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Copy-Paste. The Reuse of Material and Visual Culture in Architecture

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Editorial

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We are pleased to present the first volume of the *bfo-Journal*, a multilingual, peer-reviewed and open access publication, issued once a year and hosted on bauforschungonline.ch, founded in 2006 by Richard Buser and myself. The aim of the *bfo-Journal* is to provide a new space for innovative studies of the highest quality on all aspects of architectural history and critique, urbanism, and conservation of historical monuments.

The theme chosen for this first issue deals with the reuse of material and visual culture in architecture, taking into consideration the phenomenon within a global perspective, as may be seen by the contributions of this year's edition. What are the concepts sealed behind this visual and material reuse? What is the role played by cultural and cross-border exchanges and by the various political and religious systems in the appropriation of forms and meanings? These are just some of the questions raised by the authors, who examine the process of 'copy-paste' by analyzing case studies from Italy, Turkey, Iran, France and Iraq.

Let me end with a few words concerning the cover of this first issue, which shows a prominent example of the reuse of Islamic capitals from the Umayyad period in the so-called Mudéjar architecture of Medieval Spain. Dating from the califal period (10th–11th centuries), this capital is just one of a set, reused in the palace of the Castilian king Pedro I (1334–1369), constructed between 1356 and 1366 within the former Islamic Alcázar of Sevilla,[1] using a predominantly Islamic vocabulary, mainly influenced by contemporary Nasrid architecture of Granada. In this context, the Umayyad capitals, standing for the most powerful and splendid era of al-Andalus, could be interpreted as just another source of Islamic models. Considering the widespread reuse of Umayyad capitals in Almoravid and Almohad buildings of Marrakesch, Rabat and Fes (12th century), as pointed out by Henri Terrasse in an article published in 1963 in the Spanish journal *Al-Andalus*,[2] these capitals were brought from the Iberian Peninsula to Marocco because of their meaning, legitimizing the claim of power of the new rulers of al-Andalus and the Maghreb. Pedro I must have been aware of the symbolic value of these capitals as well. However, in his case, they were not used to relate his reign to the Umayyad dynasty, but rather as a symbol of triumph of the Crown of Castile, that had reconquered Córdoba in 1236.

Finally, we would like to thank all those who have made possible the foundation of the *bfo-Journal* and trust you will enjoy reading this first issue.

1 Miguel Angel Tabales Rodríguez, *El Alcázar de Sevilla: Refexiones sobre su origen y transformación durante la edad media* (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 2010), pp. 287-357.

2 Henri Terrasse, "Chapiteaux oméyades d'Espagne à la Mosquée d'al-Qarawiyyīn de Fès", *Al-Andalus*, 28, no. 1 (1963), pp. 211-216.

Decorating with Things: *Spolia* as Material Culture in the Italian Maritime Republics, 1100–1300

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Introduction

Spolia, or appropriated objects from past and foreign cultures, have long been studied in the fields of art and architectural history and these disciplines have developed a distinct conceptual framework for analyzing spoliate artworks that focuses on aesthetics, meaning and symbolism, and motivations for reuse.[1] An extensive literature also exists, however, on the topic of material culture in the domains of archaeology and anthropology that addresses the centrality of objects within networks of social relationships. This scholarship has not been brought to bear on the study of *spolia*, and in this article I will employ the dense spoliate assemblages on medieval structures in the Italian maritime republics of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice as case studies for an integration of art historical, anthropological, and archaeological discourses on material objects. The insertion of *spolia* into the broader category of material culture will illuminate how appropriated sculpture on medieval buildings was an active agent in the creation of meaning.[2] The openness and multivalence of *spolia* made them the perfect instruments for forging relationships temporally and spatially with both people and things as they circulated throughout the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages.

The Pisan *bacini* of San Piero a Grado

The earliest manifestation in the Italian maritime republics of an eclectic and highly original use of *spolia* is found in Pisa. Beginning in the early eleventh century, Pisan churches featured architectural decoration consisting of ceramic basins (*bacini*) imported from the Islamic world.[3] At this time Christian Western Europe lacked the technical knowledge to produce glazed ceramics, so all of these colorful vessels originated in Islamic pottery centers for export across the Mediterranean. Pisan *bacini* use was the most extensive of any European city in the Middle Ages; the practice began in the eleventh and continued through the fifteenth century, and the sheer number of individual pieces (approximately 2000) is unrivaled anywhere.[4] Decoration with Islamic ceramics was clearly a meaningful art form for medieval Pisans.

Among the early Pisan structures with *bacini* decoration, the church of San Piero a Grado stands out with its vast number of objects and the great

[1] See Dale Kinney, "The Concept of *Spolia*", in Conrad Rudolph (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe* (Maldon, MA: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 233–252, for a general overview of *spolia* in the Middle Ages.

[2] Material culture studies provide an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the relationship between people and things. The website of the Center for Material Culture Studies at the University of Delaware provides a nice overview of the topic and its literature: https://sites.udel.edu/materialculture/about/what-is-material-culture/. See also Dan Hicks and Mary Carolyn Beaudry, *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Christopher Tilley, *Handbook of Material Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 2006); and the numerous articles on this topic in the *Journal of Material Culture*.

[3] For an excellent overview of *bacini*, see Graziella Berti, "*Bacini*", *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, vol. 2, (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991). Graziella Berti and Marcella Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate usate come "bacini"* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2011), provide the most recent catalogue of all the Pisan *bacini*. Berti's earlier volume on the Pisan *bacini*, Graziella Berti, Liana Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici medievali delle chiese di Pisa* (Roma: Erma di Bretschneider, 1981), is still the most comprehensive work on this topic.

[4] Graziella Berti, *Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo: Le ceramiche medievali e post-medievali* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1997), pp. 10–32, addresses the uniqueness of the Pisan *bacini* phenomenon.

variety of ceramic types from several production centers (Fig. 1).[5] The church dates to the early eleventh century and originally had 222 *bacini* ornamenting its exterior. All the pottery was placed immediately below the roofline, beneath blind arches or within specially designed cavities (Fig. 2). Archaeological research has shown that cavities were created in the stone or brick buildings to anchor the *bacini* to the walls. The inclusion of the ceramics was thus intentional and part of the structure's planning and design from the outset. The ceramic wares added color and variety to the often monotone church exteriors, and the shimmering effect of the green, yellow, blue, and gold glazes emulated the luminosity of polychrome marble at a fraction of the cost. The *bacini* might have been chosen as appropriate decoration for Pisan churches because of their connection to Mediterranean commerce, a significant source of Pisan wealth in the eleventh to fourteenth century.[6] The Pisan fleet battled valiantly to secure

[5] Stefano Sodi and Mariagiulia Burresi, *La Basilica di San Piero a Grado* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2011), discuss the church and its *bacini* decoration; see also Graziella Berti, "La decorazione con '*bacini*' ceramici," in Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut and Stefano Sodi (eds.), *Nel Segno di San Pietro: La Basilica di San Piero a Grado da luogo della prima evangelizzazione a meta di pellegrinaggio medievale* (Pisa: Felice Editore, 2003), pp. 157–173.

[6] Karen Rose Mathews, "Other Peoples' Dishes: Islamic *Bacini* on Eleventh-Century Churches in Pisa", *Gesta* 53, no. 1 (2014): pp. 16–19.

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Fig. 1
Pisa, Church of San Piero a Grado, general view (K. Mathews)

Fig. 2
San Piero a Grado, detail of bacini decoration (K. Mathews)

safe passage for the city's commercial vessels and the *bacini* could index this great struggle for maritime supremacy and the material fruits of those labors – international trade goods like the foreign and exotic ceramics so proudly displayed on the city's churches.

The Basilica of San Marco in Venice

The Basilica of San Marco, the doge's chapel, was the showcase for the fame and fortune of Venice as the central religious monument in the city.[7] A significant moment in Venice's history was the Fourth Crusade in 1204 when Venice conquered the Byzantine capital of Constantinople. Complementing the city's new political identity as an empire, then, was a visual culture that highlighted Venice's embeddedness in the Mediterranean. Luxury objects flowed into the city from Byzantium and the Basilica of San Marco came to be encrusted with a dazzling array of *spolia* and spoils from Mediterranean locales (Fig. 3). The exterior decoration displays an assemblage of columns and capitals, hundreds of them so densely packed that they serve no structural function. More visually intriguing or perhaps jarring are the reused sculptural panels and other foreign objects on all of the church's three facades. The north façade displays early Byzantine reliefs like the panel depicting Alexander in his chariot (Fig. 4). The west façade, too, also has an array of columns and capitals combined with Byzantine reliefs. The crowning artwork on the west front, however, is the set of bronze horses taken from the Hippodrome in Constantinople (Fig. 5).[8] On the southwest corner of the façade, a porphyry head of a Byzantine emperor adorns the upper balcony while two intricately carved pilasters, no longer serving any architectural function, stand in front of the south façade (Fig. 6). The pilasters, now known as the "pilastri acritani" or "pillars of Acre" have no actual connection to Acre but were taken from the church of Saint Polyeuktos in Constantinople (Fig. 7). In between the chapel and the doge's palace, the sculptural ensemble of four porphyry tetrarchs guard the exterior of the church's treasury and lead the

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Fig. 3
Venice, Basilica of San Marco, general view (K. Mathews)

7 For general discussions of the Basilica of San Marco, see Ettore Vio (ed.), *St. Mark's: The Art and Architecture of Church and State in Venice* (New York: Riverside Book Company, 2003); see also Henry Maguire and Robert Nelson (eds.), *San Marco, Byzantium and the Myths of Venice* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010) for recent interpretative work on the basilica.

