieulafoy in Varamin: The Emamzadeh Yahya through a Nineteenth-Century Lens" brings the French traveler Dieulafoy's photographic documentation of the famed Ilkhanid tomb complex in the Iranian city of Varamin into illuminating dialogue with descriptive accounts produced by her contemporary, the seasoned Iranian statesman, historian, and epigrapher Mohammad Hasan Khan E'temad al-Saltaneh. The instructive wartime encounter between Polish painters stationed in Baghdad and Iraqi artists during the British military reoccupation of Iraq in 1941–45 is the subject of Anneka Lenssen's provocative essay, "Baghdad Kept on Working: Painting and Propaganda during the British Occupation of Iraq, 1941–45." Lenssen's exploration of modern artmaking under occupation resonates urgently today when nation-states in multiple regions of the globe continue to persevere under the violent threat and fatal reality of imperial expansion. In "Overthrowing Reality: Photo-Poems in 1980s German Democratic Republic Samizdat," Anna Horakova and Isotta Poggi survey the intermedial character of a selection of rare East German self-published artists' books known as samizdat, which integrate poetry and literary texts with graphic arts such as printmaking, collage, and especially photography. Julieta Pestarino's shorter notice, "The Perpetual Unfolding of Photographic History: A Previously Unknown Panorama of Salvador, Bahia, by Rodolpho Lindemann" elucidates a panorama of an important Brazilian city taken by German-born photographer Lindemann circa 1880, toward the end of the colonial period.

The leadoff open-access issue of the *Getty Research Journal* could only have been realized through the countless efforts and tireless contributions of numerous colleagues at the GRI, Getty Publications, and Getty Digital, undergirded by the ongoing support of the journal's editorial board. Sincere thanks are also due to the numerous scholars in the field—authors, anonymous reviewers, and expert advisers—who contributed to this first open-access issue in myriad ways. As executive editor, I am heartened by this collaboration and look forward to steering the journal into newer directions still to come.

Northern Africa or Central Iran? An Investigation into the Production Place of a Fragmentary Kufic Qur'an at the J. Paul Getty Museum

Mahdi Sahragard

Introduction

Islamic calligraphy thrived in two main realms in the first centuries of its flourishing. Officially, it was mostly employed by those charged with copying the Qur'an and architectural inscriptions while adhering to prescribed rules and principles of calligraphy and attending to its aesthetic aspect through rigorous, direct strokes of the pen (*qalam*). Unofficially, it was generally employed in bureaucratic and everyday affairs, in which scribes used cursive and mostly unprincipled strokes of the pen. In the first realm, as early writers such as Ibn al-Nadīm and today's researchers show, Hijazi (Makkī/Madanī) scripts shaped the first stage of writing the Qur'an.[1]

Some scholars say that the classification of the scripts used in the Qur'ans of the first Islamic centuries (the seventh to ninth centuries CE) originated in copies that were preserved in the Royal Danish Library by Orientalist and theologian Jacob Georg Christian Adler (1756–1834). Adler, according to firsthand sources, first used the word *Kufic* to refer to the script of the five copies in the library's collection. Years later, on the basis of information gained from the introduction to *Al-Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm, Italian historian Michele Amari (1806–89) proposed the Makkī/Madanī scripts as the first to be used in copying the Qur'an,[2] although later his definitive view was challenged by Qur'anic paleographer Estelle Whelan and art historian Sheila Blair.[3] Using Adler's methodology for her 1939 publication, scholar of early Arabic scripts Nabia Abbott tried to resolve the discrepancies between texts and the surviving manuscripts by proposing a classification of scripts into the double categories of Makkī-Madanī and Basrī-Kufic under the title of Hijazi scripts.[4] Nevertheless, the problem of the diversity of styles and their nonuniformity with names of calligraphic scripts and terms from the texts remained unresolved.

On the basis of classification propounded by Muslim historians such as Nāji Zayn al-dīn in 1972 and Habiballah Faẓāʾilī in 1973,[5] another classification was proposed by British scholar Martin Lings in 1976. In Lings's classification, Kufic is reckoned to be

Getty Research Journal, no. 19 (2024): 3–17 © 2024 Mahdi Sahragard

the evolved form of the early scripts and, from the tenth century on, divided into two significant styles: Eastern Kufic, nearly encompassing Iran, and Western Kufic, encompassing Andalusia and North and West Africa.[6] Despite this classification's vast geographic and historic scope, which provided for a more rigorous recognition of scripts, it did not prevail.

Challenging the term *Kufic,* codicologist and paleographer François Déroche proposed a more precise classification of straight scripts used in the Qur'ans in the first Islamic centuries. Because of the indeterminacy of the place and time of the early Kufic script's genesis, he regarded Kufic as inappropriate for this style of writing and proposed replacing it with the term *Early Abbasid*. Moreover, he called the Qur'anic scripts of the tenth to thirteenth centuries—identical to Eastern or Persian Kufic—New Abbasid. After rigorous study of the letters' forms—reported first in 1983 in his book *Les manuscrits du coran: Aux origines de la calligraphie coranique* (The manuscripts of the Qur'an: Origins of Qur'anic calligraphy) and then in 1992 in *The Abbasid Tradition*—Déroche classified the scripts of the Qur'an in the seventh to tenth centuries sequentially as Hijazi scripts (comprising four groups), Early Abbasid (comprising six groups), and New Style (comprising two groups).[7] This way, he could organize the miscellany of the styles of the Qur'anic scripts in each of the three periods.[8]

Group D is the most numerous and diverse group of Early Abbasid script. It comprises five distinct styles, with one (D.V) being further divided into three subtypes. Déroche selected the basic letterforms for the purpose of comparison. Although the letters *alif, mīm, nūn,* and *hā* are rendered in different ways, their developmental sequence cannot be placed in chronological order. Generally, all types of Group D exhibit a thick script, with vertical upstrokes that are always perpendicular to the baseline.[9]

As Déroche declares in an elaboration of his method of classification and analyses of Abbasid style, our lack of knowledge about the copying of the Qur'an in the eastern part of the Muslim world is rooted in the fact that the surviving leaves with Early Abbasid script have mostly been found in the western part. Due to the unavailability of reliable sources and copies, Déroche regards the styles of Qur'an scripts in the east as quite indefinite.[10] Considering the evidence available to him at the time, such a claim seems understandable to some extent, as all the Kufic Qur'an fragments in the collections of his investigation lack information on the place of production. Because copies and manuscripts, such as the Amajur Qur'an,[11] were relocated or endowed to certain places, we have no solid reason to attribute their origins to their places of discovery. He regards any attempts to pinpoint origins as futile. This, along with the issue of determining the historical order of the script styles, are the two problematics in studies of the Qur'an manuscripts of the first Islamic centuries.[12] Yet, there is evidence in some Qur'an manuscripts that can help us to determine the geographic scope of certain scripts.

A few surviving leaves of a Qur'an attributed to the ninth century offer us the possibility of surmising its script style's geographic scope. The leaves of this manuscript are dispersed in different museums and collections; the highest number are preserved

at the J. Paul Getty Museum. Before dispersion, the manuscript was discovered in Kairouan, Tunisia. Two leaves are kept in the National Library of Tunisia (Rutbi 198); therefore, it has been attributed to Kairouan by historians including Lings[13] and to North Africa by catalogers of the Getty Museum.[14] Yet, resemblance of its script to the style of the copies produced in Iran suggests that the place of production of this Qur'an manuscript was Central Iran. This study investigates the characteristics of the Getty manuscript's leaves and relates evidence for its place of production.

The Fragmentary Kufic Qur'an at the Getty Museum

Ten leaves of a Qur'an manuscript produced in the horizontal format and written in outlined gold script on parchment are preserved in the Getty Museum (Ms Ludwig X 1).[15] Other leaves are listed in other collections and at auctions. In what follows, the characteristics of the Getty leaves and the other leaves' places of preservation are expounded.

Fragmentary Qur'an from the J. Paul Getty Museum:
3rd century AH/9th century CE, probably Central Iran
Unknown calligrapher
14.4 × 20.8 centimeters, with five lines to the page
Pen and ink, gold paint, and tempera colors on parchment
Text area: 9.3 × 15 centimeters
Script: D.I

Folios 1, 2:
3:122–26
First words: *minkum an tafshalā*
Last words: *bihī va ma al-naṣru*

Folios 3, 10:
3:129–31
First words: *fī al-arḍ yaghfiru liman yashāʾu*
Last words: *lilkāfirīna*

Folios 4r–6v:
6:106–12
First words: *[a]ʿriḍ ʾan al-mushrikīna*
Last words: *ilā baʿḍin*

Folios 7r–9v:
6:116–22
First words: *allāh in yattabiʿūna*
Last words: *kadhālika zuyyina*

Other fragments:

- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Arabe 5178 (Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 67).
- Tunis, National Library of Tunisia, Rutbi 198 (Lings and Safadi, *The Qur'ān*, nos. 16, 17 [two folios each])
- Kairouan, National Museum of Islamic Arts of Raqqada (Lings and Safadi, *The Qur'ān*, nos. 18 [one folio], 19 [two folios], pl. 3)
- Sotheby's, London, 15 October 1984, lot nos. 218–19; 25 June 1985, lot no. 5; 21–22 November 1985, lot nos. 290–91; 22 May 1986, lot no. 248; 1 June 1987, lot no. 78; 2 April 1988, lot no. 114; 10 October 1988, lot no. 170; 10 April 1989, lot no. 169; 26 April 1990, lot no. 140
- Christie's, London, 9 October 1990, lot no. 45
- Sotheby's, London, 2 October 1991, lot no. 892
- Sotheby's, London, 18 October 2001, lot no. 4
- Christie's, London, 23 April 2007, lot no. 3; 4 April 2012, lot nos. 1 and 2
- Toronto, Aga Khan Museum, no. AKM 480
- Khalili Collection, no. KFQ 84 (Déroche, *Abassid Tradition*, 67)

Each folio of text in this Qur'an manuscript includes five relatively bulky lines, which is evidence of its production as a several-volume copy. This copy is likely to have been originally produced in thirty volumes, as five-lined Qur'an manuscripts were generally divided into thirty separate parts, called *juz'*.[16] If this is true, it might be surmised that each volume must have been eighty to ninety folios, considering the approximate number of words on each page.

The ten leaves of the Getty Qur'an constitute five bifolios. There are five lines on each leaf. Leaves one and two include *āyahs* (verses) of *āl'Imrān* (3:122–26). Other leaves (folios 3–10) include *āyahs* of *al-an'ām* (6:106–22); apparently, two leaves of this part of the manuscript have been lost, as these leaves (folios 3–10) do not include *āyahs* 112–16. Leaf three, attached to leaf ten, includes *āyahs* of *āl'Imrān* (3:129–31). A rectangular illuminated panel is on the back of leaf 10v (fig. 1). On this leaf (recto) is a three-lined frame containing the following text:

سبع مائه و تسع و خمسون و
عدد حروفه خمسه عشر
الفا و ثمان مائه و اربعون

Seven hundred fifty-nine
number of its letters
fifteen thousand eight hundred forty

FIG. 1. — Illuminated panel on folio 10r of the fragmentary Getty Qur'an, 3rd century AH/9th century CE, containing the verse count plus the number of words, letters, and diacritical points. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, no. Ms. Ludwig X 1 (2), 83.MM.118. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

This is part of a longer text, called briefly *verse count*, in which the numbers of the Qur'an's chapters (suras), words, and letters are expressed. Such text has been assumed to be a feature of Iranian Qur'ans,[17] the most well-known of which is the Ibn al-Bawwab Qur'an of 1001 now in the collection of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (Is. 1431).[18] Yet, the most ancient manuscript on paper is three volumes of a fourteen-part Qur'an written in the vertical format in New Style in 327 AH/939 CE, which, according to the autograph of its scribe, was copied in Isfahan (fig. 2). This Qur'an was endowed to the Imam Riza Shrine in the early tenth century by a person named Kashvād b. Amlās.[19] In the beginning of the manuscript (folios 1r, 2v), the verse count and the date and place of copying are written in golden Early Abbasid script on two leaves.[20]

FIG. 2. — Double-page spread from a Qur'an produced in Isfahan, 327 AH/939 CE, containing the verse count plus the number of words, letters, and diacritical points; ink on paper, each folio: 9 × 11 cm. Mashhad, Library of Astan Quds Razavi, no. 3013, fols. 1v–2r.

This information was also expressed in a four-volume Qur'an in the horizontal format that was endowed to ʾalā al-Dīn Mosque in Konya, Turkey. Its scribe, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Yāsīn, copied it in 383 AH/993 CE in Isfahan (TIEM, nos. 453–56). According to its precise calligraphy and conspicuous golden decorations, it was probably produced under the patronage of the courtiers of the Buyyid dynasty (945–1055 CE).[21] The numbers of its chapters, words, and letters are written in circles inside a horizontal rectangular panel. Scholar of Islamic art Yasser Tabbaa lists and illustrates other manuscripts containing tables with verse counts.[22]

In the Getty Qur'an, the rectangular panel on the front of the leaf (recto) is divided into two squares, each containing a circle. The four sets of lines radiating into the center of the circle intersect and form a diamond. The surface decoration of the panel is totally overlaid with gold. The chain-like pattern of its margins and the ornamental dots of the background are all outlined in brown. This structure can also be seen in certain Qur'an manuscripts copied in Abbasid style, an example of which is a fragment including *al-ḍuḥā* (Qur'an 93) to the end of the Qur'an, written in Early Abbasid style, kept in the Chester Beatty Library.[23] The Chester Beatty manuscript includes two such illuminated leaves at its beginning and at its end. On each of these leaves, as was described for Getty folio 10 above, is a rectangular panel made up of two square frames divided by four triangles (*lachak*). On the other leaves of the Getty fragments, as previously described, the text is written in five lines in gold. Each word or letter is outlined in brown ink to make it distinct from the background.

The *harakāt*, or diacritics marking short vowels, are shown by small circular dots in red ink: for *fatḥa* (ـَ), a circular dot is inserted above the letter; for *kasra* (ـِ), a dot underneath; for *ḍamma* (ـُ), a dot in the left side. Nunnation (*tanwīn*) is shown with two dots, one over the other. These features correspond to the elements of style attributed to Arab grammarian Abul Aswad al-Du'ali (d. 69 AH/688 CE), a poet and the founder of Arabic syntax. He invented, as Egyptian encyclopedist al-Qalqashandī informs us in 821 AH/1418 CE, three main *harakāt* plus *tanwīn*.[24] The vocalization in this copy is mainly used in the last letter of almost all words, for it is normally the last letter that defines a word's function in the sentence. If no vowel pointing is applied, misunderstanding and change in meaning would be inevitable. This practice of using vocalization exclusively for the last letter is attributed to al-Du'ali.

Nunnation (*tanwīn*) in this Qur'an is shown by two red dots. *Shadda* (a diacritic for doubling a consonant) is shown by a light-blue dot. There are no signs for *maddah* (long vowel) or the *hamza* (glottal stop). Because the light blue is the same one used in the illumination, the diacritics seem to have been inserted at the time the manuscript was being copied. But the dots in dark blue otherwise surrounding the letters were inserted at a later time to complete diacritics or to demonstrate other modes of recitation (*qirā'āt*) (fig. 3).

FIG. 3. — Folio 4r from the fragmentary Getty Qur'an, 3rd century AH/9th century CE, containing *āyahs* 6:106–7; diacritics and vowel marks are shown by colored dots, and medallions signify verse division. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig X 1 (3), 83.MM.118. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

In his research on colored Arabic diacritics in Qur'an manuscripts of the first Islamic centuries, which includes analyzing information in the book *Al-Muḥkam fī Naqt*

al-Maṣāḥif (first half of the fifth century AH/eleventh century CE; The precision in the dotting of the Qur'an) by Abu ʾAmr ʿUthmān b. Saʾīd al-Dānī, historian of Islamic art and architecture Alain Fouad George has deduced new features of the regional methods of applying diacritics to Qur'an texts. George summarizes his findings in a table.[25] According to his table, the vocalization of early Qur'ans copied in Iraq and Mashriq (a term designating the Arab east) was accomplished through the use of red dots for *fatḥa*, *kasra*, and *ḍamma*, two red dots for *tanwīn*, a red dot for *hamza*, and one dot after and above the *alif* for *hamza* followed by *madd*. A comparison between this table and the diacritics in the Getty Qur'an confirms that the manuscript's place of production is Iraq or the eastern part of the Muslim world.

In the Getty Qur'an, the marker used for the ends of individual verses is a rosette inscribed within a blue circle with colored dots, as seen in many of the Abbasid Qur'ans, which was assigned the code of 3.1.4 by Déroche (see fig. 3).[26] On folio 2v, the sign for the numeral five *āyahs* is a medallion inserted between the words, inside of which the word *Khamsa* (five) is written and encircled by pudgy painted petals. This ornament is drawn over the last word of the *āyah* and almost conforms to group 4.A.I in Déroche's classification.[27] The sign for the numeral ten *āyahs* on folio 6r and 8v greatly resembles the sign for the numeral five *āyahs*; it differs in that, inside the medallion, the *āyah*'s numeral is written in Abjad letters. Plus, in the margin in front of the same line, another round medallion is drawn containing the *āyah*'s number in golden letters (fig. 4). In the leaves of the Getty Qur'an, the signs for the numeral ten *āyahs* are inserted in the margin in front of line three for *āyah* 3:130 (3v), line five for *āyah* 6:120 (8v; see fig. 4), and line one for *āyah* 6:110 (6r).

FIG. 4. — Folio 8v (detail) from the fragmentary Getty Qur'an, 3rd century AH/9th century CE, containing the sign for the numeral ten *āyah*s after *āyah* 6:120, with letters ق ک, and in the medallion in the margin, مائة عشرون (one hundred and ten). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig X 1 (4), 83.MM.118. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program.

In the Abjad system, a number is assigned to each letter as its value. But the order of Abjad letters in the western part of the Muslim world is different from their order in the eastern part.[28] Therefore, one of the main criteria for attributing a Qur'an manuscript to the eastern or western part of the Muslim world is to examine the Abjad letters used for counting the *āyahs*, as art historian Jonathan Bloom does in attributing the early Fatamid Kufic manuscript known as the Blue Qur'an to the west of the Islamic world.[29] The signs used for the numeral ten *āyahs* on the leaves of the Getty Qur'an, however, are assigned to *āyahs* 110, 120, and 130, as shown by ق، ی, ق، ک and ق، ل. There is no difference between the numeric value of these letters in the eastern and western Abjad systems. One folio of the Qur'an under discussion in this article in the National Library of Tunisia (Rutbi 198)[30] includes *al-hajj* (22:43–44, 22:63–66), which has a sign for the sixtieth *āyah* written with a س, one of the variable numbers used in the more common, eastern system.

Throughout, *I'jām* diacritics (the dots distinguishing the consonant pointing) are respectively shown by very thin, oblique black lines. The signs to pause while reading (*waqf*) are indicated by dots of light and dark blue over the letters. This method has been attributed to Arabic linguist Yahya b. Yu'mar (d. 129 AH/756 CE) and Arab grammarian Nasr b. ʿĀṣim (d. 89 AH/708 CE). Purportedly, the fifth Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-malik Marwān (r. 65–86 AH/685–705 CE) and governor of Hejaz and Iraq Hajjāj b. Yūsuf-i Thaqafī (r. 73–95 AH/692–714 CE) ordered its creation and establishment to help distinguish between formally similar letters.[31]

The handwriting of the fragmentary Qur'an manuscript is bulky. Letters such as *alif* and *lām* are grounded on the baseline with no deviance. Déroche classifies the one leaf of this manuscript kept at the Khalili Collections, London, under the subgroup D.I and provides a description of its script.[32] Its characteristics greatly resemble those of the monumental script used for endowments, sura headings, and the beginning notes of certain Qur'an manuscripts in New Style. The similarities of style in these Qur'an scripts are evidence of their production in the same geographic scope. The Qur'an produced in Isfahan in 327 AH/939 CE (see fig. 2) is an example. The text with which this copy begins is part of an endowment, and the verse count is written in Early Abbasid style. Although the quality of the script does not show clearly due to imprecise outlining of the words, the geometry of the letters can be mapped onto the Déroche scripts, and the following properties can be extracted:

- returning stroke of the lower portion of the isolated *alif* (الف) is longer and tip-pointed;
- medial *jīm* (ـجـ) is located on the baseline and the letter preceding it is located higher;
- initial *'ayn* (ع) has a wide, generally circular opening;
- medial *'ayn* (ـعـ) is an inverted triangle, and the final 'ayn (ـع) has a sickle-like kern;

– *mīm* (م) has a short horizontal kern on the baseline;
– *nūn* (ن), the bowl of *sīn* (س), and *yā* (ی) are relatively big wide circles; and
– single *hā* (ه) is a semicircle relying on a vertical line.

These characteristics conform to the general attributes of Déroche's group D. Still, a more accurate recognition of the style of the script is difficult because, besides the lack of clarity, there is an in-between quality to the letters' forms. Most letters conform to subgroup D.I, but the curves of letters *nūn* (ن), *sīn* (س), and *yā* (ی) are written in the manner of subgroup D.Va, and *alif* (الف) in subgroup D.III.

A stronger resemblance can be seen in other Qur'an manuscripts in New Style. An example is the beginning of the seventh volume in a ten-volume Qur'an copied by al-ʿabbās b. Muhammad b. al-ʿabbās al-Maṣāḥifī (the copyist of Qur'an manuscripts) al-Qazvīnī, containing its scribe's autograph on two pages in Early Abbasid script. Its script mostly conforms to subgroup D.I; only the letter *hā* conforms to subgroup D.III, and the curves of letters *nūn* (ن), *sīn* (س), and *yā* (ی) are written in the manner of subgroup D.Va (fig. 5). The autograph reads as follows:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
كتب هذا الجز
و اذهبه العباس
بن محمد القزوينى

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful
copied this *juz*ʾ
and illuminated it al-Abbās
b. Muhammad al-Qazvīnī

FIG. 5. — Two pages of a Qur'an copied probably for the Buyyid dynasty's court by al-Abbās b. Muhammad al-Qazvīnī, date unknown, ink on paper, 19 × 13 cm. Mashhad, Library of Astan Quds Razavi, no. 3012, fols. 1r–2v.

The scribe is allegedly from Qazvīn, a city in Central Iran, located in ʾIrāq-e ʾajam (Persian Iraq), or the mountainous region (Jibāl) according to the ancient geographic divisions of Iran.[33] During most of the tenth century, this region was under the rule of the Buyyid dynasty (332–447 AH/945–1055 CE). Although the manuscript's place of production is not noted, scholars know that, on the basis of another colophon related to a Qur'an copied by this scribe, he is associated with the Buyyid dynasty's court. He copied and illuminated the abovementioned Qur'an manuscript between 387 and 391 AH/997 and 1000 CE for "Umm al-Umarā's treasury" in Rayy.[34]

Umm al-Umarā or Umm al-Mulūk (mother of kings) was the title of Sayyidah Malik Khātūn or Shīrīn Dukht-i Ispahbud Rustam-i Ṭabarī (d. 1028), the first Shi'ite woman ruler in the history of Iran. Belonging to the Bāvandiān family of Tabaristān, she married Fakhr al-Dawla Daylamī. Upon her husband's death in 387 AH/997 CE, she officially became the ruler of the mountainous region (Jibāl) of the Buyyid realm of dominion. Her two sons—Shams al-Dawla Daylamī, governor of Hamedan (r. 387–412 AH/997–1021 CE), and Majd al-Dawla Daylamī, governor of Rayy (387–420 AH/997–1029 CE)—were mere children when they became governors. The forenamed scribe worked for the library of the Buyyid's court; the script used in copying the manuscript is in New Style and resembles the style of the aforementioned Qur'an manuscript produced in Isfahan in 939.[35]

These characteristics are also seen in the monumental script of another copy of the Qur'an. On the basis of its resemblance to prior manuscripts, it was most probably copied in the tenth century in Central Iran (Library of Astan Quds Razavi, no. 5015), although it is missing the date of completion and the scribe's autograph. It is the fourth volume of a ten-volume Qur'an in which the sura headings and the insertions on the pages' margins are written in Early Abbasid style. Its writing and the outlining of the golden Early Abbasid are more exacting compared to other examples. In the sura heading of *al-anʾām*, the forms of letters with the vertical tooth of medial *ʾayn* (ـعـ), the broad shape of *mīm* (م), the head of *wāw* (و) on the baseline, and the short arms of *lā* (لا) conform to subgroups D.I and D.Va (fig. 6). Some explanation about the place of the sura's revelation is written in the same style inside the medallion beside the sura heading.

Another example of Iranian manuscripts having lines in Abbasid style is the copy of the Qur'an written by Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Yāsīn, dated 383 AH/993 CE (TIEM, nos. 453–56). This copy, in four volumes, is produced in the horizontal format like the Qur'an copied by al-ʿabbās b. Muhammad al-Qazvīnī. In circles inside the panels on its beginning pages, the numbers of its suras, words, and letters are written in Early Abbasid style. But, due to the script's small size and the imprecise outlining of words, an exact identification of its style is not possible.

Table 1 offers a visual comparison of the main letters of the Getty Qur'an; the main letters of the monumental scripts of the Qur'an manuscripts written in New Style in Central Iran; and subgroups D.I and D.Va in Déroche's classification. The Getty Qur'an's script entirely conforms to the style of the monumental script of the Qur'an manuscripts from Central Iran. Therefore, not only does it seem possible to attribute the production

FIG. 6. — Sura heading of *al-an'ām* copied in Early Abbasid script in the Qur'an endowed to the Imam Riza Shrine, probably 4th century AH/10th century CE, ink on paper, 13 × 18 cm. Mashhad, Library of Astan Quds Razavi, no. 5015, fol. 6v.

of the Getty Qur'an to Central Iran but it is also possible to propose a strong hypothesis attributing the mix of D.I and D.Va scripts to Central Iran.

	alif	jīm / ḥā / khā	ṭā / ẓā	ayn / ghayn	qāf	mīm	nūn	hā	lā
Getty fragmentary Kufic Qur'an									
Isfahan Qur'an									
Abbās b. Muhammad al-Qazvīnī's Qur'an									
The unknown Qur'an (Library of Astan Quds Razavi, no. 5015)									
D.I classification									
D.Va classification									

TABLE 1. — Letters in the Getty Qur'an; in the monumental script of the Qur'an manuscripts copied in New Style; and in François Déroche's D.I and D.Va classification.

Summary

Efforts to recognize the place of production of the Qur'an manuscripts in Early Abbasid script and determine the transformation of Qur'an script styles in the first three centuries of hijra (622–913 CE) have always yielded ambiguous results due to the lack of reliable information. Yet, close examination of the Qur'an manuscripts written in New Style helps us acquire knowledge of regional styles of Qur'anic calligraphy, at least in the eastern part of the Muslim world. Certain Qur'an manuscripts contain inscriptions and insertions written in Early Abbasid style; due to their greater quantity and the intactness of their scribes' autographs, they provide more accurate information regarding their place of production. Thus we have seen ample evidence that both the fragmentary Getty Qur'an and the mix of D.I and D.Va styles can be traced to Central Iran. In short, the evidence is as follows:

- The insertion of a verse count at the beginning of the Getty Qur'an, containing the number of chapters (suras), words, and letters, which is also included in New Style Qur'ans produced in Central Iran, such as the Qur'an copied in 327 AH/939 CE and the one scribed by Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Yāsīn in 383 AH/993 CE, both produced in Isfahan.
- The resemblance of the Abjad system for counting the *āyahs* in the Getty Qur'an to the Abjad system common in the eastern part of the Muslim world.
- The considerable resemblance of the Getty Qur'an's script to the monumental script of the Qur'an manuscripts produced in Central Iran.

- The resemblance of the diacritics used in the Getty Qur'an to the tradition of the eastern part of the Muslim world, as found in *Al-Muḥkam fī Naqt al-Maṣāḥif* by Abu ʾAmr Uthmān b. Saʾīd al-Dānī.

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Notes

The author would like to acknowledge the anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and express gratitude to the editorial team for their valuable feedback. Research for this essay was conducted using the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* transliteration system for the Arabic and Persian terms.

1. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist* [377 AH/987 CE], ed. Muhammad Riza Tajaddud (Tehran: Zavvār, 1971), 9; and François Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition: Qur'ans of the 8th to the 10th Centuries AD* (London: Nour Foundation, 1992), 12.

2. Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 12.

3. Estelle Whelan, "The Phantom of Hijazi Script: A Note on Paleographic Method" (unpublished manuscript, 1997), referenced in Sheila S. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 108.

4. Nabia Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script and Its Kuranic Development with a Full Description of the Kuran Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 138.

5. Habiballah Faẓāʾilī , *Aṭlas-i Khaṭṭ: Tahqiq dar Khutūt-i Islamī* [Atlas of calligraphy: Research in Islamic scripts] (Isfahan: Mashʿal, 1971), 142.

6. Martin Lings and Yasin Hamid Safadi, *The Qur'ān: Catalogue of an Exhibition of Qur'ān Manuscripts at the British Library* (London: World of Islam Publishing for the British Library, 1976), 29–33.

7. François Déroche, *Les manuscrits du coran. Aux origines de la calligraphie coranique. Deuxieme partie: Manuscrits musulmans,* vol. 1, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1983); and Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition.*

8. Note, however, that the Early Abbasid style in Déroche's classification originally comprised seven groups. François Déroche, *Qur'ans of the Umayyads: A First Overview* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 8.

9. Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 36

10. Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 35.

11. The Amajur Qur'an was endowed to the mosque of Sur (Tyre), located in modern-day Lebanon, by Amajur, the Abassid governor of Syria from 870–78 CE. The surviving folios of the Qur'an have been scattered all around the world, to Istanbul, Cairo, Dublin, Cambridge, and beyond. See Alain Fouad George, "The Geometry of the Qur'an of Amajur: A Preliminary Study of Proportion in Early Arabic Calligraphy," *Muqarnas*, no. 20 (2003): 3.

12. Allain Fouad George, "Coloured Dots and the Question of Regional Origins in Early Qur'ans," *Qur'anic Studies* 17, no. 1 (2015): 1.

13. Lings and Safadi, *The Qur'ān*, 26, nos. 16, 17.

14. Anton von Euw and Joachim M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, vol. 3 (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1982), 15–18. See also the museum collection catalog record at https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103RVE; and Tristan Bravinder, "Ninth-Century Qur'an Studied in Depth," *The Iris* (blog), 27 March 2017, https://blogs.getty.edu/iris/ninth-century-quran-studied-in-depth/.

15. Images of the Getty leaves are available on the website of the J. Paul Getty Museum, https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103RVE. According to Getty provenance records, this fragmentary Qur'an was likely part of a manuscript held by the Great Mosque of Kairouan in 1022. It is believed to have been in the possession of Sultan Mahmud II (1785–1839). Following his passing in 1839, the fragments likely moved to a private collection in Istanbul, Turkey. By 1964, the fragment was acquired by H.P. Kraus (1907–88), a well-regarded antiquarian book dealer. Subsequently, Kraus sold the fragments to collectors Peter and Irene Ludwig, who held it within their collection until the Getty Museum acquired it in 1983. Thanks to Aleia McDaniel for this provenance description.

16. For example, see an entire copy in Early Kufic style, the beginning and ending of which conform to the fourth *juz*ʾ of the Qur'an, from 2:192 (*Inna al-Laḏīna Kafarū wa mātū*) to 4:22 (*wa sāʾa sabīlā*), Mashhad, Library of Astan Quds

Razavi, no. 12220, seventy-seven leaves, 8 × 12 cm. The eastern Kufic Qur'an manuscripts, with five lines to each leaf, were in thirty volumes. The most well known of these manuscripts is a Qur'an copy scribed by ʿuthmān b. Husayn al-Warrāq-i al-Qaznavī, ca. 1070–74, kept in the same library in Mashhad. For more information on this copy, see Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 197; and Mahdi Sahragard, *Sarţi Mastūr: Tārikh va Sabk shenāsī Kūfī Sharqī* [The script in veil: The history and stylistics of eastern Kufic script] (Tehran: Academy of the Arts Press, 2020), 173–85.

17. Yasser Tabbaa, "The Transformation of Arabic Writing: Part I, Qur'ānic Calligraphy," *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991): 129.

18. David James has discussed this Qur'an in detail. David James, *Qur'ans of the Mamluks* (London: Alexandria, 1988), 24.

19. Prior to the discovery of this volume, the manuscript copied in 361 AH/971 CE by ʿAlī b. Shādhān al-Rāzī (Istanbul University Library A. 6758) had been known as the oldest. See Jonathan M. Bloom, "Silk Road or Paper Road?," *The Silk Road* 3, no. 2 (2005), www.silkroad/newsletter/vol3num2/5_Bloom.php.

20. See Sahragard, *Saţr-i Mastūr*, 128–33; and Mahdi Sahragard, "Revived Leaves: The Qur'an Endowed by Kashwād b. Amlās (A Manuscript on Paper from Iṣfahān, Dated Ramaḍān 327/939)," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts,* no. 14 (2023): 212–34.

21. The Qur'an was transferred from ʾAlā al-Dīn Kay Qubād's shrine in Konya to Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi (TIEM; Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum) in Istanbul in 1913. For more information, see Massumeh Farahad and Simon Rettig, *The Art of the Qur'an: Treasures from the Museum of Islamic and Turkish Arts* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 2016), 160.

22. See Tabbaa, "Transformation of Arabic Writing," 126–31.

23. Eleven folios from a Qur'an, ninth century CE, 12.8 × 20.2 cm, ten lines to each page, CBL, Is 1411, fol. 1b., https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/image/Is_1411/13/. See Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Illuminated: A Handlist of the Korans in the Chester Beatty Library* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1967), 6, no. 10, pl. 18. Ten other leaves of this manuscript are kept in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi (TIEM 552).

24. Al-Qalqashandī, *Subh al-ʿashā fi ṣināʿat al-īnshā,* vol. 3 (Cairo: Majmaʿat al-Amīrīyya, 1924), 157.

25. George, "Coloured Dots," 15.

26. Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 23.

27. Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 25.

28. G. Weil and G. S. Colin, "Abdjad," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0140.

29. Jonathan Bloom, "The Blue Koran: An Early Fatimid Kufic Manuscript from the Maghrib," in *Les Manuscrits du Moyen-Orient: Essais de codicologies et de paléographie*, ed. François Déroche (Istanbul: Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul, 1989), 97.

30. *De Carthage à Kairouan: 2000 ans d'art et d'histoire en Tunisie* (Paris: Association Française d'Action Artistique, 1983), 262. The illustration of the folio found in the library in Tunisia was provided to the author as part of the information in the files of the Department of Manuscripts, J. Paul Getty Museum, compiled from notes by Nabil Saidi, Dagmar Riedel, Bryan Keene, Morgan Conger, and Elizabeth Morrison.

31. ʾuthman b. Saʾīd al-Dāni, *al-Muqnaʾ fi maʾrefat rasm masāhif ahl al-amṣār maʾa kitāb al-naqţ* (Damascus: Dar al-Fikr, 1983), 124.

32. Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 43.

33. Yāqut Al-Hamavī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān,* vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār Ṣadir, 1977), 342–43.

34. Ramezanali Shakeri, *Ganj-i Hizār Sāli* (The thousand-year treasure) (Mashhad: Astan Quds Razavi, 1988), 65. See Mahdi Sahragard, "Sabk Shināsī Mantaqi-ī Kūfī Sharqī: Ṣifāt-i qalami Kūfī dar Qur'an-i Tāzi-yāb-i Rayy" (Regional Stylistic Features of Eastern Kufic Script: Analyzing the Characteristics in a Recently Discovered Qur'an from Rayy), *Golestān-e Honar*, 23 (1401/2022): 44–58. The colophon is as follows:

"فرغ من تذهيبه العباس بن محمد بن العباس | فى صفر
من شهور سنه احدى تسعين و ثلثمائه | كتبه العباس بن
محمد بن العباس | المصاحفى القزوينى بالرى | لخزانة
السيده ام اميرالامرا اطال | الله مدتهما فى سنه تسع و ثمانين
و ثلثمائه."

35. For more information on this style, see Sahragard, *Saṭr-i Mastūr*, 134–38.

Cuttings from an Illustrated Twelfth-Century French Manuscript Bible in Los Angeles and Berlin

Beatrice Alai and Peter Kidd

Introduction

About thirty-five years ago in 1989, the Department of Manuscripts of the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired a cutting with a historiated initial from a fine twelfth-century French manuscript Bible (fig. 1).[1] It had come onto the market from an anonymous seller to be sold at Sotheby's, London, on 2 December 1986.[2] The description in the auction catalog noted that some other cuttings from the same manuscript are in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, and that these had been attributed to southeastern France in the first half of the twelfth century. The Sotheby's cataloger suggested that they might instead have been made in northeastern France or southern Flanders, however, and refined the date to the second quarter of the twelfth century.[3] Since the Getty acquisition, the museum's attribution has always been to northeastern France in the middle decades of the twelfth century.[4] This article revisits that date and place of production to show that, through an examination of the sister cuttings, most of which are entirely unpublished, the Getty cutting can be situated in a specific religious context.

The Getty Initial

The Getty cutting embodies most of the kinds of evidence that will be used in the ensuing discussion, so it is worth directing the reader's attention to its salient features. The initial depicts a barefoot, bearded, and haloed male figure holding a scroll—typical iconography for an Old Testament prophet. The outlines are drawn in dark-brown ink, and the figure's draperies, neck, and feet are modeled in two tones of blue and an orange-red, allowing the bare parchment to act as highlights; the visible hand, face, and hair are modeled in shades of brown, also with bare parchment for areas of highlight. The prophet stands against a deep-red background within a green initial *U* (the letter is interchangeable with *V* in medieval Latin) with simple foliate motifs, which opens the Old Testament book of Micah: "Verbum domini quo factum est ad Micheam Morastiten" (The word of the Lord that came to Micah the Morasthite). The lower-left and right

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FIG. 1. — Historiated initial *V* (*Verbum*) with the prophet Micah, ca. 1160s, tempera colors and inks on parchment, cutting: 13.7 × 13.5 cm. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 38 (89.MS.45).

corners of the green letter and its red background show that, as usual, the artist had to fit his design into spaces left in the text by the scribe. Above the initial are the closing words of the book of Jonah, "Explicit Ionas propheta" ([Here] ends Jonah the prophet), and a line of stylized majuscules against a green background, "Incipit Mich[eas]. P[ro]pheta" ([Here] begins Micah the prophet), above which the same words are written in more easily legible twelfth-century script in red ink. The scribe who added this line in red also altered the spelling of the word *Micheam* a few lines down, because the original scribe had omitted the *e*. The writing is guided by horizontal rulings in gray plummet (often called lead point, the medieval equivalent of pencil). The second-from-the-bottom line of writing is placed between two such horizontal line rules that extend all the way to the left edge of the cutting. Where they meet the extreme left edge, a small oblique stroke is visible, resembling the hyphens in the right-hand margin that mark word breaks at the ends of some lines of script: this suggests that the cutting was originally the right-hand side of a two-column page. In the upper-left margin of the cutting, in line with the prophet's head, is a large red *S* flanked by dots, while the lower-right corner has an ink stamp in the form of a circle enclosing a letter *M*, or an upside-down *W*; the significance of these will be explained below. The cutting is stuck down onto a piece of card, so the reverse is not clearly legible, but a few lines of text are partially visible through the translucent parchment.

The Corpus of Known Cuttings

In 1931 art historian Paul Wescher published the first catalog of the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett collection of illuminated manuscripts, which includes twelve cuttings from a Bible "from the South East of France, dating to the first half of the

twelfth century."[5] It was more than half a century later that the cutting now held by the Getty Museum appeared for sale in London, but only three years after this sale another appeared at auction in Cologne; the latter is now in a private collection.[6] Thus, at the end of the twentieth century, the total number of known cuttings stood at fourteen. Then, in June 2004, art historian Robert Schindler, as part of a project to search the storerooms of the Kupferstichkabinett for uncataloged material, found thirty-eight more unlisted cuttings, more than tripling the known corpus, but he did not have the opportunity to analyze them further.[7] Nearly twenty years later, these cuttings still remain practically unknown and largely unpublished, except for four that were reproduced in print in 2010 by art historian Beate Braun-Niehr, who attributed them to the Meuse region and dated them to the second quarter of the twelfth century.[8] Since then, the Berlin and Getty cuttings have been discussed briefly in our respective work elsewhere.[9] The goal of the present article is to reconsider in much greater detail the entire group—including the cutting in a private collection—which we will refer to collectively as the Getty-Berlin cuttings. Specifically, our aims include making the unpublished cuttings better known; shedding light on their date and origin through a stylistic analysis; examining their modern provenance; and proposing a partial reconstruction of both the original mise-en-page of individual full leaves and of their original sequence in the multivolume Bible from which they come. An appendix lays out this reconstruction, detailing their textual contents, decorations, and more.

Reconstruction of the Original Layout and Dimensions

The original layout and page dimensions can be extrapolated with some confidence. Many cuttings show that the text was laid out in two columns (as was, and still is, conventional for Bibles), while measurements from individual cuttings reveal that the column width is about 10.5 centimeters, the space between the columns about 0.28 centimeters, and the space between each horizontal line about 0.9–1 centimeters.

A first clue to the overall layout comes from the horizontal rulings on each cutting.[10] Throughout the medieval period it was very common for the one or two top and bottom horizontal lines to be ruled across the full width of the page, while most of the remaining lines extended to the width of the text column. In large twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts, the middle horizontals were often ruled all the way across the page as well; or instead, sometimes it was three or four ruled lines that were so extended. Among the current group, the prologue cuttings of Acts, 1 Chronicles, and the Minor Prophets show that the top three horizontal lines were ruled across the page; the prologue cuttings of Malachi, Zephaniah, and Chronicles show that the bottom three lines were ruled across the page; and the initials of Hosea, Obadiah, Malachi, Habakkuk, Ezekiel, Esther, Zacharias, Isaiah, 2 Chronicles, Romans, Daniel, and Micah all show that the middle three lines were ruled across the page.[11] The cutting with the prologue to the Pauline Epistles has twenty-seven lines in total: sixteen are above the three at the midpoint of the page (and eight are below them); so there must be at least sixteen lines

FIG. 2. — Historiated initial *I* (*In diebus*) with Esther, ca. 1160s, tempera colors and inks on parchment. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 1904. Image © Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

between the top and midpoint rulings; and each column must have had at least thirty-five (sixteen + three + sixteen) lines of text.

We can be more specific. The large Esther cutting preserves the last four lines of the book of Tobit and the first thirteen of the book of Esther itself, decorated with a fine historiated initial *I* (fig. 2). Because the incipit to the prologue occurs at the bottom of the left column, the prologue itself must have begun at the top of the right column. Given that the incipit of the main text begins fourteen lines from the bottom of the right column, we can deduce that the missing prologue must have occupied all but fifteen lines of a full column. The surviving text of Esther (after the incipit in large red and blue display majuscules, which occupy twice the height of a line of regular script) fills thirteen lines and is seventy-two words long—that is, between five and six words per line. The missing prologue text (according to a printed version) is about 143 words long.[12] Thus, the missing text would have occupied almost exactly twice the space occupied by the surviving text: if seventy-two words occupy thirteen lines, then 143 words should occupy twenty-six lines. The prologue's explicit may have occupied one additional line, judging by some of the other cuttings. These numbers suggest a column height of about forty lines (prologue text [twenty-six lines] + Esther incipit [one line] + Esther text [thirteen lines]), or forty-one lines, if the explicit was written on a separate line.

The Esther cutting is about 23 centimeters wide, but it has been shorn of its side margins; we may therefore estimate that the page, including the margins, would have originally been approximately 30–35 centimeters wide. We have calculated that there were probably about forty lines per column, and measurement shows that ten lines occupy about 9.5 centimeters, so forty lines would have been about 38 centimeters

high. Adding an estimate for the upper and lower margins to this calculation, we may provisionally suggest an overall leaf height between 45 and 60 centimeters.

These extrapolated dimensions, although imprecise, are consistent with the grand scale of French Romanesque illuminated Bibles. Often referred to as lectern Bibles, these volumes would have been too heavy to move around with ease and were therefore typically kept on a lectern in a monastery's choir for the prescribed biblical readings of the Divine Office or in the refectory to be read aloud during meals.[13] If we take as a sample the French Bibles cataloged by Walter Cahn in 1982, we find that the leaves of most of them (with a few outliers) range from 45.5 to 55.5 centimeters in height and from 33 to 38 centimeters in width.[14] We should not make too much of these broad comparisons of dimensions, however, as most medieval manuscripts have been trimmed at least once during rebinding. The main point is that the dimensions proposed here for the Bible from which the Getty-Berlin cuttings derive are consistent with what we would expect.

Decoration

Looking at the whole group of initials, each from twelve to twenty lines high, the most impressive are the eleven depicting standing or seated figures. They can be identified, thanks to their adjacent texts, as the Old Testament prophets Isaiah, Daniel, Hosea, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, and Zacharias; the heroines Ruth and Esther; King Solomon enthroned; and—the sole New Testament figure—Saint Paul writing.[15] The protagonists are set against a red, blue, green, or yellow background, occasionally ornamented by white dots in geometric patterns. The same solid-color backgrounds are used for nonfigurative initials, such as the initial *O* of *Onus*, for Nahum (fig. 3). The contrast between the colors of the frame, ground, and body of the initials creates a vivid mosaic. In addition to the eleven historiated initials, there are forty-one large decorated letters with intricate spirals of heart-shaped acanthus leaves, brightly colored with red, blue, green, and yellow ink, the inner parts often filled by small dots and striations. In one case, the initial *I* for *In principio* at the beginning of Genesis contains burnished gold (fig. 4).[16] The bodies of the initials are sometimes divided into geometric sections with a double contour line and decorated with vegetal elements symmetrically arranged; in one case, one side of the initial letter is formed of a dragon with long neck and tail (Min. 4679). Six more other small cuttings have portions of script, sometimes introduced by pen-flourished initials drawn in red or blue ink.[17]

Basing his observations on the relatively meager body of reproductions available at the time of his writing, Wescher noted that the style of the Berlin cuttings can be compared with the famous Legendary from the Cistercian abbey of Cîteaux, south of Dijon in eastern France, and a Bible from the Benedictine abbey of Talloires, on the banks of Lake Annecy in southeastern France.[18] Nearly a century later, now that innumerable possible comparanda have been published, an analysis of the decoration reveals even closer similarities to manuscripts produced for Carthusian communities

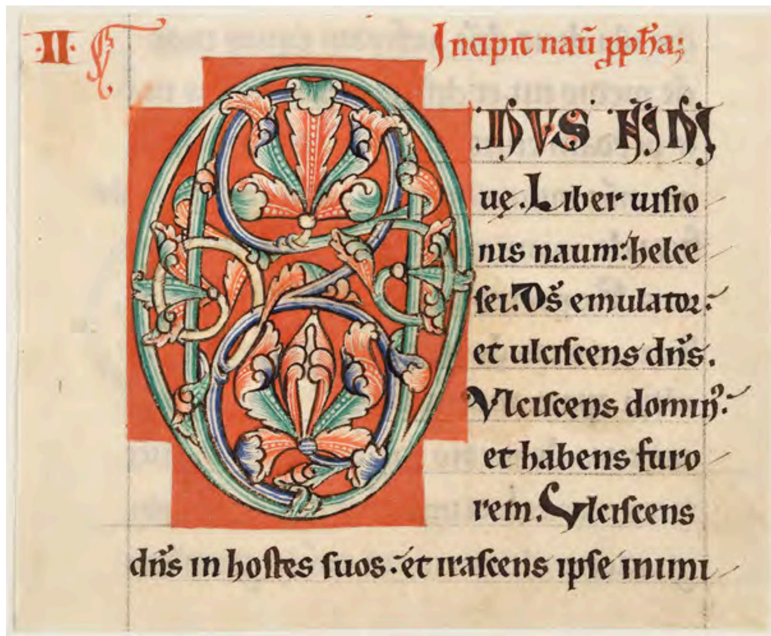

FIG. 3. — Decorated initial *O* (*Onus*), ca. 1160s, tempera colors and inks on parchment. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 31812. Image © Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

FIG. 4. — Decorated initial *I* (*In principio*), ca. 1160s, gold, tempera colors, and inks on parchment. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 30490. Image © Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

FIG. 5. — Decorated initial *O* (*Osculetur*), last third of the twelfth century, gold, tempera colors, and inks on parchment. From the Liget Bible, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Latin 11508, fol. 35r (detail). Image: BnF.

in this region. In 1084, Saint Bruno, the founder of the order, established the Grande Chartreuse in southeastern France between Grenoble and Chambéry, and the life of the monks came to be regulated by the Consuetudines (Customs) composed by the fifth

prior, Guigo, between 1121 and 1128.[19] As reported by Guibert, abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy, who visited the Grande Chartreuse between 1115 and 1117, the community lived in poverty, and the church had no embellishment other than a silver goblet and the library. The monks had already gathered a conspicuous number of decorated manuscripts, and the library was continuously enriched thanks to the activity of copyists, mainly the monks themselves.[20] During the twelfth century, thirty-six Carthusian sister houses were founded in Europe, among which was the Chartreuse (charterhouse) of Liget, in the French diocese of Tours: it was founded by King Henry II of England, perhaps in atonement for the murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1170.[21]

A first comparison with our fragments can be seen with the so-called Liget Bible in five volumes, dating from the last third of the twelfth century. Written by four scribes, it was painted by two illuminators, one responsible for the first three volumes and part of the fifth (extending to fol. 129v), and the second for the rest.[22] If we look at the pages completed by the first illuminator, we can easily recognize how the decorative patterns of the incipit letters, made of symmetrical, heart-shaped vegetal spirals and colorful tendrils set on red, green, blue, or yellow backgrounds, are the same as the Berlin cuttings—for example, the initial *O* for *Osculetur* (fig. 5).[23] Moreover, the initial *L* for *Liber* at the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew,[24] with a blue ground ornamented with white dots, is identical to the *I* at the beginning of Genesis in Berlin (see fig. 4). In addition, the figures that inhabit the initials of the Liget Bible, especially in the third volume (Ms. Latin 11508), show more than a passing resemblance to those of the Getty-Berlin group: the robust, cylindrical forms of the bodies, showing the limbs; the shapes underlined by garments falling down in the so-called damp fold;[25] the mantles ending in a zigzag pattern; the essential facial features; and the solemn gestures inherited from classical antiquity through Byzantine art, typical of the Romanesque products from the late eleventh century onward. Eloquent comparisons can also be established between Isaiah in the Kupferstichkabinett example (fig. 6) and the *V* for *Vir* representing Job in the Liget Bible (fig. 7); and between Zacharias in the Kupferstichkabinett cutting (Min. 1905) and the *O* for *Omnis* with Christ and a personification of Wisdom from the Liget Bible (fig. 8). We recognize the same physiognomies, with curved eyebrows and irregular profiles; Christ and Daniel have long heart-shaped noses, and the men and Isaiah have large rounded noses. As other scholars have pointed out, the Liget Bible is very closely connected to manuscripts from the Grande Chartreuse, especially the Bible of Notre-Dame de Casalibus, which was made by 1132 and has almost the same textual prologues.[26] The Great Bible of the Grande Chartreuse has been dated circa 1170–74 by Dominique Mielle de Becdelièvre on the basis of it being written partly by the same scribe as a homiliary of the Grande Chartreuse, which itself can be dated on the basis of whether saints are present (some of whom were added to the Carthusian calendar circa 1170) or absent (notably Becket, who was added to the Carthusian calendar circa 1174).[27] It was written by two main scribes and illuminated by fine artists led by the so-called Genesis Master, who is none other than the artist responsible for the parts of the Liget Bible written by its second scribe.[28]

FIG. 6. — Historiated initial *V* (*Visio Isaie*) with the prophet Isaiah, ca. 1160s, tempera colors and inks on parchment. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 1906. Image © Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

FIG. 7. — Historiated initial *V* (*Vir*) with Job suffering, last third of the twelfth century, gold, tempera colors, and inks on parchment. From the Liget Bible, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Latin 11508, fol. 98r (detail). Image: BnF.