8 For the horses in general, see Michael Jacoff, *The Horses of San Marco and the Quadriga of the Lord* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). See also Irene Favaretto, *Il Museo di San Marco* (Venice: Marsilio, 2003), pp. 188–91; Vittorio Galliazzo, "I cavalli di San Marco: una quadriga greca o romana?", *Faventia*, vol. 6, n. 2 (1984), pp. 99–126.

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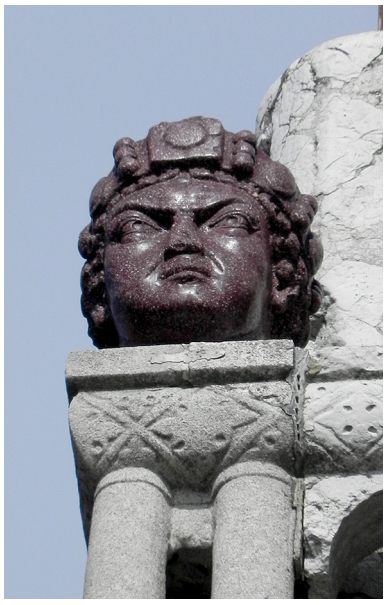

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Fig. 4
Basilica of San Marco, north façade, Alexander relief (K. Mathews)

Fig. 5
Basilica of San Marco, bronze horses on west façade (original sculptures in the Museo di San Marco) (K. Mathews)

Fig. 6
Basilica of San Marco, southwest corner of façade, porphyry head (K. Mathews)

Fig. 7
Basilica of San Marco, “Pilastri acritani” in front of the south façade (K. Mathews)

eye to the so-called "trophy wall," a space covered with relief carvings from Byzantium that are combined with Venetian copies carved in the Byzantine style (Fig. 8).[9] The unique spoliate assemblage on San Marco has been characterized as a bricolage, or an eclectic accumulation of heterogeneous parts, but it defined a distinctive aesthetic that effectively expressed Venice's new civic identity and imperial aspirations, as the maritime city supplanted the East politically and appropriated it culturally, presenting its empire as natural, inevitable, and eternal.

The Sarcophagi of the Cathedral of Genoa

The Cathedral of Genoa, like the Basilica of San Marco, was the most important civic and religious monument in the city, dwarfing all other medieval structures in its massive size and elaborate decoration (Fig. 9).[10] The structure was continually remodeled and embellished throughout the Middle Ages, but a catastrophic fire that occurred as a result of political unrest in the city in 1296 occasioned the renovation and redecoration of the structure in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. It was at this time that extensive Roman *spolia* were added to the cathedral's decorative ensemble. Seventeen ancient Roman sarcophagi adorn the two towers of the cathedral and the Gothic façade (Fig. 10).[11] They consist of a variety of types but most feature strigilated decoration; some bear figures and inscriptions but the individual decorative motifs do not appear to have been of great importance as some sarcophagi were put into place upside down. No other church in Genoa, and few other churches in Italy in general feature such an extensive collection of ancient sarcophagi as architectural decoration.[12] A number of medieval churches might have one or two ancient tombs inserted into their walls as was the case with the Cathedral of Modena, and other religious structures like the Pisan Duomo would have had ancient sarcophagi distributed around their exteriors as funerary monuments for the city's elite. The sarcophagi here have shed their functionality as tombs, however, and have become relief sculpture on the façade of Genoa's cathedral.

The sheer number of reused Roman objects raises the question of their provenance and means of acquisition. Genoa was an insignificant city in the Roman period and it is thus unlikely that any of these objects were local products. The marble tombs on the cathedral mostly came from the areas around Rome and Campania, though one sarcophagus may have originated in Spain (Fig. 11).[13] The far-flung origins of the actual objects raise the questions of how and when they came to Genoa. There was at least one example of a sarcophagus being taken as war plunder in medieval Genoa, and that was one means through which ancient objects arrived in the city.[14] They would also have circulated as objects of commerce and in some cases may have served as prestigious burials for members of prominent Genoese families before being incorporated into the cathedral's facade. These sarcophagi, then, arrived in Genoa either through trade as commercial products or as trophies of military campaigns in the medieval

9 Henry Maguire, "Venetian Art as a Mirror of Venetian Attitudes to Byzantium in Decline", in Sümer Atasoy (ed.), *550th Anniversary of Istanbul University: International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium (15th century)* (Istanbul: Istanbul Universitesi, 2004), pp. 283–286.

10 The most recent and comprehensive monograph on the Cathedral of Genoa is Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti and Gerhard Wolf (eds.), *La Cattedrale di San Lorenzo a Genova: The Cathedral of St Lawrence in Genoa*, 2 vols. (Modena: Panini, 2012); see also Clario Di Fabio (ed.), *La Cattedrale di Genova nel Medioevo, secoli VI–XIV* (Milan: Silvana, 1998).

11 See particularly Colette Dufour Bozzo, *Sarcofagi romani a Genova* (Genoa: Tip. Pagano, 1967), pp. 31–43, for an inventory of the reused pieces on the cathedral, and more recently, Lucia Faedo, "Conoscenza dell'antico e reimpiego dei sarcofagi in Liguria", in Bernard Andreae and Salvatore Settis (eds.), *Colloquio sul reimpiego dei sarcofagi romani nel Medioevo*, (Marburg: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars, 1984), pp. 133–140. See also Di Fabio, "*La Cattedrale di Genova*" (see note 10), pp. 92–94.

12 For the closest comparanda, the Cathedrals of Pisa and Modena, see Maria Cecilia Parra, "Rimeditando sul reimpiego: Modena e Pisa viste in parallelo", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: Classe di lettere e filosofia* series 3, 13 (1983): pp. 453–483.

13 Faedo, "Conoscenza dell'antico" (see note 11), p. 140, has argued that this sarcophagus arrived in Genoa as a result of the Genoese military campaigns in al-Andalus in the twelfth century.

14 This sarcophagus is not on the cathedral but on the Doria family church of San Matteo; see Rebecca Müller, Sic hostes Ianua frangit: *Spolien und Trophäen im mittelalterlichen Genua* (Weimar: VDG, 2002), pp. 116–122, pp. 226–229.

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Fig. 8
Basilica of San Marco, south façade, porphyry tetrarchs (K. Mathews)

Fig. 9
Genoa Cathedral, general view (K. Mathews)

Fig. 10
Genoa Cathedral, detail of sarcophagi on west façade (K. Mathews)

Fig. 11
Genoa Cathedral, detail of sarcophagus from Spain (K. Mathews)

period. Thus though the marble tombs were not vestiges of a glorious Roman past in the city, they could still fabricate an ancient pedigree for the Genoese and display the city's preoccupation with establishing a noteworthy Roman heritage that served as a foundation for the medieval city's fame and prosperity.

In all of these cases, then, Italian cities with economies based on maritime commerce and a concerted presence in the Mediterranean decorated their signature monuments with objects from ancient and foreign cultures. These disparate and heterogeneous things displayed the integration of the maritime republics into Mediterranean culture and the sophistication of their citizens who traveled extensively to pursue political and economic interests. What was singular about the ancient and foreign *spolia* employed in the civic monuments of these maritime cities was the interplay between the insistent materiality of these objects and their indeterminacy and alterity, qualities that highlighted their thingness in a secondary context. Their dissonant and incongruous materiality empowered them to forge novel connections to people and other objects over space and time. In the analysis that follows, I will address these spoliate objects through the lens of material culture studies to demonstrate the powerful agency of things in defining civic identity for the medieval maritime cities of Italy.

Spolia as Material Culture

One way in which *spolia* are embedded into the discourse of material culture is through the essential and active role played by objects.[15] The *spolia* accumulated on the architectural monuments of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice were acquired, transported, conceptualized and deployed by human actors, but the objects' agency can be seen in the way that they integrated themselves into larger social and cultural networks, interacting with people and other objects to produce singular and unexpected effects. Objects have the power to render visible previously hidden knowledge and information, to embody and express key ideas and emotions of a collective culture or an individual.[16] They can be person-like in playing a mediatory role between people and things and their efficacy lies in the constant redefinition and renegotiation of this role as intermediary. Their significance and function can change over time and the object can take on new identities even within the same context. The immobilization of *spolia* in an architectural context, then, did not hinder the polyvocality of the material.[17]

First and foremost it was the seductive materiality of these objects that made them attractive. The gleaming, reflective, and colorful surfaces of glazed ceramics, the bright white marble of ancient tomb sculptures, the adamantine hardness of porphyry and its intense blood-red color were physical properties that rendered the objects desirable. That materiality unleashed a chain of events that brought these foreign and ancient objects to Italy, conveyed by the cities' merchants from all over the Mediterranean. Once in Italy, the stone sculptures and ceramics continued to circulate

15 Scholars within the fields of anthropology and archaeology continue to debate the agency of objects with some expressing skepticism about the ability of things to act independent of human impetus and manipulation, while others are wholly convinced of the power of things as actors and social agents. Alfred Gell, in his work *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), is one of the most outspoken proponents of the agency of objects, as is Jane Bennett in *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010). Other scholars emphasize the agency of humans in manipulating objects; for a critique of Gell's position see Liana Chua and Mark Elliott, "Introduction: Adventures in the Art Nexus", in Liana Chua and Mark Elliott (eds.), *Distributed Objects: Meaning and Mattering after Alfred Gell*, (New York: Berghahn, 2013), pp. 12–14, and Christopher Steiner, "Rights of Passage: On the Liminal Identity of Art in the Border Zone", in Fred Myers (ed.), *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2001), pp. 209–10, argues against giving objects too much agency.

16 Fred Myers, "Social Agency and the Cultural Value(s) of the Art Object", *Journal of Material Culture* 9, no. 2 (2004), p. 210; Pierre Lemonnier, *Mundane Objects: Materiality and Non-verbal Communication* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2012), pp. 119–220; Roberta Gilchrist, "The Materiality of Medieval Heirlooms: From Biographical to Sacred Objects", in Hans Peter Hahn and Hadas Weiss (eds.), *Mobility, Meaning and Transformations of Things* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), p. 172.

17 This idea of immobility or stasis is explored by Alfredo González-Ruibal in "Houses of Resistance: Time and Materiality among the Mao of Ethiopia", in Hahn and Weiss, *Mobility, Meaning* (see note 16), p. 15, and Carl Knappett, "Networks of Objects, Meshworks of Things", in *Redrawing Anthropology: Materials, Movements, Lines* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 48–49.

among secular and religious authorities, artists, and designers. As they conveyed information about the cultures from which they were taken – exotic foreign locales or the distant ancient past – they were open to new meanings and significations.

The juxtaposition of Islamic ceramics, for example, on a Christian building created a new cultural synthesis that could index religious difference and aesthetic appreciation simultaneously. The majority of the decorative sculpture on San Marco was Byzantine but came from both secular and religious contexts, as well as a number of different locations and time periods. The unexpected parataxis of imperial portraiture and Roman horses with images of saints and other religious figures created an accumulation of history and displayed Venice's mastery over Roman and Byzantine civilizations. The insertion of ancient Roman artifacts into the walls of Genoa's Cathedral employed objects in the fabrication of fictive lineages and historical connections to a Roman past. These objects, then, strengthened or redefined pre-existing social and cultural relationships or forged completely new connections and mediations between human actors or between people and things.[18]

The object's movement through time and space triggered the polyvocality of *spolia* and that translation had profound effects on objects and the humans with whom they interacted. The use of *spolia* displayed a concept of time that was mutable and flexible where the complexity of an object lay in its ability to represent the past and present simultaneously.[19] The resonance between the two or between the present and multiple pasts revitalized ancient objects in new contemporary contexts. The horses on San Marco's façade typify the layering of history in a single spoliate object.[20] The bronze sculptures are ancient Roman artifacts that were taken to Constantinople and erected in the Hippodrome where they presided over equestrian events for centuries. When they arrived in Venice in the thirteenth century, the bronze horses languished in storage for a half-century before finally crowning the ducal basilica. The multiple pasts – Roman, Byzantine, and Venetian – and multiple contexts – Roman public space, hippodrome, and warehouse – gave them a conceptual patina akin to the physical one that covers the horses today. Medieval viewers would have had access to some or all of these pasts and the longevity of bronze sculpture allowed the team of horses to shift in trajectory and move through different regimes of value.

The stance towards time displayed in the Genoese use of ancient sarcophagi is more focused and univocal than that of the San Marco *spolia*, as the objects were intended to reference one culture and historical moment, that of Roman antiquity. The objects evoked an absence, the lack of a Roman past for the Ligurian city, but highlighted a presence in the accumulation of ancient objects on the cathedral.[21] The Roman *spolia* thus created a completely new relationship with antiquity, augmenting the city's legitimacy and visualizing a new collective historical memory for the Genoese.

18 Miguel John Versluys, "Roman Visual Material Culture as Globalising Koine", in Martin Pitts and Miguel John Versluys (eds.), *Globalisation and the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 165–166; Bjørnar Olsen et al., *Archaeology: The Discipline of Things* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. 13; Anne Brower Stahl, "Material Histories", in Dan Hicks and Mary Beaudry (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Cultural Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 151–156; Christopher Tilley, "Objectification", in Christopher Tilley et al. (ed.), *Handbook of Material Culture* (see note 2), pp. 60–64.

19 Carl Knappett, "Imprints as Punctuations of Material Itineraries", in Hahn and Weiss, *Mobility, Meaning* (see note 16), p. 38; Dale Kinney, "Introduction", in Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney (eds.), *Reuse Value:* Spolia *and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 3.

20 Robert Nelson has addressed the multiple pasts and meanings of the San Marco horses in his article "Appropriation", in Robert Nelson and Richard Shiff (eds.), *Critical Terms for Art History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 116–128.

21 Marissa Lazzari, "The Texture of Things: Objects, People, and Social Spaces in Argentine Prehistory", in Lynn Meskell (ed.), *Archaeologies of Materiality* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), p. 127.

Just as objects crossing temporal borderlines were unstable, open to new significations and changes in trajectory, so too were things displaced in space, traveling along new pathways and social networks. The further an object traveled the less was known about its place of origin; it could be mythologized, accruing a new biography as it moved.[22] The Islamic ceramics that made their way to Italy, for example, were not luxury goods in their place of origin. But by the time that they arrived in Pisa, their value had increased exponentially as common kitchen objects became symbols of exotic lands and the wealth and prestige Pisa gained through Mediterranean commerce. Displayed on dozens of Pisan churches, their symbolic value increased further; they were now art objects, removed from commercial circulation and prized for their aesthetic qualities.[23] As the vessels passed through various contexts, from secular to religious function, from merchant traders to ecclesiastical art patrons, they experienced a dramatic transformation of identity.

This was also the case with Venetian *spolia,* as the disparate objects on San Marco's façade were subject to multiple reinterpretations over the centuries. A venerable myth connected to the basilica's decoration was that the objects accumulated there were spoils of war from the Fourth Crusade when the Venetians conquered the Byzantine capital. Some of these pieces may have been plunder but no documentary evidence exists that addresses their means of acquisition. The Venetians had been buying luxurious marbles on the Mediterranean market since the ninth century, so it is highly likely that trade, in addition to war, brought these sculptures to Venice.[24] Thus, while the Pisans transformed trade goods into art objects, the Venetians interpreted their commodities as symbols of military triumph. In another conceptual conversion, the *spolia* on San Marco oscillated between secular and religious realms. The most visually arresting objects – the bronze horses, porphyry head and Tetrarchs, the relief of Alexander – were secular in origin but subsequently redefined in a religious context. The "pilastri acritani" moved in the opposite direction, however, as architectural elements of support from a church that became secular symbols, erected as victory trophies in a public city square. The cultural and religious borders they crossed were sites of negotiation and transaction and the moving object could continue to evoke its previous contexts or shed them altogether and be defined and interpreted in novel ways in subsequent stopping points on its journey.

A final distinctive characteristic of *spolia* as a manifestation of material culture is the dichotomy they present between alterity and familiarity. There is an abstraction and an opacity to spoliate objects, what Alfred Gell has termed "cognitive stickiness", that defies categorization.[25] Their alterity lies in the striking incongruity of incorporating *spolia* into heterogeneous decorative ensembles in order to create polysemous relations between things, unexpected connections that would not have been made otherwise. The encrusted exterior of the Basilica of San Marco epitomized this polysemy as objects from different periods, places of origin, materials, colors, sizes, and styles were juxtaposed while resisting a visual

22 Hahn and Weiss, "Introduction", in Hahn and Weiss, *Mobility, Meaning (*see note 16), p. 5; Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value", in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 42–44 and 48; Mary Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 114 and 121.

23 See Mathews, "Other Peoples' Dishes", (see note 6), p. 19, for a discussion of *bacini* as terminal or diverted commodities based on the categories of commodities devised by Igor Kopytoff "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process", in Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*, pp. 64–91.

24 Simonetta Minguzzi, "Aspetti della decorazione marmorea e architettonica della basilica di San Marco", in Irene Favaretto et al. (eds.), *Marmi della basilica di San Marco: capitelli, plutei, rivestimenti, arredi* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2000), p. 41 and 66.

25 Gell, *Art and Agency* (see note 15), p. 86; Chua and Elliott, "Introduction", in Chua and Elliott, *Distributed Objects* (see note 15), pp. 12–13; Janet Hoskins, "Agency, Biography, and Objects" in Tilley, *Handbook of Material Culture* (see note 2), pp. 76–77.

synthesis. They tantalized the viewer but frustrated any attempt to reconcile the whole with the disparate parts.[26]

The dichotomy between alterity and familiarity can be most clearly seen in the Pisan *bacini* decoration, where mundane things shift from the domestic realm to a religious one.[27] These vessels were used simultaneously as tableware and church ornament, and the jarring contrast between their normative use and new function displayed their indeterminacy and inherent elasticity while maintaining their strangeness and incongruity.[28] Innovative uses of material objects allowed for the blurring of boundaries between art objects and ordinary things, and in Pisa the meanings associated with beautiful Islamic pottery vessels vacillated depending upon whether you viewed them on a public church façade or in the privacy of a domestic environment.

Conclusion

Over the course of centuries, however, concrete information about the procurement of these foreign and past objects would have been lost. The *spolia* became naturalized, then, in their Italian contexts to the point that their distant origins were forgotten and they became localized, distinctly Pisan, Genoese, and Venetian.[29] The loss of knowledge of the previous context was liberating to some degree, opening up these multivalent objects so that they could convey information about a variety of new symbolic domains. They continually added new meanings and defined novel connections to people and things though their physical movement had stopped centuries before. The omnipresence of spoliate ornament on the medieval architecture of the maritime republics demonstrates how significant it was for the Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians to decorate with things. The abstract indeterminacy of *spolia* provided an extraordinary hermeneutic richness and layering for both medieval and modern viewers. Studying these eclectic and heterogeneous spoliate ensembles as material culture can complement art historical research while broadening our understanding of *spolia* through an emphasis on an object's movement, it power to accumulate or resist meaning, as well as its endless potential for redefinition.

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26 Janet Hoskins, "Agency, Biography, and Objects" (see note 25), p. 76. See also Fabio Barry, "*Disiecta membra*: Raniero Zeno, the Imitation of Constantinople, the *Spolia* style, and Justice at San Marco", in Maguire and Nelson, *San Marco, Byzantium* (see note 7), pp. 26–27.