FIG. 8. — Historiated initial *O* (*Omnis sapientia*) with Christ and a personification of Wisdom, last third of the twelfth century, gold, tempera colors, and inks on parchment. From the Liget Bible, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Latin 11508, fol. 54v (detail). Image: BnF.

FIG. 9. — Decorated initial *Q* (*Quidam*), last third of the twelfth century, gold, tempera colors, and inks on parchment. From *Decretum Gratiani,* Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 475, fol. 153v (detail). Image: Bibliothèque Municipale de Grenoble, Ms.34 Rés.

These manuscripts demonstrate a close relationship between different Carthusian monasteries in their book production, and the same is true for a copy of Gratian's *Decretum* of the last third of the twelfth century, ornamented by twenty-six initials and possibly from the Grande Chartreuse:[29] the initial *Q* of *Quidam* (fig. 9) shows exactly the same decorative patterns as the Genesis initial in the Kupferstichkabinett cutting (see fig. 4), and so do the other decorated initials.

However, this style is not found in the majority of Carthusian manuscripts; for example, if we look at the Great Bible of the Grande Chartreuse, a difference can be seen in the design of the vegetal tendrils—softer and less nervous—and in the way the colors are applied on the letter bodies and ornaments: while the illuminators of the Bible favored thick, uniform layers of painted color, the artist of the Getty-Berlin cuttings, with the exception of the Genesis initial, applied colors in thin, close strokes with a pen. In fact, scholars have long recognized that this way of drawing sprouts, with the veins of the leaves clearly visible, derives from Cistercian manuscripts made for Cîteaux and Clairvaux in the first half of the twelfth century. If we look at the *De civitate dei* (City of God) of the third quarter of the twelfth century (figs. 10, 11),[30] for example, the similarity of the scrolling vegetal tendrils filled with pen striations symmetrically arranged in a figure-eight shape, with most of the letters set on a monochrome field, is quite evident. The same is true for the *Lectionarium officii Cisterciense* (Lectionary of the Cistercian office) and the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* (Incomplete work on Matthew's Gospel), both now in Troyes.[31] Another comparison is possible with the famous Bible of Stephen Harding, dated 1109 in the second of four volumes (which was originally the end of the first of two volumes), and perhaps finished a year or two later (fig. 12).[32] Besides the use of pen drawing, the shape of the acanthus leaves and the colors filling the interstices are also basically the same as those seen in the Carthusian manuscripts; when analyzing the books originally from Cîteaux (such as Mss. 32, 131, 159, 180, and 641, now at the Bibliothèque Municipale in Dijon[33]), it is immediately clear that their decorative patterns heavily influenced the illuminators active for the Grande Chartreuse.

The stylistic relationship between Cistercian and Carthusian production can be easily explained in light of the devotion that Saint Bruno showed to Saint Bernard of Clairvaux and his motherhouse.[34] Correspondence between Guigo and Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, records the request of the prior of the Grande Chartreuse to borrow some volumes from the library of Cluny.[35] While the monks from the Grande Chartreuse visiting Cîteaux and other Cistercian foundations were likely the intermediaries for exchanges of books, the artists themselves may have traveled on the route that connected the two abbeys.[36] A famous example from this melting pot is Ms. 616 at the Bibliothèque Municipale in Dijon. Containing two Carthusian texts (the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* and the first part of the *Supplementa ad Consuetudines Cartusiae*), it was produced at the Grande Chartreuse but was owned by the abbey of Cîteaux during the twelfth century, perhaps as a gift from Abbot Antelme to Abbot Goswin, who headed the Cistercian abbey of Bonnevaux from 1141 to 1151 and then Cîteaux from 1151 to 1155.[37]

FIG. 10. — Decorated initial *G* (*Gloriosissimam*), third quarter of the twelfth century, gold, tempera colors, and inks on parchment. From *De civitate dei,* Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 159, fol. 2v (detail). Image: Bibliothèque Municipale de Dijon.

FIG. 11. — Decorated initial *D* (*De civitate*), third quarter of the twelfth century, tempera colors and inks on parchment. From *De civitate dei*, Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 159, fol. 24v (detail). Image: Bibliothèque Municipale de Dijon.

Even though we no longer have the whole Bible, it is clear that the Getty-Berlin cuttings represent some of its most important incipits. Despite the facts that there are no full-page miniatures (as found in a few of the most lavishly decorated Bibles), and that ocher and yellow usually have to stand in for gold, the biblical books and their prologues are introduced by elegant vegetal knots, and many have figures magnificently staged within the initials, as in the Liget Bible or Great Bible. These Bibles exceed the cuttings in quality and complexity of representation: in the Great Bible, the beginning of Genesis is ornamented by a full-page historiated initial *I* (*In principio*) under an arch, depicting the Creation, other Old Testament scenes, and the Incarnation;[38] and in the Liget Bible, the Creation story is depicted within a giant historiated initial of five medallions.[39] The cutting in Berlin, however, merely offers scrolling acanthus leaves forming four circular loops, one above the other, somewhat analogous to the round medallions in which Creation scenes are often arranged in Genesis initials.[40] In both the Liget and Great Bibles, there are many initials depicting groups of figures or events—such as the representations of Solomon enthroned[41] and of Job suffering (see fig. 7)—while in the cuttings we have only single figures.

FIG. 12. — Decorated initial *P* (*Paulus*), ca. 1109, gold, tempera colors, and inks on parchment. From the Bible of Stephen Harding, Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 15, fol. 94r. Image: Bibliothèque Municipale de Dijon.

Scholars have studied the evolution of book decoration within the Grande Chartreuse library, recognizing a few exceptional cases in which the texts are accompanied by a rich ornamental program, including the Bible of Notre-Dame de Casalibus, completed before 1132, and the Great Bible of circa 1170. Especially in this

latter case, copiously illustrated, the function of the decoration could be either a tool for the meditation of the reader or a literal representation of the contents.[42] As for the cuttings, the figured initials are portraits of prophets, Saint Paul, Solomon, Ruth, and Esther, while the decorated initials have a functional purpose—marking the incipits—as well as an ornamental one. The Bible from which the cuttings were taken can thus be put in a relative chronological sequence between the Bible of Notre-Dame de Casalibus and either the Great Bible or the Liget Bible, offering a good mix of decorated and figured initials, superseding the older pattern of the first Bible but not reaching the pictorial complexity of the second.

However, only the style allows us to establish a link with the Grande Chartreuse or, more precisely, with a Carthusian monastery. There is neither an ownership inscription nor documentary evidence connecting the cuttings with any of the charterhouses; there are no inventories of the Liget monastery library; and those of the Grande Chartreuse library are too vague to allow us to positively identify our now-dismembered Bible.[43] Two historical facts may be relevant here. First, when the monks of the Grande Chartreuse were expelled from the monastery in 1792 in the wake of the French Revolution, the manuscripts of its library were mainly transferred to the municipal library in Grenoble. Second, the famous manuscript thief Guglielmo Libri visited the library at Grenoble in October 1842, where he was left unsupervised, and library stamps cut from Grenoble volumes were discovered among his papers when he was brought to trial in 1850 for his thefts from many French libraries.[44] It is also possible that our Bible came from one of the other major Carthusian monasteries, such as the Chartreuse of Portes, Écouges, Currière, Pierre-Châtel, or Liget.[45] Moreover, the style itself is no guarantee that the original manuscript belonged to the Grande Chartreuse; in fact, the peculiar decoration of the Grande Chartreuse books became, by the end of the twelfth century, typical of many other workshops active for religious communities in the southeast of France.[46]

Script

Analysis of the handwriting does not (in the current state of our knowledge) connect the cuttings to a precise Carthusian foundation; it simply confirms that the Bible was written around the 1160s. The writing shows the typical characteristics of late Caroline minuscule script, in the transitional phase, sometimes called pre-Gothic or proto-Gothic, before the emergence of the fully Gothic *littera textualis.* Features of this period are the use, in combination, of the following:

- the round *s* at the end of words (see, for example, fig. 1, last line, *eius*; *dominus* abbreviated to *dns*; and *deus* abbreviated to *ds*) and the tall *s* used at the beginning of the words *samariam* and *super*, three and four lines from the bottom

- both uncial *d* (with the ascender slanting to the left) and *d* with an upright ascender (both forms are found on the bottom two lines of fig. 1: *audite*, *attendite*, and *plenitudo*; cf. *dns* and *ds*)
- both *et* and the ampersand (&) (the Genesis cutting, fig. 4, mostly uses *et*, but the ampersand also occurs once; see also the bottom two lines of the Getty cutting, fig. 1)
- a few ligatures persist, such as *st* (see, for example, *testem*, the very last word of the Getty cutting, fig. 1)

Some differences in the writing among the cuttings suggest the participation of at least two scribes. If we compare, for example, the Esther cutting (see fig. 2) with the Getty cutting (see fig. 1), several differences are readily apparent. Overall, the former's script is more laterally compressed, with letters and their individual strokes closer together; the common abbreviation mark to indicate a missing *m* or *n* is a horizontal stroke with serifs (very unlike the curved form found, for example, twice on the last line of the Getty cutting); the Tironian symbol for *et* (shaped somewhat like a 7) appears (for example, twice in the first line of the left column) alongside the ampersand (for example in lines 4 and 9 of the right column); the *ct* ligature is still joined, not broken as in the Getty cutting (line 2 of the main text, *factum*); and other letterforms have small differences. Punctuation also provides corroborating evidence as to the date: we see an abundant use of the *punctus elevatus, punctus interrogativus,* and *punctus versus,*[47] but the *punctus flexus,* introduced by "early Cistercian scribes to assist readers in deciphering the sense of unfamiliar texts"[48] and later adopted by Carthusian scribes, is absent. As noticed by Mielle de Becdelièvre, the *punctus flexus* features in the Great Bible from the Grande Chartreuse but not in the older Notre-Dame de Casalibus one,[49] again suggesting that the Bible to which the cuttings belong was a product of about the 1160s.

It is not possible to understand with certainty how the task of writing the manuscript was divided, in part because of an almost complete lack of evidence concerning the original quire structure. In her magisterial study of French Romanesque Carthusian manuscripts, Mielle de Becdelièvre notes that many books from the Grande Chartreuse were written by more than one scribe, and her comparative analysis of the texts demonstrates that there was no systematic division of the work, not even for the rubrics. She suggests that in some cases the differing styles of script might be attributed to a master and a student.[50] Concerning the production of manuscripts within the Carthusian Order, in general, we know that writing was recommended in the *Consuetudines* by Guigo:[51] the monks were supposed to copy books during the day in their own cells, as attested also by Peter the Venerable.[52] Given the strict rule of anonymity of the scribes, it is almost impossible to find names of the copyists who spent three or four daylight hours in winter and eight or nine hours in summer doing the *opus manum* (manual work), using the writing instruments listed by Guigo including quill pens and a penknife for cutting, pumice stones and chalk for preparing the surface of the parchment, and ink horns and a sharp knife or razor for erasing mistakes.[53]

Text

Before analyzing the text of the cuttings, it is necessary to know what to expect of a twelfth-century Bible in general terms. The Bible in use today is based, in many important ways, on an "edition" of the Bible commonly known as the Paris Bible, which was formulated in the early thirteenth century and disseminated across Europe from Paris by the middle of the same century. The Paris Bible has a specific selection of biblical books, in a fixed sequence, most of them preceded by specific prologues, and each book is divided into chapters at fixed points. The Paris Bible also set a new standard for the authority of the words of the text itself, earlier copies having become more and more corrupted by the compounding effect of successive scribal errors from one copy to the next. Important to our present purposes is that, prior to establishment of the Paris Bible, Bibles varied considerably; the selection of books, their prologues, their texts, their sequences, and their divisions into chapters were not standardized. In addition, earlier Bibles often included features that are not found in the Paris Bible, notably capitula lists—that is, brief summaries of the subject matter of the chapters, placed before individual books, similar to tables of contents. Modern Bibles often have a short summary at the beginning of each chapter, such as "Christ's sermon upon the mount; the eight beatitudes," but in capitula lists, such summaries are grouped together at the beginning of each biblical book.

It follows from this that in order to reconstruct and understand the original form of the Bible from which the Getty-Berlin cuttings come, we must use all available clues to its textual contents, which may not follow a standard sequence. The appendix to this article attempts to present this reconstruction in detail, but it may be useful to provide an example here. The recto of one cutting (Min. 159) has a portion of text from near the end of the book of Ecclesiasticus (alias Sirach) and, on its verso, a prologue to the book of Job. Another cutting (Min. 138) has part of a different prologue to Job on its recto, and part of Job chapter 1 on its verso. The recto of a third cutting (Min. 140) has text from near the end of the book of Job, with a prologue to Tobit on its verso. From these three cuttings we can deduce that the parent volume had the following sequence of six texts: Ecclesiasticus, followed by a prologue to Job; another prologue to Job, followed by the book of Job itself; and a prologue to Tobit, which was doubtless followed by the book of Tobit itself. This is entirely unlike the order of texts found in the Paris Bible and modern editions, in which Job is adjacent neither to Ecclesiasticus nor Tobit but is instead between Esther and the Psalms. As we will see in due course, the sequence of these three biblical books as represented by the cuttings is highly significant.

Some sequences of biblical books, as represented by the Getty-Berlin cuttings, are typical. For example, the first eight books of the Bible (known collectively as the Octateuch) run in the standard sequence: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth.[54] Similarly, the Twelve Minor Prophets appear as a group in their usual sequence. Some cuttings provide no clues as to what preceded or followed them: examples are cuttings with portions of the books of Wisdom (Min. 168) and Acts (Min. 132). Large parts of the Bible, including most of the Pauline Epistles

and all of the Gospels, are not represented at all in the known cuttings, suggesting the possibility that they were in one or more separate volumes that are entirely lost (large-scale twelfth-century Bibles were typically bound in two, three, or four volumes).

Lectern Bibles written for use in Carthusian houses have the individual books arranged in an apparently eccentric sequence; the reason for this is that they were intended to correspond more closely to (but rarely the same as) the order of the liturgical Matins and refectory readings of the year, as stipulated in the Carthusian Statutes, as follows (here in simplified summary form):[55]

- Advent to Christmas Eve: Isaiah, Daniel (Statutes 2.2)
- Epiphany to Septuagesima: Pauline Epistles (Statutes 4.1)
- Septuagesima to Passion Sunday: Genesis to Judges (the Heptateuch) (Statutes 4.4)
- Passion Sunday to Maundy Thursday: Jeremiah (Statutes 4.13)
- Triduum (Last Supper to Easter evening): Lamentations
- Easter to Pentecost: Acts, Catholic Epistles, Revelation (Statutes 4.32)
- Pentecost to August: 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles (Statutes 5.1)
- August to September: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus (Statutes 5.2)
- September to October: Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther (Statutes 5.3)
- October to November: 1–2 Maccabees (Statutes 5.4)
- November to Advent: Ezekiel, the Twelve Minor Prophets, Daniel (Statutes 2.2)

The Great Bible, for example, has almost exactly this sequence:[56]

- Vol. 1: Ezekiel, Daniel, Minor Prophets, Isaiah, Pauline Epistles
- Vol. 2: Heptateuch, Jeremiah, Lamentations
- Vol. 3: Acts, Catholic Epistles, Revelation, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles
- Vol. 4: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther, 1–2 Maccabees

The biggest differences between this order of books and the order in which we usually find them in Bibles from the thirteenth century onward are that

- Jeremiah and Lamentations follow the Heptateuch, rather than following Isaiah;

- Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and Revelation, which usually occur at the end of the New Testament, occur instead between the Old Testament books of the prophet Jeremiah and the historical books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles;
- Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus precede, rather than follow, Job, Tobit, Judith, and Esther;
- 1–2 Maccabees follow Job, Tobit, Judith, and Esther, rather than occurring at the end of the Old Testament;
- Isaiah follows the Twelve Minor Prophets, rather than preceding the other Major and the Minor Prophets;
- the Pauline Epistles follow Isaiah (and Daniel); and
- the Gospels are absent.

In the Getty-Berlin cuttings we find that, as above,

- Job follows Ecclesiasticus;
- Job precedes, not follows, Tobit, Judith, and Esther;
- Daniel follows the Twelve Minor Prophets; and
- the Gospels are absent (or at least not represented by any known cutting).

Carthusian Lection Markings

Beyond stylistic analyses of script and decoration and the peculiar sequence of the biblical books, other features of the Getty-Berlin cuttings demonstrate conclusively that the parent Bible was used by Carthusians. In our description of the Getty cutting at the beginning of this article, we noted the presence of a red *S* in the left margin, next to the start of the text (see fig. 1). Similar marginal notations occur on other cuttings in Berlin, including majuscule letters *P* (Proverbs 1:29, Zechariah 1:1), *S* (Joel 2:18), and *T* (Haggai 1:1); roman numerals *I* (Daniel 1:1, Joel 1:1), *II* (Isaiah 1:1, Nahum 1:1, Malachi 1:1), and *III* (Habakkuk 1:1); and minuscule letters *a* (2 Samuel 1:1, Proverbs 1:29, Ezekiel prologue), *b* (2 Samuel 1:5, 2 Samuel 2:18, Tobit 1:1, Ezekiel 1:1, Romans 1:1, 1 Corinthians 1:1), *c* (Judith 1:5, 2 Samuel 2:22), *d* (Ecclesiasticus 50:15), *e* (Proverbs 30:15), *f* (Romans 16:17), *g* (1 Samuel 1:28?), and *h* (Tobit 12:20). All these forms of annotation are characteristic of Carthusian Bibles. The letters *P, S,* and *T* stand for *primus, secundus,* and *tertius* (or *prima lectio, secunda lectio,* and *tertia lectio*) and indicate the start of the three biblical lections read on weekdays by Carthusians. Sometimes *I, II,* and *III* are used in their place. Also Carthusian is the presence in the margins of the first eight letters of the alphabet, *a* to *h,* to indicate the eight biblical lections to be read on Sundays and major feast days.[57] (This is not to be confused with the method, probably developed by the Paris Dominicans in the thirteenth century, of dividing parts of a work into subsections using the first seven letters of the alphabet, *a* to *g.*)[58] The three different types of markings in the Getty-Berlin cuttings may represent successive stages of annotation: the cutting with the decorated

initial at the start of Proverbs, for example, has on its verso a roman numeral *I* in brown ink, overwritten with a *P* in red, next to which is an *a,* also in red.

Modern Provenance

When or whence the Berlin cuttings entered the Kupferstichkabinett is not certain. They are not recorded in the collection's accession inventories, and the only evidence is an oval ink stamp on the reverse of each item, with an imperial shield and crown in the center, surrounded by the legend "KUPFERSTICH=SAMMLUNG DER KONIGL: MUSEEN"; this corresponds to a stamp in Frits Lugt's reference work *Marques de collections,* no. 1606.[59] The stamp is generally found on works acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, founded in 1831, as part of its foundation collections and acquisitions of the first few decades. Its successor, Lugt no. 1607, was certainly in use by 1881, but unfortunately this does not provide a terminus ante quem for the use of Lugt no. 1606, which continued to be applied at later dates to items that were believed by later curators—rightly or wrongly—to have been early acquisitions; Lugt no. 1606 often appears alongside stamps of private collections that were demonstrably acquired later.[60]

If we tabulate the accession numbers of illuminated cuttings with known dates of acquisition, we see how unreliable the numbers are as a guide to the dates of acquisition of our Bible cuttings. One group, for example, is numbered from Min. 1904 to Min. 1908: they thus fall between Min. 1902, which was acquired in 1856, and Min. 1915, which was acquired in 1835, while a much lower number, Min. 1250, was acquired forty years later, in 1875.[61] While we cannot say for certain, the likelihood is that the Bible cuttings were acquired at an early date. It is probably significant that Wescher, who was usually very careful to record provenance in his 1931 catalog, does not suggest anything for the present cuttings.

Neither the Getty cutting nor the one in a private collection has a Kupferstichkabinett stamp, and there is no reason to imagine that they ever formed part of the museum collection in Berlin. Nothing is known of the pre-1989 provenance of the cutting in a private collection, but the Getty one has a stamp (Lugt no. 5551) showing that it was owned by Wescher, probably before he moved from Berlin to the United States in 1948, where he was employed by J. Paul Getty as the very first curator of the J. Paul Getty Museum, which would eventually become the permanent home of his cutting.[62] Wescher perhaps bought it precisely because he recognized it as a sibling of the group he had cataloged at the Kupferstichkabinett.

Conclusion

We hope to have shown that the Getty-Berlin cuttings come from a large Bible produced in the third quarter of the twelfth century, perhaps in the 1160s, for a French Carthusian house in the orbit of the Grande Chartreuse. A few corrections, additions, and erasures to the cuttings can be found, while some later notes and reading marks by

a slightly later hand bear witness to a prolonged, or at least somewhat later, use of the Bible.[63]

The initials were excised from the Bible probably in the first half of the nineteenth century, possibly by Libri in France, or more likely in Germany, where most of them came to light. Many of the cuttings were then acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, perhaps as early as the 1830s or 1840s, and perhaps in two or three tranches, of which one large group remained forgotten and unaccessioned until 2004. Two others are known, including the one at the Getty Museum, both of which came onto the auction market in the 1980s; it is to be hoped that more emerge as a result of this article bringing them to wider scholarly attention.

Appendix

Descriptions of the Cuttings in Their Probable Original Sequence

Because most of the cuttings are completely unpublished, what follows is a detailed account of their textual contents and the different types of script used.

Italics	rubrics in red
Small caps	majuscules
Small caps in Italics	majuscules in color(s)
[Square brackets]	missing text

Septuagesima

Genesis

18 lines of text, with 15-line foliate illuminated initial, with gold and body-color

recto: "*Incipit liber Bresit id est Genesis*. In principio creauit deus cęlum . . . ab aquis. Et fecit deus" (see fig. 4)

verso: "cęli & cunctas bestias terrę . . . ligno paradisi. Cui res[pondit]"

Genesis 1:1–7; 2:20–3:2

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 30490

Exodus, preceded by a capitula list

13 lines of text, with 10-line (+ stem = 13-line) foliate initial

recto: "Mortem mittit dominus in omnia peccora egyptiorum. . . . Consecutus est pharao israel et cooperuit egyptios mare" (part of capitula list; Donatien de

Bruyne, *Sommaires, divisions, et rubriques de la bible latine* (Namur: A. Godienne, 1914), 10, series A, XVI.5–XXIII)

verso: "*Incipit liber Ellesmoth qui est exodus*. Haec sunt nomina filiorum israhel"

Exodus 1:1

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 145

Leviticus, preceded by capitula explicit

18 lines, with 10-line foliate initial

recto: "Explicivnt capitula. Incipit liber / uagecra id est / Leviticvs. Uocavit autem moysen . . . uictimas. si holocaustum"

verso stuck down, but partially legible and starting: "[adole]bit sacerdos super altare in holocaustum"

Leviticus 1:1–3, verso: 1:13–(?)

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 4678

Numbers, preceded by capitula

18 lines of text, with 16-line foliate initial

recto: "ex populo xiiii milia dcc quod murmurauerunt aduersus moysen . . . et fecit ei sicut fecit seon regi amorreorum"

verso: "Nouem tribubus et dimidię tributi manasse . . . plebis patris sui. Explicivnt capitula. Incipit Vagedaber quod est Numerorvm liber. Locvtvsque est dominus ad Moysen in deserto sy[nai]"

Capitula (De Bruyne, *Sommaires*, 29–30, series A, XLIII–LIIII; 32, series A, LXX–LXXIIII)

Numbers 1:1

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 127

Deuteronomy, preceded by the capitula explicit

16 lines of text, with 7-line (+ stem = 13-line) foliated initial

recto: "Explicivnt capitula. Incipit liber Helleadarbarim id est Devteronomivm Hęc svnt verba quę locutus est moyses . . . campestri. con[tra]"

verso: "solitudinem; per uiam maris rubri . . . nec uoci uestrę uoluit"

Deuteronomy 1:1; 1:40–45

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 30491

Prologue to Joshua, preceded by end of Deuteronomy and Joshua capitula

9 lines of text

recto: “israel. Explicit liber Helleadabarim id est Devteromimivm. Incipit prologus beati Iheronimi presbiteri in librum Iosue bennun.”

verso: “Vnde natus sit abraham. . . . alloquitur eos iosue. Explicivnt capitula Incipit liber Iosve Bennvn”

Deuteronomy (last word only); Joshua capitula (De Bruyne, *Sommaires,* 42, series A, XXXIII).

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 157

Joshua prologue

9 lines of text, with 6-line foliate initial

recto: “Tandem finito pentateuco moysi . . . nominibus effe[runt]”

verso: “iudeos; quod calumniandi . . . quare danielem iuxta”

Fredericus Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, vol. 1, *Initia biblica, apocrypha, prologi* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Francisco Suárez, 1950). Printed in Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem,* 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 402, lines 1–3, 18–22.

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 166

Ruth, preceded by the end of Judges

22 lines of text, with 13-line historiated initial

Ruth, with halo, holding and pointing to a book

recto stuck down, but partially legible, starting at “sunt eis uxores de filiabus Jabes”

verso: “Explicit liber Sophtim idem Ivdicvm. Incipit liber Rvth. In diebvs vnivs iudicis . . . ipsa cum filiis qui”

recto: Judges 21:14–20(?); verso: Ruth 1:1–4

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 4683

Easter to Ascension

Acts, preceded by capitula list

32 lines of text, with 11-line (+ stem = 23-line) foliate initial

recto: “Et quia [*sic*] descendentes de iudea docebant fratres. . . . Distulit autem illos certissime sciens de ui.”

verso: “Incipit liber Actvvm apostolorum. Primvm qvidem sermonem feci . . . interrogabant eum dicentes. Domine”

Capitula (similar to De Bruyne, *Sommaires*, 377–79, series “In,” XL–LXIIII)

Acts 1:1–6

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 132

Pentecost to August

1 Samuel prologue

12 lines of text, with 8-line foliate initial

recto: “Viginti dvas esse litteras . . . litteras scripitant;”

verso: “hebraicę omne quod loquium. . . . addabarim qui deuterono[mium]”

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 323. Printed in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem,* 510, lines 1–4, 18–23.

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 137

1 Samuel

19 lines of text, with 8-line (+ stem = 16-line) foliate initial

recto: “Fvit vir unus de ramathan . . . dies et immola[vit]”

verso: “omnibus diebus vitę eius; . . . peticionem quam”

1 Samuel 1:1–4; 1:11–17

Carthusian letter “*.G.*” next to 1 Samuel 1:16 (or, more probably, the text in the adjacent, now-missing column)

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 150

2 Samuel

28 lines of text

recto: “Incipit liber Regvm .II. Factvm est autem postquam mortuus est saul. . . . et equites; appropin[quabant]”

verso: ergo et transierunt. . . . Percussit ergo eum abner"

2 Samuel 1:1–6; 2:15–23

Carthusian letters ".*a.p.*" and ".*b.*" next to 2 Samuel 1:1 and 1:5; and ".*b.*" and ".*c.*" next to 2 Samuel 2:18 and 2:22

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 149

1 and 2 Chronicles prologues

14 lines of text, with 9-line foliate initial

"Si septvaginta interpretum . . . erat etiam nostro silen[tio]"

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, no. 328. Printed in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 772, lines 1–4.

"historię de quibus in regnorum libro dicitur . . . nomina non vocabula homi[num]"

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 327 (not in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*).

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 160

1 and 2 Chronicles prologues

4 lines of text, with 3-line decorated initial

recto: "ceterorum. *Explicit prologus. Item alius.* Eusebius Ieronimus Donationi et rogatiano. . . . Quando Grecorum historiam"

verso: "[applicati]ones non homines plerique . . . quedam narrantur"

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* nos. 328 (last word only) and 327; cf. this appendix, previous entry (1 and 2 Chronicles prologues).

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 158

1 Chronicles

15 lines of text, with 11-line foliate initial

"Adam Seth henos [*sic*] . . . dondanim. Filii autem cham."

stuck down: reverse not readily legible

1 Chronicles 1:1–8

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 4679

2 Chronicles

11 lines of text, with 10-line historiated initial:

King Solomon seated, with halo, crown, and scepter

recto: “CONFORTAtus est ergo Salomon. . . . Precepitque Salomon”
verso: “erant in terra . . . quam dinumerauit . . . David in area”

2 Chronicles 1:1–2; 2:17–3:1

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 4684

August to September

Proverbs

18 lines of text, with 9-line (+ stem = 17-line) foliate initial

recto: “*INCIPIUNT PARABOLE SALOMONIS*. Parabolę salomonis filii dauid. . . . Sapientiam atque doctrinam”

verso: “proferam uobis spiritum meum. . . . paruulorum interficiet eos;”

Proverbs 1:1–7; 1:23–32

Carthusian letters “*.a.*” and “*P*” and number “*.I.*” next to Proverbs 1:29

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 136

Ecclesiastes, preceded by the end of Proverbs

13 lines of text, with a 13-line foliate initial

recto: “quę patri suo maledicit; . . . sufficit; Oculum”

verso: “*Incipit coeleth quem greci dicunt ecclesiasten latine concionatorem.* Uerba ęcclesiastes filii dauid . . . homo de uniuerso”

recto: Proverbs 30:11–17; verso: Ecclesiastes 1:1–3

Carthusian letter “*e*” at Proverbs 30:15

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 148

Wisdom, preceded by explicit of capitula

13 lines of text, with 11-line foliate initial

recto: “*Expliciunt capitula; Incipit liber sapientię.* Diligite iusticiam . . . apparet autem”

verso: “nationes orbis terrarum; . . . fuerimus; quoniam fu[mus]”

Wisdom 1:1–2; 1:14–2:2

Carthusian letters ".*G.c.*" next to Wisdom 2:1

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 168

September to October

Job prologue, preceded by Ecclesiasticus

11 lines of text, with 9-line foliate initial

recto: "amictum; In accipiendo . . . de sanguine uve. et"

Ecclesiasticus 50:12–17

verso: "*Incipit prologus beati ieronimi presbiteri in librum iob.* Cogor per singulos . . . meam reprehensionem"

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 344. Printed in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem,* 1011, lines 1–2.

Carthusian letter "*d*" (? – cropped) at Ecclesiasticus 50:15 (Oblatio autem)

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 159

Job prologue, followed by incipit to Job

4 lines of text, with 4-line decorated initial

recto: "*Explicit prologus.* Si aut ficellam [*sic*] . . . in sudore uultus mei"

verso: "quam ex aliorum negocio; *Incipit liber Iob*"

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 357 (not in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*).

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 154

Job, preceded by a prologue

14 lines of text, with 12-line foliate initial

recto: "corrosusque liber. . . . huius uolumine liddeum"

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 344. Printed in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem,* 1011, lines 13–19.

verso: "Uir erat in terra hus; . . . septem milia ouium;"

Job 1:1–3

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 138

Tobit prologue, preceded by Job

10 lines of text, with 7-line foliate initial

recto: “Ecce beemoth. . . . Sub umbra dor[mit]”

Job 40:10–16

verso: “*Incipit prologus sancti ieronimi presbiteri in librum tobię;* Chromacio & heliodoro. . . . Mirari non desino; . . . ad latinum stilum”

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 332. Printed in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem,* 944, lines 1–3.

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 140

Tobit

15 lines of text, with 11-line foliate initial

recto: “*Incipit liber Tobie*. Tobias ex tribu & ciuitate neptalim . . . esset in diebus salma[nassar]”

verso: “dominis suis. quia non licet . . . mortem et in fabu[lam]”

Tobit 1:1–2; 2:21–3:4

Carthusian letters “*.b.*” at Tobit 1:1 and “*.d.s.*” at Tobit 3:1

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 139

Esther prologue, preceded by the end of Tobit

15 lines of text, with 13-line foliate initial

recto: “te & saram uxorem . . . eorum ablatus”

Tobit 12:14–21

verso: “Librum hester uariis translatoribus . . . comprobastis. tenentes”

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 341. Printed in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem,* 988, lines 1–7.

Carthusian letter “*.h.*” next to Tobit 12:20

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 141

Esther, preceded by the end of Tobit and a heading for a prologue

2 columns of 15 lines of text, with a 14-line historiated initial: Esther, full-length, standing on the back of a lion(?), with crown, scepter, and orb-like object

recto stuck down, but partially legible: “quadraginta duobus et uidit . . . non enim excidit verbum Dei”

verso, col. 1: “ei et omnis generatio ei; . . . habitatoribus terrę; Explicit liber Tobie. *Incipit prologus beati Ieronimi presbiteri in librum Hester.*”

verso, col. 2: “*Incipit liber Hester*. In diebus assueri. . . . Cumque implerentur”

Recto includes Tobit 14:1–6; verso: Tobit 14:16 (end); Esther 1:1–5

Carthusian letters "*c.s*" at Esther 1:5 ("Cumque implerentur")

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 1904

Judith prologue, preceded by the end of Esther

15 lines of text, with 10-line foliate initial

recto: "[sangui]ne & pietatem nostram . . . sed e contrario"

Esther 16:10–15

verso: "*Incipit prologus beati Ieronimi presbiteri in librum Iudith.* Apud hebreos . . . sanctarum scriptu[rarum]"

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 335. Printed in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem,* 962, lines 1–3.

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 163

Judith, preceded by end of Esther

22 lines of text, with 11-line foliate initial

recto: "elevasset faciem & ardentibus oculis furorem pectoris indicasset . . . quam pro iudeis ad totas"

Esther 15:10–16 (heading)

verso: "[insuperabi]lem superaret. *Incipit liber Iudith. Expli*[. . .]. Arfaxaz [sic] itaque rex medorum . . . regni sui nabuchodo[nosor]"

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 335 (last words); Judith 1:1–5

Carthusian letters "*c*" and "*ds*" at Esther 15:15 ("Cumque illa") and 16 (heading) ("Exemplar espistolę"), and "*.b.s.*" and "*.c.*" at Judith 1:1 and 1:5

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 131

October to November

1 Maccabees, preceded by a capitula list

11 lines of text, with 10-line foliate initial

recto: "Vbi symonem loco fratrum eius exercitus ducem constituit. . . . & uiuum comprehendit"

(De Bruyne, *Sommaires,* 160, series A, XLVIII–LII)

verso: "Et / factum est / [added] postquam percussit alexander . . . munitiones. et"

1 Maccabees 1:1–2

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 130

2 Maccabees

16 lines of text, with 10-line (+ stem = 16-line) foliate initial

recto: "*Incipit liber machabeorum secundus;* Fratribus qui sunt . . . corde magno &"

verso: "perside esset dux . . . templi neccessarium"

2 Maccabees 1:1–3; 1:13–18

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 164

End of 2 Maccabees, followed by incipit of a prologue to Ezra

6 lines of text

recto: "[redi]rent cognoverunt nicanorem . . . ciuibus paratus"

2 Maccabees 15:28–30

verso: "*Incipit prefatio Eusebii Ieronimi in librum Ezdram*"

Carthusian letters "*.f.t*" next to 2 Maccabees 15:29

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 155

Ezra prologue, preceded by 2 Maccabees

17 lines of text, with 14-line initial

recto: stuck down, but legible words include "[fa]cta . . . [mnip]otente . . . [adl]ocutus . . . etiam cer[taminum] . . . promptio[res] . . . [anim]is eorum . . . [fa]llaciam et . . . [sin]gulos . . ."

2 Maccabees 15:8–11

verso: "Vtrum difficilius sit facere . . . contra se"

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 330. Printed in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem,* 886, lines 1–4.

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 4681

1 Ezra

16 lines, with a 13-line foliate initial

recto: "*Incipit liber Esdre*. Anno primo cyri . . . regno suo; etiam"

verso: "[Mithri]dati filii gazabar . . . saraia. rahelaia."

Ezra 1:1; 1:8–2:2

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 162

November to December

Nehemiah (2 Ezra)

11 lines of text, with 8-line foliate initial

recto: "Et factum est in mense chasleu . . . ierusalem; et dixerunt"

verso: "[edi]ficaverunt filii asnaa; . . . filius besodia;"

Nehemiah 1:1–3; 3:3–6

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 142

Ezekiel prologue, preceded by the end of Nehemiah

16 lines of text, with 11-line foliate initial

recto: stuck down, and thus only partially legible, but apparently including as the first and third lines "[dimid]ia pars m[agistratuum mecum. Et s]acerdo[tes . . .]" and "et semeia . . ."

Nehemiah 12:39–40, 41

verso: "*Explicit liber Ezdre. Incipit prologus sancti Ieronimi presbiteri in Hiezechielem prophetam.* Hiezechiel propheta cum ioachim . . . tradidissent;"

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 492.

Carthusian(?) marking "*a*" next to the beginning of the prologue.

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 4680

Ezekiel

13 lines of text, with 9-line foliate initial.

recto: "*Incipit liber Hiezechiel prophete*. Et factvm est in tricesimo anno. . . . quintus trans[migrationis]"

verso: "pactum meum; . . . Loqueris ergo uer[ba]"

Ezekiel 1:1–2; 2:3–7

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 146

The explicit of Ezekiel, followed by a heading for a prologue to the Minor Prophets, and part of Hosea

7 lines of text

recto: "Explicit Ihezechiel propheta. *incipit prologus sancti Ieronimi presbiteri in librum duodecim prophetarum*"

verso: "& ibat post amatores suos; . . . iuuentutis suę"

Hosea 2:13–15

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 156

Prologue to the Minor Prophets, followed by part of Hosea

15 lines of text, with 9-line foliate initial

recto: "Non idem ordo est duodecim prophetarum . . . de omnibus dicere."

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 500. Printed in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 1907, lines 1–5.

verso: "gomer filiam debelaim . . . absque misericordia."

Hosea 1:3–8

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 161

Hosea, preceded by prologue

13 lines of text and a 9-line historiated initial: Hosea holding a scroll

recto: "titulos prophetaverunt. *Explicit prologus. Incipit Osee propheta*. Verbum domini quod factum est ad osee. . . . Et dixit dominus ad."

End of prologue (Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 500. Printed in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem,* 1907, lines 8–9), and Hosea 1:1–2 (a few words of 1:11 visible on the verso due to show-through)

Private collection

Joel, preceded by the end of Hosea

16 lines of text and an 11-line foliate initial

recto: "Explicit Osee Propheta. Incipit Iohel propheta. Verbvm domini quod factum est . . . generationi alterę. Resi[duum]"

verso: "et dicent. Parce domine . . . et lętare; quoniam"

Joel 1:1–4; 2:17–21

Carthusian number "*.I.*" next to Joel 1:1 and letter "*S*" next to Joel 2:18

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 133

Amos, preceded by the end of Joel

14 lines of text, with 8-line historiated initial: Amos, with halo, leaning on a tau-topped staff, and two sheep, one with horns

recto: "locutus est. Clamate . . ." (the cutting is stuck down, but the first line of text is legible as show-through)

Joel 3:8–?

verso: "Incipit Amos propheta. Uerba Amos . . . speciosa pastorum"

Amos 1:1–2

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 1907

Obadiah

14 lines of text, with 9-line historiated initial: Obadiah, with halo and scroll

recto: "Incipit Abdias propheta. Visio Abdie. Hęc dicit dominus . . . in sci / s / suris petrę."

Obadiah 1:1–3

verso: "Et non despicies . . . caput tuum. Quomodo"

Obadiah 1:12–16

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 30493

Jonah, preceded by Amos and the explicit of Obadiah

14 lines of text and 9-line foliate initial

recto: "in fundo maris; . . . Nunquid non"

Amos 9:3–7

verso: "Explicit Abdias propheta. Incipit Ionas propheta. Et factvm est uerbum domini . . . in Tharsis; a facię domini."

Jonah 1:1–3

Carthusian(?) number "*V*" next to Jonah 1:1.

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 128

Micah, preceded by Jonah

14 lines of text, with 9-line historiated initial: Micah, with halo and scroll (see fig. 1)

recto: stuck down; partially legible text includes "[po]pulo es tu. Et d[ixit] . . ." (Jonah 1:8)

verso: "EXPLICIT IONAS PROPHETA; *Incipit micheas propheta*. INCIPIT MICHEAS PROPHETA. UERBUM domini quod factum est ad Mich / e / am . . . uobis in testem."

Micah 1:1–2

Carthusian letter ".*S.*" next to Micah 1:1

J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 38

Nahum, preceded by the end of Micah

11 lines of text, with 9-line foliate initial

recto: "die illa dicit dominus . . . in omnibus gentibus"

Micah 5:10–14

verso: "*Incipit naum propheta*. ONVS NINIUĘ . . . irascens ipse inimi[cis]"

Nahum 1:1–2

Carthusian number ".*II.*" next to Nahum 1:1

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 31812

Habakkuk, preceded by the end of Nahum

13 lines of text, with 10-line foliate initial

recto: "[tribulati]onis et sciens sperantes . . . non affligam te ul[tra]"

Nahum 1:7–12

verso: "*INCIPIT ABACUC PROPHETA*. ONVS quod uidit abacuc propheta. . . . in iusticiam contra me? Quare respicis con[temptores]" (This verse is not present in all versions of the Bible.)

Habakkuk 1:1–3

Carthusian number ".*III.*" at Habakkuk 1:1

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 144

Habakkuk, chapter 3

8 lines of text, with 5-line decorated initial

recto: "consurgent qui mordeant te. . . . ut sit in ex[celso]"

verso: "terra. *Oratio abacuc prohete* [*sic*] *pro ignorationibus.* Domine audiui. . . . Deus ab au[stro]"

Habakkuk 2:7–9; 2:20–3:3

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 167

Zephaniah, preceded by Habakkuk

8 lines of text, with 7-line foliate initial

recto: "[sage]nam suam; et semper . . . & apparebit"

Habakkuk 1:17–2:3

verso: "Explicit Abacvc propheta. *Incipit sophonias propheta*. Uerbum domini quod factum est . . . filii ammon re[gis]"

Zephaniah 1:1

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 153

Haggai, preceded by the end of Zephaniah and followed by Zechariah

28 lines of text, with a 14-line foliate initial and a 17-line historiated initial: Zechariah, with halo and scroll

recto: "[oculis vestris di]cit dominus. Explicit Sophonias propheta. *Incipit Aggeus propheta*. In anno secundo darii regis . . . ob causam dicit dominus exercituus quia"

Zephaniah 3:20 (end); Haggai 1:1–9

verso: "[quad]drigam et ascensorem eius. . . . Explicit Aggeus propheta. Incipit Zacharias propheta. IN mense octauo . . . comprehenderunt pa[tres]"

Carthusian letter "*.T.*" and plummet numbers "*vi*" at Haggai 1:1 and "*vii*" at Haggai 1:9

Haggai 2:23–24 (end); Zechariah 1:1–6.

Carthusian letter "P" at Zechariah 1:1

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 1905

Malachi, preceded by the end of Zechariah

15 lines of text and 9-line foliate initial

recto: "planctus ad remmon [*sic*]. . . . Et pseudo [*sic*] prophetas; et"

Zechariah 12:11–13:2

verso: "*Incipit Malachias propheta*. Onus uerbi domini ad israel . . . destructi sumus sed"

Malachi 1:1–4

Carthusian number "*II*" next to Malachi 1:1

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 143

Daniel, preceded by the end of Malachi and a prologue

19 lines, with 10-line foliate initial (verso), and 10-line historiated initial (recto): Daniel, with halo and scroll, standing at the gate of a city

recto: "[ser]ui mei. quam mandaui . . . terram anathemate. EXPLICIT MALACHIAS PROPHETA. *Incipit prologus sancti hieronimi presbiteri in danielem prophetam;* DANIELEM prophetam iuxta lxxta . . . chaldaicus est. et qui"

verso: "*INCIPIT DANIEL PROPHETA*. ANNO TERcio regni ioachim . . . & doctos dis[ciplina]"

Malachi 3:4–6 (end), prologue (Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 494); Daniel 1:1–4

Carthusian number "*.I.*" next to Daniel 1:1

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 1908

Advent to Christmas Eve

Isaiah prologue

10 lines, with 9-line foliate initial

recto: "*INCIPIT PROLOGUS SANCTI IERONIMI PRESBITERI IN YSAIAM PROPHETAM*. NEMO CUM prophetas . . . hebreos ligari"

verso: "[Sci]ens ergo et prudens . . . ex iuditio sed ex"

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 482. Printed in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem,* 1530, lines 1–2, 16–21.

Carthusian number "*III*" adjacent to the last line on the verso, but probably meant to refer to the adjacent (missing) text in the other column

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 135

Isaiah, preceded by the end of Daniel and a prologue

12 lines, with 10-line historiated initial: Isaiah, with halo and scroll

recto: stuck down; visible text includes "Et dixit rex daniel"

Daniel 14:23

verso: "[insul]tarent. EXPLICIT PROLOGUS. [rubric, apparently subsequently effaced and later partially reinked] *Incipit ysaias propheta.* VISIO ISAiaę filii amos . . . terra; quoniam"

End of prologue (Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 482); Isaiah 1:1–2

Carthusian number “*.II.*” next to Isaiah 1:1

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 1906

Epiphany to Septuagesima

Prologue to the Pauline Epistles

27 lines, with 9-line foliate initial (+ stem = 21-line)

recto: “*Incipit argumentum epistolarum Pauli apostoli*. Primvm quęritur quare post euangelia . . . nostram memoriam transmi[serunt]”

verso: “tabulas lapideas . . . Nam hanc se proficis[centem]”

Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* no. 670. Printed in Weber and Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem,* 2448, lines 1–8, 13–27.

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 134

Romans

21 lines of text, with 9-line (+ stem = 19-line) historiated initial: Saint Paul with halo, seated, writing at a desk

recto: “*Incipit epistola ad Romanos*. Paulvs seruus christi ihesu uocatus apostolus. . . . omnibus qui sunt rome”

verso: “et Graeci. Gloria autem et honor et pax omni operanti bonum”

Romans 1:1–7; verso includes 2:9–(?)

Carthusian letters “*b.s.*” next to the incipit

Kupferstichkabinett, Min. 4682

1 Corinthians, preceded by the end of Romans

20 lines of text, with 9-line foliate initial (+ stem = 18-line)

recto: “qui sunt in domino. Salutate . . . sapientes esse in bo[no]”

Romans 16:11–19

Carthusian letters “*.d.s.*” next to Romans 16:15; “*f*” adjacent to Romans 16:17, but perhaps referring to text in the adjacent (missing) column

verso: “*Incipit epistola ad Coronthios* prima. Paulus uocatus apostolus christi ihesu per uoluntatem dei. . . . testimonium christi con[firmatum]”

1 Corinthians 1:1–6

Carthusian letter “*b*” next to 1 Corinthians 1:1

Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 165

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Notes

François Avril and Patricia Stirnemann were (as always) especially helpful and generous with information concerning the style of the cuttings. Joseph Bernaer has done more work than anyone else on Carthusian biblical readings, and although we only cite one important article by him, he has generously shared with us much unpublished information. We also benefited greatly from the suggestions and corrections provided by this journal's anonymous peer reviewer. We are also much obliged to the Kupferstichkabinett staff, in particular to Dagmar Korbacher, for facilitating our study in the Berlin collection. While this essay and its appendix reflect a joint contribution, Beatrice Alai is responsible for paragraphs two, three, four, and five, and Peter Kidd is responsible for paragraphs one, six, seven, and eight.

1. Unknown maker, historiated initial from a Bible, circa 1160s, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 38 (89.MS.45). An image and some data are available at www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103RWR.

2. *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (1986), auction cat., Sotheby's, London, 2 December 1986, lot 4 (ill.). According to the list of buyers and prices published by Sotheby's after the sale, lot 4 was bought by "Fielding." The Getty acquired it in 1989 from London dealer Richard Day, so "Fielding" may have been Day's colleague Jocelyn Fielding.

3. "It seems more likely, however, that the book was made further north, perhaps in the north east of France towards the Rhineland, or in the south of Flanders somewhere such as Anchin." *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (1986), lot 4 (ill.).

4. The 1989 acquisition was published in *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 18 (1990): 172, where it is attributed to "probably northeastern France, circa 1131–1165"; at the time of writing (January 2023), the online record repeats this attribution. In Thomas Kren, *French Illuminated Manuscripts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 5, the attribution is "French, ca. 1131–65," but no explanation is given for these precise dates. The dates may derive from the date given to a copy of the Twelve Minor Prophets with *Glossa ordinaria,* MS M.962 in the collection of the Morgan Library and Museum in New York, said to be from the Benedictine abbey of Saint Saviour at Anchin in Pecquencourt, whose Abbot Gossuin was in post from circa 1131–65. The decoration of the Morgan manuscript has little in common with the present cuttings and in fact rather presents counterevidence to Sotheby's suggestion (see the previous note) that the cuttings may come from Anchin Abbey.

5. Paul Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen—Handschriften und Einzelblätter—des Kupferstichkabinetts der Staatlichen Museen Berlin* (Leipzig: Weber, 1931), 16–17, Min. 1904–8, 4678–84: "Französische Schule (Südostfrankreich), 1. halfte 12. Jahr."

6. *Auktion 60: Bücher, Manuskripte, Graphik, Volkskunst vom Mittelalter bis zum Beginn der Moderne,* auction cat., Venator & Hanstein, Cologne, 25–27 September 1989, lot 1096.

7. The thirty-eight cuttings had no identifying numbers, so when he found them in 2004, Schindler assigned them the provisional numbers 128–68 within his inventory of newly discovered manuscripts; these numbers are written in pencil on the mounts and are the only way of referring to them until such time as official museum accession numbers are assigned with the exception of four cuttings (see this essay, note 8).

8. Beate Braun-Niehr, "Initialen I, H, F und V," in *Schrift als Bild*, ed. Michael Roth (Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett, 2010), 25, reproducing two in color; attributed to "Maasgebiet, 2. Viertel 12. Jh." and "Provenienz: alter Bestand." These four cuttings (only) have been assigned the accession numbers Min. 30490–93 for the

Kupferstichkabinett; they were formerly nos. 129, 147, 151, and 164 in Schindler's inventory.

9. Beatrice Alai, *Le miniature italiane del Kupferstichkabinett di Berlino* (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2019), 31, fig. 20, 32; and Peter Kidd, "A Collector's Mark Re-Interpreted," *Medieval Manuscripts Provenance* (blog), 11 April 2020, https ://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/, archived at https://archive.ph/e4nBJ and Archive.org.

10. The evidence of the ruling is in fact considerably more complex than our subsequent discussion in the main text, which we have simplified for ease of comprehension. The cuttings come from a multivolume Bible that was not ruled consistently throughout. For example, in some sections the page was ruled not only for the bases of the minims but also for the tops of the minims, such that each line of text has two lines of ruling.

11. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett Mins. 1904, 1906, 4648, 4682, 1908; and Getty Ms. 38, respectively. Dominique Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence: Enquête codicologique sur les manuscrits du XIIe siècle provenant de la Grande Chartreuse* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université Jean-Monnet, 2004), 47, recognized such triple rulings as typical of the books from the Grande Chartreuse and more specifically of the volumes made from the second third of the twelfth century onward.

12. Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem,* 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 988.

13. For a general account, see Christopher de Hamel, "Giant Bibles of the Early Middle Ages," chap. 3 in *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon, 2001). See also Diane J. Reilly, "The Bible as Bellwether: Manuscript Bibles in the Context of Spiritual, Liturgical and Educational Reform, 1000–1200," in *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*, ed. Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 13–22.

14. Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), 266–83, nos. 50–116. We can compare this with the reported dimensions of the volumes of the Romanesque lectern Bibles produced in the Grande Chartreuse: the Notre Dame de Casalibus Bible (Ms. 16 = 57.2 × 36.5 cm; Ms. 17 = 52 × 35 cm; Ms. 18 = 55.5 × 36 cm) and the Great Bible (Ms. 12 = 57.5 × 37.5 cm; Ms. 15 = 55.3 × 37.1 cm; Ms. 13 = 54.7 × 37 cm; Ms. 14 = 54.5 × 35.3 cm).

15. These are Kupferstichkabinett Min. 1907, 1906, 1905, 1908, 30493, 1904, 4683, 4684, 4682, respectively. Those in the private collection and at the Getty Museum are the prophets Hosea and Micah, respectively.

16. Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 127, 128, Min. 30491; Inv. 130–50, Min. 30490, 31812; Inv. 153, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, Min. 30492; Inv. 165, 166, 168, Min. 1905, 1908.

17. Schindler inventory nos. 156 and 157 have no decorated initials; nos. 154, 155, 158, and 167 have small ones.

18. Legendary from Citeaux: Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Mss. 641, 642; and Bible of Talloires: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phillipps 1644. Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen*, 16, cites reproductions in Charles Oursel, *La miniature du XIIe siècle à l'abbaye de Cîteaux d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Dijon* (Dijon: Venot, 1926), pls. 32–37; and Joachim Kirchner, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen und des Initialschmuckes in den Phillipps-Handschriften* (Leipzig: Weber, 1926), 47, fig. 51.

19. Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, especially 13–16, with a list of related literature at 281–84; Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), 1:19. On the first Customs written by the prior Guigo I, see Guigues Ier le Chartreux, *Coutumes de Chartreuse* (Paris: Sources Chrétiennes, Éditions du Cerf, 1984), 313. On the founder of the Order Saint Bruno, see Josef Hemmerle, "Brun(o), heilig, Stifter des Kartäuserordens," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1955), 2:673–74; and P. De Leo, ed., *San Bruno di Colonia: Un eremita tra Oriente e Occidente, Celebrazioni nazionali per il nono centenario della morte di San Bruno di Colonia; Secondo convegno internazionale* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2004).

20. Guibert de Nogent-sous-Coucy, *De vita sua sive Monodiario libri tres,* book 1, part 11, *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina,* ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 156 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1853), column 854 (hereafter *Patrologia Latina*); and Marina Righetti, "Certosini," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992), 4:625–26.

21. Bernard Bligny, *Recueil des plus anciens actes de la Grande-Chartreuse: 1086–1196* (Grenoble: Imprimerie Allier, 1958), 100–102.

22. Liget Bible, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Mss. Latin 11506–10.The affinities with the Liget Bible were first suggested by François Avril (personal communication with Beatrice Alai, 5 May 2014) and confirmed by Patricia Stirnemann (personal communications with Beatrice Alai, 12 February and 15 April 2020); on the Bible, see

Dominique Mielle de Becdelièvre, "D'une bible à l'autre . . . La réalisation des deux premières bibles de la Grande Chartreuse au XIIe siècle," *Revue Mabillon* 74, no. 13 (2002): 175–76; and Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, 429–32, cat. no. 126.

23. Liget Bible, Ms. Latin 11508, fol. 35r. For an analysis of the Romanesque decorative pattern, with special focus on leaves and shapes, see Carl Nordenfalk, "Die romanische Buchmalerei," in *Die romanische Malerei vom elften bis zum dreizehnten Jahrhundert,* ed. André Grabar and Carl Nordenfalk (Geneva: Skira, 1958), 173–82.

24. Liget Bible, Ms. Latin 11510, fol. 16v.

25. Wilhelm Koehler, "Byzantine Art in the West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 1 (1941): 70.

26. Bible of Notre-Dame de Casalibus, Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, Mss. 1, 8, 3. Dominique Mielle de Becdelièvre, "Autour de la Bible de Notre-Dame de Casalibus: Les premiers manuscrits cartusiens," in *Saint Bruno en Chartreuse: Journée d'etudes organisée à l'hôtellerie de la Grande Chartreuse le 3 octobre 2002*, ed. Alain Girard, Daniel Le Blévec, and Pierrette Paravy (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2004), 31–38; Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence,* 204, 312–15, cat. no. 1; Mielle de Becdelièvre, "D'une bible," 162–70; and Reilly, "The Bible as Bellwether," 9–22.

27. Great Bible of the Grande Chartreuse: Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, Mss. 2, 4–6; Homiliary: Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 103 (38). Dominique Mielle de Becdelièvre, "Les bibles cartusiennes," in *L'exégèse monastique au Moyen Âge, actes du colloque international (Strasbourg, Palais universitaire, Faculté de théologie protestante, 10–12 septembre 2007)*, ed. Gilbert Dahan and Annie Noblesse-Rocher (Paris: Brepols, 2014), 60.

28. Liget Bible, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Latin 11509, Ms. 11510, fols. 130r–203v. Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence,* 400–404, cat. no. 104; and Mielle de Becdelièvre, "D'une bible," 170–87.

29. *Decretum Gratiani,* Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 475. Mielle de Becdelièvre, "D'une bible," 176; and Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, 406–7, cat. no. 106.

30. *De civitate dei,* Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 159. Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence,* 207; Yolanta Załuska, *Manuscrits enluminés de Dijon* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), 125–26, cat. no. 98, pl. 34.

31. *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 38, fol. 1r. Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence,* 207.

32. Bible of Stephen Harding, Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 15, fol. 94r. Alessia Trivellone, *Images et exégèse monastique dans la Bible d'Étienne Harding* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2014); Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts,* 2:70–72, cat. no. 58; Załuska, *Manuscrits enluminés,* 51–56, cat. no. 23; and Yolanta Załuska, *L'enluminure et le scriptorium de Cîteaux au XIIe siècle* (Brecht: Cîteaux, 1989), 63–111.

33. Załuska, *Manuscrits enluminés,* 83–84, cat. no. 40, pl. 27 (Ms. 32); 79–80, cat. no. 36, pl. 25 (Ms. 131); 125–26, cat. no. 98, pl. 34 (Ms. 159); 78–79, cat. no. 35, pl. H (Ms. 180); 75–78, cat. no. 34, pl. F, I, 22, 25 (Ms. 641). For Ms. 641, see also Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts,* 2:76–78, cat. no. 61.

34. Kathleen Doyle, "Early Cistercian Manuscripts from Clairvaux," in *Illuminating the Middle Ages: Tributes to Prof. John Lowden from His Students, Friends and Colleagues*, ed. Laura Cleaver, Alixe Bovey, and Lucy Donkin (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 109–22.

35. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts,* 1:19; Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, 67–68; and Mielle de Becdelièvre, "D'une bible," 166–67n28. For the correspondence, see Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* vol. 189, cols. 314–15; and Giles Constable, ed., *The Letters of Peter the Venerable* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), letter 24, 1:44–47, 2:111–12. Mielle de Becdelièvre, "D'une bible," 166–67n28, notes a document of 1156 that sheds light on the helpful role played by the Cluniacs in supporting the Chartreuse: "De plus, les frères de cette congrégation, tant les anciens que les contemporains, depuis le temps de la naissance de la maison de Chartreuse, nous ont toujours chéris et vénérés beaucoup dans le Christ Jésus, et ils ont soutenu notre pauvreté par de nombreux bienfaits." On this source, see Bligny, *Recueil,* 64–69. See also C. Tosco, "Dai Cistercensi ai Certosini," in *Certosini e cistercensi in Italia: Secoli XII–XV; Atti del Convegno, Cuneo, Chiusa Pesio, Rocca de' Baldi, 23–26 settembre 1999*, ed. Rinaldo Comba and Grado G. Merlo (Cuneo: Società per gli Studi Storici, Archeologici ed Artistici della Provincia di Cuneo, 2000), 115–40.

36. Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, 58.

37. Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, 69. For Ms. 616, see Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* vol. 153, col. 631; and Charles Samaran and Robert

Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de dates, de lieu ou de copiste* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968), 6:517.

38. Great Bible of the Grande Chartreuse, Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2, fol. 5v.

39. Mielle de Becdelièvre, "Les bibles cartusiennes," 67–73.

40. For a description, see Nordenfalk, "Die romanische Buchmalerei," 181.

41. Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 5, fol. 4

42. Reilly, "The Bible as Bellwether," 22–29.

43. A summary of the history of the Grande Chartreuse books is offered by Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence,* 65–86, with related literature.

44. P. Alessandra Maccioni Ruju and Marco Mostert, *The Life and Times of Guglielmo Libri (1802–1869), Scientist, Patriot, Scholar, Journalist and Thief: A Nineteenth-Century Story* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995), 205, 229, 388n145.

45. On these monasteries and their libraries, see Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, 87–92, 204–8.

46. Among the later witnesses to this stylistic dissemination is an early thirteenth-century Bible at Chambéry that shows in the first volume (Chambéry, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 34, fol. 170v) the style associated with the manuscripts made for the Grande Chartreuse. Its Carthusian origin was noted by Mielle de Becdelièvre, "D'une bible," 176n55; and Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence*, 225–26. See also Caroline Heid-Guillaume and Anne Ritz, *Manuscrits médiévaux de Chambéry: Textes et enluminures* (Paris: CNRS and Brepols, 1998), 118–24.

47. M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 76–78.

48. Reilly, "The Bible as Bellwether," 19.

49. Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence,* 191. See also Nigel Palmer, "Simul Cantemus, simul pausemus: Zur mittelalterlichen Zisterzienserpunktion," in *Lesevorgänge: Prozesse des Erkennens in mittelalterlichen Texten, Bildern und Handschriften*, ed. Martina Bakes and Eckart Conrad Lutz (Zurich: Chronos, 2010), 483–570.

50. Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence,* 50–55.

51. Guigues Ier le Chartreux, *Coutumes,* c. 29.3.

52. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, 19; Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence,* 13–15, 21; Pierre Vaillant and the monks of the Grande Chartreuse, *Les manuscrits de la Grande Chartreuse et leurs enluminures* (Grenoble: Roissard, 1984), 36; Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* vol. 153, col. 694; and Paul Lehman, "Bücherliebe und Bücherpflege bei den Karthäusern," in *Scritti di storia e paleografia: Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle, pubblicati sotto gli auspici di S. S. Pio XI in occasione dell'ottantesimo natalizio dell'E. Mons. Cardinale Francesco Ehrle* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1924), 5:364–89.

53. "Pennas, cretam, pumices duas, cornua duo, scalpellum unum, ad radenda pergamena novaculas sive rasoria duo, punctorium unum, subulam unum, plumbum, regulam, postem ad regulandum, tabulas, grafium." Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence,* 17, 23, 26; and Guigues Ier le Chartreux, *Coutumes,* c. 7.9.

54. No cutting with any part of the book of Judges has yet been identified, but there is no reason to doubt that it appeared in its normal position.

55. The sequence of Carthusian readings is discussed in detail by Joseph Bernaer, "Zur Lesung der Bibel im Nachtoffizium der Kartäuser: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kartausen in Niederösterreich," *Hyppolytus Neue Folge, St. Pöltner Hefte zur Diözesankunde* 35 (2019): 45–86, with similar tables at 49, 57, 59. Another similar table ("Ordre des lectures de la Bible d'après les *Coutumes de Chartreuse*") can be found in Mielle de Becdelièvre, "D'une bible," 170.

56. The only difference here is that Lamentations follows Jeremiah, rather than vice versa. Mielle de Becdelièvre, "Les bibles cartusiennes," 74 ("Annexe A"), tabulates the order of books in seven twelfth-, thirteenth-, and fourteenth-century Bibles.

57. Bernaer, "Zur Lesung der Bibel," 64, discusses all these types of markings; cf. Mielle de Becdelièvre, *Prêcher en silence,* 115, 190.

58. Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 225, 228–29, and elsewhere.

59. Frits Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes . . . avec des notices historiques sur les collectionneurs, les collections, les ventes, les marchands et éditeurs, etc*. (Amsterdam: Vereenigde Drukkerijen, 1921), 291. For a revised version, see www.marquesdecollections.fr/.

60. This is the case of Min. 31397–98; see Alai, *Le miniature,* 121, cat. no. 6.

61. Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen*, 213, 93, and 213, respectively

62. Burton B. Fredericksen, *The Burdens of Wealth: Paul Getty and His Museum* (Bloomington, IN: Archway, 2015), 24–36. The Wescher provenance of the Getty cutting was first proposed in Kidd, "A Collector's Mark Re-Interpreted."

63. Additions: Inv. 132r, 133v, Min. 4678; erasures: Inv. 130r, 134v, 141r, 146v, Min. 1906v, 4683r; later notes: capitulum, Inv. 132v, 145v, 149r, 157v, Min. 4679r, 4683r, 4684r; reading marks: Inv. 132r.

Jane Dieulafoy in Varamin: The Emamzadeh Yahya through a Nineteenth-Century Lens

Keelan Overton

A highlight of the exhibition *Persia: Ancient Iran and the Classical World* held in 2022 at the Getty Villa was two panels of colorful glazed bricks from the palace of Darius I (r. 522–486 BCE) at Susa. Both panels were borrowed from the Musée du Louvre, and the example depicting a royal archer ended up in Paris because of the photographer and writer Jane Dieulafoy (1851–1916).[1] In 1881–82, Jane and her husband, Marcel, spent a year traveling around Iran, and in 1884, Naser al-Din Shah Qajar (r. 1848–96) granted them permission to excavate Susa, which unfolded over two seasons in 1885–86.[2] Wooden crates filled with glazed bricks were soon transported to Paris and entered the Louvre's Department of Oriental Antiquities, at whose 1888 inauguration Jane received the cross of the Légion d'Honneur.[3] While Susa bricks flooded the Louvre, another form of Persian architectural revetment steadily entered French collections. Luster tiles dating to the first half of the thirteenth century and the Ilkhanid period (1256–1353) were also sourced from archaeological excavations but more commonly were taken off the walls of still-standing buildings. One such site was the Emamzadeh Yahya (ca. 1260–1307) at Varamin, a tomb complex that the Dieulafoys visited just two months into their trip.

This article explores Jane Dieulafoy's photographic documentation of the Emamzadeh Yahya and Varamin's other historical monuments during the couple's weeklong stay in the village in June 1881. To date, scholars of Iran have relied heavily on the woodcut prints after Dieulafoy's photographs reproduced in her well-known travelogue *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane: Relation de voyage contenant 336 gravures sur bois d'après les photographies de l'auteur et deux cortes* (1887).[4] In French photography circles, her photographs were largely presumed lost until their inclusion in the 2015–16 exhibition *Qui a peur des femmes photographes? 1839–1919* (Who is afraid of women photographers? 1839–1919) at the Musée de l'Orangerie.[5] Thanks to recent (2021) digitization efforts at the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art (INHA), Dieulafoy's photographs can now be studied on the pages of her six personal photography albums.[6] The result is a seismic shift in her work's viability as a source for many fields of Iranian studies, for her photographs omit the creative liberties of the later woodcuts and often outnumber what was reproduced in the travelogue.[7] The Varamin section of *La Perse*

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features ten prints, for example, whereas "Perse 1" (1881) preserves twenty-eight photographs, meaning nearly triple the archive.[8] While this essay focuses on Dieulafoy's photographs of Varamin, it is anticipated that pre-Islamicists will conduct comparable work on Susa and specialists of Orientalist photography will reevaluate Dieulafoy's depictions of women. One of the best known and most insidious prints in *La Perse* depicts a half-dressed "Ziba Khanoum," an elite woman of Isfahan. The only known comparable photograph taken by Dieulafoy shows the subject fully dressed and calls into question any use of the phrase "after the photographs" (après les photographies).[9]

Bearing in mind that Dieulafoy was traveling in Iran for the first time in 1881, had no formal training or expertise in Iranian studies or Persian art, and retained many of the biases of European (*farangi*) travelers of the day, I explore her photographs of Varamin (June 1881) in relation to the slightly earlier Persian account (December 1876) of Mohammad Hasan Khan Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh (1843–96), a Qajar historian and favorite dragoman of Naser al-Din Shah.[10] Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh accompanied the shah on his internal travels and three European tours (1873, 1878, and 1889) and was a prolific writer.[11] Early on his career, during the 1870s, he served as the head of the state press office and directed the government newspapers *Ruznameh-ye Iran* and *Ruznameh-ye Dowlati*. His account of Varamin—"Tarikh va Joghrafia-ye Varamin (ya Shekar-e Masileh)" (The history and geography of Varamin, or hunting Masileh)—was originally published in *Ruznameh-ye Iran* on 7 Dhu al-Hijjah 1293 AH/23 December 1876, just twelve days after he left Varamin. It was recently included in a collection of his lesser-known works—the *Rasa'el-e Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh*—and is therefore relatively untapped as a resource, like Dieulafoy's photographs.[12]

Reading Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh and Dieulafoy in tandem paints a robust picture of Varamin at precisely the moment when it was becoming known for its luster tilework (Persian: *zarrinfam*; French: *faïences à reflets métalliques*), a twice-fired ceramic technique incorporating metallic oxides that reached the height of its production between 1180 and 1350. This sparkling revetment once covered the interior of the tomb of Emamzadeh Yahya but was steadily stolen during the second half of the nineteenth century and exported to European cities such as Paris and London. Both Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh and Dieulafoy visited the tomb during this critical period, but their accounts differ dramatically in their expertise, emphases, and value. While the Qajar historian excelled in geographical analysis, recording measurements, and reading epigraphy, the French traveler took a series of unmatched photographs, including the best view of the complex before its renovation and the only known image of its exceptional luster mihrab in situ. These photographs have not only advanced scholarly understanding of the living sacred complex but also prompted a reevaluation of the display of the tomb's tiles in more than forty museums worldwide.[13]

Introduction to Jane Dieulafoy: The Photography Album "Perse 1" and Travelogue La Perse

The Dieulafoys' first visit to what they called "La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane" (corresponding to Iran, southern Iraq, and Susa) lasted from February 1881 to February 1882 and took them from Azerbaijan in the northwest to Fars in the south.[14] The pair had traveled previously in Spain, Morocco, and Egypt, and Marcel had served as the architect in charge of historical monuments in Toulouse (1871–79). They carried a letter from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs but were effectively on their own. In advance of the trip, Jane Dieulafoy studied photography in Paris, and her equipment included cameras, chemicals, albumen papers, and glass plate negatives, all carried by horse across rugged terrain.[15] Gelatin dry plates were in wide circulation by 1880, and Dieulafoy could store these negatives and develop them via contact printing when it suited. In addition to being a budding photographer, Dieulafoy was an avid writer, and like Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, she first published her account of Varamin in a newspaper, in this case the January 1883 issue of *Le tour du monde.*[16] She continued to publish in *Le tour* through 1886 and ultimately compiled these articles into her better-known and more exclusive *La Perse*.

While Dieulafoy's *Le tour* articles were accessible to France's general public and *La Perse* to privileged elites, her photographs remained largely hidden from view until INHA's recent release of her six albums (Perse 1–6) cumulatively containing more than nine hundred photographs.[17] This essay focuses exclusively on "Perse 1," which covers the first few months of the trip of 1881–82: Marand (April), Tabriz, Soltaniyya, Qazvin, Tehran (June), Varamin, back to Tehran, Saveh (July), Qom, Kashan (August), and Isfahan, which continues into the next album. "Perse 1" is a chronological memento of the couple's journey and distinguished by its personal, dialectical, and working nature and dynamic mixing of landscapes, buildings, and human subjects (fig. 1). Most of the prints are small (around 6.35 × 10.16 centimeters) and lack captions and borders, save for the vignettes of Dieulafoy's wide lens. There are often two to four prints mounted on a page in a scrapbook manner, and she sometimes placed two similar prints side by side, or even two prints from the same negative.[18] She stitched together her panoramas, and some seemingly cohesive prints are in fact collages.[19]

The majority of prints in "Perse 1" are Dieulafoy's photographs, but the album also includes some professional images that she collected. Her portraits of the shah's nieces and nephews, which he requested she take after their brief audience on 7 June 1881, were mounted across from two professional photographs of Qajar officials.[20] The page before contains four professional photographs of Naser al-Din Shah.[21] The small red *D* impressed on the prints is therefore indicative of her ownership, not necessarily her authorship.

Dieulafoy's modus operandi was to document every step of the journey, and as such, her photographs vary in quality. A comparison of her approach to the congregational mosque (*masjed-e jameʿ*) of Qazvin, one of the oldest mosques of Iran, to that of the

FIG. 1. — View of Jane Dieulafoy's photography album "Perse 1," pp. 34–35, showing photographs taken in Khorramdareh and Qazvin in May 1881. On the right page is the domed tomb of the Emamzadeh Shahzadeh Hossein at Qazvin (975–1008 AH/1568–1600). Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, 4 Phot 18 (1). Photograph by the author, March 2022.

Qajar court photographer ʿAbdollah Mirza Qajar (1850–1909) is illuminating. This was Dieulafoy's first substantive experience of a living congregational mosque in Iran, and she took seven photographs of the site. The north *ayvan* (vaulted space with an arched opening on one side) topped by two minarets and facing the domed sanctuary on the south was selected as the representative view in her travelogue, but the woodcut altered and enhanced the photograph in several ways.[22] Two figures were added to the foreground, and areas of deep shadow were lightened. ʿAbdollah Qajar positioned his camera in the same area looking toward the north portal, but the comparisons end there. His extremely crisp and evenly lit image captures many features lost in Dieulafoy's shadows and is one of the most beautiful nineteenth-century photographs of the mosque.[23]

Dieulafoy's preference for quantity over quality exemplifies her approach to architectural photography. One of the most famous monuments photographed by her and many others was the tomb of the Ilkhanid ruler Oljaytu (r. 1304–17) at Soltaniyya. "Perse 1" includes eight photographs of the tomb across three pages, proceeding from general views, to details of the exterior, to a single view of the interior.[24] In the last, she stood in the upper story and looked down toward a tiny figure by the entrance, unobstructed by the scaffolding that currently engulfs the space. The GRI's album of photographs by the Italian colonel Luigi Pesce includes a single general view of the ruler's tomb mounted in a shimmering border and identified by a misleading caption: "Grande Moschea in ruina a Sultanie" (Great mosque in ruins at Soltaniyya).[25] This monumental view was included in many formal albums of the day, many of which were presented as gifts.[26] In her personal album, Dieulafoy had no interest in beautiful borders and captions, often went beyond the singular facade shot, and included her local interlocutors.[27]

While Dieulafoy's architectural photographs are often refreshing to the art historian for their scope, detail, and generally unfiltered nature, the text of her later travelogue can pose problems. She sometimes made historical errors, but more problematic is her bias and stereotyping, including tirades against mollahs and superstition, and a frequent use of the words *fanaticism* and *infidels*.[28] Much of *La Perse* is sprinkled with Dieulafoy's encounters with Islam and her struggles to gain access into religious sites, and her early visit to Qazvin ("Kazbin," 10–13 May) is a case in point. The couple wanted to visit the aforementioned congregational mosque, but they were refused entry, so they sought an audience with the governor, the brother of the shah.[29] When they asked for his assistance, he replied that he had no authority in the matter and had not visited the mosque in months. The next day, the guardian of the city's grand hotel offered to take the couple into the mosque between prayers. Their "protector" (*protecteur*) was successful, and the couple spent more than an hour and a half walking through the building, she taking her seven photographs.

In Qazvin, Dieulafoy was also introduced to Twelver Shi'ism, the majority form of Islam practiced in Iran that hinges on devotion to the Prophet Mohammad's bloodline and considers the Twelve Imams his rightful successors. She first observed a passion play (*ta'ziyeh*) in the street recreating the martyrdom of Imam Hossein (626–80), the third Imam, at Karbala. She took two photographs, and one was reproduced in *La Perse*.[30] She then proceeded to the Emamzadeh Shahzadeh Hossein (975–1008 AH/1568–1600), the tomb complex of a young son of Imam Reza (766–818), the eighth Imam (the term *emamzadeh* refers to a descendant of one of the Twelve Imams and also the tomb of such a person). The tomb is set in a walled courtyard that doubles as a cemetery, and Dieulafoy observed women chatting and eating sweets, mourning at the graves of loved ones, and donning the chador (a loose cloth, often black, engulfing the body). This scene was captured in her general view of the tomb, which must have been taken from atop the entrance portal (see fig. 1, right page).[31]

Dieulafoy was surprised when a cleric invited her into the tomb, and what follows in *La Perse* is her description of pilgrimage (*ziyarat*), or pious visitation. The most sacred element of any Iranian *emamzadeh* past or present is the cenotaph of the deceased, and this example was enclosed in a three-dimensional pierced screen (*zarih*). Dieulafoy observed pilgrims tying pieces of cloth to the screen, tapping their foreheads against its corner bosses, and circumambulating it three times. The tomb's mihrab was covered by a piece of cloth lifted to reveal a painting of a man whom she presumed to be the Prophet Mohammad. She concluded, "It is very rare to find him in a mosque, the Muslim religion prohibiting the reproduction of the human figure."[32] This statement underscores Dieulafoy's amateurism on two levels. First, the space in question was/is most accurately defined not as a mosque but as a tomb—many of which have mihrabs—and specifically an *emamzadeh*, a tomb of a descendant of one of the Twelve Imams. Second, there is no outright prohibition against figural imagery in Islam, and in certain times and places, religious subjects were, and still are, depicted in figural form.[33] Portraits of the Twelve Imams were especially common in Qajar Iran (Twelver Shi'ism

being the state religion since 1501), and it is more likely that the painting in the mihrab portrayed one of the Imams, although portraits of the Prophet are known in Iranian tombs.[34] At the end of her visit, Dieulafoy was invited to sit down with a *mojtahed* (senior theologian), and his education would fill over three pages of *La Perse*.[35]

Reading and Seeing Varamin: Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh and Jane Dieulafoy

During the Ilkhanid period, Varamin emerged as an important provincial capital and center of trade, scholarship, and Twelver Shi'ism.[36] By the Qajar period, the once thriving medieval city had reverted to an agricultural village, but its proximity to Tehran ensured a steady stream of visitation. Among the most important early visitors were Russian consul Alexander Chodzko, who visited in April 1835, and the Qajar statesman ʿAliqoli Mirza Eʿtezad al-Saltaneh, who took part in a royal delegation in January 1863.[37] During the 1860s and 1870s, Qajar court photographers like the aforementioned ʿAbdollah Qajar documented a variety of expeditions, and it is likely that the 1863 (Eʿtezad al-Saltaneh) and 1876 (Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh) visits to Varamin could have included a photographer.[38] In the current absence of Qajar court photography of the village, Dieulafoy's photographs fill a significant gap while visualizing many details described by Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, especially epigraphy.[39] Their combined archive is critical to the art historian, because it illuminates the conditions of Varamin's monuments before many were radically transformed.

Nineteenth-century Varamin was strategically located between the Qajar capital of Tehran to the north and one of the court's favorite hunting grounds—Masileh—in the Great Salt Desert (Dasht-e Kavir) to the south.[40] The first major destination on the road south from Tehran was Rayy, one of the oldest cites of Iran and home to the twelfth-century Toghrol Tower, which was photographed twice by Dieulafoy and opens the chapter in question in *La Perse*.[41] The Dieulafoys passed by several Zoroastrian cemeteries (*dakhmeh*, or "tower of silence"), and she also described the gold dome of the Shrine of ʿAbdolazem (ʿAbd al-ʿAzem al-Hasani), the most significant holy site near the capital.[42] When they were about three "farsakhs" (*farsang*s, one unit of which is equal to about four miles) from Tehran, the landscape changed dramatically, and lines of "kanots" (qanats, or underground water channels) descended into plains yellowed by wheat and filled with the sounds of harvesting, dogs, horses, and cicadas.[43]

The Dieulafoys spent an entire week in Varamin (June 15–21), and it left a sizeable impression on Jane, resulting in twenty-eight photographs in her personal album and ten woodcuts in her published travelogue. The couple was hosted by the head of the village (*kadkhoda*), thanks to the arrangements of Joseph-Désiré Tholozan, Naser al-Din Shah's physician. The *kadkhoda*'s house included a courtyard with a *talar* (porch) and served as the venue for the local court. It was from the rooftop of this house that Dieulafoy took her general view of Varamin before watching the sky turn purple as a "violent" sandstorm approached from the desert (fig. 2a, upper left; fig. 2b).[44] In the

FIGS. 2A, 2B. — Jane Dieulafoy (French, 1851–1916). The first spread of Varamin photographs in Dieulafoy's photography album "Perse 1," June 1881, pp. 56–57. On the left page is a general view of the village toward the tomb tower of ʿAlaoddin (688 AH/1289) and two views of the congregational mosque (722–26 AH/1322–26); on the right page is a detail of the mosque's entrance *ayvan* and a general view of the *ayvan* leading into the domed sanctuary. Albumen silver prints from gelatin glass negatives (dry plates). Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, 4 Phot 18 (1), https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idurl/1/62746.

foreground are the village's mudbrick houses, and in the background is the tomb tower of ʿAlaoddin (ʿAla' al-Din, 688 AH/1289).

The farmers of Varamin cultivated wheat and opium poppy, and the intense June heat dictated the daily schedule. On market day in the main square, Dieulafoy observed the cattle market and some visiting tribes, including Turkomans from Astarabad, near the Caspian Sea.[45] Her daily routine included early morning gallops to monuments, midday naps, and delicious meals prepared by the *kadkhoda*'s cook. She concluded, "Life is very gentle in Varamin," which reflected the privilege of a temporary visitor.[46] At the time, Iran was recovering from the great famine of 1870–71 and several cholera outbreaks.

Turning now to Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, it was a hunting expedition to Masileh that led the Qajar historian to Varamin in December 1876. The royal procession departed Tehran on 23 Dhu al-Qaʿdah 1293 AH/9 December 1876, and made several stops along the way, including lunch in a recently restored garden in Daulatabad and the evening in Firuzabad, four *farsang* (about sixteen miles) from Varamin.[47] As is typical of a Qajar insider and geographer, Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh provides a long list of the crown (*khaliseh*) and private (*melk*) lands along the route, which reads as a who's who of the court.[48] He describes Varamin as one of the oldest cities of Iran but now just "a big village" (qarieh-ye bozorgi) with a population of about a thousand, including Bakhtiari, Ardestani, Shirazi, and Kangarlu tribes.[49] He then launches into an architectural survey of seven monuments visited during his relatively quick two-day visit. He begins with Varamin's oldest and largest site: the central *qaʿleh* (citadel), or Narenj Qaʿleh. The citadel's massive scale and sloping walls were first memorialized in a wash painting of 1848 by French artist Jules Laurens, but Dieulafoy's photograph is a far sharper record (fig. 3a, upper left; fig. 3b).[50] Its importance is amplified by the fact that the citadel is now completely lost.

FIGS. 3A, 3B. — Jane Dieulafoy (French, 1851–1916). The fourth spread of Varamin photographs in Dieulafoy's photography album "Perse 1," June 1881, pp. 62–63. On the left page is the citadel (*qaʿleh*); a detail of the interior of the domed sanctuary of the congregational mosque; and the cattle market. On the right are three views of the tomb tower of ʿAlaoddin. Albumen silver prints from gelatin glass negatives (dry plates). Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, 4 Phot 18 (1), https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idurl/1/62746.

Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh describes four monuments in cardinal relation to the citadel: the congregational mosque to the south (Masjed-e Jameʿ); a ruined mosque (Masjed-e Sharif, 707 AH/1307) and the tomb of Kokaboddin (Emamzadeh Kokaboddin) to the west; a ruined mosque (899 AH/1493–94) and the tomb of Fathollah (Emamzadeh Seyyed Fathollah) to the north; and the tomb of Shah Hossein (Emamzadeh Shah Hossein) to the east (fig. 4).[51] He also devotes considerable attention to the tomb tower of ʿAlaoddin closest to the village in the north (see fig. 2a, upper left) and the Emamzadeh Yahya to the distant southeast. As he leaves Varamin for Masileh, he describes the outlying *qaʿleh*s and references his separate account of Qaʿleh Iraj, the massive citadel to the northeast.[52]

Built between 722–26 AH/1322–26, the congregational mosque was and is Varamin's largest and most significant Islamic monument.[53] It once sat at the heart of the medieval city, but by the time of Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh's visit of 1876, this southern area was completely ruined ("beh koli kharab"), and settlement had moved to the north.[54] Dieulafoy's photographs capture the mosque in an empty field (see fig. 2a), and the west side of the courtyard is completely lost, which Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh attributes to a flood.[55] In its original configuration, the mosque included a monumental entrance portal leading into a courtyard with four *ayvan*s, the southern one leading into the domed qibla sanctuary (see fig. 2b, right). The Varamin mosque is the only surviving congregational mosque from the Ilkhanid period in the classic four-*ayvan* plan.

One of the strengths of Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh's account is his careful analysis of architectural epigraphy, which required the reading of Persian and Arabic (mostly Qur'anic) inscriptions written in a variety of calligraphic scripts and media.[56] At the mosque, he began with the tiled foundation inscription on the entrance portal, which recorded the name of the patron Mohammad b. Mohammad b. Mansur al-Quhadi and the date of AH 722/1322 in three dense lines of turquoise *sols* (thuluth) on a dark-blue ground.[57] Dieulafoy captured a glimpse of this inscription in her general view of the

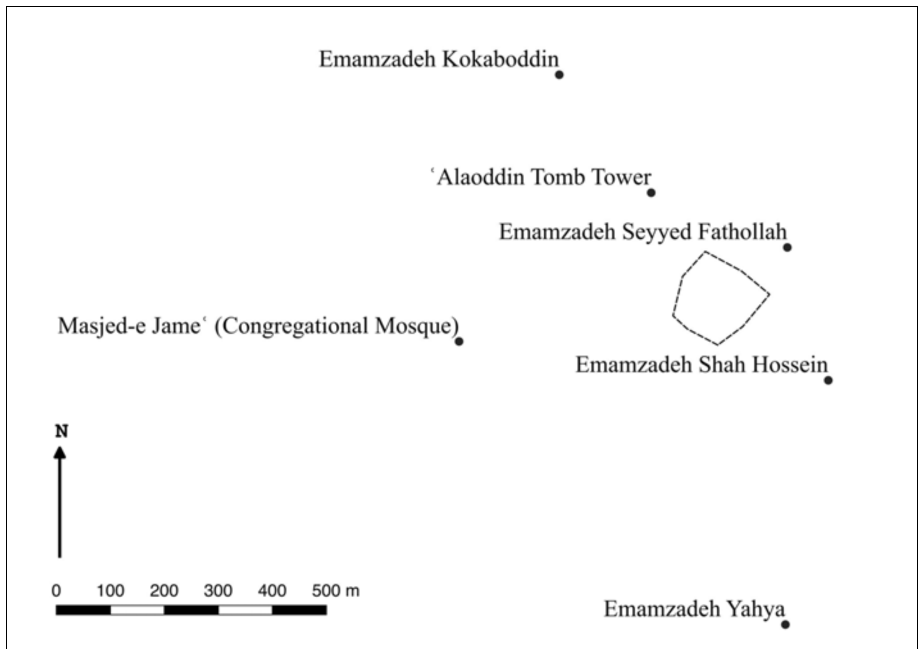

FIG. 4. — The architectural monuments of Varamin observed by Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh in 1876. The citadel (*qaʿleh*), represented through dashed lines, is now lost, but the surrounding sites (ca. 1260–1490) all stand to various degrees. Drawing by Kanika Kalra.

portal (fig. 5, left), and she also photographed the beginning of the elaborate band of knotted Kufic below (see fig. 2b, left).[58] Her images are significant, for only a fraction of the foundation inscription remains today, and the beginning of the Kufic band is now entirely gone.[59]

Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh also identified the stucco (*gach*) inscription on the *ayvan* leading into the domed sanctuary as verse 9 of chapter (sura) 62 of the Qur'an, appropriately concerning the Friday prayer.[60] Dieulafoy photographed both the beginning (see fig. 5, right) and middle of the inscription, which still survives.[61] Inside the domed sanctuary, Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh identified the stucco inscription wrapping the upper walls as the first seven verses of sura 62, a common selection, and Dieulafoy left us three details (see fig. 3a, upper right).[62] She also photographed the exquisitely carved stucco mihrab, but instead of capturing the full niche, she cropped out its lower half, which had a gaping hole.[63] A final photograph of the mosque deserves mention because it captures Dieulafoy herself leaning against a wall.[64]

Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh turns next to the tomb tower of ʿAlaoddin. He identifies the Kufic inscription wrapping the top of the tower as the Throne Verse (Ayat al-Kursi, Qur'an 2:255) but neglects to mention the detailed foundation inscription naming the deceased and dated 688 AH/1289–90.[65] The patron, Fakhroddin Hasan (Fakhr al-Din, d. 1308), was the local ruler (*malek*) of the province including Rayy and Varamin and enjoyed an excellent reputation in Ilkhanid circles. He built the tomb for his father ʿAlaoddin and would soon patronize the Emamzadeh Yahya. Had Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh

FIG. 5. — Jane Dieulafoy (French, 1851–1916). Views of the Congregational Mosque of Varamin (Masjed-e Jameʿ, 722–26 AH/1322–26) from Dieulafoy's photography album "Perse 1," June 1881, p. 58. At left is a general view of the mosque's entrance *ayvan*; at right is a detail of the *ayvan* leading into the domed qibla sanctuary. Albumen silver prints from gelatin glass negatives (dry plates). Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, 4 Phot 18 (1), https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idurl/1/62746.

read the foundation inscription, he would not have speculated about the deceased's identity, but when looking at Dieulafoy's three photographs (see fig. 3b), we can appreciate the challenge of reading an inscription that was not only located high up the tower but also rendered in an almost illegible script weaving in and out of its thirty-two flanges. It was only in the early twentieth century that the foundation inscription was recorded, providing the basis for Sheila Blair's recent analysis.[66]

To the east of the citadel was a tall building in ruins (*makhrubeh*) said to be the tomb of Shah Hossein.[67] A tiled mihrab was one of the remains (*baqi*) of the adjacent mosque, and Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh identifies its inscription as *al-Sakinah* (Tranquility), in reference to Qur'an 48:4.[68] In his book of 1955, which recorded his visits of 1939 and 1943, American art historian Donald Wilber described the mihrab as enclosed in a new prayer hall and referred back to Dieulafoy's two "drawings" of the site in *La Perse*.[69] In "Perse 1," she mounted her three original photographs on a single page (fig. 6). On the left are two views of the octagonal tomb tower. The roof is missing and populated by birds' nests, but we can still discern the fine brickwork. On the right is the mihrab described above and one of Dieulafoy's most arresting photographs: A man leans against the inside of the niche, engulfed by the hood above; a mule stands to the right; and a small child sits precariously on the high wall behind, next to other onlookers. The mihrab's massive muqarnas hood recalls Seljuk Anatolian examples, and it is framed by a border of inscribed square tiles, only the top row of which is intact.[70] When zooming

in on Dieulafoy's sharp photograph, the viewer can see the word *al-sakinah* on the first surviving tile on the upper right. The cropped and simplified woodcut in *La Perse* is a poor substitute but would have a lasting legacy in Varamin, as I will discuss below.[71]

FIG. 6. — Jane Dieulafoy (French, 1851–1916). Views of the Emamzadeh Shah Hossein (early 1300s) at Varamin from Dieulafoy's photography album "Perse 1," June 1881, p. 64. Albumen silver prints from gelatin glass negatives (dry plates). Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, 4 Phot 18 (1), https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idurl/1/62746.

When Wilber visited the Emamzadeh Shah Hossein about sixty years later, he encountered a very different building. The tomb was no longer an elongated tower but had been shortened by half and topped by a new low dome. Wilber took five photographs of the mihrab, including details of its elaborate strapwork, but by this time the inscribed tiles documented by Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh and Dieulafoy were mostly gone.[72] Today, the site has fared the worst of Varamin's Ilkhanid monuments. A report published in 2016 describes the encroachment of new construction and the destruction of historical features, and the mihrab is below ground level and screened by a metal frame.[73]

"The Most Celebrated Building of the World": The Emamzadeh Yahya in the Field

The Emamzadeh Yahya was the farthest site from both the medieval city of Varamin (by the congregational mosque) and the nineteenth-century village (by the tomb tower of ʿAlaoddin), but it nonetheless received the most attention and praise from our travelers (see fig. 4). Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh concluded, "Due to the prestige of its tilework, we can say that it is the most celebrated [lit. first] building of the world."[74] Dieulafoy described it as "one of the most interesting monuments in the country" and further maintained: "It is not possible to find enamels more pure and more brilliant than those of the Emamzadeh Yahya."[75] They were both referring to the tomb's luster tilework, which comprised the cenotaph, mihrab, and dado.

All of the Emamzadeh Yahya's luster revetment was incrementally stripped from the tomb between the 1870s and 1898 and primarily exported abroad. The mihrab signed by ʿAli b. Mohammad b. Abi Taher, dated Shaʿban 663 AH/May 1265 and measuring 3.84 by 2.29 meters (12.61 × 7.5 feet), is preserved in the Shangri La Museum of Islamic Art, Culture & Design in Honolulu.[76] The only portion of the dispersed cenotaph that has been identified to date is a four-tiled panel in the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg that names the deceased ("the wise Imam, Yahya") and is signed by Yusof b. ʿAli b. Mohammad b. Abi Taher, son of the maker of the mihrab, and dated 10 Moharram 705 AH/2 August 1305 (fig. 7).[77] This enormous panel measuring .87 by 2.21 meters (2.85 × 7.25 feet) rested on top of the cenotaph and would have been framed by a series of borders, for a total upper surface of at least .91 by 2.44 meters (around 3 × 8 feet). Some comparable examples include shallow holes in the upper corners that might have held ritual objects and liquids.[78] The many stars and crosses attributed to the tomb's dado are preserved in at least forty museums worldwide, only one of which is in Iran.[79] They are distinguished by their size (around 30 centimeters in diameter), a palette of luster and white alone, and a perimeter of Qur'anic verses sometimes dated between 660–61 AH/1262–63 (see fig. 7).[80]

According to Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, the tomb (*maqbareh*) of Emamzadeh Yahya was located southeast of the citadel in a neighborhood called Kohneh Gel, an external quarter (*mahalat-e kharej*) of the medieval city of Varamin that likewise remained at a distance from the present village (see fig. 4). Dieulafoy's photograph of the site has long been known through its woodcut version in *La Perse*, which in turn served as Wilber's guide for the reconstruction of its Ilkhanid-period plan (fig. 8, upper right).[81] The complex was originally fronted by a monumental entrance portal; to the west was a conical tower; and at the south was the main tomb capped by a stepped dome. As always, Dieulafoy's photograph is a much stronger resource than the woodcut, and we can now appreciate the portal's decorative brickwork, note some damages to the conical dome, and discern details of the complex's crumbling walls. The only known comparable photograph was taken by German art historian Friedrich Sarre around 1897 and is far darker and blurrier.[82]

FIG. 7. — Luster tiles from the Emamzadeh Yahya at Varamin on display in the renovated Iran galleries of the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, September 2022. *Middle:* top panel of the cenotaph naming "the Imam, Yahya," dated 10 Moharram 705 AH/2 August 1305 and signed by Yusof b. ʿAli b. Mohammad b. Abi Taher and ʿAli b. Ahmad b. ʿAli al-Hosseini; *left and right sides:* stars and crosses from the tomb's dado; and *upper:* tiles from different sites, including the tomb of Shaykh ʿAbdosamad at Natanz (*upper left*). Photograph by Dmitry Sadofeev.

In *La Perse,* Dieulafoy refers to the stripping of the tomb's luster tilework and notes that she and her husband had been granted special access by Naser al-Din Shah:

> Several parts of this revetment [the tomb's luster tilework] have been stolen and sold in Tehran at very high prices; as a result of these thefts, entrance into the small sanctuary has been forbidden to Christians, and this prohibition is best observed because the chapels sanctified by the tombs of the imams are, in the eye of Persians, imbued with more sacred character than the mosques themselves. We are exempted from the ban [*loi commune*], the shah having agreed, in the interest of Marcel's studies, to authorize us to cross the threshold of the sanctuary. On seeing the royal order, the ketkhoda [*kadkhoda*] ordered his brother to accompany us; his presence was not useless. When we arrived, the guarding of the gate was entrusted to peasants armed with sticks, surrounding a mollah wearing a white turban reserved for priests.[83]

A portrait of these supposedly threatening "peasants" and mollah is mounted next to Dieulafoy's general view of the shrine (see fig. 8, far left), and we can imagine the subjects' potential displeasure on two levels: having to grant the couple entry and being subjected to Dieulafoy's voyeuristic lens.

FIG. 8. — Jane Dieulafoy (French, 1851–1916). Views of Varamin from Dieulafoy's photography album "Perse 1," June 1881, p. 65. At the upper right is a general view of the Emamzadeh Yahya (660–707 AH/1261–1307). At left are its guards and a mollah. Below is a group of Turkomans at the village's market. Albumen silver prints from gelatin glass negatives (dry plates). Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, 4 Phot 18 (1), https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idurl/1/62746.

Dieulafoy took two photographs inside the relatively small tomb measuring about 9 meters across and ultimately stacked and slightly overlapped the prints in "Perse 1" (fig. 9).[84] The upper photograph is the only known image of the luster mihrab in situ and one of the most valuable photographs in "Perse 1." The mihrab, in turn, is a very important subject, and one of just nine known examples of its kind. Six are relatively intact in museums—three in Mashhad and one each in Tehran, Berlin, and Honolulu (the Emamzadeh Yahya example)—and three are dispersed and require virtual reconstruction.[85] Dieulafoy stood slightly to the left of the enormous mihrab and captured it perfectly framed by a stucco inscription and topped by an additional stucco panel. Her lower photograph focuses on the squinch to the mihrab's immediate left, which was decorated with fine panels of stucco. A recent photograph of the mihrab void and adjacent corner niche effectively combines the views in Dieulafoy's two photographs and gives a fuller perspective of the intimate space (fig. 10). A green sheet divides the visitors to the tomb by gender and hangs across the narrow ambulatory between the white void once home to the mihrab and the hexagonal screen (*zarih*) enclosing the modern cenotaph.[86]

FIG. 9. — Jane Dieulafoy (French, 1851–1916). Two views of the interior of the Emamzadeh Yahya from Dieulafoy's photography album "Perse 1," June 1881, p. 66 (detail). At the upper left is the luster mihrab dated Sha'ban 663 AH/ May 1265 and signed by 'Ali b. Mohammad b. Abi Taher. At the lower right is the squinch of the adjacent corner niche. Albumen silver prints from gelatin glass negatives (dry plates). Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, 4 Phot 18 (1), https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idurl/1/62746.