27 This idea of mundane and ordinary objects taking on heightened significance is addressed by Pierre Lemonnier in *Mundane Objects* (see note 16).

28 Mathews, "Other Peoples' Dishes", (see note 6), p. 10.

29 See Heather Grossman, "Syncretism Made Concrete: The Case for a Hybrid Moreote Architecture", in Judson Emerick and Deborah Deliyannis (eds.) *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker*, (Mainz: von Zabern, 2005), pp. 65–73, for this idea of local identity. See also Stefania Gerevini, "The Grotto of the Virgin in San Marco: Artistic Reuse and Cultural Identity in Medieval Venice", *Gesta* 53, no. 2 (2014), pp. 219–220, and Lamia Balafrej, "Saracen or Pisan? The Use and Meaning of the Pisa Griffin on the Duomo", *Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012), pp. 31–33 and 37.

The Re-use of Byzantine *Spolia* in Rūm Saljūq Architecture

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This paper investigates the various possible reasons for, and specific types of, Byzantine funerary and ecclesiastical *spolia*[1] employed in Rūm Saljūq architecture during the early 13th century. The main focus is on a selection of little-known buildings in Akşehir, a city in the frontier region of the Rūm Saljūq sultanate, close to the Christian Byzantine lands. Two structures in Konya, located 100km to the southeast, and described by the chronicler Ibn Bībī as the "home to the throne of the state" (*mustaqarr-i sarīr-i dawlat*),[2] are also examined. In addition, *spolia* usage at a complex near Isparta, which consists of a tomb, a madrasa and a mosque is addressed (Fig. 1). Although only a small selection will be discussed here, it is possible to show the diversity of functions and meanings, and introduce them to a wider audience.

The bulk of Anatolia came under Turko-Muslim control following the victory of the Great Saljūq Sultan Alp Arslān at Manzikert, near Ahlat in south-east Anatolia, in 463/1071.[3] It took nearly a century for the emergence of the requisite political and economic stability which allowed for a significant programme of architectural redevelopment to get underway. This process effloresced under the aegis of the Rūm Saljūq dynasty which was, by the late 12th century, the preeminent power in Anatolia.[4] Following the Latin conquest of Constantinople, in April 1204, the land to the west of the Rūm Saljūq Sultanate was ruled by the Greek Christian Laskarid Empire of Nicaea.[5] The close proximity to Christian territory, and the largely Christian population of Anatolia, go some way towards explaining the syncretic mix of Byzantine[6] and Muslim building techniques and aesthetics seen in the surviving Islamic architecture of the region.

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Fig. 1
Anatolia in c.1220 (R. McClary)

1 It is possible that certain fragments originated from secular buildings such as palaces, but the vast majority of decorative material is clearly either ecclesiastical or funerary in origin.

2 Andrew Peacock, "Court and Nomadic Life in Saljūq Anatolia", in David Durand-Guédy, *Turco-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life,* Leiden & Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), p. 198.

3 For a detailed study of the battle and its aftermath see Carole Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol; The Battle of Manzikert,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), especially pp. 26–88.

4 For an overview of the period see Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey, The Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), especially pp. 7–65 and Songül Mecit, *The Rum Seljuqs; Evolution of a Dynasty* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), chapter 3, pp. 54–98.

5 See Alexander P. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 356–358 and p.1180 for an overview of the Byzantine Empire of Nicaea. For a detailed study see Michael Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society Under the Laskarids of Nicaea 1204–1261* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

6 For an overview of the development of Byzantine architecture see Robert Ousterhout, "Churches and Monasteries", in Elizabeth Jeffreys (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 353–372.

There are two broad types of *spolia*[7] usage in the frontier architecture of the Rūm Saljūqs. Elements were re-appropriated in the context of Islamic architecture across an array of structural typologies: for symbolic, apotropaic or decorative purposes on the one hand, and practical or structural on the other.[8] To complicate matters somewhat, there are several examples where multivalent roles and meanings can be seen to be at play. The focus here is on the early phase of construction, during the first half of the 13th century, prior to the Mongol victory at Köse Dağ in 641/1243, and the resultant emasculation of the Rūm Saljūq Sultans. Although much *spolia* was used after this date,[9] the functions, meaning and architectural aesthetic of the Muslim-built architecture of Anatolia had been established by that time.

Turning to the scholarly study of the material, there has only been one attempt to catalogue the use of (largely) Byzantine *spolia* by the Rūm Saljūqs, by Öney in 1968.[10] The article is rather dated, far from comprehensive, and features limited analysis of either the possible reasons for the use, or the details, of the *spolia* fragments. The attempt here is not to provide a full catalogue, but to examine a few lesser-known examples, in order to determine the possible reasons for the phenomena. These in turn may be applicable to the wider corpus of *spolia* re-use in the Islamic architecture of medieval Anatolia. The reasons why Byzantine *spolia* elements were re-used, given the lack of relevant written sources, are very subjective and difficult questions to answer.[11] It may be assumed that at different times, and in different locations, the reasons varied from the wholly practical, such as the re-use of capitals, columns and other structural elements, to the more symbolic and talismanic. While somewhat arbitrary, the division of the usage into two broad categories, one purely functional and the other more multi-layered and enigmatic, provides a starting point for the analysis of a complex and at times seemingly intractable problem.

Functional usage of *spolia*

The more crude and haphazard use of damaged and random elements of *spolia* fragments in the mosques of Akşehir was primarily functional, but with the conscious use of some decorative elements on occasion. The marble columns and capitals used in the construction of the Ulu Camii in Akşehir[12] (607/1210) are examples of the purely practical use of *spolia* (Fig. 2). Their use would represent a significant saving in time, and therefore cost, when compared with the carving of new components. They are generally less overtly Christian in character than some other *spolia*, and when crosses had been carved into the capitals, they were often chipped away, presumably before re-use.[13] It is hard to attribute any significant degree of social, cultural or symbolic importance to this category of re-use. Unlike the exterior of buildings, which could be seen by people of all denominations and religions in the community, the interior of the mosque would only have been seen by members of the *umma*, and must be

7 For a good overview of the reuse of *spolia* see Michael Greenhalgh, "*Spolia*: A Definition in Ruins", in Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney (eds.), *Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine,* Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 75–95. For a wider analysis of the various interpretations of the term 'spolia' see Dale Kinney, *Introduction,* in Brilliant and Kinney, *Spolia and Appropriation*, pp. 1–11.

8 The categories used in this paper builds on Carole Hillenbrand's identification of three key motivating factors in the reuse of *spolia* in post-Crusader Jerusalem, namely; practical, aesthetic and, primarily, as displays of the spoils of victory. See Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades, Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), pp. 384–385. In a similar, although not identical vein, see Greenhalgh, *Spolia: A Definition* (see note 7), p. 81, in his somewhat damning indictment of much of the recent scholarship on *spolia* studies, posits pragmatism, aesthetics and ideology as the three basic categories of reuse.

9 An example can be seen in Patricia Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia after the Mongol Conquest: Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rūm, 1240–1330* (Ashgate Publishing: Farnham, 2014), pp. 194–195, where she describes the use of *spolia* at the Arslanhane in Ankara, built in 688/1289–90.

10 Gönül Öney, "Anadolu Selçuk Mimarisinde Antik Devir Malzemesi", *Anadolu* XII (1968), pp. 17–38. See Scott Redford, "The Seljuks of Rum and the Antique", *Muqarnas* X (1993), pp. 148–156; pp.148–9 for a brief discussion of the article.

11 Finbarr B. Flood, "Image against Nature: *Spolia* as Apotropaia in Byzantium and the dār al-Islām", *The Medieval History Journal,* Vol. 9/1, (2006), pp. 143–166 provided an excellent overview of the views expressed in the surviving medieval Arabic and Persian written accounts of the talismanic qualities associated with antique *spolia*. See Greenhalgh, *Spolia: A Definition* (see note 7), especially pp. 75–81 for a clarion call for caution regarding the attribution of meaning to re-used marble architectural components.

12 Located at: Lat: 38° 21' 23'' N Lon: 031° 24' 41'' E.

13 An exception to this practice can be seen on the largest of the four *spolia* capitals used in the (heavily restored) covered porch of the Kileci Mescidi in >

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assessed with that audience in mind. There are a number of other structures in Akşehir, dating from the 13th century, which also feature re-used capitals and carved *spolia* set into the walls. One example is the Kileci Camii, which has a triple arched portico, somewhat reminiscent of a Byzantine *tribelon,* on the front. With the exception of the Ulu Camii, the Akşehir mosques under discussion all have the same basic form, consisting of a square-plan room, covered by a single dome.

Symbolic usage of *spolia*

In contrast to the reuse of purely structural elements, with little or no decoration, the conscious and conspicuous use of ashlars with anthropomorphic and non-Arabic epigraphic decoration poses a far more challenging question as to why they were used. There was no need to display the decoration, so it has to be inferred that the choice of decoration was a conscious and deliberate act.

The façades of the Güdük Minare Camii[14] (624/1226), and the Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani Mescidi[15] (621/1224), feature numerous fragments of Byzantine *spolia*, set amidst baked bricks, of the size developed in the Persianate tradition of brick-building,[16] and glazed tiles. This suggests that, although it is likely that local masons were also employed, the construction of mosques was primarily the work of migrant Muslim craftsmen, probably from north-western Iran.[17] The Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani Mescidi features a large number of *spolia* ashlars, including torus moulded jambs and lintels, but only a few pieces feature any sort of decorative carving. There is a fragment of a panel with ecclesiastical origins,[18] as well as two sections of funerary *stelae*, both of which feature anthropomorphic sculpture in relief (Fig. 3). One has four standing figures in an architectural setting, beneath a pediment, flanked by outward facing palms, and surrounded by a Greek inscription.[19] Such unorthodox use of human figures on a mosque is very unusual,[20] but it may have been the presence of the palms, associated with the hand of Fāṭima in the Muslim tradition, that prompted the use of this particular piece of *spolia*. The other example of figural carving features two rows of outward facing soldiers, each holding a spear, with a horse and rider at the end, located at the top-right of the right-hand window of the entrance façade (Fig. 3). Again, such con-

Akşehir (*c.*13th century). The capital, which is similar in style to ones seen in the Ulu Camii, features a cross, facing outwards, which has not been chipped away.