FIG. 10. — Mihrab void and southwest corner niche of the Emamzadeh Yahya, Varamin, April 2018. Photograph by the author.

Despite some fading, Dieulafoy's photograph of the mihrab allows us to appreciate its original configuration on its multimedia qibla wall. The mihrab was framed not only by the surviving later stucco inscription dated Moharram 707 AH/July 1307 (forty-two years after the mihrab's date) but also two smaller borders, one of which was composed of luster half stars and half crosses. During the mihrab's afterlife on the market (circa 1898–1940), some of its more than sixty tiles were lost, which led Blair to conclude, "The proportions and layout are slightly odd, and there must have been a horizontal band on top of the second niche connecting the two vertical bands with jumbled sections of Qur'ān 2:255–56."[87] Indeed, this now-lost band is visible in Dieulafoy's photograph (fig. 11).

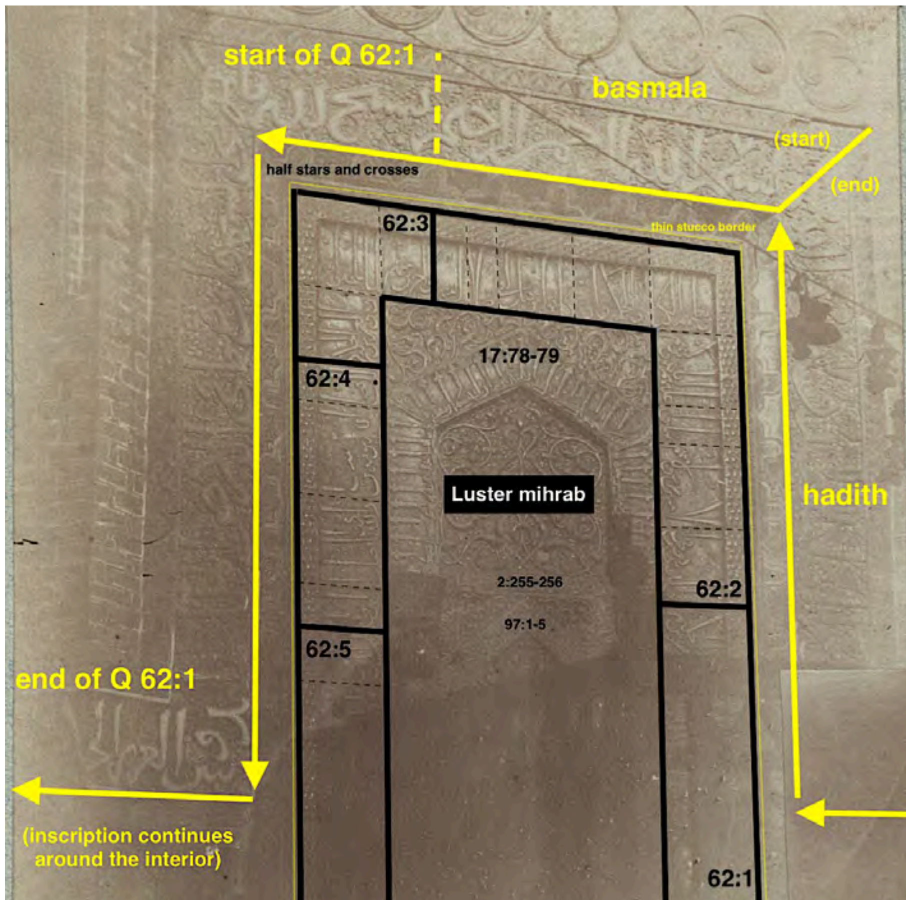

FIG. 11. — Annotation of Jane Dieulafoy's 1881 photograph of the Emamzadeh Yahya's luster mihrab in situ ("Perse 1," p. 66). Yellow elements are carved stucco, and black is luster tilework. The numbers indicate chapters and verses of the Qur'an. Dashed lines in the outer border of the mihrab delineate individual tiles, which sometimes span verses. Annotations by the author.

Some of the mihrab's outer border tiles were jumbled during its life in Honolulu (since 1941), and thanks to Dieulafoy's photograph, we can now read the tiles containing Qur'an 62:1–5 (al-Jumuʿah) in the correct order and consider these verses in relation to the same ones (62:1–4) in the framing stucco inscription (see fig. 11).[88] These verses concerning God, His Messenger, and His Sacred Book were clearly very important to the denizens of Ilkhanid Varamin. They were selected not only for the Emamzadeh Yahya's luster mihrab (663 AH/1265) and stucco frieze (707 AH/1307) but also for the stucco band (see fig. 3a, upper right) wrapping the sanctuary of the city's congregational mosque (722–26 AH/1322–26). In the Emamzadeh Yahya, these verses transition into the dated foundation inscription naming Fakhroddin Hasan (the same patron as the ʿAlaoddin tower) and a hadith in honor of the Prophet Mohammad's grandfather, all of which were read by Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh.[89]

In addition to leaving us with a priceless view of the luster mihrab in situ, Dieulafoy also captured the tomb's living sanctity and furnishings. The lower half of the mihrab

is obstructed by a geometric screen, and metal vases with flared rims sit on its visible corners (see fig. 9, upper left).[90] A string above suspends several votive offerings (*nazr*), likely metal lamps, vases, and birds.[91] Considered together, these features reveal that the tomb was a living sacred space in 1881, despite the poor condition of some parts of the complex, including the entrance portal. This assertion is supported by Dieulafoy's aforementioned photograph of the mollah and guards (see fig. 8, far left) and Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh's encounter with the tomb's guardian (*motevalli*), who shared that the saint was a son of Imam Musa, the seventh Imam.[92]

The screen in front of the mihrab poses some interpretive conundrums but likely attests the fluid and jeopardized nature of the interior. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh describes a wood *marqad* (tomb or grave) in the middle of the tomb measuring 1.75 by 3.25 *zarʿ* (cubits), or 1.82 by 3.38 meters (5.97 × 11.09 feet).[93] Given this substantial size, which was roughly one third of the tomb's total diameter (about 9 m), he was likely referring to the screen that shielded the cenotaph, versus the cenotaph itself.[94] By 1881, this screen could have been resized and pushed against the qibla wall for a double function: to serve as the sacred threshold between the pilgrim and the deceased (the cenotaph) and to protect the mihrab from theft.[95] While the former was the screen's conventional role, the latter would have been precipitated by the steady stealing of the tomb's luster tilework, and such a screen-cenotaph-mihrab combination is not unknown.[96] The ex-votos captured by Dieulafoy further imply the cenotaph's presence behind the screen, because, as the symbol of the deceased, the cenotaph would have been the focus of such offerings. A photograph taken in 1958 appears to capture the same screen bedecked in calligraphic drawings of birds (basmala birds), prayer tablets, and flags (fig. 12).[97] An elaborate metal *ʿalam* (ceremonial standard) rests against the screen, and a few vessels seem to sit on top of the cenotaph behind.[98] Still further behind, the mihrab is now but a looming void.

Like Dieulafoy, Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh was captivated by the mihrab. He had only seen one of its kind in an *emamzadeh* in Qom, in reference to the 734 AH/1334 example from the Emamzadeh ʿAli b. Jaʿfar now in the Islamic Museum of Tehran's National Museum complex.[99] He presumably spent a good amount of time inspecting the Emamzadeh Yahya's mihrab, because he identified the majority of its twelve sets of Qur'anic inscriptions (see fig. 11).[100] The easiest to read were those in large blue letters in relief in either *sols* (thuluth) or Kufic (see the outer border and two triangular hoods). Far more difficult were those painted in luster in *naskh* script in one-inch bands on either side of the four columns. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh identified the inscriptions by their chapter titles (for example, sura Hamd, or al-Fatiha, in reference to the first chapter of the Qur'an) and common names (for example, Ayat al-Kursi, or 2:255) and provided the spread of verses when necessary. He also transcribed the signature and date panel at the bottom of the mihrab.[101]

One of the most interesting sections of Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh's account concerns his reading of two luster tiles from the dado. He describes these stars as separated from the wall ("az divar seva shodeh") and conceivably could have held them in his hands,

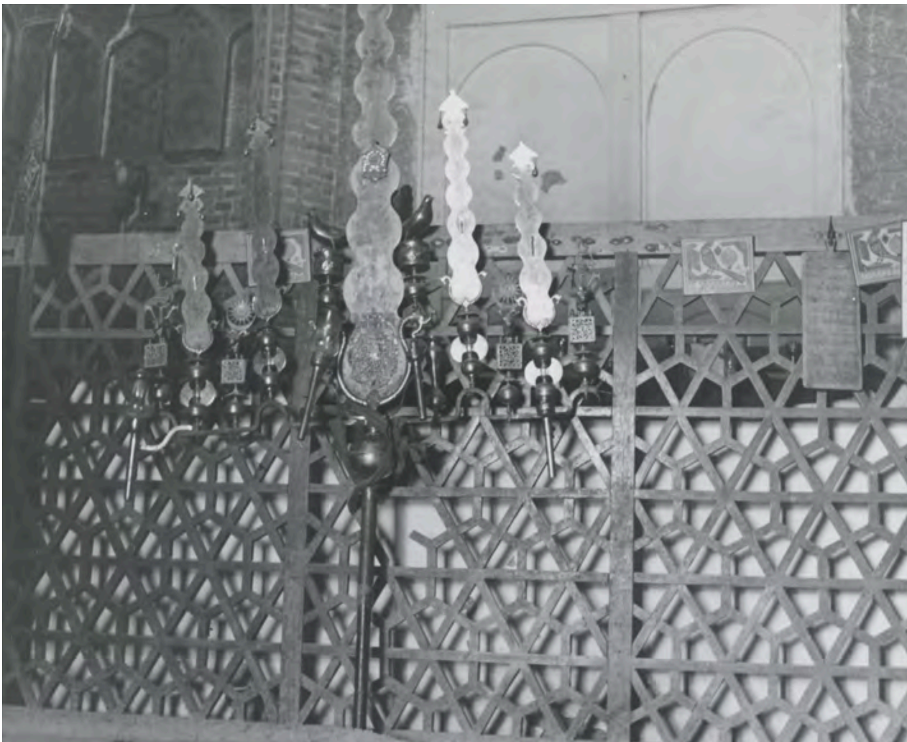

FIG. 12. — A large ceremonial standard (ʿ*alam*) and votives affixed to the screen in front of the mihrab void in the Emamzadeh Yahya at Varamin, April 1958. Photograph dated on the reverse and stamped "U. S. I. S. Iran Press Section." Washington, D.C., National Museum of Asian Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, The Myron Bement Smith Collection, FSA-2023-000001.

rotating them as he read their small perimeter inscriptions in *naskh* (for their scale, see fig. 7).[102] The first was inscribed with verses 78 and 79 of sura al-Israʾ (chapter 17), concerning the performance of prayer. The only tile currently known to carry these verses is in the Musée du Louvre and features verses 78–79 on one side and 80–81 on the other.[103] The second tile was inscribed with a common combination of verses—sura Hamd and sura al-Ikhlas (112:1–4)—and one of many examples is today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[104] The Louvre tile was donated by Jules Maciet in 1888, and the Metropolitan star by Edward C. Moore in 1891, but the shrine's stars and crosses had begun entering museums a decade earlier. The South Kensington Museum (later the Victoria & Albert Museum [V&A]) acquired its first batch of Emamzadeh Yahya tiles in 1875, and the Musée National de Céramique at Sèvres received its first in March 1880 via the diplomat Émile Bernay.[105] Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh's reading of the tomb's tiles in situ, yet off the wall, therefore coincided exactly with their steady removal and export. This raises the question of any potential involvement in their dispersal, and the same must be asked of the Dieulafoys.

"All Is Fish That Comes to the Net:" The Emamzadeh Yahya on the Market

The Antoin Sevruguin collection of photographs of Persia at the GRI includes a rare photograph of luster ceramics on display in Tehran shortly after our travelers' visits to Varamin (fig. 13).[106] Captioned "Cachis persans (Téhéran)" ("cachis" for *kashi*, or tiles), the subject is a tall cabinet with five shelves packed with four types of luster: medieval Kashani tiles, including large stars and crosses that can be attributed to the Emamzadeh Yahya and must have been recently removed; Safavid (1501–1722) vessels with metal fittings; contemporary Qajar tiles, some imitating Ilkhanid models; and, most remarkably given the location in Iran, large chargers made in Manises, Valencia, around 1400 and then referred to as "Hispano-Moresque." The cabinet's mixed curation of luster objects and tiles from Spain and Iran over seven centuries echoed contemporary trends in Europe. In the catalog of the Frédéric Spitzer sale held in Paris in 1893, for example, eleven Spanish luster vessels were reproduced directly above three sets of Ilkhanid luster tiles.[107]

Judging by the quality and cosmopolitanism of the ceramics on display in the cabinet as well as the interior's fine wallpaper and photograph of a military unit, the Tehran home in question likely belonged to a European attached to the Qajar court who was deeply immersed in the global trade of luster. One such individual was the Frenchman Jules Richard (1816–91), who taught photography at the Dar al-Fonun (a polytechnic college in Tehran founded in 1851) and is infamous for supplying many museums with medieval luster tiles, especially South Kensington. In his 1883 account of his fifteen-year residence in Iran (1866–81), English physician C. J. Wills describes a visit to Richard's home that paints a useful backstory to Sevruguin's photograph:

> Our host was an old Frenchman who held an appointment as instructor in French and translator to the Shah, and was a Mahommedan [referring to Richard's conversion to Islam]. . . . The Frenchman had a large collection of valuable antiquities, which he showed us, and they were all genuine. That was seventeen years ago [circa 1866]; now, in a hundred specimens from Persia, be they what they will, ninety are shams. . . . At that time [circa 1866] the craze for objects of oriental art had not set in, and the big tiles we saw (or bricks) of *reflet métallique*, with raised inscriptions, were such as one seldom sees nowadays [circa 1883], save in national collections.[108]

Later in his account, in his section on pottery, Wills further describes the state of affairs in the 1880s:

> The wall tiles now [circa 1883] so much valued in Europe are seldom seen *in situ*. Clever imitations are made in Ispahan [Isfahan], but the art of making the metallic (*reflet*) lustre is gone. Most of the bricks that are not protected, by the fact of being in shrines, have already been stolen, and fear of the consequences of detection is all that protects the rest. All is fish that comes to the net, and the local magnates

FIG. 13. — Interior of a Tehran house with a luster cabinet captioned "Cachis persans (Téhéran)" (Persian tiles [Tehran]), ca. 1880s. Photograph by Antoin Sevruguin (ca. 1851–1933), albumen print. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2017.R.25.

> would sell the big monolith of Yezd [Yazd] marble, which covers the grave of Hafiz [d. 1390, buried in Shiraz], *for a price.*[109]

Wills's comments capture the major trends of the nineteenth-century (table 1).[110] During the 1850s and 1860s, the purveying of luster tilework was led primarily by a small network of Tehran-based Frenchmen.[111] In 1858, the director of the Musée National

de Céramique at Sèvres instructed Émile Duhousset, an officer involved in training the Qajar army, to research contemporary ceramic production and acquire historical specimens.[112] Around the same time, Richard and Jules-Baptiste Nicolas, another Frenchman based in Tehran, began acquiring luster tiles, and in 1867, diplomat Julien de Rochechouart published a travelogue that named specific sites, including the Shrine of Shaykh ʿAbdosamad (ʿAbd al-Samad, d. 1299–1300 [699 AH]) at Natanz.[113] He especially praised the epigraphic frieze tiles in the shrine's tomb and confessed that he owned a few.[114] Some of these tiles ended up in the hands of Richard and Nicolas in Tehran and were sold in 1875 to Robert Murdoch Smith, agent for South Kensington, alongside stars and crosses from the Emamzadeh Yahya.[115] As previously mentioned, the Sèvres museum would receive its first batch of Emamzadeh Yahya tiles five years later (1880).

The Natanz and Varamin tomb shrines were far from the only Iranian sites plundered for their luster during the second half of the nineteenth century. Additional targets were *emamzadehs* in Qom and Damghan and the Masjed-e Maydan in Kashan.[116] The stolen elements included mihrabs, cenotaphs, long epigraphic friezes, and the variously shaped tiles of the dadoes. The easiest way to reimagine these tiled jigsaw puzzles is to walk into the Natanz tomb, whose walls have not been plastered and which capture for posterity the imprints of each removed tile.[117]

One of the last luster elements taken from the Emamzadeh Yahya was the mihrab composed of more than sixty tiles. According to Armenian-American dealer and collector Hagop Kevorkian, Mirza Hasan Ashtiani Mostowfi al-Mamalek, the chief state accountant, brought the mihrab to Paris for exhibition in the Exposition Universelle of 1900. As a result, the Mostowfi was "disgraced and degraded" by Mozaffar al-Din Shah (r. 1896–1907) and prohibited from exhibiting or selling the piece.[118] It was eventually displayed in a store on the rue du 4 septembre, where it was the focus of pilgrimage by all of the amateur enthusiasts of "Oriental art" in Paris, as described by French collector and author Henry-René d'Allemagne.[119] During this time, it was also reproduced in Sarre's *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst* (Monuments of Persian architecture) and attributed to the Emamzadeh Yahya.[120] According to Kevorkian, upon the death of the shah, a leading *mojtahed* of Iran's Constitutional Revolution (1906–11) authorized the Mostowfi "to dispose of the monument in question."[121] In October 1912, Kevorkian traveled to Iran to negotiate the purchase, and his political connections ultimately earned him a good price. He soon sent the following telegram to American industrialist and collector Charles Freer: "Have just secured famous mihrab of lustre tiles of Veramin mosque property of Mostofy Memalik Persian Minister of War . . . now stored in Paris where could be viewed privately . . . pleased give you priority of right of refusal."[122]

The year 1913 was momentous in the global dissemination of the Emamzadeh Yahya's tiles, and Paris was a central node. While Kevorkian peddled the mihrab to Freer, Paris-based dealer Clotilde Duffeuty sold the cenotaph panel (see fig. 7) and many stars and crosses to the museum of the Stieglitz Central School of Technical Drawing in Saint Petersburg.[123] Concurrently in London, the luster mihrab from the Masjed-e Maydan at Kashan was offered in the *Exhibition of Persian Art & Curios: The Collection*

TABLE 1. — Timeline of Key Events, ca. 1860s–1940

1862–75: First wave of luster tilework thefts: Natanz, Qom, Varamin		
1863	—	January: Eʿtezad al-Saltaneh visits Varamin
ca. 1860–70	—	museums in Sèvres and London dispatch agents to research ceramics and acquire tiles
	—	1867: publication of Julien de Rochechouart's *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Perse*
1875	—	South Kensington Museum (now Victoria & Albert Museum) receives a large set of luster tiles from the Emamzadeh Yahya
1876	—	apparent Qajar edict banning Christians from entering religious sites
	—	**December: Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh visits Varamin and publishes his account in *Ruznameh-ye Iran***
	—	state of the Emamzadeh Yahya as observed by Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh: *marqad* (tomb or grave) in the center of the tomb, luster mihrab in situ, some dado tiles off the wall, *motevalli* (caretaker) present
1880–1900: Second wave of luster tilework thefts: Damghan, Kashan, Qom, Varamin		
1880	—	March: Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres, receives its first Emamzadeh Yahya tiles
1881	—	**June: Jane Dieulafoy visits Varamin**
	—	state of the Emamzadeh Yahya at the time of Dieulafoy's visit: entrance portal standing but vault collapsed, conical tower intact, luster mihrab in situ, mollah and guards present, apparent edict of 1876 in place (see above)
1883	—	January: publication of Dieulafoy's first *Le tour* article, including Varamin
1885–86	—	Jane and Marcel Dieulafoy excavate at Susa over two seasons
1887	—	publication of Dieulafoy's travelogue *La Perse*
1888	—	inauguration of the Musée du Louvre's Department of Oriental Antiquities, including the Susa galleries
1889	—	Naser al-Din Shah's third tour of Europe, including Paris
ca. 1880s	—	Antoin Sevruguin photographs the luster cabinet in a Tehran home
ca. 1890s	—	underglaze tiles dateable to the late Qajar period are installed on the dado of the tomb of Emamzadeh Yahya to mask the empty walls of the stolen luster tiles
1893	—	sale of the Frédéric Spitzer collection in Paris combining Iranian and Spanish luster
1900	—	the Emamzadeh Yahya's mihrab is in Paris, said by Hagop Kevorkian to have been brought there by Mirza Hasan Ashtiani Mostowfi al-Mamalek for the Exposition Universelle
	—	July–August: Mozaffar al-Din Shah visits Paris for the Exposition Universelle; signing of the third Franco-Persian archaeological convention

ca. 1900–1930	—	major renovation of the Emamzadeh Yahya; the original entrance portal and conical tower are completely lost
1906–11	—	Constitutional Revolution of Iran
1909	—	case launched by the Qajar government to investigate the thefts of manuscripts from the Golestan Palace Library
1910	—	publication of Friedrich Sarre's *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, including a general view of the Emamzadeh Yahya and its mihrab on display in Paris, likely in a shop
1911	—	publication of Henry d'Allemagne's *Du Khorassan au Pays des Backhtiaris*, including a section titled "Histoire du mihrab de Véramine"
1912	—	February: Henri Viollet visits Varamin and photographs the congregational mosque
	—	October: Kevorkian travels to Iran to negotiate the purchase of the Emamzadeh Yahya's mihrab, still stored in Paris
1913	—	May: *Exhibition of Persian Art & Curios*, London, inclusive of the luster mihrab from Kashan's Masjed-e Maydan
	—	25 August: Kevorkian writes to Charles Freer offering the Emamzadeh Yahya's mihrab for sale
1914	—	the Emamzadeh Yahya's mihrab is displayed in *Exhibition of Muhammedan-Persian Art, Exhibition of the Kevorkian Collection*, New York
1920s	—	1921: coup d'etat; foundation of the Society for National Heritage
	—	1925: rise of the Pahlavi dynasty
	—	1927: end of the French archaeological monopoly
	—	1928: André Godard arrives in Iran to serve as Director of the Persian Antiquities Service and head of the National Museum in Tehran
1930s	*Iran:*	
	—	3 November 1930: passing of the Antiquities Law
	—	1930–33: registration of Varamin's congregational mosque, tomb tower of ʿAlaoddin, and Emamzadeh Yahya as national heritage
	—	1934–37: construction and inauguration of the National Museum in Tehran
	International:	
	—	1931: the Emamzadeh Yahya's mihrab is displayed in the *International Exhibition of Persian Art*, London
	—	1938: publication of Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, eds., *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, including the Emamzadeh Yahya's mihrab
	—	Godard and Donald Wilber photograph the renovated Emamzadeh Yahya
1940	—	April–May: the Emamzadeh Yahya's mihrab is displayed in *Six Thousand Years of Persian Art*, New York
	—	June: Mary Crane negotiates with Kevorkian for Doris Duke's purchase of the Emamzadeh Yahya's mihrab
	—	28 December: Kevorkian writes to Duke celebrating the sale of the mihrab

Formed by J. R. Preece.[124] In his telegram to Freer, Kevorkian compared the two luster mihrabs, emphasizing that the Emamzadeh Yahya example was "in far better condition and about twice as large as that of Preece quality infinitely superieur altogether by far finer monument."[125]

The theft of the Emamzadeh Yahya's mihrab marked the end of the shrine's half century of steady plunder and both conformed to and departed from contemporary trends.[126] Unlike many large luster ensembles that were broken up and sold piecemeal, including the Emamzadeh Yahya's cenotaph and the two mihrabs from the Natanz shrine, the Emamzadeh Yahya's mihrab was carefully packed and transported for display abroad as a relatively complete unit. If we trust Kevorkian's account, this was a bold example of removal and export by an Iranian minister, but Hasan Mostowfi was far from the first Qajar official to sell out the country's luster tilework.[127] In the 1870s, the minister Hossein Khan Sepahsalar issued four critical permits facilitating the export of luster tilework bound for South Kensington, including from the Emamzadeh Yahya.[128] By the 1880s, large luster tiles were increasingly rare, as observed by Wills, and it is not surprising that the mihrab became a valuable cultural commodity at the Paris exposition. This was also the stage to negotiate the ongoing excavation of Susa, then under the purview of French archaeologist Jacques de Morgan. Just before he left Paris, Mozaffar al-Din signed the third Franco-Persian archaeological convention, which made the French monopoly perpetual and granted all Susa finds to France.[129]

While the Dieulafoys were responsible for illegally taking much of Susa to Paris, and their names appear frequently on the Louvre's labels for the glazed bricks, they played a more indirect role in the global consumption of the Emamzadeh Yahya's luster tiles. Jane Dieulafoy's praise of the shrine's tilework in her first newspaper article and subsequent travelogue undoubtedly amplified its demand, as was the case with Rochechouart's 1867 travelogue and the Natanz shrine. It is critical to remember, however, that Dieulafoy never reproduced her exceptional photograph of the mihrab in situ during her lifetime. It remained tucked away in her personal album (see fig. 9), while the mihrab itself entered a state of architectural ambiguity on the art market. Despite Sarre's attribution of the mihrab to the Emamzadeh Yahya in 1910, Kevorkian vaguely described it as from the "Veramin mosque" in his 1913 telegram to Freer.[130] The next year, he displayed it in New York and published it as "from the Seljoucid Temple at Veramin."[131] In 1931, the mihrab was included in the momentous *International Exhibition of Persian Art* in London and described as a "mihrab of lustre tiles from a mosque in Kashan."[132] Had Dieulafoy reproduced her photograph of the mihrab in her 1880s publications, and had it simply been seen on its distinct qibla wall in the tomb of Emamzadeh Yahya, its origins might not have been so easily confused or deliberately muddled.

The anonymity of the Emamzadeh Yahya persists in many museums today. In the V&A's Ceramics Galleries, a single star tile from the shrine's dado is included in a large display titled "The Spread of Tin-Glaze and Lustre, 800–1800." The star tile sits in front of a contemporaneous Kashani jar, and the two are combined in a label that only lists the shared place of production (Kashan).[133] In the same museum's Jameel Gallery of Islamic Art, a large panel of stars and crosses from the shrine is displayed next to a fifteenth-century luster bowl from Málaga in a manner that recalls the eclectic Tehran cabinet photographed by Sevruguin (see fig. 13).[134] This label does provide some architectural context—"from the tomb of a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad at Varamin near Tehran"—but there are many *emamzadehs* in Varamin, and the Emamzadeh Yahya could have been named, as it is in the collections records online.[135] These two displays represent a fraction of those worldwide, but we can generally observe a prioritization of the luster technique over architectural context. One exception is the bilingual placard in the Hermitage's recently (2021) renovated Iran galleries titled "Tiles from the Imamzadeh Yahya Mausoleum in Varamin." This longer text offers substantive information on the tomb's original luster environment and the tiles' provenance. The latter section opens with, "The mausoleum gradually fell into decline and was largely destroyed by the middle of the nineteenth century."[136] This begs questions about the extent to which the Emamzadeh Yahya was "largely destroyed" and the look of the building today.

Conclusion: Ruins to Realities

In their accounts of Varamin, both Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh and Dieulafoy describe the village's historical monuments as ruins, ruined, or remains (Persian: *makhrubeh, kharab, baqi*; French: *ruine*). Dieulafoy's picturesque photographs of lost domes, crumbling *ayvans*, and stripped tiles attest some of these grim realities, but Varamin's monuments were not ruins in the total sense of the word, and their conditions varied considerably. Some had suffered massive structural damage (the congregational mosque); others were relatively intact (the tomb tower of ʿAlaoddin); and still others remained in use despite areas of dilapidation (the Emamzadeh Yahya). In the ensuing century, all of Varamin's monuments, except for the citadel, would be renovated and restored to varying degrees. Viewers of Dieulafoy's photographs must therefore avoid indefinite lingering and romanticization and approach them as valuable snapshots in time (1881 to be precise), ultimately moving beyond their frame.

Indeed, in the decades following Dieulafoy's visit, the Emamzadeh Yahya underwent profound physical changes. The complex's original entrance portal and conical tower (see fig. 8, upper right) were progressively lost and/or deliberately demolished, and the tomb was recast as a solitary building set in the middle of a new rectangular courtyard, as documented by French architect, archaeologist, and museum director André Godard (fig. 14).[137] The original domed tomb was ringed by a new perimeter of low, domed rooms and *ayvans* (one each on the north and south), and

the interior's stripped dado was clad in rectangular underglaze tiles, many of which also went missing.[138] The exact dates of these renovations are unknown, but they likely transpired in the early twentieth century during the Qajar-to-Pahlavi (1925–79) transition.

FIG. 14. — View of the south (back) facade of the Emamzadeh Yahya at Varamin during or after the major renovation of the early twentieth century, likely early 1930s. Photograph by André Godard (French, 1881–1965). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts de l'Islam, Archives Godard, 1APAI/9025.

Soon after he ascended to the throne, Reza Shah (r. 1925–41) and his ministers initiated a rapid systematization of some of the seeds of excavation, documentation, and restoration planted by their Qajar predecessors. The Society for National Heritage (Anjoman-e asar-e melli) was founded in 1921, the year of Reza Khan's coup, and national heritage thereafter became a top priority of an increasingly nationalist state.[139] Among the most important early initiatives were the abolition of the French monopoly on excavation (1927), the passing of the Antiquities Law ("Law concerning the preservation of national antiquities," 3 November 1930), and the founding of the National Museum in Tehran (1934–37, Muzeh-ye Iran Bastan), whose first director was Godard. The Antiquities Law called for the registration of historical monuments through the end of the Zand era (1796), and Varamin's Ilkhanid sites were registered at the

beginning of this process (the congregational mosque, registered as no. 176 in 1932; the tomb tower of ʿAlaoddin, no. 177, 1932; the Emamzadeh Yahya, no. 199, 1933; and the Emamzadeh Shah Hossein, no. 339, 1940).[140]

While national heritage became a chief prerogative of the Pahlavi state, Kevorkian peddled the Emamzadeh Yahya's luster mihrab on the global stage. After displaying it in New York (1914) and London (1931) and securing its inclusion in the six-volume *A Survey of Persian Art* (1938–39), he again displayed it in New York, this time in the momentous *Six Thousand Years of Persian Art* (1940).[141] Shortly after this exhibition, he sold the mihrab to a then-twenty-eight-year-old Doris Duke for the staggering sum of $150,000.[142] In a letter to Duke, Kevorkian expressed his "deep satisfaction in the realization that I have transferred the title of this unique monument which I cherished, to one so worthy."[143] It is quite something to consider the registration and renovation of the Emamzadeh Yahya on one side of the world and the purveying of its mihrab as a "unique monument" on the other, which ultimately landed it in a private home in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. It is equally powerful to consider the relatively contemporary construction of the National Museum in Tehran (1934–37) and that museum's possession of several Ilkhanid mihrabs, including the luster example seen by Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh in Qom's Emamzadeh ʿAli b. Jaʿfar.[144]

Unlike many *emamzadeh*s in Iran, the Emamzadeh Yahya has successfully resisted encroachment and construction beyond the major renovation of the early twentieth century. Its exceptional Ilkhanid stuccowork can still be appreciated in situ, and the site lives on as a sacred space. The current cenotaph is modestly sized, covered in textiles and ritual objects, and set within the aforementioned hexagonal screen (*zarih*). The memory of the luster tilework lives on and is symbolized by a tiny fragment of a cross remounted at the top of the mihrab void (see fig. 10). Until recently (2021), Dieulafoy's *La Perse* also figured prominently in the mihrab void. Two framed collages (for viewing on each side of the gender-segregated space) displayed two woodcuts from a Persian edition of *La Perse*: the general view of the Emamzadeh Yahya and the mihrab of the Emamzadeh Shah Hossein, erroneously identified as the mihrab of the Emamzadeh Yahya (see fig. 10).[145] Below were two photographs of tiles on display in the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, including the cenotaph panel flanked by stars and crosses. At the time of the collage's production, Dieulafoy's excellent photographs of both mihrabs (see fig. 6, right; see fig. 9, upper left) were not known, but today they are accessible to anyone in Varamin with internet access. It remains to be seen if Dieulafoy's photographs will make a cameo in the Emamzadeh Yahya, like the previous *La Perse* woodcuts. What is certain is that they are known to the shrine's conservators, and their digitization has facilitated practical and educational use by many.

Tehranis willing to make the trek to Varamin today (about the distance from West Los Angeles to San Bernadino) are most likely to visit the congregational mosque and tomb tower of ʿAlaoddin. The tower is now a small anthropology museum set off the main square, and it displays a large field camera of the type Dieulafoy would have used.

As we have seen, the mosque was in terrible condition during the nineteenth century but rebuilt in the 1990s. Today, it is surrounded by a park, used for religious ceremonies such as Moharram and Ahya (Laylat al-Qadr, when the first verses of the Qur'an were revealed to the Prophet Mohammad during Ramadan), and is the home of the Varamin branch of the Office of Cultural Heritage. Like the Emamzadeh Yahya, these buildings exemplify the fluid fortunes of medieval sites, and the mosque's rise from an abandoned ruin to a living building is an important reminder to see beyond the nineteenth-century lens.

This article has emphasized the importance of nineteenth-century photography for the study of Iran's medieval monuments while also underscoring the contingent nature of the photograph as a source—contingent on its reproduction (or not), accessibility (or not), and dissemination (or not). It has taken more than 140 years for Dieulafoy's photographs to become critical resources for the study of Varamin, and the future discovery of additional photographs will likewise reshape the narrative. In the meantime, it is expected that Dieulafoy's openly accessible photographs will become standard resources in many fields of Iranian architectural history, including Achaemenid Susa, Safavid Isfahan, and Qajar Tehran, as well as critical tools for revisiting *La Perse* itself.

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Notes

I am sincerely grateful to Thomas Galifot for alerting me to Dieulafoy's albums at INHA and Jérôme Delatour and Julie Brunet for supporting ongoing research and reproduction. Archivists at the Louvre, BULAC, National Museum of Asian Art, Getty Research Institute, and University of Michigan also kindly facilitated research. Finally, I thank Sheila Blair, Lauren Gendler, and the anonymous reviewers for their feedback. The transliteration of Persian follows a simplified phonetic format (a, e, o for short vowels; a, i, u for long vowels; ʿ indicates the letter ʿayn and ʾ indicates hamza). Dates are given in AH (Islamic lunar calendar) and SH (Iranian solar calendar), followed by the Gregorian conversion. All translations from Persian and French are mine.

1. Jeffrey Spier, Timothy F. Potts, and Sara E. Cole, *Persia: Ancient Iran and the Classical World*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2022), 85, cat. no. 2 (Musée du Louvre, SB 23875). The second panel, SB 24868, is from the Jacques de Morgan excavation (see this essay, note 3).

2. The term used for Iran by the Dieulafoys and other foreigners of the time was *Perse* or *Persia*, a Greek exonym derived from Pars, a region in southern Iran. For Dieulafoy's Susa account, see Jane Dieulafoy, *Suse: Journal des fouilles, 1884–1886* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1888).

3. A decade later, Naser al-Din Shah granted the excavation to Jacques de Morgan. See Nader Nasiri-Moghaddam, *L'archéologie française en Perse et les antiquités nationales, 1884–1914* (Paris: Connaissances et Savoirs, 2004); and Kamyar Abdi, "Nationalism, Politics, and the Development of Archaeology in Iran," *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, no. 1 (2001): 51–76.

4. Jane Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane: Relation de voyage contenant 336 gravures sur bois d'après les photographies de l'auteur et deux cortes* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1887). I have consulted the copy at the Getty Research Institute (GRI), 3026-720. It is also online at https://archive.org/details/ldpd_6885554_000/mode/1up.

5. In 1997, Marc Potel noted that Dieulafoy's photographs had "apparently disappeared." Marc Potel, "Photographie et voyage en Perse," *Cahiers d'études sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde turco-iranien* 23 (1997): paragraph 7, https://doi.org/10.4000/cemoti.123. For Dieulafoy's inclusion in the exhibition, see Thomas Galifot and Marie

Robert, *Qui a peur des femmes photographes? 1839–1945*, exh. cat. (Paris: Hazan, 2015), 269, cat. no. 292 (a young woman of Zanjan).

6. Albums Dieulafoy, "Perse 1–6," 1880–94, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art (hereafter INHA), collections Jacques Doucet, NUM 4 PHOT 018 (1–6). The albums were acquired by the Bibliothèque d'Art et Archéologie shortly after Marcel Dieulafoy's death in 1920. See Ambre Péron, "Les albums de Jane et Marcel Dieulafoy," *Sous les coupoles* (blog), 9 October 2021, https://blog.bibliotheque.inha.fr/fr/posts/les-albums-de-jane-et-marcel-dieulafoy.html.

7. For the reproduction of several *La Perse* woodcuts in a seminal history text, see Abbas Amanat, *Iran: A Modern History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), 272, figs. 5.8, 5.9.

8. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," INHA, https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idurl/1/62746.

9. Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, 271; and Dieulafoy "Perse 1," INHA, 98, no. 197. There is also a bust portrait of Ziba Khanum in "Perse 2," INHA, 19, no. 232, https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idurl/1/62742.

10. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh was titled as such in 1886. I refer to him with this title throughout, with the caveat that his visit to Varamin occurred ten years earlier. For his lengthy career, see Abbas Amanat, s.v. "Eʿtemād-al-Salṭana, Moḥammad-Ḥasan Khan Moqaddam Marāḡaʾī," in *Encylopaedia Iranica,* 15 December 1998 (updated 19 January 2012), https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/etemad-al-saltana.

11. Eight years after his visit to Varamin, Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh accompanied Naser al-Din Shah on his second pilgrimage to Mashhad, home to the Shrine of Imam Reza (d. 818), the eighth Imam. For his account of Nishapur's turquoise mines, see Arash Khazeni, *Sky Blue Stone: The Turquoise Trade in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 110–20.

12. *Rasāʾel-e Eʿtemād al-Salṭaneh* (Notes of Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh), ed. Mīr-Hāshem Moḥaddeth (Tehran: Eṭṭelāʿāt, 1391 SH/2012) (hereafter Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel*), chap. 11, 199–209. Many of the twenty-four texts in this collection were published in *Ruznameh-ye Iran* and/or survive in manuscript form in Iranian libraries. I thank Hossein Nakhaei for introducing me to this volume, which he used in his book Hossein Nakhaei, *Masjed-e jāmeʿ-ye Varāmīn: bāzshenāsī-ye ravand-e sheklgīrī va seyr-e taḥavvol* [The Great Mosque of Varamin: The Process of Formation and Evolution] (Tehran: Shahid Beheshti University and Rowzaneh, 1397 SH/2019). Hereafter *The Great Mosque*. In January 2024, Nakhaei located Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh's original newspaper article in the National Library and Archives of Iran, 82-00065-00, https://sana.nlai.ir/handle/123456789/77911.

13. Keelan Overton, "Framing, Performing, Forgetting: The Emamzadeh Yahya at Varamin," *Platform,* 19 September 2022, https://www.platformspace.net/home/framing-performing-forgetting-the-emamzadeh-yahya-at-varamin. I did not know about Dieulafoy's photographs when coauthoring my earlier article: Keelan Overton and Kimia Maleki, "The Emamzadeh Yahya at Varamin: A Present History of a Living Shrine, 2018–20," *Journal of Material Cultures in the Muslim World* 1, nos. 1–2 (2020): 120–49, https://doi.org/10.1163/26666286-12340005.

14. The entry on Dieulafoy in the *Encyclopedia Iranica* summarizes her 1881–82 travels as follows: "From Marseilles to Athens, Istanbul, Poti, Erevan, Jolfā [modern-day Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic], Tabrīz [first stop in modern-day Iran], Qazvīn, Tehran [then the capital of the Qajar dynasty, 1789–1925], Isfahan, Persepolis, Shiraz, Sarvestān, Fīrūzābād, and to Susa via Būšehr [Bushehr, a port on the Persian Gulf] and Mesopotamia." Varamin is noticeably missing from this synopsis and occurred after Tehran in her actual itinerary. Jean Calmard, s.v. "Dieulafoy, Jane Henriette Magre," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* 15 December 1995 (updated 28 November 2011), https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/dieulafoy-1.

15. For her mention of these plates, see Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 10. I am grateful to Thomas Galifot and Jim Ganz for providing feedback on Dieulafoy's equipment and techniques.

16. Jane Dieulafoy, "La Perse, La Chaldée et La Susiane," *Le tour du monde: Nouveau journal des voyages* (January 1883): 1–80. This first article ends with her account of Varamin and includes the same ten woodcuts later reproduced in *La Perse.*

17. This number is a bit deceiving, because nearly one hundred photographs in albums "Perse 3" (INHA, https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idurl/1/62745) and "Perse 4" (INHA, https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idurl/1/62743) pertain to physiologist Louis Lapicque's mission to the Persian Gulf. "Perse 1" through "Perse 4" cover the 1881–82 trip from Azerbaijan to Fars, Bushehr, and into Iraq, and Susa is found in "Perse 5" (https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idurl/1/62747) and "Perse 6" (https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/idurl/1/62754). The albums are half-bound

in imitation brown shagreen (chagrin) and green cloth boards; identified as "Perse" on the spine, followed by the number; and include marbled endpapers. These are the original bindings.

18. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 18, 79.

19. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 22–23 and 61, no. 118.

20. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 40–41.

21. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 39.

22. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 37, no. 76; and Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 107.

23. Abdullah Mirza Qajar album of Iran, GRI, 2021.R.15, folio 10v, http://hdl.handle.net/10020/2021r15.

24. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 30–31 and 32, no. 63.

25. "Album fotografico della Persia: Compilato dal Sig.r Luigi Pesce, Tenente Colonnello; Instruttore d'Infanteria al servizio dello Shah, Teheran," 1860, GRI, 2012.R.18, http://hdl.handle.net/10020/2012r18. Dieulafoy's caption (*La Perse,* 12) more appropriately reads, "Tombeau de chah Khoda bendeh a Sultanieh" (Tomb of Shah Khodabandeh at Soltaniyya). Mohammad Khodabandeh was Oljaytu's Muslim name.

26. The Pesce album was presented by Luigi Pesce to linguist, military officer, and diplomat Henry Creswicke Rawlinson in May 1860. Leila Moayeri Pazargadi and Frances Terpak, "Picturing Qājār Persia: A Gift to Major-General Henry Creswicke Rawlinson," *Getty Research Journal,* no. 6 (2014): 47–62.

27. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 30, no. 57.

28. For example, Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 56, 105–6.

29. Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 103.

30. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 38; and Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 111.

31. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 35.

32. Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 110.

33. Dieulafoy's comment echoes a still-widespread oversimplification and misconception. For a recent synopsis of this problem, see Christiane Gruber, "Islamic Paintings of the Prophet Muhammad Are an Important Piece of History—Here's Why Art Historians Teach Them," *The Conversation,* January 2, 2023, https://theconversation.com/islamic-paintings-of-the-prophet-muhammad-are-an-important-piece-of-history-heres-why-art-historians-teach-them-197277.

34. For an overview, see Ulrich Marzolph, "The Visual Culture of Iranian Twelver Shiʿism in the Qajar Period," *Shii Studies Review* 3 (2019): 133–86.

35. Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 113–16.

36. Nakhaei, *The Great Mosque,* 33–47; and Sheila Blair, "Architecture as a Source for Local History in the Mongol Period: The Example of Warāmīn," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26, nos. 1–2 (January 2016): 215–16.

37. Alexander Chodzko, "Une excursion de Téhéran aux Pyles caspiennes (1835)," *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages,* n.s., 127, no. 23 (1850): 280–308. On Eʿtezad al-Saltaneh, see Nakhaei, *The Great Mosque,* 111, 163.

38. For some of ʿAbdollah Qajar's expeditions, see Elahe Helbig, "Geographies Traced and Histories Told: Photographic Documentation of Land and People by ʿAbdollah Mirza Qajar, 1880s–1890s," in *The Indigenous Lens? Early Photography in the Near and Middle East,* ed. Markus Ritter and Staci Gem Scheiwiller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 79–109.

39. The most plausible location of Qajar court photographs of Varamin is the Golestan Palace Library in Tehran. On this immense repository of more than forty-two thousand photographs and one thousand albums, see Alireza Nabipour and Reza Sheikh, "The Photograph Albums of the Royal Golestan Palace: A Window into the Social History of Iran during the Qajar Era," in Ritter and Scheiwiller, *The Indigenous Lens?,* 291–323; and Mohammad Hasan Semsar and Fatemeh Saraian, *Golestan Palace Photo Archives: Catalogue of Qajar Selected Photographs* (Tehran: Ketab-e Aban, 1390 SH/2011).

40. On Masileh, a depression south of Varamin historically flooded in spring, see H. M. The Shah of Persia [Naser al-Din Shah], "On the New Lake between Ḳom and Ṭeherân," trans. and annotated by General A. Houtum-Schindler, in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 10, no. 10 (October 1888): 626, 628, and map.

41. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 55; and Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 133.

42. The print depicting a newly deceased body in one of these towers is an example of pure fiction in Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 136.

43. Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 139.

44. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 56, no. 106; and Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 153.

45. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 62, no. 122, and 65, no. 131.

46. Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 153.

47. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 199. These sites, and the route in general, can be read against the map of Rayy (Rhages) in G. Pézard and G. Bondoux, "Mission de Téhéran," in *Mémoires de la*

Délégation en Perse, vol. 12 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1911), following p. 56.

48. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 200.

49. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 200, 202.

50. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 62, no. 120. The Dieulafoys visited the "kale" (*qaʿleh*) at dawn and were impressed by its immense size, mudbrick walls, moat, and still-decent condition.

51. I thank Kanika Kalra for drawing this map, which builds on Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh's 1876 observations; Hossein Nakhaei's annotations of aerial photographs in Nakhaei, *The Great Mosque,* 62, figs. 15–16; and the present locations of all sites (except for the citadel) in Google Maps. The citadel's location has been approximated.

52. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel*, 208–9. For "Qaʿleh Iraj Varamin," see Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel*, 217–20.

53. For the general history of the mosque, see Nakhaei, *The Great Mosque.*

54. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 203.

55. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 203; and Nakhaei, *The Great Mosque,* 76–79.

56. Such skills are unsurprising for an Iranian historian and apparently pious Muslim. See Mehrdad Kia, "Inside the Court of Naser Od-Din Shah Qajar, 1881–96: The Life and Diary of Mohammad Hasan Khan Eʿtemad Os-Saltaneh," *Middle Eastern Studies* 37, no. 1 (2001): 108.

57. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 204. See also Nakhaei, *The Great Mosque,* 111–14.

58. Dieulafoy mismatched these photographs on the pages of "Perse 1." Her detail of the entrance portal's Kufic band (no. 109) appears next to her general view of the *ayvan* leading into the domed qibla sanctuary (no. 110). On the next page, her general view of the entrance portal (no. 111) is next to a detail of the qibla *ayvan* (no. 112).

59. For the condition of the foundation inscription in 1897 versus 2013, see Nakhaei, *The Great Mosque,* 91, figs. 45 and 46.

60. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 205.

61. For the middle of the inscription, see Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 61, no. 117.

62. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 205. For Dieulafoy's two other details, see Dieulafoy "Perse 1," 60, no. 115; 61, no. 119.

63. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 61, no. 118. This hole was still present three decades later, as captured by French archaeologist and architect Henry Viollet in February 1912. His archive (Fonds Henry Viollet) is preserved in the Bibliothèque Universitaire des Langues et Civilisations (BULAC) in Paris, and his glass plates were recently released online (https://bina.bulac.fr/HV). Thanks to Sandra Aube and Martina Massullo for facilitating research.

64. Dieulafoy, "Perse 1," 59, no. 113.

65. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 205.

66. Blair, "Architecture as a Source," 224–25, based on Étienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget, and Gaston Wiet, eds., *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe,* vol. 13, no. 4912 (Cairo: L'imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1931–56), 77, which indicates the basmala at the beginning. Parts of this formula are visible today (thanks to Hossein Nakhaei for confirming this), but Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh's reading of Qur'an 2:225 remains to be verified.

67. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 207.

68. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 207.

69. Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 148–49; and Donald Newton Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran: the Il Khānid Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955), 177–78, cat. no. 86.

70. Consider the thirteenth-century mihrab from the Beyhekim Mosque in Konya, now in the Museum für Islamische Kunst (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), I. 7193, https://id.smb.museum/object/1525437/gebetsnische-baukeramik.

71. Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 149.

72. The photographs are in the Donald Wilber Archives, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, DW49-00a, DW49-00b, DW49-01, DW 49-02, DW60-37. I am grateful to Sally Bjork and Cathy Garcia for searching this archive and sharing scans. Wilber also took some valuable photographs of the Emamzadeh Yahya.

73. Ehsan Mohammad Hosseini, "Gozāresh-e taṣvīrī va taḥlīl-e fanī Shāhzādeh Hossein Varāmīn" [Image report and technical analysis of Shahzadeh Hossein Varamin], *Sina Press,* 29 Khordad 1395 SH/June 18, 2016, https://sinapress.ir/news/40577/گزارش-تصویری-و-تحلیل-فنی-شاهزاده-حسین-ورامین.

74. "Keh az heysiat-e kashikari mitavan goft avval bana-ye ʿalam ast." Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 207.

75. "Un des monuments les plus intéressants de la contrée. . . . Il n'est pas possible d'obtenir des émaux plus purs et plus brillants que ceux de l'imamzaddè Yaya." Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 148–49.

76. Shangri La Museum of Islamic Art, Culture & Design, Honolulu, 48.327, https://collection.shangrilahawaii.org/objects/4334/. See Sheila Blair, "Art as Text: The Luster Mihrab in the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art," in *No Tapping around Philology: A Festschrift in Honor of*

Wheeler McIntosh Thackston Jr.'s 70th Birthday, ed. Alireza Korangy and Daniel J. Sheffield (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 415–16 and figs. 13–14. Much later in life, Doris Duke also purchased several stars and crosses from the shrine, including cross tile 48.267, https://collection.shangrilahawaii.org/objects/5817/.

77. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, ИР-1594, https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/08.+applied+arts/125004; and Blair, "Architecture as a Source," 218–20.

78. Consider the reconstructed cenotaph of Fatemeh Maʿsumeh (d. 816) in Qom. Mohsen Ghanooni and Samaneh Sadeghimehr, "Barrasī-ye katībeh-ye kāshīhā-ye zarrīnfām-e mazār-e ḥażrat-e Fāṭemeh Maʿṣūmeh dar Qom" [Study of the inscriptions of the luster tiles of the tomb of Hazrat-e Fatemeh Maʿsumeh at Qom], *Honarha-ye Ziba* 22, no. 2 (1396 SH/2017): 82, no. 3.

79. For those on display in the Moghaddam Museum in Tehran, see Mohsen Moghadam, "An Old House in Tehran: Its Gardens, Its Collections," in *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present,* vol. 14, ed. Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman (Ashiya, Japan: SOPA, A Survey of Persian Art, 1967), facing p. 3190, pl. 1529, figs. e–f.

80. There are exceptions. Similar tiles measuring about twenty centimeters across have also been attributed to the shrine, as well as some with Persian verses. For one example of the former, see the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, B60P2034, https://searchcollection.asianart.org/objects/13026/starshaped-tile. In the absence of in-situ documentation, attribution is indeed a problem.

81. Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 147; and Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran,* fig. 6. The spacing of Wilber's plan is misleading (too long), and an alternative plan is pending in *The Emamzadeh Yahya at Varamin: An Online Exhibition of a Living Iranian Shrine.* This online exhibition is an independent project led by the author since 2021 and will be hosted by the platform Khamseen: Islamic Art History Online (University of Michigan) at https://khamseen-emamzadeh-yahya-varamin.hart.lsa.umich.edu.

82. Friedrich Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1910), 59, pl. 65, https://archive.org/details/denkmlerpersis01sarr/page/59/. Sarre visited the site on two occasions: 30 December 1897 and at some point in 1899–90. I am grateful to Jens Kröger and Miriam Kühn for sharing this information.

83. Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 148. Bracketed interpolations mine. Dieulafoy seems to reference a Qajar edict apparently passed in 1876 that banned Christians from entering religious sites. While this edict is often cited in primary and secondary sources, the text itself has not been located and remains ambiguous.

84. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel*, 207, records the widest part of the tomb as 8.5 *zarʿ* (cubits), or 8.84 meters. I have favored the conversion rate used during the Qajar period (1 *zarʿ* = 104 centimeters).

85. For a list of the six intact examples dated between 612 AH/1215 and 734 AH/1334, see Blair, "Art as Text," 409, table 1. On the dispersed mihrab once in the tomb of Shaykh ʿAbdosamad (ʿAbd al-Samad, d. 1299–1300) at Natanz, see Anaïs Leone, "New Data on the Luster Tiles of ʿAbd al-Samad's Shrine in Natanz, Iran," *Muqarnas* 38 (2021): 336–48. On the dispersed mihrab once in the tomb of Imam ʿAli at Najaf, see Alireza Bahreman, *Bāzshenāsī va moʿarefī-ye meḥrāb-e farāmūsh shodeh ḥaram-e moṭahar-e emām ʿAlī* [Recognition of and introduction to the forgotten mehrab of the tomb of Imam ʿAli], *Honarhā-ye Tajasommī* 26, no. 1 (1400 SH/2021): 55–67.

86. This sheet has since been replaced by a permanent barrier. For additional recent images of the tomb, see the many figures in Overton and Maleki, "The Emamzadeh Yahya"; and Overton, "Framing, Performing, Forgetting." As of August 2023, sixty-three photographs of the site have been posted to Google Maps, all taken between 2021 and 2023. Such crowdsourced images are excellent resources for seeing the shrine in a more current state. Google Maps, Imamzadeh Yahya Varamin, https://maps.app.goo.gl/rcLwGQL7dFygqwNk7.

87. Blair, "Art as Text," 418.

88. For Blair's discussion of this jumbling, see Blair, "Art as Text," 417.

89. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 208.

90. For similar steel vases once mounted on an *ʿalam* (standard), see Annabelle Collinet, "Performance Objects of Muḥarram in Iran: A Story through Steel," *Journal of Material Cultures in the Muslim World* 1 (2020): 241, fig. 16.

91. Similar votives can be seen in Viollet's 1912–13 photograph of the Menar-e Jonban (Shaking Minarets) in Isfahan (BULAC, Fonds Viollet, PRS 180, HV 752). For a comparable print, see Henry-René d'Allemagne, *Du Khorassan au Pays des Backhtiaris: Trois mois de voyage en Perse* (Paris: Hachette, 1911), 4:56. On *nazr,* see Christiane Gruber, "*Nazr* Necessities: Votive

Practices and Objects in Iranian Muharram," in *Ex Voto: Votive Giving Across Cultures,* ed. I. Weinryb (New York: Bard, 2015), 246–75.

92. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 208. Today, Emamzadeh Yahya is generally known as a sixth-generation descendant of Imam Hasan (d. 670), the second Imam. See Kambiz Haji-Qassemi, ed., *Ganjnameh: Cyclopaedia of Iranian Islamic Architecture,* vol. 13, *Emamzadehs and Mausoleums (Part III)* (Tehran: Shahid Beheshti University Press, 2010), 82.

93. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 207.

94. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh does not describe the cenotaph at all, but it could have been covered by textiles or inaccessible behind the screen. It is unclear if the original luster cenotaph was present at the time of his visit, or Dieulafoy's. Dieulafoy, *La Perse,* 149, describes the luster revetment as including the walls, cenotaph, and mihrab ("le lambris, le sarcophage et le mihrab"), but she does not describe the cenotaph in any detail.

95. It is also possible that this configuration was in place during Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh's 1876 visit. He records the tomb's dimensions as 8.5 by 6.75 *zarʿ* (8.84 × 7.02 m), which suggests that one side was shortened by something, perhaps by the screen in question. As Hossein Nakhaei pointed out to me, the width of the screen (1.75 *zarʿ*) plus the length of the short side of the tomb (6.75 *zarʿ*) equals the full diameter (8.5 *zarʿ*). See Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 207. I thank Nakhaei for exchanges on this complex issue.

96. Consider the tomb of Shaykh ʿAbdosamad at Natanz, which was also plundered for its Ilkhanid luster. In this even smaller space, a Safavid wood screen shields a Safavid cenotaph dated 1045 AH/1635–36 and clad in *haft rangi* (lit. seven colors) tilework. This Safavid cenotaph replaced the original luster one, and the now-stripped luster mihrab is just behind it. See Leone, "New Data," 349, fig. 22; and the YouTube video "Tomb of Shaykh Abd-al Samad at Natanz," 1:31, in Overton, "Framing, Performing, Forgetting," https ://youtu.be/-5q4jGA5x_I.

97. I found this photograph by chance in Myron Bement Smith's archive in August 2022 (thanks to Lisa Fthenakis for facilitating research). While it is currently a rare image, comparable ones likely exist in Iranian archives, especially those in Varamin.

98. Further discussion of the ritual objects captured in this photograph, including the elaborate *ʿalam,* is pending in *The Emamzadeh Yahya at Varamin: An Online Exhibition of a Living Iranian Shrine* (see note 81). For a comparable basmala bird dated 1372 AH/1952–53, see Amsterdam, Tropenmuseum, TM-4136-11, https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/132480. Thanks to Mirjam Shatanawi for bringing this to my attention.

99. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 207. For a photograph of the Qom mihrab (acc. no. 32790) on display in Tehran, see Overton, "Framing, Performing, Forgetting," fig. 10.

100. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 207–8.

101. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 208. Surprisingly, he incorrectly recorded the year as 463 AH instead of 663 AH.

102. Eʿtemad al-Saltaneh, *Rasaʾel,* 208.

103. Star tile, undated, Paris, Musée du Louvre, AD 4426, https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010332500. I learned of this tile from a list of Emamzadeh Yahya tiles compiled by Anaïs Leone.

104. Star tile, 661 AH/1262–63, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 91.1.100, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/444453. Sura al-Fatiha takes up most of the space, sura al-Ikhlas about a quarter, and the date is written out at the end ("in a month of the year one and sixty and six hundred").

105. Moya Carey, *Persian Art: Collecting the Arts of Iran for the V&A* (London: V&A Publishing, 2017), 97–105. The information on Sèvres was kindly shared by curator Delphine Miroudot via chat during my Zoom lecture "The Emamzadeh Yahya: The Afterlife of an Iranian Shrine" for the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Islamic Art in Solitude online lecture series on 23 March 2023.

106. On this collection, see Sandra S. Williams, "Reading an 'Album' from Qajar Iran," *Getty Research Journal,* no. 12 (2020): 29–48. Thanks to Frances Terpak, Moira Day, and Mahsa Hatam for facilitating several viewings during my fall 2021 residency and thereafter.

107. Paul Chevallier, *Catalogue des objets d'art et de haute curiosité antiques, du moyen-âge & de la renaissance, composant l'importante et précieuse Collection Spitzer, dont la vente publique aura lieu à Paris . . . du lundi 17 avril au vendredi 16 juin, 1893 à deux heures* (Paris: Imprimerie de l'Art, E. Ménard, 1893), lot nos. 1012–29, plate titled "Faiences Orientales et Hispano-Moresques."

108. Charles James Wills, *In the Land of the Lion and Sun; or, Modern Persia, Being Experiences of Life in Persia during a Residence of Fifteen Years in Various Parts of That Country from 1866 to 1881* (London: Macmillan, 1883), 36. Bracketed interpolations mine.

109. Wills, *In the Land,* 191–92. Emphasis in original.

110. This summary builds on the seminal article by Tomoko Masuya, "Persian Tiles on European Walls: Collecting Ilkhanid Tiles in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 39–54.

111. On contemporary French activities at Persepolis, see Ali Mousavi, "In Search of Persepolis: Western Travellers' Explorations in Persia," chap. 5 in *Persepolis: Discovery and Afterlife of a World Wonder* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2012).

112. Carey, *Persian Art,* 84–86. The Sèvres museum also acquired luster from Ferdinand Méchin, a dealer who traveled in Iran in the 1860s and sold a variety of ceramic fragments and tiles to South Kensington. Carey, *Persian Art,* 76.

113. Julien de Rochechouart, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Perse* (Paris: Challamel, 1867), 314. In the next line, he names "Véramine."

114. "Les briques de Natinz [Natanz] que je possède." Rochechouart, *Souvenirs d'un voyage,* 315.

115. Carey, *Persian Art,* 97–100, 102–5, and 99, fig. 91 (an Emamzadeh Yahya star tile).

116. Masuya, "Persian Tiles," 54, appendix. Dieulafoy also photographed the luster mihrab in situ in the Masjed-e Maydan ("Perse 1," 77, no. 155). On this mihrab's afterlife, see Markus Ritter, "The Kashan Mihrab in Berlin: A Historiography of Persian Lustreware," in *Persian Art: Image-Making in Eurasia,* ed. Yuka Kadoi (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 157–78; and this essay, pp. 77–80.

117. See the many images in Leone, "New Data"; and the YouTube video "Tomb of Shaykh Abd-al Samad at Natanz" in Overton, "Framing, Performing, Forgetting," https://youtu.be/-5q4jGA5x_I.

118. Hagop Kevorkian in London to Charles Freer in Detroit, 25 August 1913, 2, Washington, D.C., National Museum of Asian Art Archives (NMAAA), Charles Lang Freer Papers, FSA A.01, box 19, folder 28, https://n2t.net/ark:/65665/dc38d01133a-fc80-4781-a382-bb38471c4e89. Although aspects of Kevorkian's detailed account in this six-page letter are plausible, his implication of the Mostowfi al-Mamalek cannot be considered ironclad until it is verified against Iranian sources. On page 2, Kevorkian himself mentions a "communique [*sic*] made through the Persian Legation."

119. D'Allemagne, *Du Khorassan au Pays des Backhtiaris*, 2:130–32. He further states that the mihrab was brought to Paris by one of Mozaffar al-Din's ministers and hidden in the shah's luggage, thus echoing Kevorkian's narrative.

120. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, 67, pl. 77. The caption reads "wahrscheinlich aus dem Imamzadeh Jahja in Veramin" (probably from the Emamzadeh Yahya in Varamin).

121. Letter from Kevorkian to Freer, 25 August 1913, 2.

122. Hagop Kevorkian in London to Charles Freer in Detroit, undated telegram presumably sent before the letter of 25 August 1913 cited in note 118 above, NMAAA, Charles Lang Freer Papers, FSA A.01, box 19, folder 28, https://n2t.net/ark:/65665/dc38d01133a-fc80-4781-a382-bb38471c4e89.

123. In 1925, the tiles entered the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage Museum. I thank Dmitry Sadofeev for sharing this information.

124. *Exhibition of Persian Art & Curios: The Collection Formed by J. R. Preece, Esq., C. M. G., Late H.B.M.'s Consul General at Ispahan, Persia*, exh. cat. (London: Vincent Robinson Galleries, 1913), no. 1 and color plate.

125. Undated telegram from Kevorkian to Freer (see this essay, note 122).

126. The shrine's wood door, dated 971 AH/1563–64, was also stolen at some point after Eʿtezad al-Saltaneh's visit in 1863. See Haji-Qassemi, *Ganjnameh*, 13:82; and Nakhaei, *The Great Mosque,* 55.

127. One of the biggest internal thefts that overlapped with the mihrab's embargo in Paris was the stealing of manuscripts from the Golestan Palace Library by the royal librarian, who was assisted by a ring of Qajar officials and diplomats. See Nader Nasiri-Moghaddam, "L'affaire du vol de la Bibliothèque Royale du Palais du Golestan à Téhéran, ca. 1907," *Studia Iranica* 32, no. 1 (2003): 137–47.

128. Carey, *Persian Art,* 90, 102, 247n96.

129. Nasiri-Moghaddam, *L'archéologie française en Perse,* 135–43.

130. For Sarre, see this essay, note 120. For the telegram, see note 122.

131. *Exhibition of Muhammedan-Persian Art, Exhibition of the Kevorkian Collection, Including Objects Excavated under His Supervision Exhibited at the Galleries of Charles of London at 718 Fifth Avenue in New York, March–April, 1914*, exh. cat. (New York: Lent & Graff, 1914), cat. no. 335, https://archive.org/details/exhibitionofkevoookevo/. See also Blair, "Art as Text," 416.

132. *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art*, exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy of

Arts, 1931), 103, cat. no. 156. For its display in the exhibition, see the view of gallery IV, 1931, by an unidentified photographer, acc. no. 10/4764, on the Royal Academy website, https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/work-of-art/gallery-iv-the-international-exhibition-of-persian-art-at-the-royal-academy; and Overton, "Framing, Performing, Forgetting," fig. 9.

133. "Fritware tile and drug jar (*albarello*), Iran, probably Kashan, (15) dated 1261–2; (16) 1180–1200, museum nos. 1072–1875; 369–1892." Quoted from the gallery label for objects fifteen and sixteen in the display "The Spread of Tin-Glaze and Lustre, 800–1800."

134. For a photograph of the V&A display, which welcomes visitors into the Jameel Gallery, see Overton, "Framing, Performing, Forgetting," fig. 7.

135. Quoted from the object label for "Lustre Tiles." For the panel's online record, which combines many accession numbers, see the V&A collection page, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O89590/tile-panel-ali-ibn-muhammad/.

136. Quoted from the Hermitage gallery placard, "Tiles from the Imamzadeh Yahya Mausoleum in Varamin." I thank Dmitry Sadofeev for sharing his excellent photographs of the renovated galleries.

137. For facilitating research in Godard's archive, I thank Sophie Paulet and Alejandra Tafur Manrique.

138. It is possible that the north *ayvan* leading into the tomb would have been a renovation of an Ilkhanid feature. It is not, however, visible in Dieulafoy's 1881 view of the site in "Perse 1," 65, no. 129.

139. Talinn Grigor, "Recultivating 'Good Taste': The Early Pahlavi Modernists and Their Society for National Heritage," *Iranian Studies* 37, no. 1 (2004): 17–45.

140. For an English translation of this law's twenty articles, see Nader Nasiri-Moghaddam, "Archaeology and the Iranian National Museum: Qajar and early Pahlavi Cultural Policies," in *Culture and Cultural Politics under Reza Shah: The Pahlavi State, New Bourgeoisie and the Creation of a Modern Society in Iran*, ed. Bianca Devos and Christoph Werner (New York: Routledge, 2013), 139–43, appendix.

141. Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, eds., *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938–39), 2:1679, no. 53, and vol. 5, plate 400. In this publication, the mihrab was identified correctly as from the "Imamzada Yahya, Varamin" and was at the time on loan to the University Museum, Philadelphia. For its display in New York in 1940, see Edward Allen Jewell, "Persian Exhibition of Art is Opened," *New York Times*, April 24, 1940, 20.

142. Blair, "Art as Text," 417. Negotations were led by Duke's adviser Mary Crane, a graduate student at New York University. See Keelan Overton, "Filming, Photographing and Purveying in 'the New Iran:' The Legacy of Stephen H. Nyman, ca. 1937–42," in *Arthur Upham Pope and A New Survey of Persian Art*, ed. Yuka Kadoi (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 364.

143. Hagop Kevorkian in New York to Doris Duke Cromwell in Honolulu, 28 December 1940. Honolulu, Archives of the Shangri La Museum of Islamic Art, Culture & Design.

144. For its terrible condition at the time, see Yedda Godard, "Pièces datées de céramiques de Kāshān à décor lustré," *Athar-e Iran* 2 (1937): 314, fig. 139.

145. Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, 147 and 149. The mihrab of the Emamzadeh Shah Hossein is captioned "mihrab a Véramine" and reproduced on a page mostly devoted to the Emamzadeh Yahya. This likely contributed to confusion. For details of the collage, see Overton and Maleki, "The Emamzadeh Yahya," fig. 17; and Overton, "Framing, Performing, Forgetting," fig. 13.

Baghdad Kept on Working: Painting and Propaganda during the British Occupation of Iraq, 1941–45

Anneka Lenssen

In early February 1943, a date that saw tens of thousands of Polish soldiers congregating in Iraq to train for war, a Polish painter named Józef Jarema published a robust endorsement of the formalist approach to his craft. Having studied in Paris in the late 1920s, he was a committed modernist who embraced color as the primary formal element of his compositions. "Every academicism is a kind of corpse," he wrote in Polish, "even the Parisian one," before proceeding to champion the artistic task of creating a "parallel world" of vivid emotions and sensations.[1] In many ways, this testimony seems perfectly at home in the 1940s, a decade in which commitments to mass politics were reversed in favor of protective specialization around art and its autonomy. As other scholars have observed, the prioritization of transcendent aesthetic value over the historical position of the artist as producer is a hallmark of a liberal defense of modern arts—an alleged bulwark against philistinism and political prejudice.[2] The surprise here is the place where Jarema made his declarations. He wrote his essay in Iraq for publication in *Kurier Polski w Bagdadzie* (Polish courier in Baghdad), a Polish-language newspaper established in December 1942. The occasion was an *Exhibition of Paintings by Polish Soldiers-Artists*, a major propaganda initiative of two hundred works of art, due to open soon at the British Institute in Baghdad.

Upon arriving in Iraq in late 1942, a number of artists and writers attached to the Polish Army in the East for the Polish government in exile in London (later renamed the Polish II Corps), some of whom spent time as prisoners in secret camps in the USSR, undertook intensive propaganda efforts to generate support for Polish sovereignty. The creation of a newspaper to serve a population of displaced Polish persons was one initiative, but outreach to Iraqis was another. The artists in the group who enjoyed prewar recognition as modern painters set out to establish contact with their Iraqi counterparts, visiting cafés, holding lectures, and organizing exhibitions. Because at least two other Polish soldier-artists in Baghdad possessed Parisian credentials similar to Jarema's, their discussion of art tended to accord a universal authority to their colorist approach to painting. As far as Jarema was concerned, the relative consistency of their

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style—sometimes described as pointillist or Divisionist and other times as postimpressionist—offered reason for optimism regarding Allied willingness to adopt the cause of a free Polish Republic as a plank in its liberal platform. As Jarema took care to report in his article, the Polish artists found common ground with the Iraqi artists who possessed at least some French training and who thrilled to the "game of colorful contrasts" as well.[3] The ease of the transfer struck Jarema as proof that displaced Polish artists would serve as stewards of a free and true cultural spirit and, moreover, do so at a time that artists in occupied Paris could not.

Almost all accounts of the trajectory of modern art in Iraq reference the Polish influence on Iraqi artists during the war years. Iraqi artists attested to the significance of the encounter before the end of the war itself. By September 1943, Jewad Selim, a brilliant artist who went on to become one of Iraq's most studied modernists, described to a friend how the Polish artists had "revived our relationship to Paris" and sparked new appreciation for the meaning and use of color.[4] And Jamil Hamoudi, a student of Selim's at the Institute of Fine Arts in Baghdad, wrote a short account of the "new generation" of artists in the country that credits the Poles with modeling how to "live for art alone."[5] Soon, reviews of exhibitions mounted by Iraqi artists began to note the prevalence of work in a postimpressionist mode.[6] In July 1945, Selim gave an interview in Baghdad that cited his interactions with the Polish artists as the most important event of his artistic life to date, in part because their postimpressionist training inclined them to appreciate the arts of the East as a source of compositional theory, which sparked Selim's own interest in historical Iraqi arts.[7] Most subsequent analyses have followed the template established by the initial testimonies by giving credit to foreign visitors for directing attention to painterly techniques—that is, the "how" of painting in addition to the "what"—and defining the problem of how Iraqi heritage might inform modern art.[8]

Historians of twentieth-century art will be just as familiar with claims to membership in charmed artist communities as we are with stories about transcendent aesthetic values; the narrative of a utopian "open city" welcoming all comers who prioritize art above other concerns is a mainstay of School of Paris propaganda during and after the war.[9] To find it in the writing of Polish and Iraqi artists is to confront the success of the effort to equate an individual version of artistic autonomy with a collective ideal of a free and flourishing society, which would bolster a version of a liberal art world to come. Yet, it should not be forgotten that the British military chose to reoccupy Iraq in this period and, indeed, forcefully align its peoples with the strategic interests of the Allies. In the summer of 1941, nearly the whole of the military front sometimes dubbed the Near East—a tactical corridor connecting Cairo to Baghdad via Beirut and Damascus and onward to South Asia—experienced reoccupation by British militaries or Free French ones (the latter with British help), thereby shoring up oil, air fields, and provisions for ships against the Germans.[10] Following these operations in Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon, new wartime movements of people and supplies in the region spurred an unusual confluence of displaced artists in Baghdad who, for a variety of reasons, advocated fervently for the threatened values of freedom and

experimentalism. Little attention has been paid to the motivations for Polish and Iraqi declarations of artistic friendship in this context, or to their appeal to membership in a wartime diaspora of Paris-aligned artists. Which is to say, when it comes to the history of artists and critics who consolidated discourses of art for art's sake around the heroic ideals of progressive Modernism, what has still to be told is how these discourses connect intimately to late-colonial interests in war.[11]

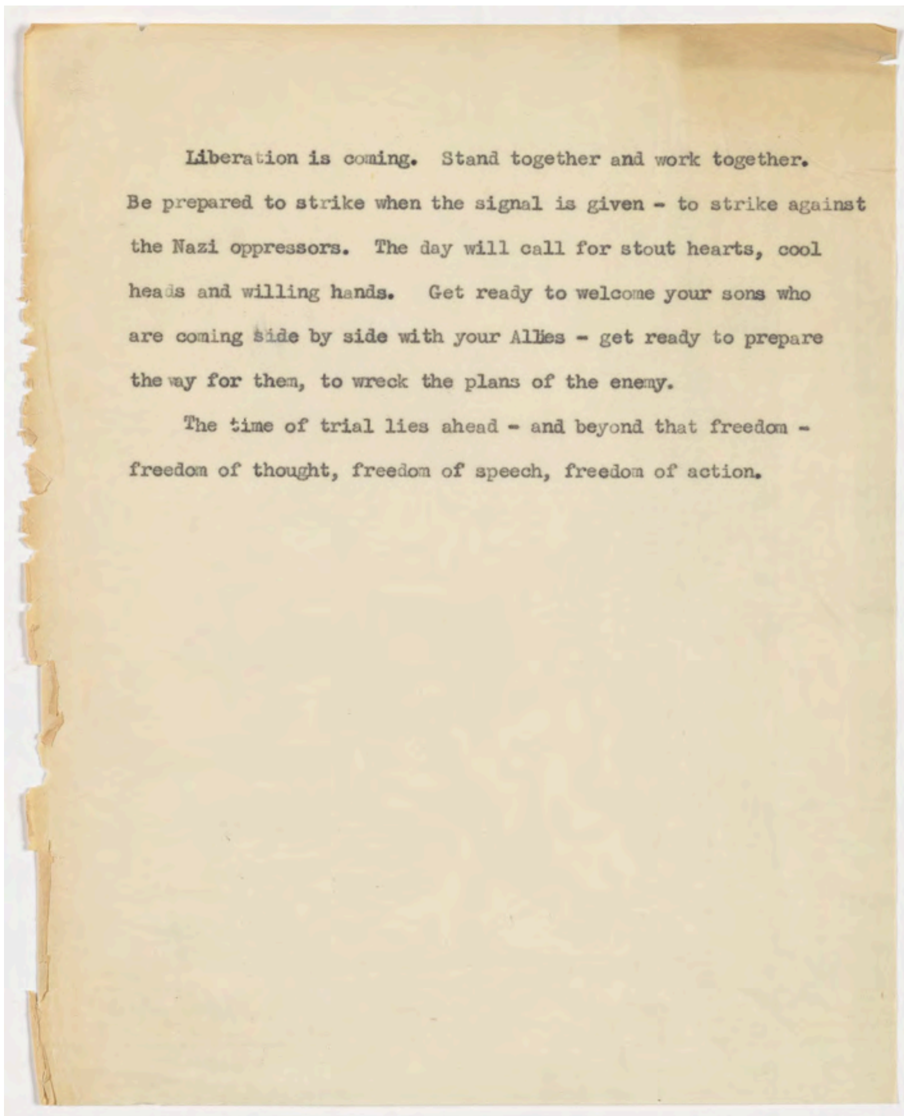
It is not my aim in this article to dispute the evidence of Iraqi artists' high regard for the universal values they perceived in the Polish artists' paintings, which is abundant. My interests relate to historical and ideological queries: how a late-colonial community of soldiers, refugees, mobile intellectuals, and local artists came to model a version of modern art construed as free inquiry into form, or "art alone," and how it operated in a space of uncertainty regarding the fate of a shared artistic enterprise in a world where centers had not held. As I hope to demonstrate, Allied propaganda in support of the necessity of war played a decisive role in structuring affinities between artists in a shared space that was neither officially a war zone nor a home front. In my research for this article, I made use of the papers of Belgian poet and art dealer E. L. T. Mesens in the collection of the Getty Research Institute, which contains myriad letters to and from artist collaborators in exile and military service in cities in the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East under Allied control. Equally, I worked with more dispersed and fragmentary archives pertaining to Iraqi artists Selim and Hamoudi and Polish painters Jarema and Józef Czapski. What follows, then, is a plot for future research on the resignification of modern painting that took place amid the colonial entanglements at the crux of the war enterprise.

1. E. L. T. Mesens and War Propaganda

First, it is important to consider what can be learned from the activities of Mesens—a representative figure because of his self-appointed role as an arbiter of important European trends—in this period. In 1938, Mesens moved to London from Belgium to take up a position directing the London Gallery, from which he promoted surrealist art and literature in particular as a most modern pursuit. Mesens had no trouble recognizing the growing connection between surrealist thought and anti-fascist resistance movements. He and his collaborators used the gallery's publication, *London Bulletin,* to publish the text of a manifesto from 1938 by principal French surrealist poet André Breton, Mexican painter Diego Rivera, and exiled communist theorist Leon Trotsky outlining a commitment to independent art as a political project meant to hasten a revolution, adding a note promising a manifesto by the British section of the project in a future issue.[12] However, by late 1939, following money troubles and the destruction of at least a portion of the gallery's collections in air raids, he halted most activities.[13] There is little indication that Mesens took any subsequent steps to spur his small and disorganized group of English surrealists to action as a collective.[14]

Whereas Mesens exhibited minimal interest in direct organizing, he did answer calls to duty in the realm of British propagandizing. Beginning in 1943, he contributed to the BBC's content for Radio Belgique broadcasts into German-occupied Belgium. He also entertained at least one special commission to produce a musical piece for the British Foreign Office. The commission would have entailed writing French lyrics for a preset tune for use in fostering a sense of common cause between French and British servicemen, as was thought necessary for success in major upcoming battles.[15] Mesens received a text of suggested themes on the topic of struggle between Allied freedom and Axis repression. Typewritten sentences convey a set of shareable causes—"Liberation is coming. Stand together and work together. Be prepared to strike when the signal is given—to strike against the Nazi oppressors"—and conclude by enumerating a triad of core freedoms that represent the Allied cause: "freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of action" (fig. 1). Mesens met with a representative from the Political Intelligence Department, only to ultimately refuse the request on the grounds of its uninspired relationship to art as a tool for the cause. Declaring the language and music of the song to be stilted and academic in composition, Mesens attempted to goad the Foreign Office into realizing art's capacity to elicit real emotion. The appropriate way to generate a sense of inspiration, Mesens asserts in his response, is to evoke a popular spirit of spontaneous exultation.[16]

A final arena for Mesens's propaganda efforts had to do with publication schemes to protect the experimental version of French culture he upheld as a civilizational benchmark. Throughout the war, Mesens endeavored to use the London Gallery imprimatur to produce and circulate anthologies of French literature by surrealist-affiliated authors. One letter, sent in July 1943 to literary critic Herbert Read, identifies a growing reading public of "French reading refugees" in England, desirous of access to new French-language work.[17] Notably, Mesens's list of preferred contributors reflects a network of activity sustained by French flight to colonial and semicolonial locations. There is Breton's poem "Fata Morgana," which he composed in Marseille while en route to the Caribbean and later the United States, as well as "new and very good things" coming from the Americas by Benjamin Peret and André Masson, from Aimé Césaire in Martinique, and from Georges Henein in Cairo.[18] By the time of Mesens's literary plotting in 1943, Breton had already laid claim to Césaire's poetry, introducing him in the first issue of the New York journal *VVV* (spring 1942) as a friend and a "magnetic and black" figure who, from his home in Martinique, had managed to break with old French mores so as to write "the poems we need."[19] Tellingly, although Mesens identifies Césaire's incandescent poem "High Noon" for inclusion in his volume, he is unconcerned with its political specificity as a response to France's wartime colonial domination over Martinique. Instead, Mesens directs attention to establishing a shared field of innovatory work, the existence of which is to be offered as a promise of transcendent talent in spite of suffocating war conditions.


Liberation is coming. Stand together and work together. Be prepared to strike when the signal is given - to strike against the Nazi oppressors. The day will call for stout hearts, cool heads and willing hands. Get ready to welcome your sons who are coming side by side with your Allies - get ready to prepare the way for them, to wreck the plans of the enemy.

The time of trial lies ahead - and beyond that freedom - freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of action.

FIG. 1. — Suggested themes for lyrics sent from F. C. Dowling, Political Intelligence Department of the British Foreign Office, to E. L. T. Mesens as part of a proposed song commission, 26 January 1944. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 920094, box 5, folder 3.

2. Techniques of British Occupation in Iraq

In Iraq, Allied propaganda operated in a complementary yet distinct fashion. Over the preceding period of nominal independence from 1932 to 1941, Iraqi officials had expanded education in the name of cultivating a culture of enlightened Arabic thought based upon national commitment. Britain's guiding strategy as the colonial authority came to emphasize a relationship of influence rather than direct control, which depended upon British affiliates serving as advisers to native government officials (all subtended, as historian Sara Pursley has argued, through what remained a very direct use of corporeal violence in other realms—from hanging and corvée labor to collective

punishments in the form of air bombardment).[20] The contradictory effects of the parallel development strategy manifested at such institutions as the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, established in 1926 around the archaeological collection of Gertrude Bell. Run as a condominium model that placed British experts among Iraqi national employees, the museum supported a network of spies—among them Bell herself and later antiquities adviser Seton Lloyd—at the same time that it presented increased opportunities to Iraqi artists. In 1934, the Iraq Museum gained an art studio at the initiative of newly appointed director of antiquities, Satiʿ al-Husri. Having already established a fellowship program to support artist training in Europe in his previous role as minister of education, al-Husri tasked the studio's artists with enlivening archaeological finds by creating mural-scaled tableaux of historical events.[21]

In April 1941, Rashid al-Kaylani, a former prime minister who had attempted to use the office to free Iraq from colonial influence, led a coup that rejected Prime Minister Nuri al-Said's policy of compliance with British demands for wartime censorship, curfews, and rationing, and challenged the legitimacy of the Hashemite monarchy. The British military responded by waging quick yet merciless war on the Iraqi military using both colonial battalions from India and aerial bombing. As the national government collapsed, perceptions of social unity disintegrated. Riots broke out targeting Iraqi Jews as external to national interests, and makeshift alliances of nationalist military, police, and urban subjects went door to door in poorer Jewish neighborhoods in Baghdad attacking persons and seizing property.[22] These events, known in the local Iraqi dialect as the *farhud* (meaning dispossession), revealed how violent and exclusionary strands of nationalism had dovetailed with a cause of ostensible liberation.

The crisis ended only with the entrance of British troops into the city. British authorities restored Crown Prince Abd al-Ilah (the uncle of the toddler King Faisal II) to the role of Regent and rededicated efforts to prop up the offices of the monarchy as an authority. Rather than attempt an expensive full-military occupation, colonial strategists again turned to systems of influence, albeit now with ever-wider outreach.[23] By 1944, no fewer than one hundred people were working in the publicity department of the British embassy in Iraq. High-ranking employees hosted parties and cinema nights for educated Iraqis whom they hoped to cultivate as friends.[24] The same network brought Edward Bawden, an English artist with an official war commission, into contact with Iraqi artists, even as he declined to engage with their work.[25] Bawden's sketches from Iraq offer a pictorial record of attempts in the era to establish a social meaning for the Hashemite monarchy. One of his most striking watercolors features a trademark British initiative: a cinema boat that plied the Euphrates taking films to rural populations, complete with bunting and ceremonial gun salute. Bawden makes sure to depict on the outdoor screen an image from its standard cinematic fare: the Regent Abd al-llah, the "star" of British propaganda, appears as if in a newsreel, wearing a British uniform, engaging in conversation and holding a porcelain teacup (fig. 2).

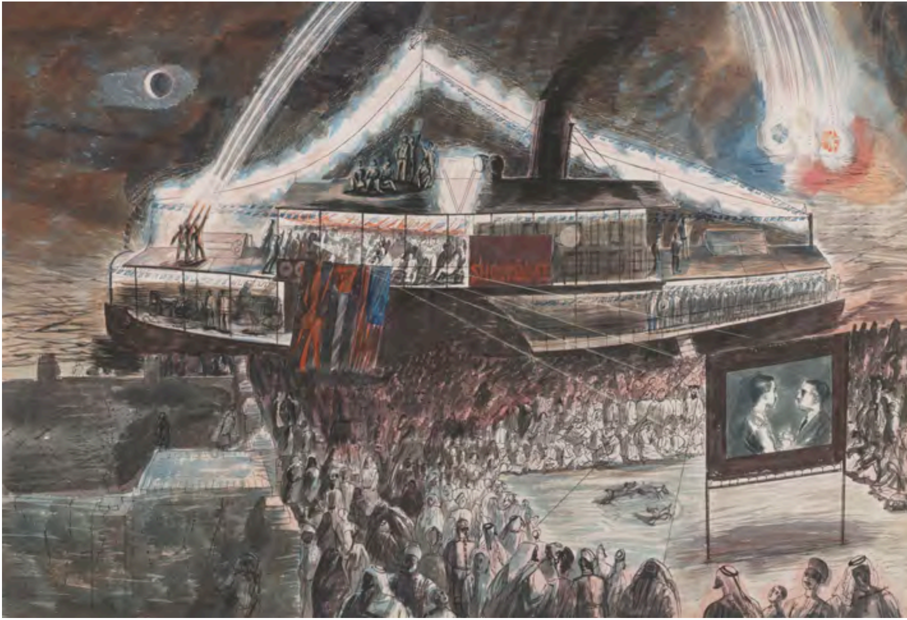


FIG. 2. — Edward Bawden (British, 1903–89). *The Showboat at Baghdad*, 1944, watercolor on paper, 66 × 100.5 cm. London, Government Art Collection. Image © Crown copyright: UK Government Art Collection.

British information officers took a light hand when it came to influencing Iraqi artists, always preferring to play a role of consultant. For instance, English artist Kenneth Wood, whose military service included employment in Baghdad from 1943 to 1946, was assigned to improve color-printing capacities in the city and set up a lithography studio that offered training to a first generation of Iraqi graphic designers.[26] Wood impressed his Iraqi friends with his technical acumen in studio art as well as in applied work. Over time, he developed a distinctive semisurrealist method of watercolor composition to capture the city's phantasmagoric night life, and would cap his time in Baghdad by writing up his philosophies and methods for Hamoudi to publish in Arabic.[27] The same period saw Lloyd move into action to secure art supplies for the Iraqi artists he favored.[28]

3. Jewad Selim's Return to Baghdad

This late-colonial matrix provided an important armature for Selim's career as representative of a new generation in Iraq. Born to a painter father with training from an Ottoman military academy, Selim and his siblings—brothers Suad and Nizar, and sister Naziha—all pursued creative professions, and did so across multiple fields, including painting and sculpture, caricature, music, and stage productions. In 1938, Selim received a fellowship to study in Paris. Arriving in Europe at the age of nineteen, he sought to acquire training as a sculptor and managed to gain admittance to the École des Beaux-Arts, only to be forced home by declarations of war in 1939. The following summer, Selim attempted to restart his studies in Rome, only to return once again to

Iraq.[29] Resigned by 1941 to waiting out the hostilities from Baghdad, Selim took positions as an instructor of sculpture at the Institute of Fine Arts and as an artist in the painting workshop of the Iraq Museum.

Selim's initial artistic activities upon his second return reflect a sense of unease, which he appears to have explored by plumbing the crisis tropes established by earlier European artists. Inaugurating a sketchbook bearing the title, in Italian, "Contemplations of My Spirit," he filled its pages with quotations and drawings that give an impression of Romantic malcontent.[30] Early text entries include a stanza of poetry by Paul Verlaine expressing the melancholia sparked by an absent lover, which Selim copied in French: "Oh, sad, sad was my soul because, because—for a woman's sake it was."[31] Selim's drawings, meanwhile, riff on a corpus of nineteenth-century imagery. In one, he echoes the slumping physicality of a sketch by French sculptor Auguste Rodin intended to illustrate Charles Baudelaire's volume of poetry *Les Fleurs du mal* (fig. 3). Rodin's drawing associates bodily humility with problems of sin and transference. Selim's drawing assigns the pose to a new ambivalent figure, likely captioned (in French) "the creative man," who experiences disappointment in the very world he has created (fig. 4).[32]

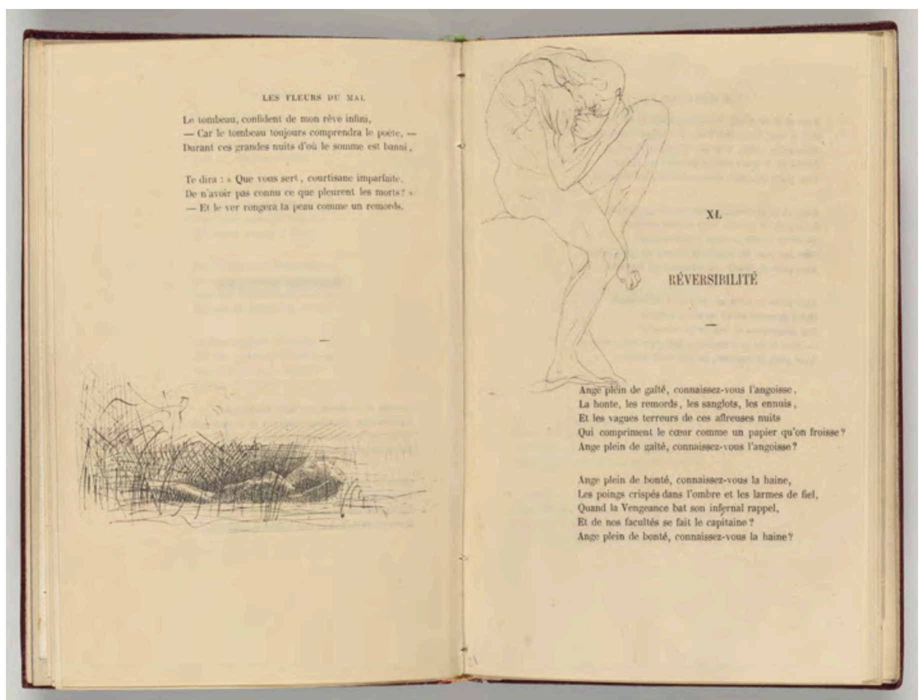


FIG. 3. — Auguste Rodin (French, 1840–1917). Illustration in Charles Baudelaire, *Vingt-sept poèmes des Fleurs du mal* (Paris: Société des Amis du Livre Moderne, 1918). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1968, 68.632.1. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY.

FIG. 4. — Jewad Selim (Iraqi, 1919–61). Drawing likely captioned "L'homme créateur," 1940s, in Selim's sketchbook "Contemplations of My Spirit," now lost. From Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, *Jawād Salīm wa-Nuṣb al-Ḥurriyya* (Baghdad: General Directorate of Culture, 1974), 171.

That Selim would make such extensive use of Romantic models is intriguing, given his exposure to an array of modernist trends in Europe.[33] To an extent, Selim's return to themes of anomie would seem to revive the Romantic modernist Iraqi aesthetics of the previous decade, which, as literary scholar Haytham Bahoora has identified, tended to explore the inner life of urban subjects—the middle-class civil worker, the Baudelarian libertine, the bourgeois intellectual, and the sex worker—as ciphers of shifting ethical regimes.[34] While Selim was in France, he expanded the genre to include the pressures of mass media, exchanging descriptions of Hollywood films and concerts with friends and with his sister, Naziha, who was then exploring kindred themes of cinematic feminine typecasting (the happy beauty, the damsel in distress, and so on) in her own projects.[35] But to Selim's friend and biographer Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, Selim's Romantic approach to

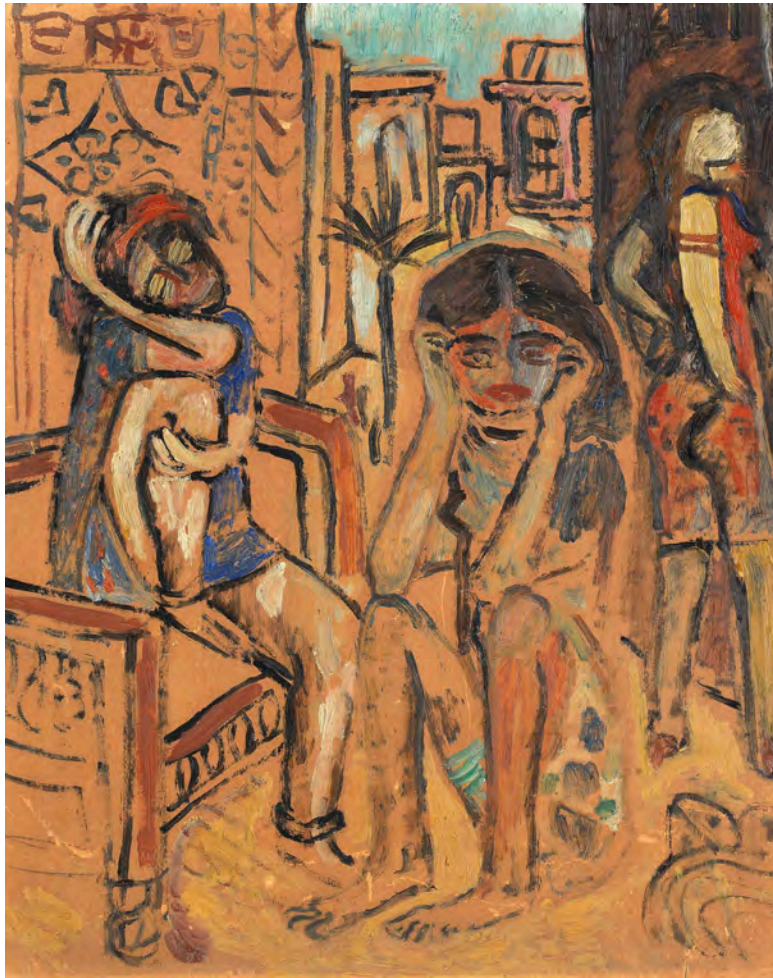


FIG. 5. — Jewad Selim (Iraqi, 1919–61). *Nisāʾ fī al-Intiẓār* (Women waiting), 1943, oil on board, 45 × 35 cm. Private collection. Image: Wikimedia Commons.

malady during the war years entailed more than simply continuing a modern tradition of alienated observers. Jabra identifies an increasing recognition of the war itself as the source of affliction, including in its extractive economic dimensions.[36] Selim's oeuvre features several paintings depicting sex workers waiting for clients in the streets of Baghdad, created with a bright palette of brushy marks, as well as drawings of scenes of lust and debauchery sourced from an array of literary sources, both Arabic and foreign (fig. 5).[37] These images can all be read in a context of the British occupation of Iraq wherein barracks outside the city held thousands of soldiers, outbreaks of malaria were frequent, and trainees came to the city to patronize bars and brothels.[38]

Given the melancholy of Selim's practice at the start of the British reoccupation, it is striking to consider how thoroughly the cultural propaganda of the time required his presence. When the *Exhibition of Paintings by Polish Soldiers-Artists* opened in 1943 under the sponsorship of ministers, commanders, and advisers, the officialism of the

proceedings gained some relief from the presence of invited Iraqi artists, who greeted the Polish artists as peers.[39] Selim offered remarks in Arabic on behalf of the group and is reported to have expressed excitement about hosting an exhibition of European art in Baghdad for the first time as well as support for Polish goals.[40] Soon thereafter, Selim and colleague Faiq Hassan received invitations to exhibit work in Alexandria and Cairo as part of an initiative by the Friends of Art society in Egypt, an organization that enjoyed the patronage of the Egyptian monarchy.[41] The plan to feature Iraqi painters among the expanding community of Allied artists must have promised to add legitimacy to propaganda claims about common cause.[42] At home, meanwhile, Selim frequented the parties thrown by the head public relations officer of the British Embassy and sold him paintings at an exhibition of the Iraqi Artists Association.[43] By 1944, a pivotal year when British acts of friendship in Iraq became oriented toward postwar alliances, Selim not only began to work with Lloyd to cultivate opportunities for solo exhibitions but also accepted invitations to deliver lectures on art to British soldiers.[44]

4. Polish Artists Take Refuge in Iraq

The Polish painters entered this cultural space beginning in the autumn of 1942 and stayed through most of 1943. They brought with them recollections of interwar Paris and a defining interest in light and color, as distinct from the moody palette of surrealist modernism. As Selim later observed, their memory of the French capital differed in spirit from the dark painting he witnessed during his stay at the time of the Second World War.[45] Not only had Czapski, Jarema, and Edward Matuszczak sought entry to postimpressionist circles but they had also been prepared for their mission by a beloved teacher, Józef Pankiewicz, who had preceded them in Paris and embraced Divisionist color strategies.[46] Their group held French painter Pierre Bonnard in particularly high esteem for his ability to amplify color and composition simultaneously and sought entry to his circles. Upon returning to Warsaw, they developed a reputation as “Kapists”—the Polish acronym for the “Paris Committee” they had formed to support their studies—who located the mission of painting in the search for compositional realities that are independent of denotative subject matter.[47] They were not abstractionists, but they took the academic genres of still life, portrait, and landscape as pretexts to pursue the artistic end of building form in color. So committed were Jarema and Matuszczak to keeping focus on daubs of color that their Baghdad landscape paintings bore little immediate resemblance to the relatively clear light conditions on the banks of the Tigris (fig. 6).

The Kapists’ presence in Baghdad, nearly twenty years after their stint in Paris, was a complicated consequence of Nazi Germany’s attack on the USSR in August 1941.[48] The earlier German invasion of Poland in September 1939 divided the country between the Third Reich and the USSR on terms secretly negotiated between those powers, precipitating deportations of hundreds of thousands of Poles to the Soviet interior and filling undisclosed camps with prisoners of war (among them Czapski). Once Germany reversed agreements in 1941 and Joseph Stalin faced an urgent need to grow military

FIG. 6. — Edward Matuszczak (Polish, 1906–65). Landscape from Baghdad, 1943, oil on canvas, 44.5 × 51.5 cm. Alexandria, Egypt, Museum of Fine Arts. By permission of the Fine Art Sector, Ministry of Culture, Egypt.

power, the USSR entered the fold of the Grand Alliance. An agreement with the Polish government-in-exile, signed in London, restored diplomatic ties and provided for the release of prisoners. Over a series of months, a Polish fighting force was assembled and moved through central Asia. In April 1942, however, commander Wladyslaw Anders decided to move these groups out of the USSR and away from its whims, evacuating more than one hundred thousand people by crossing through British-controlled Iran. A large contingent of volunteer fighters headed to Iraq to prepare to rejoin the war, including Polish soldiers already affiliated with other units in the region (among them, Jarema), forming a Polish Army in the East that would train in coordination with the British military.