14 Located at: Lat: 38º 21' 25'' N Lon: 031º 24' 34'' E.

15 Also known as the Ferruh Şah Mescidi, it is located at: Lat: 38º 21' 20'' N Lon: 031º 24' 28'' E.

16 The average brick size employed in Iran was *c.*20cm x *c.*20cm x *c.*5cm. In contrast, Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 131 states that Byzantine bricks were much larger, measuring between 32cm and 36cm square, and thinner, with an average thickness closer to 3.5cm.

17 In addition, Etienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget and Gaston Wiet (eds.), *Répertoire Chronologique D'Épigraphie Arabe Vol. 10* (Cairo: l'Instiut français d'archéologie orientale, 1939), p. 218 mentions a nearby inscription, dated to 621/1224, which gives the name of a craftsman from Mosul (al-Mawṣil), (المولى عبد الله بن أحمد عمل).

18 The panel has the appearance of being of middle Byzantine vintage. For similar examples dated to the 11th century see Maria Kontogiannopoulou, *Ta Byzantina Glypta tes Koimes tes Theotokou kai tou Hagiou Athenasiou ste Makrinista Peliou* (Thessaloniki: n/p, 2000), pp. 84–85 and pp. 169–171, plates 69–71. The use of relatively contemporaneous material from churches should perhaps be viewed in a different light to the use of far older objects. Such older stones may be presumed to have been far less loaded with meaning for the indigenous Christian population than church components.

19 The Persian writer Nāṣir-i Khusrau reported in the 11th century on the use of a piece of antique stone with non-Arabic writing in Syria as a talisman against spiders, cited in Flood, *Image Against Nature* (see note 11), p.1 48. It is possible that a similarly talismanic meaning was intended for the Anatolian examples as well.

20 A limited number of zoomorphic exceptions are given in Flood, *Image Against Nature* (see note 11), p. 158. Finbarr B. Flood "An Ambiguous Aesthetic: Crusader *Spolia* in Ayyubid >

Fig. 2
Ulu Camii (607/1210), Akşehir: Interior (L) Detail (R) (R. McClary)

scious use of human figural images on a mosque is most unusual, and it is in the bellicose content, and the possible suggestion of Muslim victory, that a possible reason for its use may be found.

The main decorative elements of the Güdük Minare Camii, including the marble *spolia* and the glazed tiles, are clustered around the entrance. The (off-set) arch over the door, although largely brick-built with turquoise glazed intarsia, has a stone Corinthian capital deep-set into each spandrel (Fig. 4). They represent the only symmetrical use of *spolia* in the two structures, and appear to date from the 4th century.[21] This would make them somewhat earlier than most of the other examples of carved architectural *spolia* used in Akşehir.

The marble panels featuring Arabic epigraphy, giving the name of the patron, date and in the case of the Güdük Minare Camii, the builder,[22] are given prominence over all the marble *spolia* elements by the addition of a turquoise glazed tile border. This technique can be seen on the entrance façade of both the small mosques under discussion. Such a hierarchy of form suggests that whatever multi-layered meanings the *spolia* may have been imbued with, be they talismanic, apotropaic or as a sign of victory, the overtly Islamic elements clearly took precedence.

Although the use of *spolia* appears rather haphazard in many cases, the relief band of triangular decoration in brick that runs around the top of the Güdük Minare Camii is echoed in the form of the large marble *spolia* panel set in the wall below (Fig. 4). The apparent dissonance between

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Jerusalem", in Robert Hillenbrand and Sylvie Auld (eds.) *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context 1187–1220* (London: Altajit Trust, 2009), p. 209–211 discusses the zoomorphic capitals at the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, but gives no examples of the use of anthropomorphic sculpture on or in mosques in either publication.

21 Based on similar examples in Jerusalem, shown in Ernst Kitzinger *Byzantine Art in the Making,* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), plate 140. *Ibid.*, p. 79, which gives a date of before 400, while pp. 78–79 discusses the development process of the "pure impost capital" within the Byzantine architectural tradition from the 5th century onwards. It is such types of capital that are seen in the Ulu Camii and the Kileci Camii. See Sophia Kalopisi-Verti and Maria Panayotodi-Kesisoglu, *Multilingual Illustrated Dictionary of Byzantine Architectural and Sculptural Terminology*, (Herakleion: Crete University Press, 2010), p.152, figs. 321–324 for an overview of the forms of Byzantine impost capitals. For a detailed study of Middle Byzantine capitals see Martin Dennert *Mittelbyzantinische kapitelle, Asia Minor Studien 25* (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1997).

22 Michael Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1976), Vol. 2, p. 32 states that the inscription panel over the door names the builder as Aḥmad ibn Mas῾ūd.

Fig. 3
Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani Mescidi (621/1224), Akşehir: façade (L) and detail (R) (R. McClary)

Fig. 4
Güdük Minare Camii (624/1226), Akşehir: East façade (L) Detail (R) (R. McClary)

the two materials and traditions is bridged by the formal similarities. What appear to be either fragments of *templon* screen sections or panels from an *ambo* (raised pulpit) can be seen in façades of the Güdük Minare Camii and the Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani Mescidi. Given the ubiquity of *templon* and *ambo* panels[23] there may well have been some significance in the use of broken, rather than intact, sections on the exterior of mosques. Such usage of elements taken from the *naos,* being the most sacred part of a church, on the exterior of a mosque, (Fig. 4) may be related to the idea of Christian subjugation and the victory of Islam.[24] However, caution is required in order to avoid trying to force fragmentary evidence to fit a hypothesis regarding the meaning and the intentions of patrons and builders in the absence of any clear evidence.

It could be argued that the re-use of marble from Byzantine structures was a result of the absence of skilled craftsmen capable of carving new work. However, the superb quality of some of the epigraphy, especially in the case of the Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani Mescidi panel[25] (Fig. 3), indicates the presence of highly skilled hardstone carvers. Yet there was still a large amount of decorated marble ashlars and *stelae spolia* integrated into structures built in the western part of the Rūm Saljūq Sultanate during the late 12th and early 13th centuries. The two small mosques under discussion are rare examples of *opus mixtum* in the corpus of Rūm Saljūq architecture. The brick component of the buildings, especially the Güdük Minare Camii, feature far wider mortar bed joints that most other brick-built structures in Anatolia. This feature, along with the presence of exposed timber tie-beams indicates the involvement of craftsmen trained in the Byzantine building tradition,[26] alongside those from Muslim-ruled lands to the east and south.

It is possible that in many cases the motivation for the re-use of marble was because of the inherent value of the material, rather than any perceived cultural associations with the form and decoration of the *spolia*.[27] The pre-eminent chronicler of the Rūm Saljūqs, Ibn Bībī, indicated the talismanic qualities that they attributed to marble. He gave an account of how Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Qubādh I (r. 616–634/1219–1237) delayed his attack on Alanya in order to transport marble projectiles to the site.[28] Such attitudes may shed some light on the, sometimes seemingly random, incorporation of marble *spolia* fragments into the fabric of structures during the 13th century in Anatolia.

The *spolia* used in the entrance to the Ertokuş Tomb[29] (621/1224)[30] at Atabey, near Isparta, may be considered an example of such re-use. The forms that are created with the *spolia* lintels and jambs, along with the use of brick, copy the recently completed tomb of ʿIzz al-Dīn kay Kāwūs I in Sivas, built in a wholly Persianate style (Fig. 5). The Sivas tomb is, in turn, very similar in form to a Khwārazmian tomb in Gurganj, built far to the east, in what is now northern Turkmenistan, in the early 13th century.[31] Although not executed in the latest glazed tile technique, the carved marble components at Atabey appear to have been perceived as prestige elements, and an attempt, albeit not entirely successfully, was

23 Nicholas Patricios, *The Sacred Architecture of Byzantium; Art, Liturgy and Symbolism in Early Christian Churches* (London / New York, NY: I.B. Tauris, 2014), pp. 83–84 states that the *ambo* was introduced in the second half of the 4th century, had become universal by the 9th century and fully developed by the 12th century. Located in the *naos*, they were usually made of white marble.

24 Referring to the Antalya city walls, Scott Redford and Gary Leiser, *Victory Inscribed: The Seljuk Fetihname on the Citadel Walls of Antalya, Turkey / Taşa Yazılan Zafer: Antalya İçkale Surlarındaki Selçuklu Fetihnamesi* (İstanbul: Suna-İnan Kiraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Enstitütsü, 2007), p. 103 states that "the prominent employment of recognisably Christian architectural sculpture is obviously symbolising the victory of one religion over another".

25 See Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *Répertoire Chronologique* (see note 17), pp. 217–8 for a transcription and translation (into French) of the epigraphy.

26 See Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (see note 16), pp. 181–184 for more details.

27 Greenhalgh, *Spolia: A Definition* (see note 7), pp. 90–91 argues that it was the beauty of the marble itself which caused the medieval attraction to it.

28 Cited in Redford, *The Seljuks of Rum* (see note 10), p. 149.

29 Located at: Lat: 37º 57' 05" N Lon: 030º 38' 43" E. For more details of the building see Hakki Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1996), pp. 74–78 and p.79, figs 23 and 24.

30 The complex, consisting of a mosque, tomb and madrasa, is dated by epigraphy over the entrance portal. For an image of the inscription see Aptullah Kuran, *Anadolu Medreseleri Vol. 1* (Ankara: ODTU Mimarlik Fakultesi, 1969), plate 82. For more details of the madrasa see *ibid.,* pp. 46–49 and plates 82–92.

31 See Mukhammed Mamedov and Ruslan Muradov, *Gurganj: Architectural and Historical Guide,* Padua: Il Punto, 2001), p. 45 for more details of the Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī Tomb in Gurganj, and the case for it actually being the tomb of the Khwārazm Shāh Īl-Arslān (r. 551–567/1156–1172).

made to match the different elements into a unified composition, in a form that also echoes the *tribelon* of Byzantine architecture. An appreciation of the quality of the carving, the suitability of both the (non-figural) decoration, and the tensile strength of marble lintels, in the context of a partially brick-built structure, are all likely to have played a part in the decision to use such *spolia*.

The Ertokuş Madrasa, to which the tomb is attached, also features examples of re-used architectural components, and some of them perform a similar role to that which they performed in their original church context, namely to separate the divine from the profane.[32] Four *templon* panels, one of which features extensive zoomorphic decoration, including winged quadrupeds,[33] are used to separate the mosque from the larger central domed area of the madrasa (Fig. 6). Given the largely Christian population in Anatolia, and the likelihood that a number of the stonemasons were Christian, it is unlikely that such direct repurposing was accidental. Rather, it is more likely to be an example of the slow process of cultural integration and architectural synthesis that was occurring across Anatolia in the 13th century. There was a shifting and imprecise sliding scale of overlapping motivations, with clearly symbolic re-use in some cases, and in others more overly prosaic, practical reasons for the re-use of elements from a different, earlier and largely subjugated tradition of lithic architectural expression. There is a long tradition, in both Christianity

[32] Patricios, *The Sacred Architecture* (see note 23), p. 399 notes that the importance of the recognition of a threshold was not limited to Byzantine architecture.

[33] For details of similar Byzantine carved animals, dated to the 11th century, see Kontogiannopoulou, *Ta Byzantina Glypta* (see note 18), pp. 13–14 and pp. 100–101, plates 5 and 6.

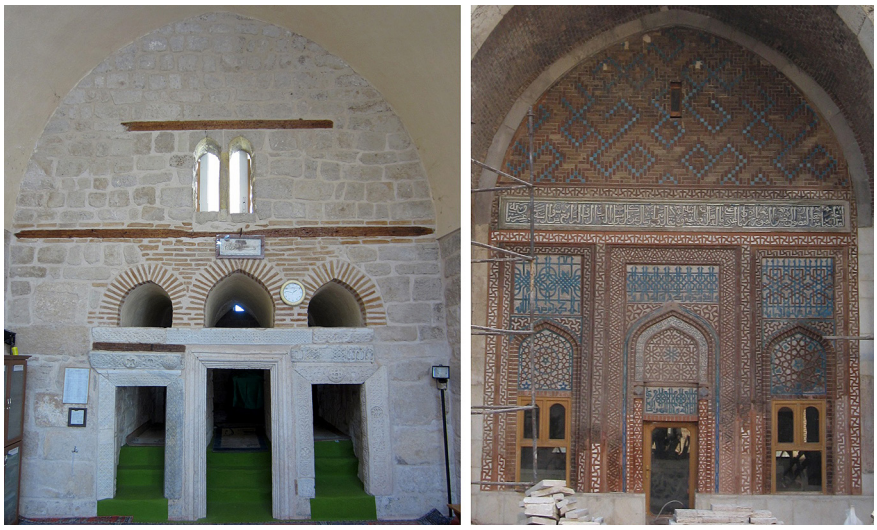

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Fig. 5
Ertokuş Tomb (621/1224), Atabey (L)
ʿIzz al-Dīn Tomb (617/1220), Sivas (R)
(R. McClary)

Fig. 6
Ertokuş Madrasa (621/1224), Atabey:
Interior (L) Detail (R) (R. McClary)

and Islam, of imbuing figural and zoomorphic carvings with apotropaic and talismanic qualities,[34] and the examples in Isparta are likely to fit into this process of trans-cultural continuity.

Moving north to Konya, the capital of the sultanate, the discussion turns to two examples of sultanic funerary architecture. The extensive use of Byzantine *spolia* throughout the citadel mosque in Konya has been noted by several scholars,[35] and there are a number of examples of figural *spolia*, both zoomorphic and anthromorphic, known to have been used in the citadel walls.

The entrance[36] of the imperial tomb of the dynasty was built during the rule of Kılıç Arslān II (r. 551–588/1156–92)[37] in the courtyard of the citadel mosque[38] and must have been seen, by any metric, as being the very heart of the sultanate. It was here that a fine decorative panel of ecclesiastical Byzantine *spolia* was inserted[39] (Fig. 7). It is hard to believe that its use was not imbued with some significance, beyond the mere appreciation of the superbly carved pattern. The fact that it is located over the entrance to the building adds to the significance of the panel.[40]

Next to the tomb of Kılıç Arslān II is the only surviving marble tomb built by the Rūm Saljūqs. It remains unfinished, and although previous scholars have suggested that it was commissioned by Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs I, prior to 617/1220,[41] stylistic analysis, and a reassessment of the chronology of the planning of the tomb of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs I in Sivas, suggests a later date. It is more likely to be the work of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw II (d. 644/1246), with construction having

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34 Flood, *Image Against Nature* (see note 11), p. 150 notes the use of figural apotropaia on the threshold of mosques. *Ibid*., pp. 151–152 discusses the earlier use of such symbols in churches. The article makes a strong case for the continuity of meaning, the connection between zoology and demonology, as well as the talismanic quality of figural stone carving.

35 Scott Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque in Konya Reconsidered", *Artibus Asiae,* Vol. 51 (1991), pp. 54–74; p. 57. *Ibid.,* discusses the details and locations of the *spolia* throughout. Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia* (see note 9), p. 36 suggests that the use of *spolia* in the Konya mosque is more practical than ideological.

36 Redford, *The Alaeddin Mosque* (see note 35), p. 57 notes that the entrance, originally in the east facet of the tomb, was subsequently moved to the north face during the rule of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Qubādh I.

37 Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 213.

38 Located at: Lat: 37° 52' 25" N Lon: 032° 29' 34" E.

39 The panels either side of the central section feature unusual split palmettes, similar to an example in St. Polyeuktos in Constantinople (524–527). See Kalopisi-Verti and Panayotodi-Kesisoglu, *Multilingual Illustrated Dictionary* (see note 21), p. 166, fig.17.3.1.

40 Flood, *Image Against Nature* (see note 11), p. 149 states that Arabic and Persian sources indicate that apotropaic *spolia* devices were consistently placed over doorways.

41 Redford, *The Alaeddin Mosque* (see note 35), p. 69. Redford adopts the arguments put forward by M.K. Oral in *Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi I* (1956). Önkal, *Anadolu Selçuklu Türbeleri* (see note 29), p. 68 also attributes the tomb to ʿIzz al-Dīn, based on an epigraphic panel on the exterior of the north wall of the mosque enclosure.

Fig. 7
Kılıç Arslān Tomb (c.593/1197), Konya: North facet (L) Detail (R) (R. McClary)

Fig. 8
Unfinished Tomb (c. before 641/1243), Konya: North facet (L) Detail (R) (R. McClary)

ceased following the Mongol victory in 641/1243.[42] The entrance to the crypt is flanked by two side panels from sarcophagi, one of which is broken into two pieces (Fig. 8). Such re-use of funerary *spolia* in the context of a tomb appears to be deliberate, and suggest a conscious sense of both functional and regional stylistic continuity on the part of the patron and the builders.[43]

By investigating the wide range of uses, some hypotheses in regard to what the multiplicity of meanings and reasons for the use of *spolia* have emerged. In order to better understand the intentions of the patrons, some sort of sense of the socio-cultural context of the court, from where most of the architectural patronage emanated, must be considered. Many of the royal women at the Saljūq court were Greek princesses,[44] and their presence would inevitably have affected the cultural experience of the whole court, and by extension the patronage, of both emirs and royalty.[45] The poly-cultural character of the court included the Sultans, many of which had Greek mothers and wives. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw (r. 588–93/1192–97; 1st reign, r. 601–08/1205–11; 2nd reign)[46] was simultaneously a Greek-speaking Christian as well as a Persian-speaking Muslim.[47] These seemingly contradictory characteristics encapsulate the syncretism and hyphenation that were so typical of the elites of the region from the 12th century onwards. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that it was on the frontiers with the Christian Byzantine Laskarid Empire, in the west of Anatolia, that the phenomenon of *spolia* use was most prevalent.

Appropriation of form

Within the discussion of appropriation of physical stones, the use of forms and motifs associated with, and developed in, different regions and religious traditions may also be considered as part of the same phenomenon. The north portal (*c.* 616/1219–1220)[48] of the citadel mosque in Konya, also referred to as the Aladdin Camii, features non-structural elbow brackets projecting from the impost blocks at the springing of the arch. This is an architectural motif which was developed in the Crusader architecture of Outremer,[49] prior to being adopted into the Islamic vocabulary of ornament. The north façade of the masjid al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem was rebuilt in 614/1217–18 by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's nephew al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿIsa.[50] The brackets, referred to as angle shafts by Hamilton, are cut from single blocks of medium-hard limestone, and are incorporated into the eight piers of the three central bays of the north porch.[51] The conspicuous appropriation of an identifiable aesthetic of the defeated Christians, on the most prestigious mosque in Jerusalem, suggests that it may have been intended as a sign of the victory of Islam and the subjugation of Christianity.[52] It may be the case that the use of newly carved examples of the motif in Konya was an attempt by the builders, on behalf of the patron ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs I, to make a similar political statement. The prominent use of a decorative element, otherwise unknown in Anatolia, but associated with the Ayyūbids and the defeat of Christendom, on the portal of the

42 For more details see Richard P. McClary, *The Rūm Saljūq Architecture of Anatolia, 1170–1220* (Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2015), pp. 452–455.