In exile, the Polish government pursued a survival strategy based on deepening connections to an Allied vision of common victory. Jarema may have been one of the first to promote his ties to Parisian prestige as an asset—he formulated a strategy to this effect in 1941 while still stationed in Egypt, prior to the release of Polish prisoners in the USSR or the reunion of Kapists in Baghdad.[49] At least one interview from Egypt introduces him as a postimpressionist and describes his exhibition as a "show of faith" in the continuation of great traditions of painting.[50] As Jarema explained to local journalists, to exhibit painting of this kind was to signal resistance against the new barbarism of the day. Crucially, by equating a "great tradition" with a style of composition recognizable in daubs of color, Jarema established a marker for tracking

both Polish artistic accomplishments and the imprint of their values on other artists.[51] Once in Baghdad, he espoused the views of an "extreme impressionist," advocating for an exclusive focus on the application of color to a surface and eliminating the use of black paint.[52] So committed was he to elevating his version of serious painting that he drew skeptical commentary from other Poles. One article, which imputes a combative character to the Polish opposition to academicism, describes the exhibited work as "a little closed off to those indifferent to it" and at odds with common taste.[53]

Czapski, who was appointed to head the Public Relations and Information Department for Anders, made a more affective personal case for recuperating a spirit of Parisian freedom. As other scholars detail, Czapski had survived two years in Soviet prisons in part by taking up intellectual work—namely, plumbing his memory of French literature to deliver brilliant lectures on Marcel Proust to fellow prisoners—as a buttress against despair.[54] Upon his release, he readily credited "French art" with "help[ing] us live through those few years in the USSR" and continued to lecture on French culture as part of diplomatic tours to Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine.[55] Once in Baghdad, Czapski joined his Polish colleagues in calling on the Iraqi artists to deliver a message of cultivation and possibility. French was the lingua franca for these encounters. From his diary entries, it is possible to detect a private despair over his grim responsibilities and a hint of contempt toward interlocutors with whom he was unable to communicate in any depth due to their possession of only elementary French-language skills.[56]

The Iraqi painters, for their part, rose to the invitation to mutuality with grace; at one gathering, artist Atta Sabri spoke about being "brothers in art."[57] They shared their studios with the Polish visitors, doing their best to create conditions for the displaced painters to continue advancing their work.[58] Such actions accorded with the statements of support that their British-backed prime minister, al-Said, had extended to Polish refugees in January following his declaration of war on Germany, which credited Iraqi traditions of hospitality as impetus for the welcome.[59] Once the *Exhibition of Paintings by Polish Soldiers-Artists* opened on 15 February 1943, it, in turn, offered a venue for further expression of familial feeling. Artist Matuszczak exhibited a portrait painting he had made of the mother of Iraqi artist Hassan.[60] And, not only did the Iraqi state and municipality purchase Polish art but Selim also saw fit to make a personal purchase of a painting from Jarema as another expression of brotherhood.[61]

From the Polish side of the cause, both Jarema and Czapski issued interpretations of the critical stakes of the exhibition, which was set to tour other cities under British influence to which soldiers and refugees had gone: Cairo, Alexandria, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem. Each artist addressed the fact of displaced inspiration, from the former Parisian center to elsewhere, as a defining uncertainty of the age. In this regard, their discussions of the fate of Western culture jibe with that of American critics who sensed opportunity to claim guardianship of it. As Serge Guilbaut reports in his classic study *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art* of 1983, critic Harold Rosenberg responded to the occupation of Paris by opining in the *Partisan Review*'s December 1940 issue, "No

one can predict which city or nation will be the center of this new phase," emphasizing the need to recover and protect the world-historical importance of Paris against mere national interests.[62] Jarema, for his part, used his promotional article in *Kurier Polski w Bagdadzie* of February 1943 to outline the possibility of new communities of authority to be forged laterally between artists at different points in the world. By way of illustration, he boasts that the Polish soldier-artists exerted an "agitating" force on Baghdad's stagnant academic scene. For Jarema, the Paris connection—strengthened by its loss—provided the basis for interpersonal affinities in their newly deterritorialized art world. He claims that painters across the world belong to the "Paris team," defined as the generation of artists who studied art in Paris over the years 1920–39. They exist as if a large family scattered all over the world, ready to be activated in sudden and intimate fashion thanks to shared concepts, culture, and terminology.[63]

Czapski's commentary comes in the form of a lecture he delivered in English for the opening, later printed in Polish in *Kurier Polski w Bagdadzie.*[64] It too takes stock of the reordered cultural authority of the time, but proceeds by reference to historical arts as models of emotional power equivalent to modernist composition. Specifically, Czapski praises the Sumerian art in the Iraq Museum for its formal achievement, proceeding to describe the development of art as a pendulum swinging between realism and abstraction, always inspired to change by new encounters with other traditions. The lecture makes a point that Jarema seems to avoid for the most part, which is that reproductive technologies such as photography allow artists to access a full cache of world arts. Unlike Jarema, Czapski had been practicing his own version of a worldly response to multiple arts while stationed in the region; diary entries reveal that he sketched in museums and sites in Damascus, Jerusalem, Cairo, and elsewhere, some of whose artworks he had first admired in exhibition catalogs accessed in Paris (fig. 7). His textual notes detail strong in-person responses to certain historical works, such as the synagogue murals from Dura Europos in the National Museum of Damascus (in fact, Czapski records that he sees in the murals a riposte to Jarema's color theories).[65] Czapski's contributions to the major Polish exhibitions in Iraq also diverged from the Kapist ideals in terms of medium. Although he had attempted to work with the oil paints Jarema brought him as a means to revive the progression of Polish painterly modernism, Czapski found paints difficult to maintain in practice, and instead exhibited relatively pale ink-and-wash sketches of quotidian scenes.[66]

Ultimately, Czapski's lecture posits a different version of the loss of a Parisian center. Raising, as others had, the question of constituting a new capital for artists, he asserts, "None of us can prophesize where on the globe the next great painting will arise. Paris was the center of the world for artists recently, as was Rome in the 16th century. Will Paris, after its last tragedy, after the fall of France, continue to be the capital of artists after the war?"[67] But, whereas Rosenberg indicts fellow intellectuals for their collective failure to protect Paris from the taint of political obligations, Czapski appeals to fellow artists to maintain a generous relationship to the world and its potential to form capital centers. Indeed, he proposes that the best versions of national art will

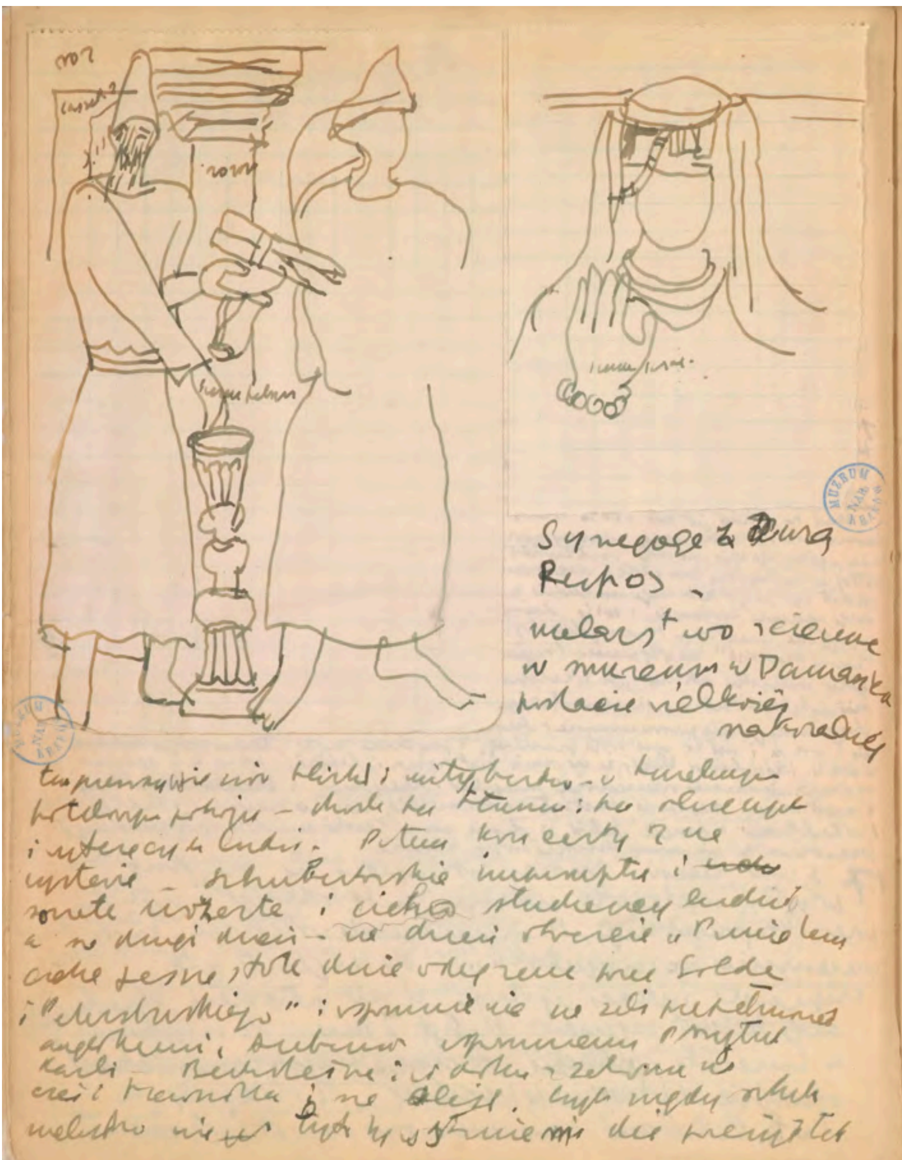


FIG. 7. — Józef Czapski (Polish, 1896–1993). Drawing in diary, 21 January 1943. Vol. 2, 8 September 1942 to 23 May 1943. National Museum in Kraków, Archives of Maria and Józef Czapski, inv. no. MNK VIII-rkps.1923. Image: Laboratory Stock National Museum in Kraków.

fluoresce in conditions of coexistence. More than many others on the side of the Allies, Czapski seems inclined to refuse a "return" to consolidated authority of any kind—national or ostensibly international. To make his point about Polish and other national painting traditions necessarily drawing on a world inheritance of arts, he employs a Christian vocabulary of illumination to describe the expression of art within the people and materials of different places and times: "The spirit breathes where it wants."[68]

5. Studying a World History for Modern Art

A key issue remains to be clarified. Apart from statements asserting that an exchange of style took place, what evidence do we have of Polish influence on Iraqi artists? Surviving physical works from this period are, admittedly, few. Although a guide from 1943 to a newly created Iraqi national collection reveals the presence of more than a dozen recently acquired works by Polish and other European artists, these appear to be lost to either neglect or, as in the aftermath of the catastrophic American invasion of Iraq in 2003, active looting. Also unknown are the whereabouts of the Iraqi paintings, of which nearly fifty—oil paintings, watercolors, caricatures, and drawings in pencil and charcoal—are listed in the same guide. Loss has been ongoing. In 2010, Selim's sketchbook, which featured drawings and sayings he copied from Bonnard, among other likely direct responses to Polish outreach, was destroyed when a car bomb hit the Jabra family home.

Nevertheless, two issues of a handwritten magazine produced by Hamoudi between 1942 and 1944 have survived that offer insight into artists' changing treatments of color, postimpressionist composition, and stylistic politics. Such magazines were a common avocation of Arab students who saw themselves as tastemakers in the tradition of anthologies, translations, and critical commentary.[69] Hamoudi's magazine took the title *ʿAshtarūt*, one of many possible names for goddesses of regeneration and rebirth in ancient Mesopotamian civilizations, and oriented its contents toward a readership of other artists and art students. Its pages feature commentary on art trends, essays on cultural phenomena (both translated and original), reviews of local exhibitions, and "gallery" sections of sample works (some originals, some clipped from publications, and others copied by hand from a source).

Certain items in *ʿAshtarūt* reveal that Allied narratives of threats to artistic freedom had saturated the Iraqi scene by routes other than the Polish artists. For instance, in February 1944, Hamoudi opted to translate part of an article from the British magazine *Lilliput* titled "Where Are the Surrealists Now?," detailing the sorry fates of surrealists in occupied Paris by naming artists who went underground or, worse, began collaborating with the Vichy government.[70] *Lilliput,* which billed itself on its cover as "the pocket magazine for everyone," specialized in irreverent content aimed at preserving British resolve to resist authoritarianism. It could have come to Iraq in any number of ways, via a newsstand catering to the British military or on the person of an individual visitor. In its appearance in *ʿAshtarūt* as a translated excerpt, the article provided Iraqi readers with an introduction to the surrealist movement overall as well as a briefing on imperiled artistic freedom as a wartime cause célèbre. Hamoudi makes the decision to illustrate the piece with a surrealist drawing from 1933 by Pablo Picasso that he copied from a different magazine (fig. 8).[71] The drawing replaces the photographic portraits of eccentric artists in their studios that accompany the original article, thereby directing attention to the question of what surrealism is and how to recognize it, in addition to the question of where one is free to practice it.

FIG. 8. — Jamil Hamoudi (Iraqi, 1924–2003). Pen drawing in *ʿAshtarūt,* no. 4 (February 1944): n.p., captioned: "Image: Zephyr, by the great artist Picasso." Beirut, Nami Jafet Memorial Library, American University of Beirut, Archives and Special Collections, Jamil Hamoudi Collection, 1917–2012, box 36. Image: Ishtar Hamoudi / American University of Beirut / Library Archives.

Less obvious in *ʿAshtarūt* is the resonance of the specific painterly trajectories espoused by Jarema and his cohort, which, as their exhibition text describes, begin from a wide set of pointillist progenitors, from John Constable to Eugène Delacroix, and culminate in French modernism.[72] One notes, for instance, that the cover design for the same issue from February 1944 presents evidence of a wholly other relationship to impressionism and its lessons. Keyed to an excerpted essay by Egyptian-Lebanese

FIG. 9. — Cover of ʿ*Ashtarūt*, no. 4 (February 1944). Beirut, Nami Jafet Memorial Library, American University of Beirut, Archives and Special Collections, Jamil Hamoudi Collection, 1917–2012, box 36. Image: Ishtar Hamoudi / American University of Beirut / Library Archives.

intellectual Bishr Fares, an experimental poet and playwright who had been advocating for Symbolist modernist aesthetics since the 1930s, a quotation on the cover highlights Fares's metaphysical reading of color in an intermedial field of arts: "Nature is a color that addresses us through its light vibrations, an intermittent and volatile address"[73] (fig. 9). This insight is attributed, on the cover and in the essay itself, to "the Impressionists," referring to the European painting movement, yet Fares grants corresponding insights to dancers and others who work with mobile forms of perception. In turn, Hamoudi's cover design features color patches—dashes of watercolor tone—swirling within an ornate frame. The resulting depiction of color impressions is tied to theories of matter and imagination more than any one painterly lineage. Further, it reflects a robust space of cultural commentary in the broader Arab press, where scholars had long commented on modern art movements.

Many scholars have assessed the Polish impact in Iraq by reference to a revival of interest in historical Arab arts and, in particular, thirteenth-century manuscript illustrations by Yahya al-Wasiti, in large part because they became a central reference for national art initiatives of the 1950s and 1970s. Anthropologist Saleem Al-Bahloly emphasizes the discursive quality of Polish artistic practice as an influence, suggesting that it allowed Iraqi artists to position their own painting in a space of active cultural renewal.[74] A similar view emerges in Selim's own testimonies from the time, which

express admiration for how Polish artists framed the artistic task as an intellectual endeavor. A letter he wrote to a friend in September 1943 containing his first of two epistolary assessments of the Polish artists' influence echoes many of the by-then official talking points about affinity, including excitement about their mutual Parisian referent.[75] But it also credits the heightening of his attunement to color as a compositional element to their late-night debates in the city's cafes. In order to provide his friend with an example of instructive past achievements, Selim highlights al-Wasiti's nonnaturalistic use of color to illustrate a flock of camels as achieving a rhythmic pattern of its own. The example allows Selim to clarify that he derives motivation from Czapski's enthusiasm for the arts of the region. In Selim's retelling, their Polish interlocutor had revealed how French painters had enriched their practice by reference to arts of the East, studying images "from the Land of the Rising Sun to Africa." Czapski challenged the Iraqi artists to treat the historical arts of their own region as an "inexhaustible" resource for the present.[76]

Whereas Czapski's spellbinding discussions of art history undoubtedly mediated Selim's engagement with al-Wasiti, it is important to recognize that the Iraqi artists responded to the Polish message of enfolded traditions by undertaking cross-cultural studies of form that range beyond art with Baghdadi origins. On this count, *ʿAshtarūt* again provides evidence of the relatively capacious approach of the time. An issue compiled in late 1943 includes a special section on Islamic art accompanied by an image program meant to augment readers' familiarity with its genres and achievements. There are two texts. One is a treatment of Islamic art excerpted from a volume on medieval art by popular French author Élie Faure, heavily edited and translated into Arabic by Selim.[77] The second is a short original essay by Hamoudi discussing the range of artistic genres found at Islamic sites and a tentative assessment of possibilities for sculpture (his chosen métier) within the tradition.[78] The image program, as was common for *ʿAshtarūt,* consists of drawings copied by hand from textbook illustrations.[79] Remarkably, given the contemporaneous discussions of color, these image specimens are rendered in black outline and are devoid of tinted wash: wall painting from Fatimid Cairo, tracery ornament from an Abbasid palace in Baghdad, a drawing of a decorated pottery shard positioned on the page as if it had been clipped from an archaeology report, and a portrait of a "Persian" prince (erroneously attributed to Bihzad) (figs. 10, 11).[80] Culled from many different sites in the Islamic world, they accord with the grayscale norms of pedagogical reproductions of the time.

Selim's contemporaries have noted his profound appreciation for Faure's writing, and both texts in the folio feature versions of Faure's characterization of Islam as a "dream" that expands endlessly, finding form in different settings and constellations of resources.[81] Nevertheless, the images selected for *ʿAshtarūt* are at odds with Faure's emphasis on the capacity of the desert to dissolve form and invert points of view, as they favor academic genres such as portraits over the arabesque surface designs touted by Faure. Indeed, the image of the seated "Persian" prince, a figurative image rendered in elegant outline, has been pulled from a different section of Faure's book

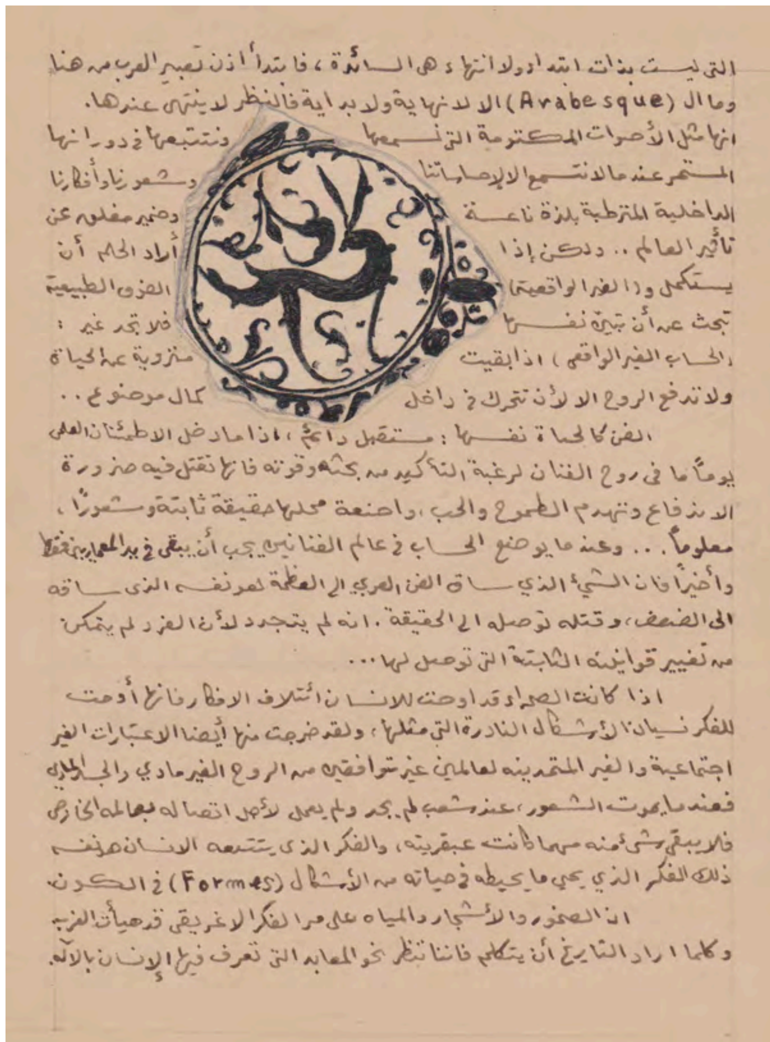


FIG. 10. — Unsigned illustration of designs on a pottery shard in the article "Al-Fann al-Islāmī" (Islamic art), translation of an excerpt from a French text by Élie Faure, in ʿ*Ashtarūt,* no. 3 (1943): 45. Beirut, Nami Jafet Memorial Library, American University of Beirut, Archives and Special Collections, Jamil Hamoudi Collection, 1917–2012, box 36. Image: Ishtar Hamoudi / American University of Beirut / Library Archives.

and belongs to a separate argument about Persian aesthetics. These transpositions, in which images were plucked from historical narratives for insertion into albums, suggest that Iraqi artists pursued a parallel project of study meant to bring Islamic image examples into a shared fine-art frame in Baghdad, with its portraits, landscapes, and still lives. Contributors to ʿ*Ashtarūt* documented forms as outlines in ways that enhanced utility for new composition. Their attempt could even extend to enlarging and projecting historical examples, as Selim describes having done in the case of al-Wasiti.[82] The insights they sought were neither limited to color nor beholden to European

FIG. 11. — Unsigned illustration (likely by Jamil Hamoudi [Iraqi, 1924–2003]) in "Al-Fann al-Islāmī," ʿ*Ashtarūt*, no. 3 (1943): 47, captioned: "The Painter Prince, by the famous Persian painter Bihzad." Beirut, Nami Jafet Memorial Library, American University of Beirut, Archives and Special Collections, Jamil Hamoudi Collection, 1917–2012, box 36. Image: Ishtar Hamoudi / American University of Beirut / Library Archives.

modalities of appropriation. Rather, they engaged with the immanence of form and its availability to artists in the present.[83]

6. Baghdad, an Open City

Selim wrote a second epistolary characterization of the Polish encounter in November 1944, his most frequently cited.[84] By then, the Polish II Corps had left Baghdad for action in Italy, and the French Second Armored Division and the U.S. Fourth Infantry Division had liberated Paris. In fact, Jarema carried ideas about community between artists to Rome, where he founded an international art club for the purpose of

promoting revived universalism in peacetime.[85] Over the same period, Selim began to place new emphases on the meaning of the community of displaced artists in Baghdad. Struck by reports that Picasso had been recovered from hiding in Paris, upon which the Spanish artist made proud claims that he had not stopped working during his four years out of the public eye, Selim comments on how Picasso receded from vision at precisely the time Iraqi artists struggled into recognition.[86] "During those four years, when Paris and Europe ceased to make beautiful work, Baghdad kept on working," he observes. Even though Baghdad had few resources with which to support modern work, its artists kept on working to surmount the difficulties, build institutions, and revive the materials of their traditions.

Selim's phrasing chimes with many of the propaganda narratives I have been tracking, insofar as he names a city, Baghdad, as a protagonist and as a synecdoche of the fate of modern art. More typically, of course, that protagonist is Paris. Writing on a date when travel to Europe for study again seemed possible, Selim characterizes the preceding years as a mission of world-historical importance. Artists had come to Baghdad as a city that remained open to foreigners and there helped to preserve modern art on behalf of occupied Europe. He mentions this key displacement twice, stating about ambitious artists, "If Europe had put a stop to their production, then Baghdad welcomed their work."[87] What the openness of Baghdad enabled was recognition of a bond between artists who had continued to labor in the name of art alone, "bound by sincere humanity and love of life and efforts in the path of natural order—love of life and the simple things that could make us forget death."[88] Crucially, Selim borrows his heightened language of forgetting death from Faure, his favorite art historian.[89] The sentence in question, the final line of Faure's fourth volume of *Histoire de l'art*, defines art as a creative act that justifies itself simply in its joyful performance.[90] Faure likens art to the activity of play, which sociology had shown to be restorative precisely because it has no obvious use and thus differs from the otherwise alienated labor of modern life. Selim, writing in 1944, transferred the insight to the artistic activity on offer in Baghdad during the war years. As a practice of pure art for the sake of art, it provided an experience of rehumanization on behalf of all humanity.

7. **Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth** *and Cultural Freedom*

As the war appeared to come to a close, references to cultural freedom—conceived as independence from political influence—began to proliferate in the art worlds associated with the Allied forces. In Cairo, in May 1945, the group of artists and writers known as Art and Liberty presented the fifth exhibition of independent art they had staged since convening for the first time in 1940.[91] Their exhibition title, *Le séance continue* (The séance continues), named an imperative to continue organizing beyond the seeming restoration of peace, precisely because so many people remained in thrall to military might. The catalog is studded with references to related initiatives of independent art within the same network of free writers and artists that Mesens

embraced from London: *Al-Tatawwur* (Evolution) in Cairo, *Tropiques* (Tropics) in Martinique, *VVV* in New York, *La Mandrágora* (The Mandrake) in Chile, and others.[92] Importantly for my argument, despite lip service to art's subversive possibilities, the Cairo exhibition still upheld the status of the British military and colonial administration as a cultural partner. For instance, its roster of exhibiting artists included Wood, the English soldier-turned-public-relations-officer then working in Baghdad.[93]

In Iraq, in September 1945, Hamoudi finally succeeded in securing access to a printing press and launched a cultural journal he called *Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth* (Modern thought). Carrying the subtitle "a magazine of art and free culture," it too invoked the anticipatory postwar category of cultural freedom.[94] The aspiration of the editors was to match the level of Egypt's and Lebanon's cultural magazines, and they followed a little-magazine model devoted to anthologizing material for readers without deference to group affiliation or special interest.[95] Hamoudi's opening editorial characterizes the modern thinker as a reader who seeks enlightenment by freeing the individual self from all restraints, thinking beyond one's own personal identity without any religious or social bigotry, and seeking knowledge without ulterior motive.[96]

It is at this point that Mesen's correspondence from London picks up news of initiatives in the region. When Simon Watson Taylor, a poet and former secretary of the English surrealist group, found himself taking off to Cairo in late 1945 on a military contract with the Entertainments National Service Association, he sent word to Mesens about the journey. Watson Taylor met with Henein, picked up a copy of the catalog to *Le séance continue*, and revived contacts for future journal exchanges.[97] Next, once his troupe moved onward to Baghdad in early 1946, Watson Taylor managed to bear witness to formations of independent culture in Iraq. Scouting for audiences for his own surrealist publications in the works, he met the coeditors of *Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth* and delivered news of avant-garde activities. Watson Taylor's visit is documented in subsequent issues of the magazine in a variety of ways, including translations of some of his poetry and a three-part discussion of the surrealist movement.[98] Later, once Watson Taylor returned to London and sent copies of his own much-delayed journal, titled *Free Unions*, he briefed Hamoudi on surrealist initiatives underway in Romania and Belgium and promised the impending restoration of Paris as a center in a postwar art world (figs. 12a, b). This information, too, went into print in *Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth.*[99]

In late 1947, Hamoudi received a fellowship of his own to study in Paris. By then, he had begun to conceive of his magazine as a document of the vital contemporaneity of Baghdad during the preceding war years. Carrying issues of *Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth* with him to Europe, he gave copies to the Belgian editors of the journal *Le Petit Cobra* (none of whom read Arabic), who dutifully published a notice attesting to a diversity of modern thought in Iraq.[100] As Hamoudi later recounted it, upon arriving in Paris, he initially sought affiliation with Breton's group, only to grow disillusioned with its apparent nihilism and turned to the artist collective Cobra and its tenets of spontaneity, before ultimately seeking entry to the Salon des Réalités Nouvelles (Salon of New Realities).[101]

39, Markham Square,
Chelsea,
London, S.W.3.

Tuesday November 5th.
1946

My dear Jamil,

I was delighted to receive through Naim a copy of your "Al Fikr Ul Hadith", even though - alas - I can't read a word of it. And what is worse, I have no Arabic-speaking friends in London. But I was pleased and encouraged to see that, despite all your incredible difficulties in Iraq, you were still able to bring out the review. I assure you that in some ways I prize the poem of mine you published in your previous number above anything else I have published.

I have sent a number of copies of my surrealist review "Free Unions" to Naim for distribution in Baghdad. I hope you will accept one of these as a complimentary copy in return for the copy of your review. Please let me know how you find "Free Unions" and whether you agree - especially - with the Introduction (which I wrote) and the essay by the French surrealist Benjamin Peret. I hope you may find the political manifesto by De Sade of some interest, too.

Finally, I shall be glad if you will pass on my friendly wishes to all my friends in Baghdad - Elie Khedourie, Nadji Aboudi Naftali, Adnan Raouf and others whose names I no longer remember! I wrote recently to Naim and to Isaac Moses.

You may like to know that there is an extremely active and valuable surrealist group in Roumania, which publishes a large amount of literature and has several very gifted adherents. Should you wish to get in touch with them I suggest you write to either Trost or Gherasim Luca, at Bucarest, Piata St. Stefan I. There is also an active group of young surrealists in Belgium, working seperately from the Marcel Marien crowd (who are becoming very compromised with stalinism these days). This new group hopes to launch an international surrealist journal with contributions from all countries; an idea which might interest you in Baghdad. You should write to Louis Scutenaire, at 57 Ave. de Koekelberg, Berchem-Bruxelles.

I have just returned from Paris, where I was able

2.

to see André Breton several times. He tells me the surrealists intend to hold a new international exhibition in Paris in May. At the moment they are all searching feverishly for ideas for the presentation. Apart from Breton I saw Marcel Duchamp, Matta, the Cuban painter Wifredo Lam, Oscar Dominguez, Victor Brauner, Jacques Hérold and Marcel Jean. These are the surrealists now in Paris. Benjamin Péret is expected in France soon, and Charles Duits, a young French-American surrealist poet. But there is no real activity in France as yet; only a lot of argument and discussion!

With best wishes,

yours sincerely,

Simon Watson Taylor.

FIGS. 12A, 12B. — Simon Watson Taylor (British, 1923–2005). Letter to Jamil Hamoudi, 5 November 1946. Beirut, Nami Jafet Memorial Library, American University of Beirut, Archives and Special Collections, Jamil Hamoudi Collection, 1917–2012, box 17, file 2. Image: Ishtar Hamoudi / American University of Beirut / Library Archives.

By then he believed that surrealism had reached its end as a movement and that postimpressionism would turn more abstract and concrete.

Closing Thoughts

How might we understand the alliances forged in wartime Baghdad under the propitious eye of British empire? Some of the vocabulary I have highlighted in this article, such as *brotherhood* and *family*, may call to mind literary theorist Leela Gandhi's reading of instances of elected affinity between European intellectuals and the victims of their own expansionist cultures.[102] Gandhi is interested in attending to nonplayers in a drama of imperialism as a possible internal critique of empire in the earlier twentieth century. Yet, as the details of artistic exchange in Iraq make apparent, the late-colonial conditions of the war years—the violence of policed national borders coexisting with an imperial imagination of endless dominion—bestowed an artificial, highly externalized quality on acts of friendship. As Polish newspapers published news about artists passing time together in cafés or studios, they rendered everyday exchanges into epics of European cultural survival. Allied propaganda in its many guises had the effect of converting elective affinities into displays of support for military campaigns.

The discursive machinations of the 1940s were not secret. Artists on the Near Eastern front perceived elements of duplicity in the promises of freedom they helped to mobilize. As early as April 1946, Hamoudi offered the observation in *Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth* that Iraqi artists derived much motivation from Polish art yet little from British art, proposing as a partial explanation that "we are not inclined to the English because we feel from them the attitude of a colonizer toward the colonized."[103] For Czapski,

it was the Yalta Conference of 1945 ceding Poland to Soviet interests that terminated all lingering belief in the Allied propaganda. In a later publication, Czapski rued how Polish volunteer soldiers took inspiration from Romantic national poetry to convince themselves that universal war would deliver freedom for all, for all time. Their imagination accorded all too readily with the cynical slogans of the Allied press, then trumpeting a message about war "for the liberty of peoples."[104] But equally it rested upon willingness to ignore the truth of internal barbarity. Czapski shares that the British military had imposed press controls on his Polish Information Office, which prevented them from writing about Soviet atrocities.[105] The gag order was thought necessary to maintain the willingness of Allied soldiers to fight beside one another in a battle framed in moral terms.

Across a vast archipelago of colonies and bases in the Near East, stories of art for art's sake were narrated time and time again. Allied propaganda gave everyone a role to play in sustaining a tradition that was at once directly attributed to Europe as a bastion of artistic freedom yet construed as a matter of universal concern. What I find most instructive about how Polish and Iraqi artists kept on working in Baghdad is that they explored ways to claim the moral authority of an obviously fabricated conceit of Paris as an open city ruled by art alone. Yet, the myth could not hold. After all, as the colonial conditions of their exchanges make clear, there were no innocent positions then, and there are none now. The Allied countries that fought Nazism in Europe also conducted military campaigns with impunity in Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia. As Nigerian curator and theorist Okwui Enwezor argued in an essay of 2016, drawing on the wartime analysis of Césaire, it is necessary to understand the terrible killing fields of the war, and the industrial-scale annihilation of the Holocaust, in the same frame as the colonial development of technologies of race, bureaucracy, and violence.[106] In turn, if we can bear witness to how the late-colonial world orchestrated ideas of transcendent aesthetic value, then we might escape from the too-easy moral oppositions we inherit from its war propaganda. To speak, as some Modernist art critics have, of pure art emerging from preceding collectivist dreams in heroic fashion, is to invite continued violence against the impure, the out of place, and the unfree. By contrast, a history of global modernism that orients itself to humanity must be open to registering the intersubjective vulnerabilities that bind us within the commingled history of our brutal present.

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Notes

This article originated as an attempt to think through a challenge Nada Shabout extended to art historians in 2009, which is to treat Iraqi artists who studied in European academies as participants in modern Western art. I drafted the article in 2017 during my postdoctoral fellowship at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles and finished it in 2022 while in residence at New York University Abu Dhabi in

the Humanities Research Fellowship for the Study of the Arab World program. Both proved to be fitting settings for assessing the entanglements of art and military interests in a so-called liberal age. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from the Polish, French, and Arabic are by the author, albeit with a great deal of help from colleagues. I wish to credit Julia Kulon for her expert work in locating, translating, and interpreting Polish materials and Sara Sukhun for her careful help reviewing published Arabic materials pertaining to Jewad Selim that enabled me to reconstruct the sequence of his diary and sketchbook entries. I am grateful to Aglaya Glebova and Przemysław Strożek for conversations around texts and word choices and to Eric Karpeles for help with access to the diaries of Józef Czapski. Finally, I am indebted to Ishtar Hamoudi for sending me scans of materials from her father's personal archive in Baghdad. The peerless Jamil Hamoudi Collection may now be accessed at the Archives and Special Collections of Nami Jafet Memorial Library, American University of Beirut.

1. Józef Jarema, "Oblicze Sztuki Polskiej," *Kurier Polski w Bagdadzie,* 9 February 1943; and Józef Jarema, "Istota wspolczesnego malarstwa," *Kurier Polski w Bagdadzie,* 10 February 1943.

2. We might recall here Clement Greenberg's famous characterization of the defining shift in American painting in this decade: "Someday it will have to be told how 'anti-Stalinism,' which started out more or less as 'Trotskyism,' turned into art for art's sake, and thereby cleared the way, heroically, for what was to come." Clement Greenberg, "The Late Thirties in New York," in *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), 230. See Francis Frascina's indispensable tracking of such shifts in Greenberg's narrativization and their circumstances in Francis Frascina, "Institutions, Culture, and America's 'Cold War Years': The Making of Greenberg's 'Modernist Painting,'" *Oxford Art Journal* 26, no. 1 (2003): 69–97, esp. 92.

3. Jarema, "Oblicze Sztuki Polskiej."

4. Jewad Selim, letter to Khaldun al-Husri, copied into 23 September 1943 diary entry, in Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, *Al-Riḥla al-Thāmina: Dirāsāt Naqdiyya* (Saida: Maktabat al-ʿAṣrīyya, 1967), 159. Two notes regarding Selim's diary warrant mention here. First, when Selim died suddenly in 1961, a diary and an early sketchbook passed into the possession of Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, a Palestinian literary critic who moved to Baghdad in 1948 and became a principal chronicler of Iraqi modern arts. Jabra published selected entries in two venues: the journal *Ḥiwār,* in February 1964, and a book of collected writings, *Al-Riḥla al-Thāmina,* in 1967 (hereafter *RT*). Even though the same entries appear in both publications, the versions in *Ḥiwār* are slightly more abridged than those in *RT* (although, in one instance, *Ḥiwār* contains text not included in *RT*). I cite page numbers from *RT*. Second, the date of this particular diary entry, and consequently of the letter, is uncertain. When Jabra published the text *Ḥiwār*, it carried a 23 September 1943 date; however, in *RT,* it is dated to 23 July 1943. Contextual references seem consistent with a September date, which I use here.

5. "Yaʿīsh lil-fann wa-lil-fann faqaṭ." Jamil Hamoudi, "Mushkilat al-Jīl al-Jadīd," *ʿAshtarūt,* no. 3 (1943): 15. As I detail later in this article, *ʿAshtarūt* was a handwritten journal that Hamoudi produced while attending the Institute of Fine Arts in Baghdad.

6. Siham Ahmad, "Al-Maʿraḍ al-Sanawī al-Thālath li-Aṣdiqāʾ al-Fann," *ʿAshtarūt* (February 1944): n.p.

7. Jewad Selim, interviewed in Jamil Hamoudi, "Khams Daqāʾiq maʿa al-Naḥḥāt al-ʿIrāqī," *Al-Jawhara,* no. 2 (31 July 1945): 17.

8. In the 1980s, a number of Iraq artists commented on the era retrospectively. Buland al-Haidari, a contemporary of Selim, emphasized the "how" of painting in "Jawād Salīm wa Fāʾiq Ḥassan," *Funūn ʿArabiyya,* no. 2 (January 1981): 108–9. Artist Shakir Hassan Al Said, who had studied with Selim and Faiq Hassan, drew on testimony by Hassan in a 1983 study of Iraqi art movements to emphasize the "indirect," discursive quality of the Polish impact on Iraqi attitudes. See Al Said, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Ḥaraka al-Tashkīliyya fī al-ʿIrāq,* vol. 1 (Baghdad: Ministry of Culture and Information, 1983), 100–101. Subsequent discussions of the Polish influence in American and European scholarship include Silvia Naef, *À la recherche d'une modernité arabe: L'évolution des arts plastiques en Égypte, au Liban et en Irak* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1996), esp. 219–29; Nada Shabout, *Modern Arab Art: Formation of Arab Aesthetics* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007), 28; Saleem Al-Bahloly, "History Regained: A Modern Artist in Baghdad Encounters a Lost Tradition of Painting," *Muqarnas*, no. 35 (2018): 229–72; Amin Alsaden, "Alternative Salons: Cultivating Art and Architecture in the Domestic Spaces of Post–World War II Baghdad," in *The Art of the Salon in the Arab Region: Politics of Taste Making,* ed. Nadia von Maltzahn and Monique Bellan (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Wurzburg, 2018), 165–206; and Sarah Johnson, "Battle Ground: Environmental

Determinism and the Politics of Painting the Iraq Landscape," *Journal of Contemporary Iraq & The Arab World* 15, nos. 1–2 (2021): 41–65.

9. Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War,* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), esp. 49–59; and Natalie Adamson, *Painting, Politics and the Struggle for the École de Paris, 1944–1964* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 73–114.

10. Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 75–104; and Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 353–56. Egypt, too, underwent a sharp recolonial turn in February 1942, when Britain forced the installation of a pro-British prime minister.

11. By my phrasing of "has to be told," I mean to invoke Greenberg's 1961 assertion cited in note 2 above—itself an additive revision to an essay about the politics of abstract in the 1930s that he had first published in 1957—that the oft-overlooked political stakes of the rallying cause of "art for art's sake" still awaited historical recognition. I use a capital *M* to denote the ideological version of Modernism, popularized in Greenberg's writings, which became prevalent in the Cold War decades.

12. See note on the English translation in André Breton and Diego Rivera, "Towards an Independent Revolutionary Art," *London Bulletin,* no. 7 (December 1938–January 1939): 29–32. Trotsky, who had fled to Mexico in this period, contributed to the text but was left uncredited for security reasons.

13. Diana Naylor, "E. L. T. Mesens: His Contribution to the Dada and Surrealist Movement in Belgium and England as Artist, Poet, and Dealer" (PhD diss., University College London, 1980), 196.

14. See Denis-J. Jean, "Was There an English Surrealist Group in the Forties? Two Unpublished Letters," *Twentieth Century Literature* 21, no. 1 (February 1975): 85.

15. Letter from F. C. Dowling to E. L. T. Mesens, 26 January 1944, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute (GRI), Papers of E. L. T. Mesens, 1917–1976, 920094, box 5, folder 3.

16. Letter from E. L. T. Mesens to F. C. Dowling, 5 February 1944, GRI, Papers of E. L. T. Mesens, box 5, folder 3.

17. Letter from E. L. T. Mesens to Herbert Read, 3 July 1943, GRI, Papers of E .L. T. Mesens, box 5, folder 2.

18. Letter from E. L. T. Mesens to Herbert Read, 3 July 1943.

19. Andre Breton, "Prolegomena to a Third Surrealist Manifesto or Else," *VVV,* no.1 (June 1942), republished in *Manifestoes of Surrealism,* trans. Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969), 284. See also Martinican poet and critic Suzanne Césaire's discussion of the liberating appeal of French surrealist poetry at a time when France itself suffered world historical disaster: Suzanne Césaire, "1943: Le surréalisme et nous," *Tropiques,* nos. 8–9 (October 1943): 14–18.

20. Sara Pursley, *Familiar Futures: Time, Selfhood, and Sovereignty in Iraq* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019), 33–34.

21. Sarah Johnson, "Impure Time: Archaeology, Hafidh Druby (1914–1991), and the Persistence of Representational Painting in Mid-Twentieth-Century Iraq (1940–1980)," *Arab Studies Journal* 28, no. 1 (Spring 2020): 31–62.

22. Orit Bashkin, *New Babylonians: A History of Jews in Modern Iraq* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), 100–140.

23. Stefanie K. Wichhart, "Selling Democracy during the Second British Occupation of Iraq, 1941–5," *Journal of Contemporary History* 48, no. 3 (July 2013): 509–36.

24. Alaric Jacob, *A Traveller's War: A Journey to the Wars in Africa, India and Russia* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1944), 131–33. Also see Jewad Selim, diary entry, 15 January 1944, in *RT*, 163–64.

25. See Bawden's much later interview with the Imperial War Museum, "Bawden, Edward (Oral History)," 1980, audio recording, 4622, reel 3, 27:03, https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80004582. Bawden is mentioned in passing in Jewad Selim, diary entry, 20 April 1944, *RT*, 168.

26. Dia Azzawi, *Fann al-Mulṣaqāt fī al-ʿIrāq* (Baghdad: Ministry of Information, 1974), 25.

27. Kenneth Wood, "Al-Fann Tanāquḍ Gharīb," *Al-Fikr al-Hadīth,* no. 3 (December 1945): 90–92.

28. On Lloyd's role in procurement, see Freya Stark, *East Is West* (London: John Murray, 1945), 165; and Johnson, "Battle Ground," 42. On the shortage of supplies, see Nizar Selim, *L'art contemporain en Iraq,* vol. 1 (Lausanne: Iraqi Ministry of Information, 1977), 58–59.

29. The precise dates of Selim's enrollments are reported variously in the literature; I follow Adnan Raouf, "Nizār Salīm: Rafīq al-Ṣibā," *Al-Aqlām*, no. 4–5 (April–May 1983): 126.

30. Jabra mentions that this sketchbook title is recorded in Italian and that Selim specifies a French translation on the next page but doesn't give either original, only a rough Arabic translation: "taʾammulāt rūḥī." Partial summaries and selected reproductions from the sketchbook may be found in Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, *Jawād Salīm wa-Nuṣb al-Ḥurriyya* (Baghdad: General Directorate of Culture, 1974), 168–74. Jabra notes that the majority of texts and captions in the sketchbook are in European languages, as if a symptom of Selim's desire to work in a cosmopolitan space of modernist experience.

31. Jabra, *Nuṣb al-Ḥurriyya,* 167. This is the opening stanza of "Ariettes oubliées VII" in Verlaine's 1874 poetry collection *Romances sans paroles*: "O triste, triste était mon âme. À cause, à cause d'une femme." In this instance, Jabra has transcribed the stanza in the original French.

32. Jabra, *Nuṣb al-Ḥurriyya,* 171.

33. For instance, we know Selim brought home a copy of the "Manifesto of Surrealism" by Breton (1924) and loaned it to students. See Jamil Hamoudi, "Suryāliyya ʿIrāqiyya?" *Al-Aqlām,* no. 8 (August 1988): 147.

34. Haytham Bahoora, "The Figure of the Prostitute, *Tajdid,* and Masculinity in Anticolonial Literature of Iraq," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 11, no. 1 (March 2015): 43.

35. For Selim's letters to friends, see reproductions in May Muzaffar, "Jawād Salīm. Awrāq Maṭwiyya min Ḥayātihi," *Al-Aqlām* 20, no. 2 (February 1985): 23–32. For Naziha's drawings and writing, see the facsimile of her handwritten cultural journal, "Majallat 'al-Khayāl,' al-ʿAdād al-Thānī," *Makou: Free Zone of Creativity,* no. 1 (15 July 2020): 100–17.

36. Jabra, *Nuṣb al-Ḥurriyya,* 39.

37. Notably, even Selim's selection of scenes from the Qurʾan pertain to lust and desire, as seen in reproduction in Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, "Mirʾāt Wajhī (Rusūm)," *Ḥiwār* (February 1964): 120.

38. For a British artist-turned-serviceman's depiction of brothels in Baghdad, see the sketchbook of James Boswell, 1942–43, London, Tate Britain, TGA 8224/16.

39. "Pierwsza wystawa sztuki europejskiej w Bagdadzie," *Kurier Polski w Bagdadzie,* 16 February 1943.

40. "Pierwsza wystawa sztuki europejskiej w Bagdadzie." See also the summary of Arab press responses, "Prasa Iracka o Naszej Wystawie," *Kurier Polski w Bagdadzie,* 18 February 1943.

41. Jewad Selim, letter to al-Husri, diary entry, 23 September 1943, in *RT,* 161.

42. I have been unable to confirm whether Selim and Hassan made good on the invitation from Egypt, but my reading of its significance is informed by the fact that the Friends of Art society collaborated with the British military to produce a January 1944 exhibition titled *United Nations Art Exhibition*.

43. Jewad Selim, diary entry, 13 May 1944, in *RT*, 169.

44. Jewad Selim, diary entry, 29 May 1944, in *RT,* 170.

45. Selim, letter to al-Husri, diary entry, 23 September 1943, in *RT*, 159.

46. Jarema, "Oblicze Sztuki Polskiej."

47. Jarema, "Oblicze Sztuki Polskiej"; and Jan Bielatowicz, "Koncert Malarski," *Kurier Polski w Bagdadzie,* 23 February 1943.

48. See the chronology described in "Artists in Arms: Arts & Culture on the Trail of Anders' Army, 1941–1945," a web feature produced by the Adam Mickiewicz Institute, Warsaw, http://artistsinarms.pl/en. See also Józef Czapski, *Inhuman Land: Searching for the Truth in Soviet Russia, 1941–1942,* trans. Antonia Lloyd-Jones (New York: New York Review of Books, 2018), 355–66.

49. See Jan Sienkiewicz, *Artysci Andersa: Continuità e novità* (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Kucharski, 2013), 52.

50. "La Peinture: Jarema et Richard," *La semaine égyptienne,* September 1941, 19–21.

51. "Echa Wystawy Bejruckiej," *Orzeł Biały,* 20 February 1944.

52. "Extreme impressionist" is Czapski's phrase in Józef Czapski, "Józef Jarema," *Kultura,* no. 326 (November 1974): 130–34. Translation by Julia Kulon.

53. "Echa Wystawy Bejruckiej." See also the reference to "malcontents" in Bielatowicz, "Koncert Malarski."

54. See Józef Czapski, *Lost Time: Lectures on Proust in a Soviet Prison Camp,* trans. Eric Karpeles (New York: New York Review of Books, 2018).

55. Czapski, *Lost Time,* 8. The observation appears in a text of 1944 Czapski intended as an introduction to a volume of transcripts of these lectures, included in the 2018 volume in English translation.