43 Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia* (see note 9), p. 36–38, in reference to the two sarcophagi incorporated into the façade of the contemporaneous Sahib Ata complex in Konya (656/1258), argues that they refer to the past of the city and suggest notions of memory and historical awareness on the part of the Rūm Saljūqs.

44 Alexander Beihammer, "Defection across the Border of Islam and Christianity: Apostasy and Cross-Cultural Interaction in Byzantine-Seljuk Relations", *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies,* Vol.86, No.3 (2011), pp. 597–651; p. 600 notes that many of the sultans were born of Greek women. The translation of Niketas Choniatēs in Harry J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Chionatēs* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1984), p. 343 gives details of the marriage of Ghiyāth al-Dīn to the daughter of the Byzantine courtier Manuel Mavrozomēs. In addition, there were also Armenian and Georgian women at the court.

45 Rustam Shukurov, "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes", in Andrew C. S. Peacock, and Sara N. Yıldız (eds.), *The Seljuks of Anatolia, Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013, pp.115–150), p. 126.

46 Bosworth, *New Islamic Dynasties* (see note 37), p. 213.

47Shukurov, *Harem Christianity* (see note 45), p. 128 adds that Ghiyāth al-Dīn was baptized and adopted by the Byzantine Emperor Alexius III Angelos at some point between 1195 and 1203.

48 Redford, *The Alaeddin Mosque* (see note 35), pp. 56 and 73 cites an epigraphic panel, set in the same north wall of the citadel mosque, which indicates the portal was the work of a Syrian, Muḥammad ibn Khawlān al-Dimashqī (الدمشقي خولان بن محمد عمل).

49 Harry W. Hazard (ed.), *A History of the Crusades Vol. 4, The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States,* Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), p.80 describes the elbow bracket as a characteristic invention of the Crusaders. Surviving examples in a Christian context can be found on the western wall of the cloister of >

most prestigious mosque in the Rūm Saljūq Sultanate is unlikely to have been for purely aesthetic reasons.

Conclusion

On the western frontier of the *dār al-Islām*, during the first half of the 13th century, the re-use and appropriation of marble Byzantine architectural components and funerary *stelae* was a common phenomenon. The builders made a conscious decision to include anthropomorphic figural decoration on mosques, rather than turn the stone around or re-cut the face. It can be assumed that, in many cases, the re-used elements had multiple layers of meaning.[53] There may well never be any definitive answers, but conscious choices to use this material were clearly made on the part of a large number of patrons, architects and craftsmen on a wide range of building typologies.

The small selection of *spolia* discussed here, and the tentative conclusions show the wide variety of uses in western Anatolia. These range from the purely functional, such as the capitals and columns in the Akşehir Ulu Camii, to the wholly decorative and symbolic use of a formerly ecclesiastical panel over the entrance of the dynastic tomb in Konya. The use of *spolia* on the Güdük Minare Camii and Seyyid Mahmud Hayrani Mescidi appear to represent aspects of both symbolism and practicality. The decorative jambs and lintels, used in the façade of the Ertokuş Tomb, in Atabey, represent the practical repurposing of elements from the Byzantine tradition to echo a form associated with the brick-built architectural tradition of Iran and Central Asia. The use of sarcophagi *spolia* in a funerary setting suggests a continuity of meaning, across religious and temporal changes, over the *longue durée*. These limited examples of the syncretic and multivalent use of *spolia* provide an insight into the complex process of adoption and absorption of decorative forms that was underway in the early 13th century in Anatolia.

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the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

50 Oleg Grabar, *Constructing the Study of Islamic Art, Vol. IV* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2005), p. 142.

51 Robert William Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque; A record of archaeological gleanings from the repairs of 1938–1942* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 39–40. He goes on to suggest that the blocks may be 12th century *spolia*. See *ibid.,* p. 40, fig. 21 for a plan showing the location of the blocks, along with plates XXII.3, XXIII.1–6 and XXIV.1–4 for images of all the surviving blocks on the porch in 1949. Flood, *An Ambiguous Aesthetic* (see note 20), pp. 202–206 discuss the use of *spolia* on the interior and façade of the mosque, and notes that it houses the most impressive array of *spolia* in the Haram, but makes no mention of the elbow brackets.

52 A point made in the general context of the Ḥaram in Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, (see note 8), p. 383.

53 See Oya Pancaroğlu, "The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer: Forging Paths of Image and Identity in Medieval Anatolia", *Gesta,* Vol. 43, No. 2 (2004), pp. 151–164, p.152 and p. 159 for a discussion regarding the possibility of multiple layers of meaning, in a single image, in the decorative vocabulary of Rūm Saljūq architectural decoration.

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Multi-Perspective Gardens of Gabriel Guevrekian: Persian garden into cubist painting or cubist painting into Persian garden?

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"A hundred meadows have bloomed into roses
from the heart of my confusion –
I am the nightingale of the painted garden –
don't ask about my lamentation!"
Andalib, Nala-i Andalib[1]

The nightingale of the painted garden cannot sing, because he is only a trace of color and line in a lifeless painting, on a lifeless canvas. If the garden offers a walk through a "paradise"[2] on earth, then what does a painting of a garden offer? And what about a hybrid entity between the garden and the painting of the garden?

In the context of Iran, Gabriel Guevrekian has been largely studied as one of the modernist architects who shaped modern Tehran through his public buildings and villas. In Western literature, however, his gardens have gained greater significance than his buildings. Rather than focus on Guevrekian's architecture, which would require an extensive tracing of his work through several continents, this paper seeks a possible new reading of his well-known garden designs. The lack of writings by Guevrekian himself makes the interpretation of his gardens a complicated field of inquiry. Furthermore, some of the key criticisms on his works remain untranslated. Richard Wesley offered the first cubist reading of Guevrekian's gardens in 1981, comparing his exposition garden in Paris to Picasso's *Man with a Mandoline* (1912).[3] Later readings have mainly built on this cubist conception, with more in-depth discussions of the gardens' relevance to modern painting. In her short article on Guevrekian, Dorothee Imbert reads his designs as successful unions of "architecture, landscape, and the plastic arts through the synthesis of Persian and simultaneist influences", on which she expands further in her later work.[4] However, writing in 2002, George Dodds recognized the marginalization of Guevrekian's gardens from the history of landscape architecture,[5] revealing that their reduction to the "weak image of a cubist painting" or their enlargement to "nothing more than full-size maquettes for the production of elaborately staged photographs" diminishes their power and conceals their meaning.[6] Therefore, Dodds attempts to move beyond a mere definition of the gardens as cubist, purist, or simultaneist, in order to achieve their more comprehensive understanding as new territories of experience.

1 Mohammad Nasir Andalib (1697–1758) was a Persian writing Indian poet. Annemarie Schimmel, *A Two-Colored Brocade: The Imagery of Persian Poetry*. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), p. 314.

2 The English word "paradise" is a transliteration from the ancient Persian word *"pardis"* which means a walled garden.

3 Dorothee Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France,* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 144.

4 Dorothee Imbert, "Book Review: Gabriel Guevrekian (1900–1970): Une autre architecture moderne by Elizabeth Vitou; Dominique Deshoulières; Hubert Jeanneau", *Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 49 (1990), pp. 449–50, 450.

5 Dodds mentions the reasons for this marginalization as follows: "they were too decorative for such major polemicists as Sigfried Giedion, and too bourgeois for the CIAM": George Dodds, "Freedom from the Garden: Gabriel Guevrekian and a New Territory of Experience", in John Dixon Hunt and Michel Conan (eds.), *Tradition and Innovation in French Garden Art,* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 184.

6 Dodds, "Freedom from the Garden" (see note 5), p. 197.

The question of vision and cubism's break with Renaissance perspective becomes an intricate point in reading these gardens. Cubism does not adhere to one-point perspective and presents objects from several points of view simultaneously. This form of representation introduces the principle of simultaneity, which is intimately bound up with modern life.[7] While cubist painting presents multiple perspectives of the three-dimensional object on its two-dimensional surface, Guevrekian's drawings for his gardens represent the three-dimensional space of Persian gardens in a two-dimensional entity within a cubist framework, and then project it back into the three-dimensional space of the garden. A parallel view of his designs as translations of the Persian garden on one side, and as three-dimensional practices of cubism on the other side, suggests they are more than mere copies of cubist painting. Additionally, the question of perspective will open a path for understanding the break that these gardens offer from the tradition of European landscape design through a very specific utilization of the Persian tradition. Toward that end, this paper will move beyond the simple geometric tracing of Persian gardens in Guevrekian's garden, offered by Dodds, by analyzing Guevrekian's drawing for his Garden in Paris as "a purist technique of a 'straight up' axonometric to represent half of a Paradise garden."[8] Such a simplified geometry limits the understanding of the modern interpretation of the Persian garden geometry as offered by Guevrekian.