56. Józef Czapski, diary entry, 29 November 1942, in Józef Czapski, *Dziennik wojenny: (22 III 1942 – 31 III 1944)*, ed. Mikołaj Nowak-Rogozinski and

Janusz S. Nowak (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Próby, 2022), 195–96. Hereafter *DW.*

57. Józef Czapski, diary entry, 29 November 1942, in *DW,* 196. Translation by Julia Kulon.

58. Jarema, "Oblicze Sztuki Polskiej."

59. The January 30 declaration is reproduced in "Oświadczenie premiera Iraku Noury Said dla 'Orła Białego'" *Orzeł Biały,* 14 February 1943.

60. *Exhibition of Paintings by Polish Soldiers-Artists,* exh. cat. (Baghdad: British Institute, 1943), 15.

61. "Obrazy Zakupione na Wystawie Polskiej," *Kurier Polski w Bagdadzie,* 24 February 1943.

62. Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*, 51–52.

63. Jarema, "Oblicze Sztuki Polskiej." See also the introduction to the exhibition catalog by Jarema and [K. J.] Kantak, which describes a shared concern for producing a "new sensation of reality." Józef Jarema and [K. J.] Kantac, introduction to *Exhibition of Paintings by Polish Soldiers-Artists,* 6.

64. Józef Czapski, "Źródła Sztuki Nowoczesnej," *Kurier Polski w Bagdadzie*, 16 February 1943. Quotations from this source are from a translation by Julia Kulon.

65. Józef Czapski, diary entry, 21 January 1943, in *DW,* 223–24.

66. Praise for these sketches may be found in Tadeusz Wittlin, "Malarze polscy w Bagdadzie," *Orzeł Biały,* 18 February 1943.

67. Czapski, "Źródła Sztuki Nowoczesnej."

68. Czapski, "Źródła Sztuki Nowoczesnej." The majority of Polish refugees who made their way to Iraq were Christian. In the case of Czapski, historian Timothy Snyder has characterized his views as pacifist and Christian in the mold of Leo Tolstoy, believing that heaven could be brought to earth if men did not resist evil with force. Timothy Snyder, introduction to *Inhuman Land,* by Czapski, xii.

69. These are *ʿAshtarūt*, no. 3, n.d. (probably autumn 1943) and no. 4, February 1944. These may be consulted in the Jamil Hamoudi Collection, 1917–2012, series X, box 36, Nami Jafet Memorial Library Archives and Special Collections, American University of Beirut.

70. Ruthven Todd, "Where Are the Surrealists Now?," *Lilliput* (October 1943): 319–30. Excerpted and translated in *ʿAshtarūt* as "Ayna al-Suriyalistiyyun al-Ān?," *ʿAshtarūt* no. 4 (February 1944): n.p.

71. Pablo Picasso, *Zephyr*, 1933, pen-and-wash drawing, current location unknown. The drawing appeared in reproduction in 1937 as an illustration to John Piper, "Aspects of Modern Drawing," *Signature,* no. 7 (November 1937): 35, at which time it was credited as being in the personal collection of Mrs. Stephen Spender.

72. *Exhibition of Paintings by Polish Soldiers-Artists*, 4. Presumably, Constable was added in part to bring British artists into the narrative, given the alliances of the time.

73. Bishr Fares, "Min *Mafraq al-Ṭarīq*," *ʿAshtarūt* (February 1944): n.p. The text appears to be an excerpt from a 1938 essay that Fares published in the Egyptian journal *Al-Muqtaṭaf*, which he edited.

74. Al-Bahloly, "History Regained," 254.

75. Selim, letter to al-Husri, diary entry, 23 September 1943, in *RT*, 159–62.

76. Selim, letter to al-Husri, diary entry, 23 September 1943, in *RT*, 161. Selim credits discussions with Czapski for these insights; similar sentiments may also be found in Czapski's lecture text, "Źródła Sztuki Nowoczesnej."

77. "Al-Fann al-Islāmī," *ʿAshtarūt,* no. 3 (1943): 41–45. The translated text, identified only as a "translation from the French," is an excerpt from Élie Faure, *Histoire de l'Art: L'art médiéval* (Paris: G. Crés, 1921), 211–17.

78. Jamil Hamoudi, "Lamḥa ʿan al-Fann al-Islāmī," *ʿAshtarūt*, no. 3 (1943): 53–55.

79. Initial inspection of the selected images suggests that, in addition to the Faure volumes, Hamoudi and Selim took samples from studies of Islamic art published in Egypt, including Ahmad Taymur Pasha, *Al-Taṣwīr ʿind al-ʿArab*, ed. Z. M. Hassan (Cairo: Maṭbʿat Lajnat al-Taʾlīf wa-al-Tarjama wa-al-Nashr, 1942); and Zaki Muhammad Hasan, *Kunūz al-Fāṭimīyīn* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, 1937).

80. Both the so-called Persian drawing—actually a fifteenth-century Ottoman copy of a drawing by Venetian artist Gentile Bellini in the Ottoman court—and its erroneous attribution appear in Faure, *L'art médiéval,* 231.

81. Nizar Selim, *L'art contemporain en Iraq*, 60; and Jabra, *Nuṣb al-Ḥurrīya,* 176. For discussion of the spread of Islam as an "infinite dream" expressing itself in different buildings and ornamental schema, see Faure, *L'art médiéval,* 212–13, 222.

82. Selim, letter to al-Husri, diary entry, 23 September 1943, in *RT*, 161.

83. Art historian Nada Shabout has drawn on Iraqi artists' vocabulary of "istilhām al-turāth," or "inspiration from tradition" to describe this

dynamic of opening art to inspiration. See Shabout, *Modern Arab Art,* 28–29.

84. Jewad Selim, letter to Khaldun al-Husri, copied into diary entry, 16 November 1944, in *RT*, 172–73. Cited in Nizar Selim, *L'art contemporain en Iraq,* 60–61; Al-Haidari, "Jawād Salīm wa Fāʾiq Ḥassan," 108; and Al Said, *Fuṣūl*, 100.

85. See the text of the Art Club's constitution, translated in *Art Club: 1945–1965,* ed. Gabriele Simongini, exh. cat. (Pietrasanta: Franche Tirature, 2014), 102–3.

86. Selim, letter to al-Husri, diary entry, 16 November 1944, in *RT*, 172. On Picasso's statements, see the summary in Alfred Barr, "Picasso 1940–1944—a Digest with Notes," *Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 12, no. 3 (1945): 6.

87. Selim, letter to al-Husri, diary entry, 16 November 1944, in *RT*, 173.

88. Selim, letter to al-Husri, diary entry, 16 November 1944, in *RT*, 173.

89. Jabra, *Nuṣb al-Ḥurrīya,* 176.

90. Jabra, *Nuṣb al-Ḥurrīya,* 176. The sentence is "Nous constatons qu'il multiplie notre ferveur à vivre et nous fait oublier la mort," in Élie Faure, *Histoire de l'art: L'esprit des formes* (Paris: G. Crès, 1927), 452. Jabra shares that Selim copies Faure's description of art and play into his sketchbook as well.

91. The most detailed account of Art and Liberty is Sam Bardaouil, *Surrealism in Egypt: Modernism and the Art and Liberty Group* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2017).

92. Front matter in *La séance continue*, exh. cat. (Cairo: Masses, 1945), 1. The network comprised surrealist-aligned intellectuals, many of whom signed the 1938 manifesto "Towards an Independent Revolutionary Art" written by Breton, Rivera, and Trotsky as a conjoined antifascist, anti-Stalinist text.

93. Bardaouil, *Surrealism in Egypt*, 190.

94. In Arabic, Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth: Majallat al-Fann wa al-Thaqāfa al-Hurr.

95. Ahmed Joudar, "'The Culture of Orient and Occident Must Be Together in the Character, Imagination, and Ideas of the Writer': A Conversation with Naim Kattan," *Canadian Literature,* no. 239 (2019): 179.

96. Jamil Hamoudi, "Risālat al-Mufakkir," *Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth* 1, no. 1 (October 1945): 1.

97. Letter from Simon Watson Taylor to E. L. T. Mesens, 28 December 1945, GRI, Papers of E. L. T. Mesens, box 5, folder 7.

98. Simon Watson Taylor, "Ṣura," *Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth* 2, no. 7 (April 1946): 49; Naim Kattan, "Al-Suriyālizm," *Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth* 2, nos. 5–6 (April 1946): 44–46; Naim Kattan, "Al-Suriyālizm (2)," *Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth* 2, no. 7 (1946): 14–16; and Naim Kattan, "Al-Suriyālizm (tatimma)," *Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth* 2, nos. 8–9 (1946): 32–38.

99. The Arabic translation of Simon Watson Taylor's letter to Hamoudi was published in *Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth* 2, no. 10 (1947): 44–46.

100. "Irak," *Le Petit Cobra*, no. 3 (Spring 1950): n.p.

101. Hamoudi, "Suryāliyya ʿIrāqiyya?," 147–48. I discuss Hamoudi's subsequent abstract painting, including his participation in several iterations of the Salon des Réalités Nouvelles—widely understood as a showcase for geometric abstraction more than gestural varieties—in Anneka Lenssen, "Abstraction of the Many? Finding Plenitude in Arab Painting," in *Taking Shape: Abstraction from the Arab World, 1950s–1980s,* ed. Suheyla Takesh and Lynn Gumpert (New York: Grey Art Gallery, 2019), 122.

102. Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 1.

103. Jamil Hamoudi, "Al-Fann al-ʿIrāqī al-Muʿaṣir," *Al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth* 2, nos. 5–6 (April 1946): 28.

104. Czapski, *Inhuman Land,* 361. This comment appears in the preface to a German edition (reprinted in English translation in *Inhuman Land*) published in 1967, to which Czapski had added new descriptions of his time in Iraq.

105. Czapski, *Inhuman Land,* 371.

106. Okwui Enwezor, "The Judgment of Art: Postwar and Artistic Worldliness," in *Postwar: Art between the Pacific and the Atlantic, 1945–1965*, ed. Okwui Enwezor, Katy Siegel, and Ulrich Wilmes (Munich: Prestel, 2016).

Overthrowing Reality: Photo-Poems in 1980s German Democratic Republic Samizdat

Anna Horakova and Isotta Poggi

Introduction: Intermediality in German Democratic Republic Samizdat

In the early 1990s, following the collapse of the German Democratic Republic (GDR, 1949–89) the Getty Research Institute (GRI) acquired a substantial collection of archives and books from scholars, artists, and curators from the former GDR.[1] Among them, a remarkable collection of more than one hundred handcrafted, limited-edition artists' books, magazines, and portfolios produced by small independent presses in the 1980s stands out. This collection was originally assembled by book-art scholar Jens Henkel, coauthor of the foundational bibliography *DDR 1980–1989: Künstlerbücher und originalgrafische Zeitschriften im Eigenverlag: Eine Bibliografie* (1991; Self-published artists' books and graphic arts magazines: A bibliography).[2] While the Henkel collection has been available in GRI special collections since its acquisition in 1993, the scholarly community was not broadly aware of its presence prior to its having been aggregated within the GRI's Library Catalog under one searchable heading.[3]

During the Cold War, across the Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union, independently (and often clandestinely) produced literature was known as samizdat, after *самиздат* (self-published) in Russian, or, for work published by independent presses, *im Eigenverlag* in German. Much like in other countries of the Soviet Bloc, there were numerous types of samizdat in the GDR, including environmental samizdat, samizdat by women and individuals of marginalized sexual orientations and gender identities, and the artistic samizdat under discussion here. The GDR's artistic samizdat of the 1980s represents the collaborative work of a vibrant community of emerging artists experimenting across media who were seeking to communicate with each other while circumventing state-sponsored production, publication, and distribution systems.[4] By creating limited print runs (from a handful to fewer than one hundred copies), artists could avoid having to secure official permits and thus bypassed government censorship.

Overall, although numerous studies addressing artists' books and magazines produced by small independent presses in the GDR have been published since the

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Wende (a term that refers to the dissolution of the GDR and the reunification of Germany), much of this important area of cultural production has yet to be studied, due in part to the vast output of this kind of work, which is, moreover, dispersed across various public and private collections on both sides of the Atlantic.

Among the samizdat produced in the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries, the intermedial character of the samizdat under discussion here stands out as a unique form of artistic expression.[5] As a descriptor of innovative artistic production, the term *intermedia* was first introduced in the mid-1960s by Fluxus artist Dick Higgins to refer to art that "fall(s) conceptually between established or traditional media."[6] It more broadly applies to artwork that crosses the boundaries between distinct art media, such as Marcel Duchamp's readymades, John Heartfield's graphics combined with photography, or American artist Allan Kaprow's happenings, to produce synthetic or synesthetic experiences.

Intermediality as an artistic practice in East Germany has been a focus of art historian Sara Blaylock in her monograph, in the context of her discussion of Intermedia I, the legendary festival that took place in Coswig (GDR) in 1985. Blaylock argues that while the conceptual framework for intermedial art in East Germany was consistent in many respects with the term's inception in the writings of Higgins, its theoretical grounding with particular respect to the East German situation was enhanced and shaped not only by art events such as the Intermedia I festival but also through discussions conducted in the art journal *Bildende Kunst* (Visual art), which, in 1981 and between April and June 1982, published several articles on the topic and even devoted a whole issue to experimental art forms in 1988.[7]

Blaylock points out how in 1989 in East Germany art historian Eugen Blume teamed up with Christoph Tannert, co-organizer of the Coswig Intermedia I festival, to put together the pathbreaking Permanente Kunstkonferenz (Permanent Art Conference), demonstrating that there was a "vast movement toward a different kind of cultural practice being led by artists and art professionals," despite the authorities' attempt to undermine such developments.[8]

This vast movement developed over the years out of a legal loophole that allowed visual artists to reproduce up to ninety-nine copies without official permits. As book-art scholar and East German samizdat collector Reinhard Grüner explains, writers who had limited opportunities to publish their work took advantage of this loophole by embedding their texts into visual or graphic works; this intermedial collaboration provided a platform for writers to publish their work as integral art forms rather than as literary texts, leading to new and autonomous ways of artistic expression that could circumvent censorship.[9]

Since the early 1980s, the samizdat artists in the Henkel collection collaboratively combined a wide variety of media art, integrating texts (poetry and literature) with printmaking, photography, music scores, and performance-art documentation; they did this while borrowing styles and techniques from various twentieth-century artistic movements in the service of making work that suited their purposes and turned out to

be, nevertheless, very much of its moment. While the artists often reclaimed prewar art forms such as German expressionism, Dada, surrealism, and abstraction, they integrated these with more recent forms of concrete poetry, conceptual art, and plein-air actions.

Highlighting the GRI's collection, this article draws inspiration from the scholarship on the intermedial nature of these self-published works. The works are characterized by the deliberate combination and juxtaposition of different graphic media—including printmaking, collage, and photography—with texts to create dynamic combinations of at times incongruous and polyvalent visual and textual narratives.[10]

Reflecting a variety of art media, the Henkel artists' books collection contains a gamut of contents and formats, sizes, materials, aesthetics, styles, and designs. From books in simple leporello formats, such as Manfred Butzmann's series of juxtaposed photographs *19 Schaufenster in Pankow* (1989, Nineteen shopwindows in Pankow), to the magnum opus of technical assemblage and multisensory reading titled *Unaulutu: Steinchen im Sand: Ein Malerbuch* (Unaulutu: Pebbles in sand: An artist's book) by Frieder Heinze and Olaf Wegewitz, these works defy easy categorization. Still, the material is rich in evidence of artists working together across different media, composing narratives that integrated images, poetry, and prose, and sometimes music in the form of accompanying tapes or scores. Because the objects that they produced were unsanctioned limited editions, they were compelled to make do with the kind of printing tools that were readily available. Accordingly, their output has a characteristically raw, uniquely handmade look. The bindings of books and journals might be fastened by staples on the central-fold spine, glued with stationery-store supplies, or elegantly stitched in the Japanese style. Multiple copies of texts were mostly reproduced with carbon paper on a typewriter or by mimeograph. Photocopying was used only rarely, when artists could access photocopiers, which were closely regulated by Eastern European regimes during the Cold War.

The case studies in this article examine especially the intermedial relationship between photography and poetry in different approaches that take into account both prewar avant-garde art forms and contemporaneous art movements and trends. The status of these experimental works in the longer history of European art movements has to be considered in terms of their particular historical context; these works were created, for the most part, collaboratively under the unusual conditions of working on the margins of or parallel to the East German art system and publishing industry. In art historical terms, this samizdat emerged during the heyday of postmodernism in Europe and the United States, which was frowned upon by GDR officials and to which some of the artists in question were exposed mostly through German translations of works by French theorists such as Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault smuggled in from West Berlin by friends. Indeed, for some poets, including Bert Papenfuß-Gorek, Rainer Schedlinski, or Hans-Joachim Schulze, postmodernism provided theoretical frameworks for critiquing official East German discourse in their poetry and essays.[11]

More significantly still, the emergence of East German samizdat also coincides with the integration of modernist and avant-garde movements into the state's official canon—a convoluted process that began with de-Stalinization in 1956, was negotiated at the 1963 Kafka conference in Liblice, Czechoslovakia, and culminated in Erich Honecker's proclamation in 1971 that there would be no more taboos in the GDR's cultural production.[12] This relaxation was not unconditional, as the expulsion of East German songwriter and poet Wolf Biermann in 1976 served as a demonstration of the limitations on artistic expressions. Yet the 1980s saw the publication of numerous studies devoted to movements that, officially, were previously unsanctioned—from German expressionism to surrealism and Dada—on which, as already mentioned, the samizdat production in question draws. While a precise anchoring of this oeuvre in relation to discourses of modernism, postmodernism, and the (neo-)avant-garde is not possible, given the constraints of this essay and the heterogeneity of the oeuvre, Slavicist and comparatist Svetlana Boym's capacious category of the "off-modern"—defined as a "detour into the unexplored potentials of the modern project [that] recovers unforeseen pasts and ventures into the side alleys of modern history at the margins of error of major philosophical, economic, and technological narratives of modernization and progress" (rather than, say, the postmodern captivation with the absurdity of communication)—aptly describes the works' varying preoccupations with the ruins of the East German project, with the utopian horizons of the historical avant-gardes, or with previous generations of experimental or marginalized authors.[13] The latter gave rise to transgenerational solidarities, especially among women artists and poets in the GDR, to whom a portion of this article will attend by discussing the collaborative artworks by Marion Wenzel (with Wolfgang Henne and Steffen Volmer), the influences of European modernist writers and American artists on the Günther-Jahn-Bach Editionen, and Christine Schlegel's engagement with posthumously published poet Inge Müller.

Photo-Poetry

Poetry's formal succinctness and well-established tradition in the GDR made it an appealing mode of expression for East German samizdat artists of the 1980s.[14] But while poetry's ubiquity in East German samizdat production has attracted a fair amount of scholarly attention, its integration with photography in samizdat publications has been less scrutinized. In contrast to conventional GDR photography, samizdat photography, produced for the most part by a younger generation of photographers born in the 1950s, is characterized by technical and thematic experimentation aligned with that moment's innovative trends in performance art and conceptual photography.[15]

In East German samizdat, poems, rather than being accompanied by traditional illustrations, were often an integral part of the graphic work (such as engraving, etching, relief printing, and serigraphy), etched or carved directly onto the printing plates of original, limited-edition prints. Some artists repurposed found photographs,

photomechanical prints, and collage as alternative forms of visual poetry. Poetry was also supplemented or enhanced with photographic prints, often reproduced in artists' books as original gelatin silver prints. What follows will examine East German samizdat's innovative practice of the intermedial genre of photo-poetry.

In his recent book on the history of photo-poetry, Michael Nott, citing Nicole Boulestreau's coinage of the term *photopoème*, quotes Boulestreau: "In the photopoem, meaning progresses in accordance with the reciprocity of writing and figures: reading becomes interwoven through alternating restitchings of the signifier into text and image."[16] For Nott, Boulestreau suggests that the *photopoème* "should be defined not by its production but its reception, as a practice of reading and looking that relies on the reader/viewer to make connections between, and create meaning from, text and image."[17] Nott outlines the different types of relationships between photograph and poem, those that can be "of disruption and serendipity, appropriation and exchange, evocation and metaphor."[18] Photo-poetry, in this sense, challenges the reader to consume a message by interpreting it through reading and looking; the two media (poem and photograph) require distinct vocabularies. This interplay between the visual and textual components invites an interactive and layered engagement with the artwork, and the ensuing process of decoding and interpreting both direct and indirect correspondences can evoke a unique experiential response or stimulate metaphorical understanding.

Following Nott's two-pronged emphasis on meaning-making and reception, this study charts three different ways by means of which photo-poetry artists have challenged their audience to decode a message created from the combination of photography and poetic verses. The study also explores the genre's significance to the generation of GDR artists that produced it. Three different approaches to photo-poetry will be discussed: separate juxtapositions of poetry and photography as autonomous, discrete practices in dialogue within a narrative sequence, across consecutive pages of an artist's book; montage of photograph and poem into a single work of art; and more elaborate intermedial fusion that combines found photographs with printmaking, painting, and poetic verses transcribed by hand in the context of a poet's oeuvre as a visual and textual narrative.

Landscape as Signs

The artist's book *Landschaft als Zeichen, messbar-vermessbar* (Landscape as signs, measurable, surveyable) explores the intermedial aesthetics of juxtaposing self-referential forms of poetry with photography. The book was made in Leipzig in 1983 by book-artist Henne with printmaker Steffen Volmer and photographer Wenzel. It is in landscape format and bound with four small metal screws reminiscent of mechanical assemblage components. The poetry is typed in Courier on red-lined metric graph paper, followed on subsequent pages by original black-and-white photographs of low contrast—ethereal landscapes showing the silhouette of a leafless forest, barely visible

in the winter fog, or reflections of reeds in still water, which look like abstracted signs of an illegible language. Within foldouts beneath the photographs there are mounted etchings or embossed prints in pairs (by Henne or Vollmer) of abstract compositions that visually render the themes of nature and artifice as coexisting, complementary, or conflicting worlds.

The book explores whether a landscape's value can be measured, surveyed, or quantified, and is critical of threats to the environment from pollution and the exploitation of natural resources.[19] The three poems call for the recovery and preservation of the natural landscape, addressing nature and culture as well as the impact of humans on the environment. Henne's concrete poem "Landschaft" is laid out on graph paper across Cartesian coordinates, for which the horizontal and vertical axes are composed of the repeated plus (+) signs of a typewriter. The grid-based composition evokes the mathematical procedure involved in measuring the value of the landscape, comprising the land and its natural resources (fig. 1):

landscape
landscape
landscape

landscape
          's
          spaces
          dreams

landscape in emigration

The words of the poem are typed abutting the vertical axis of plus signs on both sides, with the final phrase traversing it, running from the top-left quadrant toward the bottom-right quadrant. The word *landschaft* (landscape) is repeated four times on top, with a vertical line of eight plus signs linking the first letter of the third and fourth instances, creating a box, perhaps to suggest the parceling of land. The layout physically embodies the notion of measured spaces, which beneath the horizontal axis becomes "landscapes' spaces" and then dreams. In the last line, landscape is linked to emigration, which might be read literally or symbolically.[20]

Two pages later, Wenzel's striking, meditative photograph shows a river in a misty, hibernal light (fig. 2). Wenzel has said that she was interested in capturing the mood and the beauty of nature, the light, and the structural composition.[21] Flowing through a snow-covered field, the river cuts across from the top left of the frame toward the bottom right margin. The image contrast is so low that the horizon line between the earth and the sky is almost invisible. In the foreground, animal footprints in the snow appear as signs of a past presence, evoking passage and movement. As a visual correspondence with Henne's verse "landscape in emigration," these signs could subtly allude to the subject of emigration, rarely discussed openly in the GDR, where the

erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 significantly curbed freedom of movement, particularly the right to travel to the West.

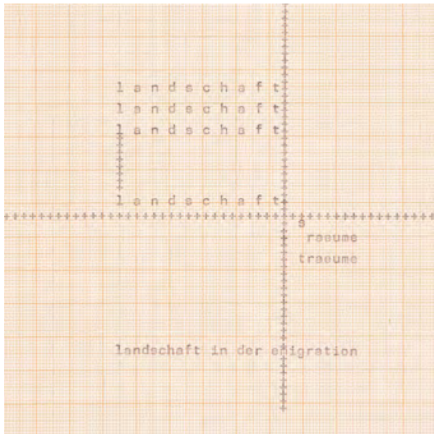

FIG. 1. — Wolfgang Henne (German, b. 1949). "Landschaft," typescript on graph paper, 15 × 15 cm (including white margin). From Wolfgang Henne et al., *Landschaft als Zeichen, messbar-vermessbar* (Leipzig: self-published, 1983), n.p. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 93-B10567. © Wolfgang Henne.

FIG. 2. — Marion Wenzel (German, b. 1958). Untitled (Winter landscape), 1980/81, gelatin silver print, 15 × 15 cm. From Wolfgang Henne et al., *Landschaft als Zeichen, messbar-vermessbar* (Leipzig: self-published, 1983), n.p. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 93-B10567. © Marion Wenzel, VG Bild Kunst. Courtesy of the artist.

Concrete poetry features widely in GDR samizdat. But Henne's combined use of graph paper and photography creates a multilayered narrative, enhanced by the use of papers of different colors or textures, and interactions among different media. The book's layout enfolds additional imagery with original prints hidden within foldouts, which impart a dynamic rhythm to the haptic experience of finding covert pathways, correspondences, discoveries, and reflections. While the two media of poetry and photography, having been printed on different pages of the book, are not directly juxtaposed, the book's objective is to invite the viewer/reader to unfold its intermedial dynamic by meditating on one work at a time.

Text / Image Equivalences

A more elaborate approach to the creation of photo-poems can be found in the work of the artists' group Günther-Jahn-Bach Editionen, which for the most part conjoins the two media through montage techniques: the typed text was projected onto film negatives, after which the image was printed as an integrated work of art.[22] The trio's *foto-lyrik arbeiten* (photo-poetry works) were devised in the late 1970s by Weimar-based photographer Claus Bach and Berlin-based poet Thomas Günther, who were soon joined by printmaker Sabine Jahn. Born in Thuringia in the 1950s and friends since high school, the artists produced special editions together throughout the 1980s. Günther,

the group's poet, had been imprisoned at the age of seventeen for running a student reading club and protesting the repression of the Prague Spring. After his release, he moved to Potsdam, where he worked as a gardener at the Sanssouci Palace and, from 1974 to 1977, as a *Regieassistent* (assistant director) at the Berliner Ensemble, the theater company founded by Bertolt Brecht. Throughout the 1980s, Günther was a caretaker at the Georgen-Parochial-Friedhof I in East Berlin, pursuing his art collaborations within the unconventional space of the cemetery wherein he is now buried.

Günther's papers at the GRI provide unique archival documentation of the poet's artistic production in the 1980s, including works that, on account of their provocative subjects, could not find an official publication venue at the time, such as the photo-poem "Das Gesetz" (The law) (fig. 3).[23] On the verso of the photographic print, Günther annotated this piece with the phrase "nach Kafka" (after [Franz] Kafka), referring to the writer's short story "Vor dem Gesetz" ("Before the Law"), which recounts an individual's inability to tackle the law. Composed in 1981, Günther's poem was printed on transparent adhesive paper, mounted on top of a photograph taken by Bach for this purpose, and then rephotographed. Bach photographed the Schönhauser Allee subway station in East Berlin dramatically framed from the street under the elevated rail tracks, looking up toward the subway bridge. From this angle, the station appears as a colossal structure, an overwhelming receptacle, which dominates almost the entire field of vision. The imposing structure overtakes a pedestrian, barely visible through the entrance. Here the human figure appears on the verge of being swallowed by "the law," or unable to break through its system.

"Das Gesetz" addresses the authority of the law. "The law is made for you, so as not to dissuade you from the path that we all walk together," Günther asserts in the middle of the poem. The verse highlights the norms of the law that compel one to stay on the collective path, avoiding the "intricate ways" that would make one "go astray and so become guilty in the name of the law." In the poet's words, "loners are not in demand" in a system where the law is a "line" that requires one to walk on it without "stepping outside" of it. He assures the reader that if one allows oneself "what is allowed, within the framework of the law," one can pursue it, or "forget it," which are his final words, implying the impossibility of negotiating with the system.[24] Günther and Bach's collaborative photo-poem "Das Gesetz" invites the reader to read the image while looking at the poem, to experience the dissonance of the perspectival space that frames the symmetrical composition of the poem—centered rigidly within the spatially overwhelming elevated railroad rack.

A year after making "Das Gesetz," Bach and Günther created a montage photograph representing their group's manifesto, with a staged action at dawn on an empty highway on the outskirts of East Berlin (fig. 4). Bach photographed Günther as he walked toward the horizon while tossing their hitchhiking signs into the air and letting them flutter to the ground behind. Günther's performative gesture signifies the trio's artistic rejection of predetermined paths and destinations. In their own words, they were not seeking the theoretical frameworks of artistic movements as inspiration but simply pursuing their

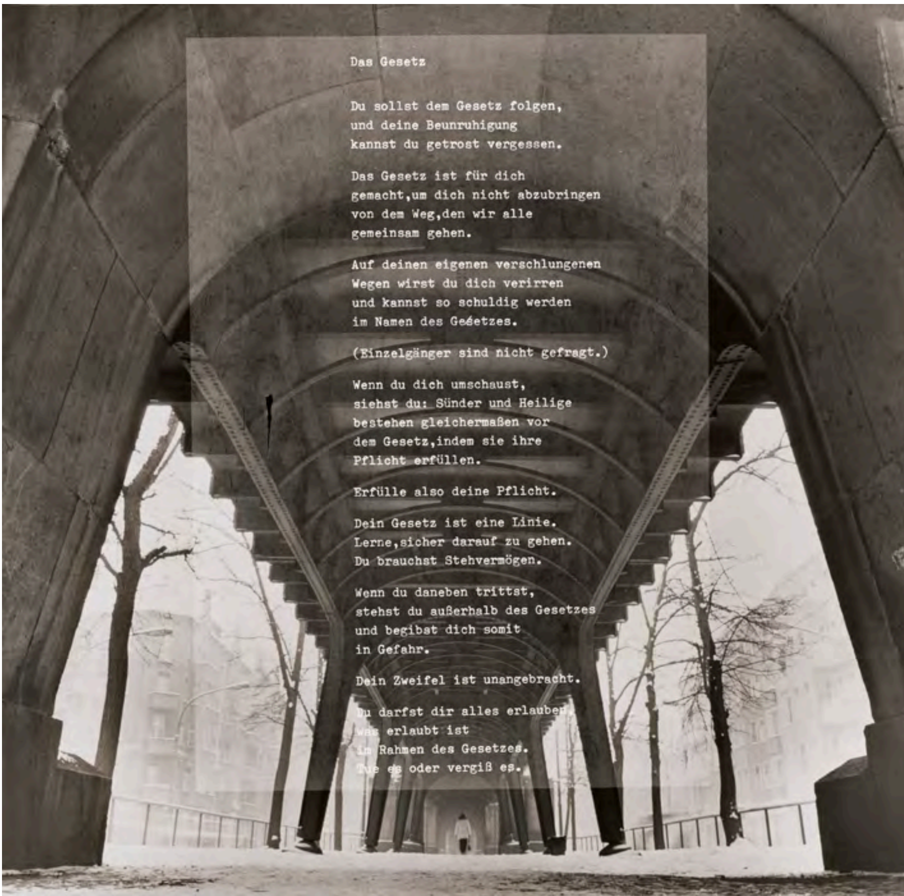

FIG. 3. — Thomas Günther (German, 1952–2018), poetry, and Claus Bach (German , b. 1956), photograph. *Das Gesetz* (The law), gelatin silver print, 30.5 × 23 cm. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, DDR collections, Thomas Günther papers, 940002, box 86, folder 1. Art © Thomas Günther estate and Claus Bach.

own artistic language.[25] Centrally framed by the camera, Günther's felt hat (a possible allusion to Joseph Beuys's signature attire) marks the vanishing point at the center of the perspectival view, calling attention to the core role of the poet, his imagination springing outward in all directions.

Montaged below the portrait of Günther, a bard embarking on an unscripted journey, is a quotation from poet Antonin Artaud. Artaud's line synthesizes the trio's artistic vision: "Parce qu'on a eu peur que leur poésie ne sorte des livres et ne renverse la réalité" (Because they were afraid that their poetry might leap out of the books and overthrow reality). The quotation, a sentence that Artaud wrote with reference to the surrealist poets, amplifies the power of poetry to overthrow reality, recontextualized here for the trio's artistic purposes.[26] If in "Das Gesetz" poetry is used to warn the reader about the restrictions of "the line of the law," in the manifesto it is presented as a powerful subversive tool.[27]

FIG. 4. — Thomas Günther (German, 1952–2018), collage, and Claus Bach (German, b. 1956), photograph. Artist's manifesto, with quotation by Antonin Artaud, February 1982, gelatin silver print, 29 × 22 cm. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, DDR collections, Thomas Günther papers, box 86, folder 1, 940002. Art © Thomas Günther estate and Claus Bach.

Abstracting the perspectival view of the trio's manifesto, Jahn designed the cover of the portfolio *Traumhaus*, a set of twelve *foto-lyrik arbeiten* by Günther and Bach (fig. 5). The cover depicts four triangles, two yellow ones on top and bottom and two green ones on the sides, converging on a carefully designed vanishing point at the center of the image, like Günther's felt hat. The capitalized title (TRAUMHAUS) is printed in red and runs across the green triangles, with the point of convergence being not the inner points of the green triangles but the letter *H*, bounding the point of convergence between the yellow triangles. As a grapheme, the letter can be read as joining or separating the words to its sides, creating a double meaning. *Traumhaus,* which translates as "dream house," evokes an ideal dream space. However, in reading the words on the green background without the connecting H, the German "Traum aus" translates as the "dream (presumably to build a utopian world) is over."

In exploring her own intermedial combinations of photography and text, Jahn used screen printing to do more than add a chromatic dimension to the work. In 1987, upon finding a catalog of black-and-white photographs of flowers by American photographer Robert Mapplethorpe, Jahn felt that these images, in her own words, "screamed for color," and she proceeded to create a set of five screen prints that transformed Mapplethorpe's flowers by infusing the forms with brightly saturated color in a high-contrast, pop-art style that simplified and enhanced the flowers' core shapes.[28] According to Jahn, she was inspired by the work of two prominent women artists, Georgia O'Keeffe and Patti Smith, who were powerful not only on account of their own artistic creativity but also because of the creative synergies that ensued from working with their partners, photographers Alfred Stieglitz and Mapplethorpe, respectively.[29] Jahn conceived this portfolio as an homage to all four artists, highlighting their interconnected creative relationships by combining appropriated images and texts from all of them. For example, in one plate, Jahn combined a poem by Smith with a painting by O'Keeffe. Jahn further expressed her admiration for these artists' collaborative partnerships by continuing to produce intermedial work over several decades with her own partner, Günther.[30]

In addition to the bold-colored flowers, Jahn made a screen print reinterpreting a portrait of O'Keeffe, appropriating a photograph by Stieglitz that shows the painter sitting on the floor next to her palette while looking back at the camera.[31] On the empty visual field created by the area of her skirt, Jahn added text written by hand, a German translation of O'Keeffe's poem "I Have Picked Flowers Where I Found Them."[32] Its text is a contemplative commentary on nature and the desert landscape as sources of inspiration (fig. 6). By placing O'Keeffe's personal words on the artist's figure and using screen print with poetry on a reappropriated photograph, Jahn transforms O'Keeffe's own body into her poetic voice. Jahn's portfolio also points to the influence of American art from both prewar figures (such as Stieglitz and O'Keeffe) and contemporary cultural stars such as Patty Smith and Mapplethorpe, whose respective intermedial work (combining images and poetry) is presented in other plates.

FIG. 5. — Sabine Jahn (German, b. 1955). Cover design for *Traumhaus,* 1988–89, screen print, h.: 61 cm. Image courtesy of Claus Bach. © Thomas Günther estate and Sabine Jahn.

While overall the photo-poetry of the Günther-Jahn-Bach Editionen reflects the group's active engagement with international artistic movements, referencing significant prewar writers (such as Kafka and Artaud) as much as popular icons of their time from across the Atlantic, Jahn's intermedial work elevates the concept of artistic collaboration to a subject for her own art, showcasing personal relationships as a driving force in her creative process. Jahn does this not only by engaging with her own group's members but also by reinterpreting other artists' works beyond spatiotemporal boundaries through her own highly transformational process.

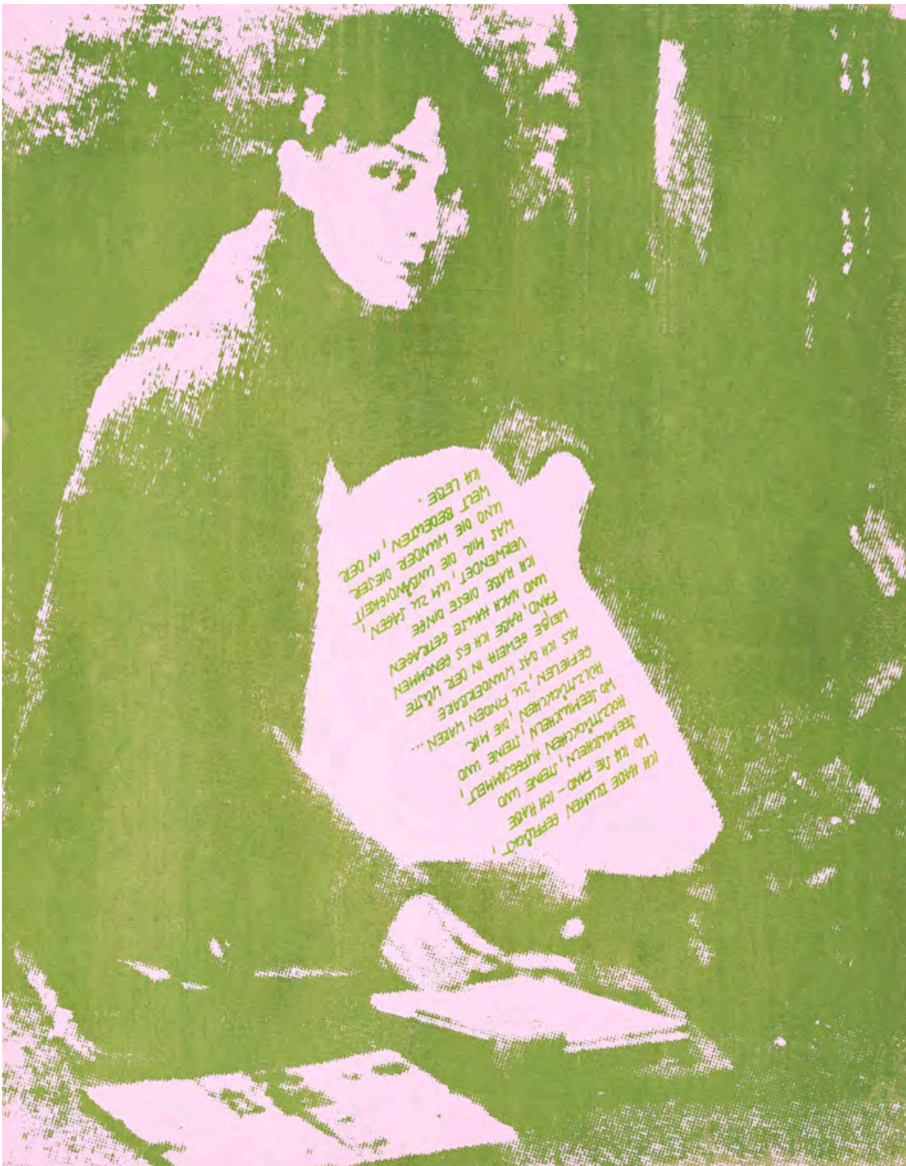

FIG. 6. — Sabine Jahn (German, b. 1955). Screen print after the photograph *Portrait of Georgia O'Keeffe* (1918, printed 1929/1934) by Alfred Stieglitz (1864–1946), 73.3 × 51 cm. From Sabine Jahn, untitled (Mapplethorpe) portfolio, nine plates, 1988, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2019.PR.18. © Sabine Jahn.

Intergenerational and Feminist Solidarities in Vielleicht werde ich plötzlich verschwinden

Experimentation and the blurring of conventional distinctions between media and artistic forms—including the fusion of poetry and photography—became the salient feature of the final generation of the GDR's writers. To this end, the young writers looked to the historical avant-garde, notably Dadaist practices of collage and photomontage and German expressionist draftsmanship and printmaking as well as techniques from

neo-avant-garde movements, especially concrete and visual poetry and Fluxus. Drawing on several of these traditions, the artist's book *Vielleicht werde ich plötzlich verschwinden* (Perhaps I will suddenly disappear), created in 1986 by Schlegel (b. 1950), combines Schlegel's collages, drawings, and overpainting treatments with the poetry of the late East German poet Müller (1925–66).

In addition to being intermedial, Schlegel's engagement with Müller is also transgenerational, which in the context of the GDR carries both aesthetic as well as political implications. According to literary historian Wolfgang Emmerich's influential tripartite generational classification of East German writers, the first generation, comprising repatriated antifascists who had fled Germany during the Nazi regime, fervently adhered to socialist realism in service to the task of building socialism.[33] The second generation (born between 1915 and 1935) were, in Emmerich's view, engaged in the socialist project's easing of strict socialist-realist criteria for artistic production and availed themselves of predominantly modernist aesthetics. According to Emmerich's model, the third and final generation (born in the 1950s) assumed an attitude of disassociation (*Aussteigertum*) from the political or aesthetic projects of its generational predecessors.[34]

Yet while Emmerich's study provides a nuanced lens through which to read a body of work that spans the forty years of the GDR's existence, his neat ascriptions of political allegiances and aesthetic norms can also obscure the exchanges, dialogues, and homages that did take place across generational lines, as evidenced by third-generation East German artist Schlegel's engagement with the poetry of second-generation East German writer Müller. In addition, Emmerich's conjecture—that the final generation of East German writers had no interest in the East German project whatsoever—coincides perhaps too neatly with the post-Wende marginalization of East German culture following the German reunification, where many rich and incisive works produced in the GDR continued to be overlooked.

Both Schlegel and Müller were already marginalized in the GDR on account of their status as women artists. Their work, moreover, straddled officially sanctioned and unsanctioned GDR culture of the 1960s and 1980s, respectively, and was subsequently written out of the canon in post-reunified Germany.[35] Though Schlegel had studied painting and graphic design at the Academy of Fine Arts in Dresden from 1973 to 1978, was a member of the official artists' union (Künstlerverband), and had her work included in official exhibitions, the artist viewed the official expectations placed on art as "dictatorial" and became involved in the unofficial artistic scene.[36] She regularly contributed to the unofficial journals *und*, *usw.*, and *Mikado*, designed the cover of *ariadnefabrik* (ariadne factory), and created posters for various underground events such as poetry readings, before emigrating to West Berlin in 1986. Schlegel has also attributed her marginalization in the GDR to the well-documented exclusion of women artists from the country's artistic underground (with Raja Lubinetzki and Gabriele Stötzer as notable exceptions), and to the general position of women in the socialist state, in which women's emancipation was an officially pursued goal that fell short

in practicality on issues such as the double burden, in which women bore the dual responsibility of earning wages outside the home and performing unpaid domestic labor inside the home.[37]

Schlegel came across Müller when, in 1986, twenty years after Müller's death, a volume of her poetry titled *Wenn ich schon sterben muß* (If I do have to die) was being prepared for publication with the official press Aufbau. The volume was overseen by Dresden-based poet and publisher Richard Pietraß, who also lent Schlegel all of Müller's texts from which to choose for her artist's book.[38] *Vielleicht werde ich plötzlich verschwinden* thus came into existence contemporaneously with the official publication of Müller's poetry.

Born in 1925 in Berlin as Inge Meyer, the author's youth was dominated by life in the Third Reich and the Second World War. From 1942 until 1945, she was drafted into Nazi war efforts, first working as an agricultural laborer, then as a maid in a Nazi officer's household (reportedly on account of her "political unreliability"), and eventually, in January 1945, as a *Luftwaffenhelferin* (assistant to the German air force).[39] Shortly before the liberation of Berlin, Meyer's parents died in a bombing orchestrated by the German air force against the approaching Red Army, while Meyer herself spent three days trapped underneath a collapsing building. The traumas of the war resurface periodically in Müller's biography—she died in 1966 by suicide after numerous attempts following the end of the war—and in her work.

In the fledgling GDR, Müller, who joined East Germany's communist party (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, SED [Socialist Unity Party]) in 1948, worked as a journalist, and became a successful children's author. With her third husband, renowned East German playwright Heiner Müller, whom she married in 1955, Inge Müller cowrote several theater plays, notably *Der Lohndrücker* (1957; The wage shark) and *Die Korrektur* (1961; The correction). The latter led to Heiner Müller's expulsion from the official writers' union and a ban on publishing his work in the same year, which by association extended to Inge Müller, and which Ines Geipel describes as the "beginning of the radical unraveling of Inge Müller's life."[40] While Heiner Müller eventually earned a considerable international reputation along with which he regained his standing in the GDR, the volume of 1986 was the first significant publication of Inge Müller's work in the GDR following the ban of 1961.

Schlegel was "touched and inspired" by Müller's poetry, which she "decidedly liked" and found "absolutely contemporary" (absolut zeitgemäß), even more than twenty years after it had been written.[41] She felt drawn to the poet's thematic preoccupations, including environmental concerns and the "vulnerability of nature"; friendship; and death; as well as the "concision," "economy," and "clarity" of Müller's poetic language that, nevertheless, gives its readers the "whole picture."[42] Interestingly, while the two artists belong to different generations, the building of the Berlin Wall in August 1961 represents a caesura in their lives and their respective relationship to the state: while for Müller it coincided with the publishing ban in the volatile atmosphere of

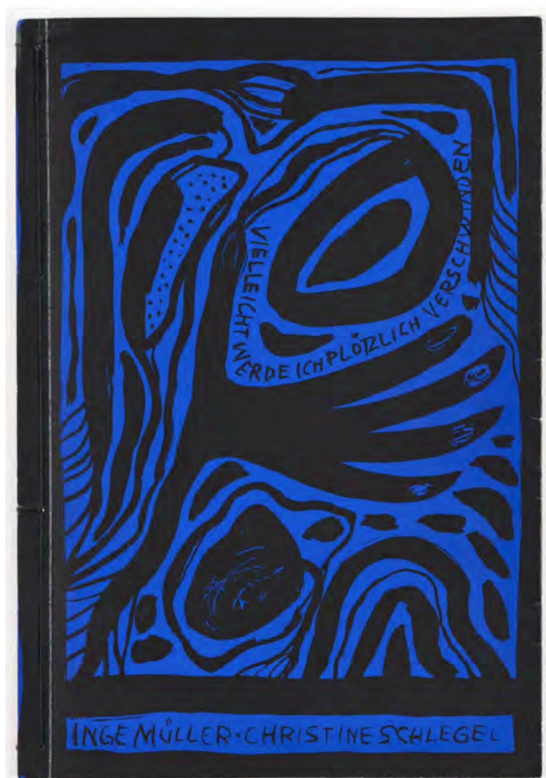

FIG. 7. — Christine Schlegel (German, b. 1950). Cover of *Vielleicht werde ich plötzlich verschwinden* (Perhaps I will suddenly disappear), 1986, screen print, 36.8 × 25 cm. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2019-B181.© Christine Schlegel, Dresden.

the wall's construction, Schlegel identifies the building of the Berlin Wall as a watershed moment of her childhood, after which the situation in the GDR took a turn for the worse.

Vielleicht werde ich plötzlich verschwinden, titled after a poem by Müller, contains a selection of twelve poems, handwritten by Schlegel and distributed over the book's thirty pages. The poems are at times juxtaposed with illustrations, at times integrated into adjacent drawings, and on several occasions combined into photo-poems. The artist's book is gathered in a Japanese binding with a black-and-blue cover that bears the title, as well as Schlegel's and Müller's names, in hand-drawn lettering and embedded in an organic composition that mixes abstract and figurative elements (fig. 7). The composition is organized around what can be recognized as an outstretched hand, which might allude to the de-skilled artistic gesture. Its rough finish recalls both the visual vocabulary of the pictorial movement *art informel* and an earlier tradition of expressionist woodcuts. The volume was among several artists' books produced by the Malerbücher Eigenverlag (Self-Published Artists' Books) under the auspices of Sascha Anderson, the artistic impresario of the GDR's unofficial art scene and, as it was later revealed, a prolific Stasi informant, who had also approached Schlegel about creating the artist's book, although the choice of Müller's poetry and themes remained, in Schlegel's testimony, her own decision.[43]

The present study concentrates on three works included in the artist's book—two spreads and one triple-page foldout—devised around Müller's poems "Drei Fragen hinter der Tür" (Three questions behind the door) and "Freundschaft" (Friendship) as well as a photo-poem of a found family photograph and fragments of Müller's poem "Der verlorene Sohn (1941)" (The lost son [1941]). All three selections combine Müller's poetry with group photographs to negotiate themes such as national and familial accountability for the Second World War, the role of women in the Third Reich, and the relationship between the Nazi past and the new sociality of the GDR.

Family Photographs, Unsettled

In its creative overpainting and overdrawing of an appropriated photograph and Müller's eponymous poem, Schlegel's rendering of "Drei Fragen hinter der Tür" layers national and familial memories (fig. 8). The spread displays a photograph of the Monument to the Battle of the Nations (Völkerschlachtdenkmal, completed in 1913) in Leipzig, a controversial site commemorating battle of 1813 fought between Prussia and its allies against Napoleon that in its embodiment of *völkisch* (ethnonationalist) motifs "revealed the growth of a popular nationalism" that was later mythologized by the Nazis.[44] Before the monument, a group of five people, ostensibly women, can be seen posing for the camera. The photograph is likely a found object—Schlegel collected "bizarre" and "strange" family photos in thrift stores and secondhand bookshops.[45] The artist overpainted crude outlines of the female body over the body of the central figure. She distorts another figure beyond recognition by adding a giant eye and jagged lines suggesting an ominous grin.

If the group is supposed to be cast as female, the upper half of the image of the monument is coded as male, signified by a headless, nude male figure drawn hovering above the group, Schlegel's addition of stark outlines around the statues of soldiers on the memorial, and the delineation of the phallic shape of the memorial itself. The masculinist investiture of the monument is countermanded by the painted lines, through which Müller has crossed out and obscured portions of the memorial and rendered the hovering male figure as decapitated alongside the quasi-decapitated memorial itself, whose photograph has been cut off at the top in the page layout. Müller's poem is created in a white space within painted black outlines on the opposite page that echoes the shape of the memorial and likewise resembles a decapitated torso, mirroring the headless monument on the right page. The poem takes the perspective of a child, who is unaware of the bygone cheer of the poem's addressee behind a "door" reminiscent of the fairy tale "Bluebeard":

DREI FRAGEN HINTER DER TÜR
aus Kindertagen
und Du hast gelacht
gestern vor zweitausend Jahren

FIG. 8. — Christine Schlegel (German, b. 1950), artwork, and Inge Müller (German, 1925–66), poetry. *Drei Fragen hinter der Tür* (Three questions behind the door), mixed media, 36.8 × 47 cm. From Christine Schlegel, *Vielleicht werde ich plötzlich verschwinden* (Perhaps I will suddenly disappear), 1986. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2019-B181. Art © Christine Schlegel, Dresden.

THREE QUESTIONS BEHIND THE DOOR
from childhood days
and you laughed
yesterday two thousand years ago

The work stages and subverts what historian Mary Fulbrook terms the "biological essentialism"[46] of the Nazis, which attributed fundamentally different roles to those men and women deemed to be part of the Nazis' racialized community, and at once turns historically victimized women into perpetrators. It encounters this past, moreover, as something inaccessible, concentrated in the background of the image that Schlegel nevertheless proceeds to excavate.

If the past in "Drei Fragen hinter der Tür" seems to be obscured, it is foregrounded in a photo-poem of a found family photograph that Schlegel combined with verses from Müller's poem "Der verlorene Sohn (1941)" (fig. 9). The photograph features a seated woman—likely the mother—surrounded by five children. The crux of the image is undoubtedly a boy wearing a Prussian military uniform, who is also the only figure that Schlegel leaves unmodified. The remaining figures are given a spectral presence with spidery lines tracing their silhouettes or, in the case of the mother, with Müller's poem, which thematizes family-sanctioned sacrifice of children as soldiers toward the end of

the war, with words and phrases such as “parents” (“Eltern”), “betrayal of the country” (“Landesverat” [sic.]), “he killed” (“tötete er”), and “his brother” (“seinen Bruder”) written across her head and clothing. The work confronts the viewer with the past head-on, mobilizing the uncomfortable frontality of the image in a manner reminiscent of German artist Gerhard Richter’s painting *Uncle Rudi* (1965) and foregrounding the connection between Prussian militarism and the Second World War.[47]

FIG. 9. — Christine Schlegel (German, b. 1950), artwork, and Inge Müller (German, 1925–66), poetry. Found photograph of family portrait and fragments of verses from “Der verlorene Sohn (1941)” (The lost son [1941]) by Inge Müller, mixed media, 36.8 × 47 cm. From Christine Schlegel, *Vielleicht werde ich plötzlich verschwinden* (Perhaps I will suddenly disappear), 1986. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2019-B181. Art © Christine Schlegel, Dresden.

The task of coming to terms with the past is evoked from a different perspective in “Freundschaft” (Friendship) (fig. 10). The work consists of a three-page foldout featuring a wide-angle photograph of a group of people, possibly officials of some kind, that is cut off to show only the legs and the feet. The empty ground at the photograph’s center features a nearly illegible text—the text of the poem “Freundschaft”—which appears as though it has been etched into the dark background and then scratched out or otherwise defaced. A clean copy of the poem is reproduced on the following page:

FREUNDSCHAFT
Freundschaft ist sentimental
Unwissenschaftlich, dumm, dunkel

Nicht erkennbar wie alle Gefühle:
Sagen Wissenschaftler, Leute, Schriftsteller
Dichter? Sie verstellen die Schrift
Und benutzen die Schreibmaschine.
Ihre Aufgabe: die Macht zu analysieren
Haben viele aufgegeben.
Freunde:
Außer den Toten: die
Den Befehl verweigerten
Die den Ängstlichen
Die Angst nicht vorwarfen.
Die jeden grüßten ohne Ausnahme
Die nicht sicher waren
Ob sie einen Fehler machten.
Aber sie taten etwas.[48]

FRIENDSHIP
Friendship is sentimental
Unscientific, dumb, dark
Not recognizable like all feelings:
Say scientists, people, authors
Poets? They distort the script
And use the typewriter.
Their task: to analyze power
Many have given up.
Friends:
Except for the dead: who
Refused the command
Who did not reproach the anxious ones
For their fear
Who greeted everyone without exception.
Who were not sure
If they were making a mistake
But they did something.

The poem claims that attempts by poets to describe friendship fall short because they have given up on their task "to analyze power"—a phrase that, due to the ambiguity of the original German, can also be translated as the "power to analyze."[49] Instead, the poem predicates friendship as a diachronic alliance between the poetic ego, "the dead," the antifascists (those who "refused the command"), and antiauthoritarians. In so doing, it recalls the utopian, antifascist aspirations under the auspices of which the GDR had been founded, countering the erasure of previous emancipatory and antiauthoritarian

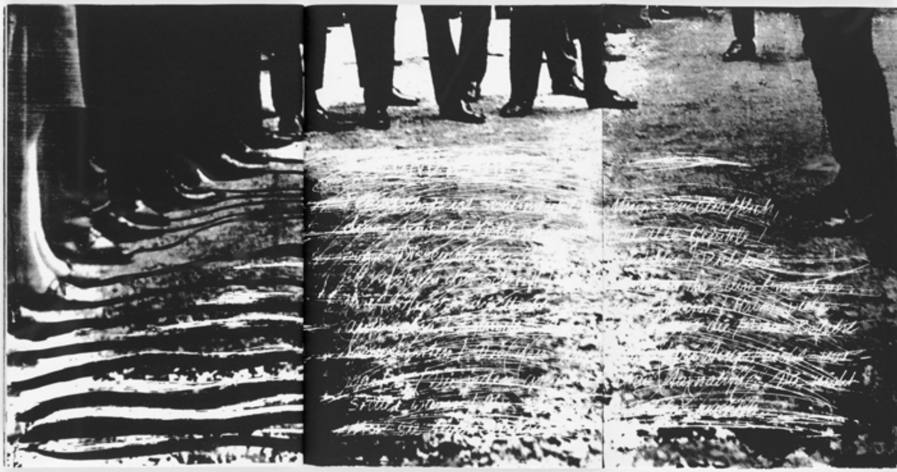

FIG. 10. — Christine Schlegel (German, b. 1950), artwork, and Inge Müller (German, 1925–66), poetry. *Freundschaft* (Friendship), mixed media, 36.8 × 70 cm. From Christine Schlegel, *Vielleicht werde ich plötzlich verschwinden* (Perhaps I will suddenly disappear), 1986. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2019-B181. Art © Christine Schlegel, Dresden.

histories. This erasure, one can say, is visualized by Schlegel's scratching out of Müller's text, as though it had been done by the feet of the solemn group above.[50] Schlegel thus might be trying to rescue not only moments of resistance and utopianism that she felt the East German project had abandoned with the building of the Berlin Wall but also the poetry of a censored yet prescient Müller.

Conclusion

The three collaborative exchanges examined here are quite different in nature and process. Henne selected photographs that had been taken by Wenzel because they responded to his artistic sensibility.[51] Günther, Bach, and Jahn worked together, creating dynamic montages with photographs often deliberately staged to accommodate poetry or altered to visually enhance it. Schlegel worked instead as a visual artist engaging with found photographs and poetry.

Yet the use of poetry and photography to communicate between the lines empowered these young GDR poets and artists to challenge the official cultural mandates that organized artistic media in compartmentalized ways. Their intermedial art opened up new possibilities for bypassing censorship and addressing taboo subjects, summoning the visual and linguistic power of poetry to challenge the East German collective imaginary. As the present case studies show, this art addressed, for instance, the beauty of the natural landscape threatened by industrial pollution and environmental decay in the work of Henne and Wenzel; the urban, everyday public space and personal experience of East Berlin (Günther, Bach, and Jahn); and connections to the country's historical legacies and wartime traumas in the integrated work of Müller and Schlegel.

Especially striking in this body of work is the recourse of multiple women artists to the genre of photo-poetry, whether to transmit concerns about the fragility of nature (Wenzel), explore transnational aesthetic allegiances (Jahn), or enact intergenerational solidarities with marginalized women authors (Schlegel). If for Artaud the new poetry had the power to "leap out of the books to overthrow reality," the examples discussed above show how this work generated a uniquely intermedial language, giving rise to artistic networks and influences across generations and international borders. It is thanks to exchanges and collaborations such as these that the last generation of East German artists could develop practices that broke through not only aesthetic and geographic barriers but also social and political taboos.

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Notes

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1. Berlin-based dealer Jürgen Holstein assembled the archival materials and special editions on the "GDR art experiment" ("Kunstexperiment DDR," as he put it). See Jürgen Holstein et al., eds., *Bücher, Kunst und Kataloge: Dokumentation zum 40 jährigen Bestehen des Antiquariats Jürgen Holstein* (Berlin: Jürgen Holstein Antiquariat, 2007), 136–37. The collections acquired by the Getty consist of the DDR Collections, 1928–1993 (bulk 1950–1993), Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute (GRI), 940002 (http://primo.getty.edu/GRI:GETTY_ALMA21123809170001551) and the collection of artists' books and magazines assembled originally by Jens Henkel.

2. Jens Henkel and Sabine Russ, *DDR 1980–1989: Künstlerbücher und originalgrafische Zeitschriften im Eigenverlag: Eine Bibliografie* (Gifkendorf: Merlin, 1991).

3. The GRI's collection of the East German samizdat from the 1980s is linked in the Getty Library Catalog per the initiative of Isotta Poggi under the aggregate phrase "East German Samizdat collection," which can be entered into the search field at https://primo.getty.edu/primo-explore/search?vid=GRI. As of October 2022, this collection counts 170 artists' books, magazines, or portfolios. The list was linked as part of the research project On the Eve of Revolution: The East German Artists in the 1980s, https://www.getty.edu/projects/on-eve-revolution-east-german-artist-1980s/.

4. Notable exceptions aside, artistic samizdat in the GDR had a relatively shorter trajectory than that of other countries of the Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union. The emergence of East German artistic samizdat in the late 1970s to early 1980s is credited in part to the vastly demoralizing impact that the 1976 expatriation of singer-songwriter Wolf Biermann had on the emerging generation of East German artists as well as to a loophole created by the Bildende Kunst bill from 31 August 1971, which postulated that editions of graphic artworks comprising more

than one hundred copies had to be officially approved; the bill unwittingly shielded small-scale interdisciplinary projects from the censor. See Jay Rosellini, *Wolf Biermann* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1992); and Frank Eckart, *Eigenart und Eigensinn: Alternative Kulturszenen in der DDR (1980–1990)* (Bremen: Temmen, 1993), 37.

5. For the dynamic range of types of samizdat from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and the GDR, see Wolfgang Eichwede et al., *Samizdat: Alternative Kultur in Zentral- und Osteuropa, die 60er bis 80er Jahre* (Bremen: Temmen, 2000).

6. Higgins wrote extensively on intermedial arts that fit this characterization. Richard Higgins, *Horizons: The Poetics and Theory of Intermedia* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), 15. Higgins's use and definition of the term first appeared in his "Synesthesia and Intersenses: Intermedia," *Something Else Newsletter* 1, no. 1 (1966) (accessible on UbuWeb: Papers, https://www.ubu.com/papers/higgins_intermedia.html), where he mentions the example of intermedia as a painting that is fused conceptually with words.

7. Sara Blaylock, *Parallel Public: Experimental Art in Late East Germany* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2022), 180.

8. Blaylock, *Parallel Public,* 165.

9. Reinhard Grüner, "'Ich hatte einst ein schönes Vaterland . . . Es war ein Traum.' Künstlerbücher ostdeutscher Künstler, Eine fragmentarische Autopsie," in *Imprimatur: Ein Jahrbuch für Bücherfreunde*, n.s., 28 (2023): 121–43. Grüner's references on the distinct circumstances of the intermediality of GDR samizdat include: Helga Sauer, "Über die Künstlerzeitschriften der DDR," Deutsche Fotothek, December 2000, https://www.deutschefotothek.de/cms/kuenstlerzeitschriften-ddr.xml.

10. Select publications in chronological order: Egmont Hesse and Christoph Tannert, eds., *Zellinnendruck*, exh. cat. (Leipzig: self-published, 1990); Erk Grimm, "Der Tod der Ostmoderne oder die BRDigung des DDR-Untergrunds: Zur Lyrik Bert-Papenfuß-Goreks," *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 1 (1991): 9–20; Thomas Wohlfahrt and Klaus Michael, *Vogel oder Käfig sein: Kunst und Literatur aus unabhängigen Zeitschriften in der DDR 1979–1989* (Berlin: Druckhaus Galrev, 1991); Anita Kenner [Christoph Tannert], "Avantgarde in der DDR heute? Ein Panorama der Kunst-, Literatur-, und Musikszene," *Niemandsland: Zeitschrift zwischen den Kulturen* 5, no. 2 (1988): 94–110; Uwe Wittstock, *Von der Stalinallee zum Prenzlauer Berg: Wege der DDR-Literatur 1949–1989* (Munich: Piper, 1989); Arnold Heinz Ludwig and Gerhard Wolf, eds., *Die andere Sprache: Neue DDR-Literatur der 80er Jahre* (Munich: Text + Kritik, 1990); Eckart, *Eigenart und Eigensinn*; David Bathrick, *The Powers of Speech: The Politics of Culture in the GDR* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Karen Leeder, *Breaking Boundaries: A New Generation of Poets in the GDR* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Peter Böthig, *Grammatik einer Landschaft: Literatur aus der DDR in den 80er Jahren* (Berlin: Lukas, 1997); Birgit Dahlke, *Papierboot: Autorinnen aus der DDR—inoffiziell publiziert* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1997); Alison Lewis, *Die Kunst des Verrats: Der Prenzlauer Berg und die Staatssicherheit* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2003); Carola Hähnel-Mesnard, *La littérature autoéditée en RDA dans les années 1980: Un espace hétérotopique* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007); Uwe Warnke and Ingeborg Quaas, *Die Addition der Differenzen: die Literaten- und Künstlerszene Ostberlins 1979 bis 1989* (Berlin: Verbrecher, 2009); *Poesie des Untergrunds = Poetry of the Underground: Catalog of the Exhibition at the General Consulate of the Federal Republic of Germany in New York City, December 9, 2010 to March 3, 2011*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Galerie auf Zeit, 2010); Seth Howes, "'Killersatellit' and *Randerscheinung*: Punk and the Prenzlauer Berg," *German Studies Review* 36, no. 3 (October 2013): 579–601; Birgit Dahlke, "Underground Literature? The Unofficial Culture of the GDR and Its Development after the *Wende*," in *Rereading East Germany: The Literature and Film of the GDR,* ed. Karen Leeder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 160–79; Stephan Pabst, *Post-Ost-Moderne: Poetik nach der DDR* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2016); *Fun on the Titanic: Underground Art and the East German State,* a thirty-one-page booklet for an exhibition held at the Beinecke Library, Yale University, https://beinecke.library.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Fun on the Titanic_Underground Art and the East German State.pdf; Seth Howes, *Moving Images in the Margins: Experimental Film in Late Socialist East Germany* (London: Camden House, 2019); Blaylock, *Parallel Public*; Sarah E. James, *Paper Revolutions: An Invisible Avant-Garde* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2022); Brianna J Smith, *Free Berlin: Art, Urban Politics, and Everyday Life* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2022); and Jutta Müller-Tamm and Lukas Nils Regeler, eds., *DDR-Literatur und die Avantgarden* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2022).

11. Dominic Boyer, "Foucault in the Bush: The Social Life of Post-Structuralist Theory in East Berlin's Prenzlauer Berg," *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* 66, no. 2 (2001): 207– 36. See also

April Eisman, “East German Art and the Permeability of the Berlin Wall,” *German Studies Review* 38, no. 3 (October 2015): 597–616.

12. Honecker’s speech was given at the 8th congress of the Socialist Unity Party. See also Thomas W. Goldstein, “The Era of No Taboos? 1971–76,” chap. 3 in *Writing in Red: The East German Writers Union and the Role of Literary Intellectuals* (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell & Brewer, 2019), 69–96, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781787441651.004.

13. Svetlana Boym, “The Off-Modern Mirror,” *e-flux journal* 19 (October 2010), https://www.e-flux.com/journal/19/67475/the-off-modern-mirror/.

14. Wolfgang Emmerich, *Kleine Literaturgeschichte der DDR* (Leipzig: Kiepenheuer, 1996).

15. Conventional photographic practices in the GDR adhered to the prescribed role of photography as a tool to document society and to promote the socialist values that the state had outlined in the context of nation building in its earlier decades, a role that was still prevalent in the early 1980s. Official photography exhibitions and photo books tended to promote the “family of man” type of photography, based on pictorial traditions that emphasized positive modes of representation, from the beauty of the natural landscape to the peaceful society of socialist people’s republics. See, for example, the exhibition series *BIFOTA* (*Berliner Internationale FotoAusstellung*) organized by the Zentrale Kommission Fotografie, or ZKF, of the GDR, discussed by Sarah Goodrum in the introduction and first chapter of her dissertation. Sarah Goodrum, “The Problem of the Missing Museum: The Construction of Photographic Culture in the GDR” (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2015).

16. Nicole Boulestreau, “Le Photopoème Facile: Un Nouveau Livre dans les années 30,” in *Le Livre Surréaliste: Mélusine IV* (Lausanne: L’Age de l’Homme, 1982), 164, quoted in Michael Nott, *Photopoetry, 1845–2015: A Critical History* (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2018), 2.

17. Nott, *Photopoetry,* 2.

18. Nott, *Photopoetry,* 2.

19. Wolfgang Henne, email to author, January 2022.

20. The authors thank Daria Bona (Curatorial Fellow, Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach Stiftung, 2021–22) for the translation and interpretation of the poem and for her email correspondence with Wolfgang Henne and Marion Wenzel.

21. Marion Wenzel, email message to author, 19 January 2022. The location of this photograph is Klein-Trebbow (near Neustrelitz) in the federal state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.

22. The authors thank Claus Bach and Sabine Jahn (along with Jahn’s daughters Juliane Jahn and Philine Jahn) for providing oral accounts of the history of the Günther-Jahn-Bach Editionen.

23. See DDR Collections, series XIV, Thomas Günther papers, 1979–1993, boxes 86–87, GRI, 940002.

24. The authors thank Alina Samsonija (Getty Graduate Intern in 2018) for the translation of “Das Gesetz.”

25. See Thomas Günther et al., *Texte zeigen Bilder Bilder zeigen Texte,* exh. cat. (Lüdenscheid, Germany: Kulturhaus der Stadt Lüdenscheid, 1987), 15. In his introduction, Günther writes: “Wir hatten dabei keine ästhetische Theorie im Kopf, von der wir uns leiten ließen. Viel mehr interessierte uns das freie und ungezwungene Spiel mit der Wirklichkeit, das sich für viele Assoziationen offen hält und rückwirkend wieder eine veränderte Sicht auf die Bilder und die Zustände der Realität freigibt.” (We had no aesthetic theory in mind to guide us. We were much more interested in the free and unconstrained play with reality, which keeps itself open to many associations and in retrospect again reveals an altered view of the images and the real-world conditions.)

26. Antonin Artaud, “Letter on Lautréamont” in *Artaud Anthology,* ed. Jack Hirschman, trans. David Rattray (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1965), 123–27.

27. Günther, who was involved extensively in the samizdat art scene, contributing works to independent artists’ magazines such as Uwe Warnke’s *Entwerter/Oder*, described East German samizdat as a “paper rebellion” (*papierne Aufbegehren*) that provided a much-needed “lifeline for a silenced generation,” a case, he argued, unprecedented even for the previous avant-garde movements. Thomas Günther, “Die subkulturellen Zeitschriften in der DDR und ihre kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung,” *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 20, no. 92 (1992): 27–36.

28. Sabine Jahn conveyed her urge to give brilliant color to the black-and-white images in an interview with the authors on 5 September 2022. Apart from the Mapplethorpe portfolio, for which Jahn uses vibrant colors, her artistic practice favored, for the most part, softer, calmer tones.

Interestingly, after the Wende, Jahn discovered in her Stasi (Ministry for State Security) file that, from the early 1970s onward, she had been assigned the code name Colorid, a fabricated, anglicized word alluding to her professional work as a painter and her purported love of colors.

29. Jahn learned about Georgia O'Keeffe in a documentary screened at the American Embassy in East Berlin in 1986 as part of a tribute to the artist, who had just passed away that year, and about Patti Smith in 1978 in a concert screened on the West German TV show *Rock-Palast* that Jahn watched illegally in Karl-Marx-Stadt.

30. Jahn provided this information to the authors in the interview of 5 September 2022. The visual-poetry collaboration had started with *Zehn Gedichte* [Ten poems]*: Here Come the Ocean and Waves Down,* 1986, a series of poems by Günther visually montaged as screen prints by Jahn, housed in a handmade enclosure featuring a glowing gold-on-red abstract composition on its cover. The mandala-like image was based on a photograph of a manhole (by Claus Bach), representing the gateway to the underground. Here too the intermedial dialogue created a highly dynamic composition work. After the Mapplethorpe portfolio, Jahn and Günther published *Zwischenwaende* (lit. "between walls") and *Collagen* (both released in 1993); and *Sabine Jahn: H-A & E/O: Kleiner Werkkatalog; Grafik 1990–2000 aus der originalgrafischen Zeitschrift Entwerter/Oder & der Kunst- und Literaturzeitschrift Herzattacke* (2000; small catalog of original prints published from 1990–2000 in the artists' magazine *Entwerter/Oder* and in the art and literature magazine *Herzattacke*).

31. See the source image, *Georgia O'Keeffe*, by Alfred Stieglitz, on the website of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., under "Collections": https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.60057.html. Jahn, however, found the photograph reproduced in an art book in Berlin at the time.

32. Jahn found the poem, translated into German, in Wolfram Schäfer, Wolfram Berger, and Joseph Czestochowski, *Go West: Der Wilde Westen in Der Malerei* (Wiesbaden: Ebeling; 1978), n.p., fig. 96. O'Keeffe's poem has widely circulated since it was first published with the title "About Painting Desert Bones" in *Georgia O'Keeffe: Paintings 1943,* exh. cat. (New York: An American Place, 1944). This information is courtesy of the Georgia O'Keeffe Museum Library & Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Thanks to Elizabeth Ehrnst, head of Research Collections and Services.

33. Emmerich, *Kleine Literaturgeschichte der DDR*, 119, 404.

34. Emmerich, *Kleine Literaturgeschichte*, 404.

35. For a detailed discussion of the underrepresentation of independently published women artists and writers, see Dahlke, *Papierboot*.

36. This information was given to the authors by Christine Schlegel in a telephone interview on 16 December 2020. For Schlegel's biography, see the "Vita" page on the artist's website: http://www.christineschlegel.de/pages/vita/.

37. For an overview of the situation of women in the GDR, see Mary Fulbrook, *The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 141–75. See also Kristen Ghodsee's recent comparative study conducted in the context of the former Eastern Bloc: Kristen Ghodsee, *Red Hangover: Legacies of Twentieth-Century Communism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

38. Christine Schlegel, email to authors, 5 January 2022.

39. Ines Geipel, *Dann fiel auf einmal der Himmel um: Inge Müller, die Biografie* (Leipzig: Henschel, 2002).

40. Geipel, *Dann fiel auf einmal,* 211. See also Inge Müller and Sonja Hilzinger, eds. *Daß ich nicht ersticke am Leisesein: Gesammelte Texte* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2002), 123–31.

41. The information quoted in this paragraph was given to the authors by Christine Schlegel in a telephone interview on 16 December 2020.

42. Telephone interview with Christine Schlegel and the authors, 16 December 2020.

43. Christine Schlegel, email to authors, 5 January 2022.

44. Jason Tebbe, "Revision and Rebirth: Commemoration of the Battle of Nations in Leipzig," *German Studies Review* 33, no. 3 (2010): 619.

45. Christine Schlegel, email to authors, 5 January 2022. Schlegel also mentioned that her father, who was a trade-fair designer, had a collection of politicians' photographs, on which Schlegel also made drawings.

46. Fulbrook, *The People's State*, 144.

47. See Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Divided Memory and Post-Traditional Identity: Gerhard Richter's Work of Mourning," *October* 75 (winter 1996): 60–82.

48. Inge Müller, *Wenn ich schon sterben muß: Gedichte* (Berlin: Aufbau Taschenbuch, 1997), 48.

49. This insight stems from the many productive discussions on translating Müller's poetry between Julia McSpirit Beckett and Anna Horakova.

50. In Schlegel's words, the scratching out of the poem's text is also an homage to Müller's manuscripts, which she remembers as being heavily redacted: "Sie [Inge Müller] hatte viel an den Texten korrigiert. Oft gab es mehrere Streichungen übereinander. Auf dem Foto mit den Repräsentantenbeinen habe ich als Reminiszenz zu ihren Texten alles durchgestrichen." (She [Inge Müller] had corrected her texts a lot. Often there were several deletions on top of one another. On the photo of the officials' legs, I crossed out everything as a memory of her texts.) Christine Schlegel, email to authors, 5 January 2022.

51. Wolfgang Henne, email to authors, January 2022.

Shorter Notice

The Perpetual Unfolding of Photographic History: A Previously Unknown Panorama of Salvador, Bahia, by Rodolpho Lindemann

Julieta Pestarino

Introduction

There has been a particularly close and fruitful relationship between photography and the Brazilian landscape and context dating back even prior to the official announcement of photography's invention in France in 1839. Although the daguerreotype reached Brazilian shores only six months after its debut, one of the pioneers of the attempt to immortalize light outside of Europe, Hercules Florence, was already living and developing photographic experiments in that region of South America.[1] When Emperor Dom Pedro II learned of the invention by the arrival of the first daguerreotypist in Brazil in 1840—the abbot Louis Compte—he was so fascinated that he became an amateur photographer and collector.[2] But it would be, more than anything, Brazil's perceived exoticism, its infinite landscapes, and its cultural diversity that would attract a large number of foreign, mostly European, photographers; they would produce, during the course of the nineteenth century alone, a body of photographic work as extensive and important as it is unexplored or even unknown or unidentified.

In this context, the present article examines a photographic panorama—an elevated view of a landscape or city formed by the seamless piecing together of multiple overlapping photographic images—of the city of Salvador, captured in six parts around 1880 by German-born photographer Rodolpho Lindemann; the panorama was recently added to the collection of the Getty Research Institute (GRI) in Los Angeles and is now part of the GRI's collection of photographs of Brazil and Latin America more generally.[3] Despite its unique characteristics, this panorama has not been mentioned in previous studies or in the foremost books on the history of photography in Brazil, suggesting that its existence has not been widely known.

The mass availability of photography in the mid-nineteenth century not only facilitated a broader proliferation of urban views—which already had a significant pictorial presence—but also reinforced the need to document cities. Its proliferation

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garnered new opportunities to experiment with increasingly sophisticated formats and multiplied the technical possibilities of the medium. Indeed, it was only a few short years after the announcement of the daguerreotype's invention that panoramic photography made its first appearance.[4] The photographic camera was initially seen as a scientific device with the ability to document reality, and panoramic photography only intensified this attribute, depicting the totality through elevation, distance, and broad visual coverage. The technology of panoramic photography, which produced large-scale images, was intended to convey not only a total view but also a specific idea of power inherited from pictorial panoramas;[5] the total representation of landscapes and cities—at first seemingly innocuous—is directly related to the colonial and imperialist policies imposed on the spaces depicted. This is one of the many reasons why Brazilian photography is a fascinating case study.

The circulation of these panoramic photographs and their connections with other paintings and photographs allow us to reexamine concepts linked to the mobility of images and their relationships with objects and institutions proposed by American art theorist Jonathan Crary and Spanish art historian Ana María Guash, as well as to reflect on the photographic archive as a theoretical and discursive concept, following the ideas of Allan Sekula, American artist and theorist.[6] These ideas are also related to American anthropologist Deborah Poole's notion of "visual economy," according to which images can be considered "as part of a comprehensive organization of people, ideas, and objects."[7]

Photographic Panoramas and Their Derivations

A substantial number of photographers from across Europe relocated to Brazil during the nineteenth century, where they worked professionally in a wide range of fields and produced remarkable bodies of work. These photographers captured on film nearly everything, including portraits, landscapes, urban panoramas, and social documentation, and their images appeared in important scientific publications and international exhibitions.

In the case of Rodolpho Frederico Francisco Lindemann, who was born in Germany in the mid-1850s, Brazil would become his home in the 1870s. Upon his arrival, the photographer settled in the city of Salvador in the state of Bahia. In 1882, Lindemann was hired as a studio assistant to the prominent Swiss photographer Guilherme Gaensly, and later became his business partner.

Most of the work by Lindemann known to us today is focused on landscapes, as evidenced by the views and photographs of Salvador that the Baron of Rio Branco included in *Album de vues du Brésil* (Album of views of Brazil), an appendix to the book *Le Brésil* (Brazil), published in Paris in 1889 by Émile Levasseur.[8] Lindemann was one of the artists with the greatest number of photographs reproduced in this publication, with a total of twenty-five views, twenty of which are of Salvador. This publication was produced under the auspices of the Comitê Franco-Brasileiro para a Exposição

Universal de Paris (Franco-Brazilian Committee for the Paris Universal Exposition) of 1889, and its photographs were part of the Brazilian pavilion at the Paris Universal Exposition, where Lindemann and Gaensly exhibited photos of Bahia and Pernambuco.[9] During his years in Brazil, Lindemann also took photographic views in other provinces such as Alagoas, as well as a number of portraits, a common practice during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In the early 1890s, Gaensly moved to the city of São Paulo to open a branch of the Gaensly & Lindemann studio, while Lindemann assumed responsibility for the photographic studio in Bahia. Fotografía Lindemann (Lindemann Photography) was eventually sold to a merchant in 1906, and the photographer and his wife appear to have left Brazil. Although there is no information regarding the date of Lindemann's death or the fate of his photographic archive, some of his photographs are now located at the Instituto Moreira Salles (Moreira Salles Institute) in São Paulo, Brazil.

Despite Lindemann's presumably extensive body of work and his prominent role in Salvador at the time, it is often difficult to access the photographs taken by photographers of those years. Not only was there little awareness about the importance of preserving photographic archives and photos as historically significant objects in the day but, in many cases, the prints sold by the photographers themselves were not signed, making it even more difficult to identify and access them today.[10] This is the case for the panoramic photograph by Lindemann recently acquired by the GRI. The large, six-part folding object depicts the coastline of Salvador as seen from the Forte São Marcelo (São Marcelo Fort), a historic structure facing the city center (fig. 1).

FIG. 1. — Rodolpho Lindemann (German, 1852–?). Panorama of Salvador, ca. 1880, albumen print, 24 × 159.5 cm. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2022.R.30.

This panorama came from a private collection and does not bear a signature, which initially left its authorship obscure. With research it was possible to determine that it had indeed been made by Lindemann, because the aforementioned *Album de vues du Brésil* includes a drawing of the coast of Salvador that is captioned as having been based on one of his photos. When the two images are compared, it is possible to see that their content is essentially the same, with the exception of several sailboats and the dramatic rays of sunlight added by the artist (fig. 2). As can be seen, the angle of coverage, the distance to the shore, and the location of the vessels are the same in both views, along with certain elements in the lower-left sector of the two images, corresponding to the dock of the fort and a fragment of its side wall. Brazilian historian of photography Boris

FIG. 2. — Unknown draftsperson, after Rodolpho Lindemann (German, 1852–?). *São Salvador de Bahia, vue prise du Fort do Mar* (São Salvador de Bahia, view from Fort do Mar), from *Album de vues du Brésil* (Paris: Imprimerie A. Lahure, 1889). Digital image: Biblioteca Digital Luso-Brasileira.

Kossoy states that cities included as panoramic views in the *Album de vues du Brésil* received special treatment to ensure that they reflected the "civilized landscape worthy of export" that the album was intended to convey.[11]

The photographic panorama of Salvador was likely created by Lindemann in the late 1870s or early 1880s. The final image demonstrates his high level of technical skill both in taking the types of sequential shots that are seamlessly pieced together and, in particular, producing the extreme sharpness and level of detail. In it, we can see the Elevador Lacerda (Lacerda Elevator, the first urban elevator in the world, inaugurated in 1873); the old Arsenal da Marinha (Arsenal of the Navy); the Teatro São João (São João Theater); and many other structures in what was at the time the second most populous city in Brazil and an important cultural center of the Americas.

It is not the first panoramic view of Salvador taken by Lindemann from the Forte São Marcelo; a similar image, taken around 1875, is located at the Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen in Mannheim, Germany.[12] However, the panorama at the GRI is different from this earlier one and others because of its large size: it is 159.5 centimeters long and 24 centimeters high. These dimensions and its sharpness allow us to observe the city in great detail, in particular the buildings overlooking the bay and the vessels sailing along the coast. Because of the large size of this image, when we look more closely at it, small scenes of everyday life in Salvador emerge, such as three men standing on the dock of the fort and people on the coast or aboard different types of boats (figs. 3a–c).

The Forte São Marcelo was a prime vantage point for taking panoramic photographs of Salvador during the nineteenth century, due to its location facing the city center from a close but sufficiently distant position, enabling shots with a substantial angle of coverage. Many renowned photographers of the period accomplished the feat from that spot. For example, in 1860, British photographer Benjamin Mulock took at least two panoramic photos from the site reflecting very different qualities of execution and reproduction.[13] Around 1870, a similar six-part panoramic photograph was captured by a still-unknown photographer, and later in the decade, both Marc Ferrez (figs. 4a, 4b) and Gaensly produced their own versions.[14] Of all

FIGS. 3A–C. — Rodolpho Lindemann (German, 1852–?). Panorama of Salvador (details), ca. 1880, albumen print, 24 × 159.5 cm. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2022.R.30.

FIGS. 4A, 4B. — Marc Ferrez (Brazilian, 1834–1923). Panorama of Salvador, 1875, two silver gelatin prints; each 22 × 27 cm. São Paulo, Instituto Moreira Salles. Digital image: Marc Ferrez / Gilberto Ferrez Collection / Instituto Moreira Salles.

these panoramas with identical viewpoints and visual coverage, the print now at the GRI has the largest dimensions. It is possible that photographers were motivated to return to the same location in order to outdo one another in the creation of similar panoramic shots in an increasingly larger size, a photographic feat of the time.

The use of the panoramic format to depict cities or landscapes is a common technique not only in the history of photography but also in the history of art and visual practices around the world. Consider, for example, the Brazilian city of Rio de Janeiro. In 1822, French painter Félix-Émile Taunay painted *Panorama do Rio de Janeiro*, a one-meter-long colored aquatint portraying a very urban view of the city from Morro do Castelo (Castle Hill). This panorama, made in Brazil, was exhibited in 1824 at the Passage des Panoramas (Passageway of Panoramas) in Paris, allowing French spectators to experience, perhaps for the first time, a comprehensive view of the city. A second panoramic depiction was painted around 1830 by Robert Burford, the proprietor of Leicester Square, a space for exhibiting panoramas in London, where it was on display for a year.[15]

Some years later, around 1863, Italian-born photographer Augusto Stahl took a five-part photographic panorama of Rio de Janeiro. The vantage point used for this

panorama was the Ilha das Cobras (Isle of Snakes), which would also be used by other photographers, such as Georges Leuzinger in his three-part photographic panorama around 1866 (fig. 5), an image upon which the Spanish artist Enrique Casanova y Astorza would base his painting *Vista do Rio de Janeiro* (View of Rio de Janeiro) around 1883 (fig. 6).[16]

FIG. 5. — Georges Leuzinger (Swiss, 1813–92). Panorama of Rio de Janeiro, ca. 1866, photogravure, 27.5 × 119.5 cm. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2022.R.5.

FIG. 6. — Enrique Casanova y Astorza (Spanish, 1850–1913). *Vista do Rio de Janeiro* (View of Rio de Janeiro), ca. 1883, color lithography on paper, 37.1 × 110.5 cm. São Paulo, Instituto Moreira Salles, Martha and Erico Stickel Collection, 001SK00193. Digital image: Enrique Casanova / Martha and Erico Stickel Collection / Instituto Moreira Salles.

Photographs by Stahl, Leuzinger, and others would arrive several decades after the early pictorial representations to update and expand the idea of the Latin American metropolis that was developing in Rio de Janeiro.[17] These photographs depart from the typical natural setting of the city while heightening the presence of urban density through a focus on its architecture and the movement of waterways. The vision of the new and exotic—for these creators coming from other latitudes—emerges as a historical construction, revealing mechanisms of visual representation explicitly devised first by the painter and later by the photographer. The latter uses the photographic apparatus and its reality effect to reconfigure and reorganize the relationships between the observing subject and modes of representation.[18]

Panoramic photos have a particular technical appeal, and there was a remarkable number of them produced in Brazil, where, as seen from the numerous examples mentioned, they were a common practice among landscape photographers. Creating these images was a difficult undertaking: the photographer had to travel to the shooting location with bulky equipment—including heavy cameras, tripods, glass plates—and

chemicals, due to the specific characteristics of the wet collodion process, which was in use from the late 1850s until the 1880s, when it was replaced by dry gelatin plates.[19] The resulting prints are different from other photographs: because of their large size, panoramic photos are usually folded, further emphasizing their status as manipulable objects, compared to other smaller or pocket-size photographs (fig. 7). The panoramic photos were private objects, acquired by a select clientele as visual treasures depicting cities in faraway regions of the world in all their detail and splendor.[20]

FIG. 7. — Rodolpho Lindemann's photographic panorama of Salvador (ca. 1880) unfolded.

Consequently, this type of photographic feat was motivated not only by the adventure of creating images outside of the studio but also by the possibility of selling them as collectible objects. The primary buyers were foreigners visiting or living in Brazil on a temporary basis. These images thus traveled to different countries and ended up becoming part of public libraries and private archives, largely in Europe. Historian Gilberto Ferrez states that the quality of the Brazilian photographs is fully comparable to those produced in other parts of the world; the difference lies in the actual accessibility of such photographs taken in Brazil.[21] We still have not been able to determine the authorship of many such extant photos or even the present location of those that may be lost, stored without names in private collections, or forgotten in libraries in distant countries, given their itinerant nature and their lack of markings, signatures, or stamps.

Concluding Remarks

Photographic theory has made it clear that nothing in a photograph is neutral.[22] As Colombian art historian Juanita Solano-Roa states, formats and spaces for circulation and conservation imbue each photograph with meanings that transcend realistic depiction.[23] In the case of panoramic photographs, the view from above or at a distance is a vision with the power to dominate. These images play an important historical role, for they allow us to observe elements that are difficult to see in other representations, such as the layout of cities, their specific streets, their buildings, their advertisements,

and other urban features in a certain period. Nevertheless, as Kossoy argues, photographic images are not only born ideologized but also accumulate ideological components as the photographs are omitted from historical records or reused for different purposes throughout their trajectories.[24]

In this sense, the panoramic photograph by Lindemann shows the urban landscape toward the end of the colonial period in one of Brazil's most important cities, much of whose identity was constructed around its geographical and architectural characteristics. The relocation and identification of this photograph leads, at least, to two contributions. As mentioned above, the photograph itself offers a wealth of details about its moment in Salvador, making it an exceptional historical visual source. Further, although there are other images from around the same time that depict the city from similar vantage points, restoring the authorship of Lindemann's photograph contributes to our understanding of the history of the medium as well as its uses, derivations, and functions.

This photograph cannot be understood in isolation. As demonstrated, it is part of a genealogy of panoramic images that—whether in painting, drawing, or photography—are in dialogue with one another. Following Poole, viewers can locate a "combination of relationships of referral and exchange among images themselves, and the social and discursive relations connecting image-makers and consumers"—what Poole determines to be an "image world" that is mutually reinforcing.[25] As was already the case in the nineteenth century, individuals see and produce images on the basis of prior knowledge.

Equally, there is a material aspect of the panoramic photographs analyzed here. These large photos travel as folded objects, which are treasured, sold, forgotten, and rediscovered. Because of their physical characteristics, they must be unfolded in order to assume full form and allow the observation of their subject. The drawing included in *Album de vues du Brésil* (see fig. 2) is an image that can be easily and readily accessed, but the panoramic photograph on which it was based remained stored—folded—in a private collection in Europe and was later sold in California.[26] It is not possible to trace all its locations since its creation, but its latest movement to the GRI's collection made it possible to study it and demonstrate that the best place for a nineteenth-century photograph is in a library or archive open to the public, allowing researchers and curators as well as any other interested person to learn of its existence and have access to it. Never losing sight of the fact that, as American art historians Rosalind Krauss, Alan Trachtenberg, and Sekula argue, every archive complies with certain standards as a technology of power in which ownership remains paramount,[27] this type of change in location enables us to reengage with Lindemann's object and continue to unfold the multiple pages of photographic history. The very characteristics of the medium of photography—elusive and at times forgotten—will ensure that its history will always be diverse—one that is never finished, being perpetually constructed and reconfigured.

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Notes

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1. See the investigations on Hercules Florence's photographic research in Brazil carried out by Boris Kossoy. Boris Kossoy, *Hercule Florence: A descoberta isolada da fotografia no Brasil* (São Paulo: Faculdade de Educação Social Anhembi, 1977); and Boris Kossoy, *The Pioneering Photographic Work of Hercule Florence* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

2. The first daguerreotype made in South America took place in Brazil on 16 January 1840 by Compte, chaplain of a French school ship that landed in the port of Rio de Janeiro. Pedro II was fourteen years old when he first learned of the daguerreotype. He was so enthusiastic that he soon acquired the necessary equipment to take photographs himself, which, according to Gilberto Ferrez, made him the first Brazilian to produce daguerreotypes. Throughout his life, he collected photographs of views of Brazil as well as portraits of relatives and friends, which he kept in albums. See Gilberto Ferrez, *A fotografia no Brasil: 1840–1900* (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1985), 20.

3. The GRI's photographic collection has important holdings from Brazil, such as the collection of aforementioned historian Gilberto Ferrez, grandson of renowned Brazilian photographer Marc Ferrez. The view by Lindemann joined other photographic panoramas taken in the country that were already part of the GRI's collection, although those were mainly associated with the city of Rio de Janeiro, such as the panorama taken from the Ilha das Cobras (Isle of Snakes) by George Leuzinger (1813–92) around 1866; *Vue prise de Sta. Thereza* (View from Santa Theresa) taken by Marc Ferrez around 1890; and the urban view of Praça Floriano (Floriano Square) taken by Augusto César de Malta Campos in 1928. The last two photographs are reproduced in Idurre Alonso and Maristella Casciato, *The Metropolis in Latin America, 1830–1930: Cityscapes, Photographs, Debates* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2021), 24–27, pls. 12 and 13.

4. Panoramic photography was pioneered in 1845 in Paris by Friedrich von Martens, who developed a camera for panoramic daguerreotypes that produced views using a rotating lens with an angle of view potentially exceeding 150 degrees. A detailed account of the technical evolution of the photographic panorama can be found in Gerardo Martinez-Delgado, "La ilusión de la ciudad total: Fotografía panorámica en México antes de 1910 e investigación en historia urbana," *Cuicuilco: Revista de ciencias antropológicas* 24, no. 68 (2017): 101–33.

5. The panorama as a pictorial medium was a British invention, patented in 1787 by Robert Barker, an Irish-born painter based in Edinburgh. It quickly became one of the most popular visual spectacles of its time. According to Colombian art historian Juanita Solano-Roa, its innovative way of presenting the world led to a paradigmatic change both in ways of seeing and in the logics of representation. The pictorial panorama broke with the historically prevailing linear perspective proposed by Renaissance theorist Leon Battista Alberti, which has one vanishing point, representing instead a continuous linear horizon. For a historical overview of the invention and circulation of pictorial panoramas, see Carla Hermann, "Landscape and Power: Taunay's and Burford's Panoramas of Rio de Janeiro in Paris and London in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Artelogie,* no. 10 (2017): 1–10; and Juanita Solano-Roa, "Fotoramas: Jorge Obando y la fotografía panorámica de los años treinta en Colombia," *Revista Historia y Sociedad,* no. 43 (2022): 69–91.

6. Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990); Ana María Guash, *Arte y archivo* (Madrid: Akal, 2011); Allan Sekula, *Photography against the Grain: Essays and Photo Works, 1973–1983* (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984); and Allan Sekula, "Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital," in *The Photography Reader,* ed. Liz Wells (London: Routledge, 2003), 443–52.

7. Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 8.

8. This album has been digitized and is available to view online at the Biblioteca Digital Luso-Brasileira, https://bdlb.bn.gov.br/acervo/handle/20.500.12156.3/46289. It contains ninety-four images of Brazil, with photographs by Marc Ferrez, Lindemann, and Joaquim Insley Pacheco, among others, as well as lithographic drawings based on photos. According to Kossoy, it can be considered the final piece of publicity for Brazil produced by the imperial government as it entered into decline, given that the album was published less than a year before the Proclamation of the Republic of Brazil. For more details on the photographs included in *Álbum de vues du Brésil,* see Boris Kossoy, "A Construção do Nacional na Fotografia Brasileira: O Espelho Europeu," in *Realidades e Ficções na Trama Fotográfica* (São Paulo: Ateliê, 2000), 73–126.

9. For more information on Brazil's participation in this event and the extensive use of photographs, see Maria Inez Turazzi, *Poses e trejeitos: A fotografia e as exposições na era do espetáculo: 1839/1889* (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1995).

10. On the lack of concern for the preservation of photography in Brazil among photographers, as well as the indifference of disciplines such as history and other social sciences to the study and preservation of historical photographs, see Boris Kossoy, *Fotografia & História* (São Paulo: Ateliê, 1989). This applies to many countries in Latin America.

11. Kossoy, "A Construção do Nacional na Fotografia Brasileira," 98.

12. This panorama measures 14.6 by 121.5 centimeters. It is reproduced in Pedro Karp Vasquez, *Fotógrafos Alemães no Brasil do Século XIX* (San Pablo: Metalivros, 2000), 158–59.

13. One of the photographs has large dimensions. It was taken by Mulock in four parts, and measures 17.6 by 139.4 centimeters, but its sharpness and level of detail are not particularly high, and it is in a poor state of preservation. This panoramic photo is currently held by the National Library of Brazil (ARC.35.7[3]) and is viewable online at https://brasilianafotografica.bn.gov.br/brasiliana/handle/20.500.12156.1/875. The other photograph, apparently taken in the same year, is much smaller in size, but for Gilberto Ferrez is "the sharpest and most perfect, never equaled" panoramic photograph taken from the coast of Salvador's city center during the nineteenth century. The quality of the photograph is very good, offering total sharpness in all the buildings, allowing viewers to observe—up close and in great detail—the skyline of the city and its architecture in the mid-1800s. It was produced in three parts and measures 11.7 by 62.5 centimeters. It is reproduced in Gilberto Ferrez, *Bahía: Velhas fotografias 1858–1900* (Salvador: Livraria Kosmos, 1988), 32–33. The differences in quality between the two images suggest that the equipment used by Mulock for each of them was probably very different.

14. The photograph by an unknown maker measures 138.5 by 15.5 centimeters and is published in Ferrez, *A fotografia no Brasil,* 138–39. In 1875, Marc Ferrez was invited to join the Comissão Geológica do Império (Geological Commission of the Empire) as a photographer. In this context, he took important photographs of Bahia, including a photographic panorama in two parts. A copy is currently located in the collection of the Instituto Moreira Salles (museum locator numbers 007A5P4F04-014 and 007A5P4F04-015) and is published in Ferrez, *Bahía,* 132–33. The panorama by Gaensly was produced between 1873 and 1878.

15. For more details on both images, see Hermann, "Landscape and Power."

16. The three-part panorama by Leuzinger is located at the Getty Research Institute, and a copy is also found in the National Library of Brazil, available online at https://objdigital.bn.br/objdigital2/acervo_digital/div_iconografia/icon72486/icon72486.htm. The painted panorama by Casanovas is located in the collection of the Instituto Moreira Salles in São Paulo, Brazil, and is also available online at https://acervos.ims.com.br/portals/#/detailpage/4294983067.

17. For the specific case of the panoramas by Leuzinger, see Caroline Ivanski Langer, "Os primeiros olhares à modernidade do Rio de Janeiro: A fotografia do suíço Georges Leuzinger na segunda metade do século XIX," *Amerika* 24 (July 2022), https://doi.org/10.4000/amerika.15697.

18. Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*.

19. Karp Vasquez, *Fotógrafos Alemães no Brasil,* 22.

20. Boris Kossoy, *Origens e expansão da fotografia no Brasil: Século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1980), 57.

21. Ferrez, *A fotografia no Brasil*, 15.

22. Rosalind Krauss, *Le photographique: Pour une théorie des écarts* (Paris: Macula, 1990); John

Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London: Macmillan Education, 1988); and Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), among many others.

23. Solano-Roa, "Fotoramas," 72.

24. Kossoy, "A Construção do Nacional na Fotografia Brasileira," 76.

25. Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 7.

26. The item was acquired by the GRI in 2022 in California from a dealer based in the U.K.

27. Krauss, *Le photographique*; Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1989); and Sekula, "Reading an Archive."