While scholars have perceived Guevrekian's gardens as cubist reinterpretations of the Persian garden, his reputation in Persian architectural history is fully detached from his fame in the West and is based on his contribution to modern architecture. Guevrekian was the general secretary of CIAM from 1928 to 1932, and a year later in 1933 he went back to Iran, where he stayed for four years. He served as the chief architect for the Municipality of Tehran and later served in the same position at the Ministry of Finance.[9] Despite his short stay in Iran, he has been considered one of the main protagonists in the shaping of modern Tehran. While his villas mainly represent a pure modernist approach, his public buildings – although it is not certain if they were built fully based on his designs – were hybrids of neoclassical and modernist architecture. However, it is important to note that the gardens he realized in the villas were perceived more as a return to tradition, and were "little more than a cliché of the Persian garden hybridized with the International Style, thus lacking the originality of his French translations of the Paradise garden."[10]

It is a highly complex task to trace Guevrekian's works in the larger context of his portfolio, due to his mobility and exposure to very different cultures. An Armenian with Iranian nationality, Guevrekian was born in Istanbul, grew up in Tehran, studied in Vienna, practiced in Paris, spent the years between 1928 and 1932 as the general secretary of CIAM (he was a participant in the Vienna Werkbund Exhibition of 1931), and moved back to Tehran in 1933 where he was commissioned for several public and private buildings. After returning to Europe in 1937, he relocated to US in 1948 where he taught in University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and

7 Siegfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: the growth of a new tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 432.

8 Dodds, "Freedom from the Garden" (see note 5), p. 193.

9 Mina Marefat, "The Protagonists Who Shaped Modern Tehran", in Chahryar Adle and Bernard Hourcade (eds.), *Teheran; Capitale Bicentenaire,* (Paris, Tehran: Institut Francais de Recherche en Iran, 1992), p. 118.

10 Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (see note 3), p. 232.

died in 1970 in Paris. It is important to note that while he designed some avant-garde gardens from 1925 to 1927, right afterwards he distanced himself from those projects and demanded to be appreciated more for his buildings, rather than his gardens. In his notes written in 1929 on Villa Heim in Neuilly, which he had designed in 1928 without the intention of creating "an object of art", Guevrekian emphasized his functionalist approach to architecture. For him architecture had to suit the properties and requirements of the user, was separable from art and perceived as science.[11] However, while describing his garden in Hyeres, he stated that "the whole is more architecture than a garden", and he defined his garden as "a piece of organized soil, that integrates itself in an harmonic way into nature".[12]

The Jardin d'Eau et de Lumiere: Cubist Garden or Pop-Up Persian Carpet

Known as the first application of the modern movement in landscape design, Guevrekian's *Jardin d'eau et de lumiere* (Garden of Water and Light) was designed for the 1925 *Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes* in Paris, also known as the *Art Deco Exposition*.[13] While meant to showcase the work of French artists and designers and their commitment to modern industry, the exposition took on a symbolic role by allowing the nation to celebrate post-war recovery.[14] The five official groups of objects to be displayed in the exposition were: Costume, Furniture, Architecture, Theatre – Street – Gardens, and Education.[15] Garden design was incorporated with theatre and street as components of the urban scene of the exposition. Even though many critics have overlooked the modernity it displayed, the exposition established a connection between decoration and the city through creating a "city-within-a-city" with modernist aesthetic visions, which were not quite clear at the time.[16] For Le Corbusier, 1925 was at once marked by the elevation and decline of decorative arts, and the eclecticism of the exposition was a sign of the plurality of the style with an uncompromising attitude towards the traditional, local, and the historical.[17]

The exposition aimed to present a wide range of objects from architecture to fashion as mass-produced entities. The chief designer of the grounds for the exposition, J.C.N. Forestier, invited Guevrekian, who was representing Austria as a juror in both the architecture and music sections,[18] to design a garden that was at once "Persian" and "modern".[19] This interest in the "orient" and the desire to offer a mixture of the traditional and modern in the heart of Paris of 1925 is central in reading Guevrekian's response to the call. Among the several entries from figures such as Robert Mallet-Stevens, Jan and Joel Martel, and Albert Laprade, the most influential and radical design was his Garden of Water and Light.[20]

In reading the conditions under which the garden was designed, it is useful to bear in mind that it was supposed to be built in less than ten days,

11 Gabriel Guevrekian, "Ein Landhaus in Neuilly", in *Innendekoration: mein Heim, mein Stolz; die gesamte Wohnungskunst in Bild und Wort*, January 1929, Darmstadt, pp. 318–330, 319.

12 Guevrekian, Gabriel, "Bei der Planung des Gartens des Vicomte de Noailles in Hyères" in *Innendekoration: mein Heim, mein Stolz; die gesamte Wohnungskunst in Bild und Wort,* January 1929, Darmstadt, pp. 331–332, 331.

13 Marc Treib, "Axioms for a Modern Landscape Architecture", in Marc Trein (ed.), *Modern Landscape Architecture; a critical review,* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993), p. 37.

14 Elizabeth Hornbeck, *Visions of Modernity: The Architectural Landscape of the 1925 Exposition of Decorative Arts, Paris*. (ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing, 2002), pp. 56–7.

15 Hornbeck, *Visions of Modernity* (see note 14), p. 61.

16 Tag Gronberg, *Designs on Modernity: Exhibiting the City in 1920s Paris*. (Manchester; New York, NY: Manchester University Press; St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 18–9.

17 Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (see note 3), p. 32.

18 Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (see note 3), p. 126.

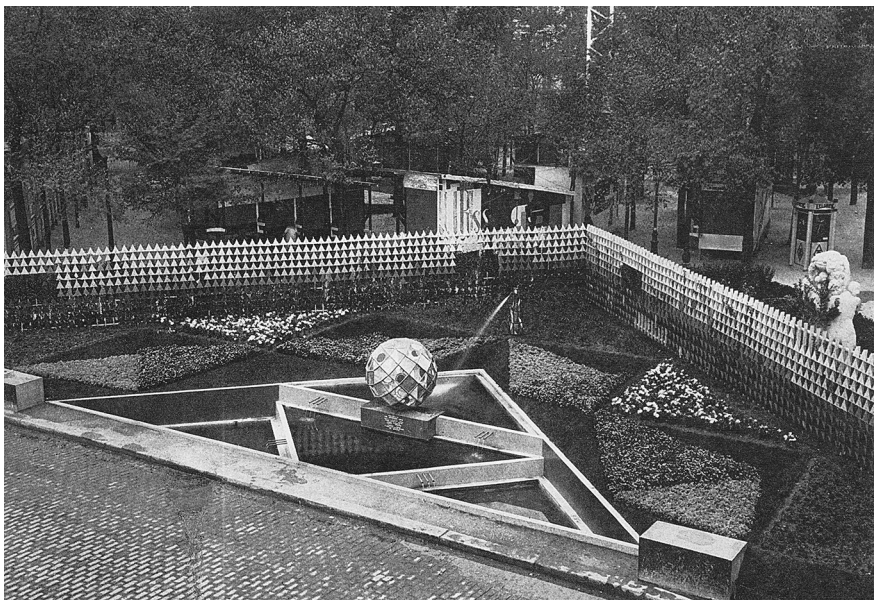
19 Dodds, "Freedom from the Garden" (see note 5), p. 185.

20 Treib, "Axioms for a Modern Landscape Architecture" (see note 13), p. 39.

and needed to remain vivid for six months.[21] Due to its avant-garde nature, the Guevrekian scheme was highly debated by the organizing committee of the exposition. Nonetheless, the jury awarded the Grand Prix to the architect.[22] Due to its short life, the garden has been reviewed by later critics only through its representation in photographs and drawings, which has added to its comprehension as a two dimensional entity (Fig. 1). The lack of possibility for a corporeal experience of the garden has limited the understanding of it to the few points of view from which it has been represented.

The garden was designed in a triangular site, enclosed with glass partitions on two sides, along the Esplanade des Invalides. The limited and contrived shape of the site in the exposition resembled "horticultural samples" or "decorative fragments" rather than designed landscapes that would traditionally require larger sites.[23] The name of the garden was derived from its central elements, water and an electrically operated sphere. As a "city-within-a-city," the garden offered a miniature representation of central Paris in 1925, identified as a monumental display of *eau* and *lumiere.*[24] A triangle was used as a geometrical module through out the whole design both in vertical and horizontal planes, from the pattern of the ground to the texture of the enclosing partitions. The partitions were made of small glass triangles, ranging in color from pink at the bottom to white at the top.

At the center of the site, adjacent to the open side of the triangle, was another triangle divided into four small triangular pools arranged on three levels. Water would fill the upper triangle from a fountain that was purposefully distanced from the pool, and would then flow into the lower pools. The water is not only a visual element in the Persian gardens, but is always articulated thorough fountains and different levels to produce gushing sounds and thus have a soothing effect on the visitor. Because of the small scale of the stepping pools, the sound effect of a fountain had



1

Fig. 1
Jardin d'Eau et de Lumiere, Gabriel Guevrekian, 1925, Paris (www.tehranprojects.com/The-Cubist-Garden)

21 Dorothee Imbert, "A Model for Modernism: The Work and Influence of Pierre-Emile Legrain," in Marc Treib (ed.), *Modern Landscape Architecture; a critical review*, p. 93.

22 Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (see note 3), p. 128.

23 Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (see note 3), p. 128.

24 Gronberg, *Designs on Modernity* (see note 16), p. 1.

to be obtained artificially, by directing the water through small pipes to create a pressured flow.

The design and construction of the garden were reliant on modern technologies and new materials such as glass and concrete. The luminous sphere in the center was electrically propelled, and its surface made of mirrors and colorful ceramics was meant to reflect the colorful surrounding and the water. Guevrekian's amusement with the use of electricity in his design appear in one of his few notes on one of his buildings published in 1929:

> "The electric light, the greatest invention of our times, is not fully understood yet. This re-formed light creates, when utilized by an expert, the most significant impressions. It is full of nuances. One can shrink or grow or elevate rooms with its help. One can replace the daylight with it."[25]

The enclosure of the garden with semi-transparent triangular glass was a clear reinterpretation of Persian gardens, which were always walled. It is also possible to interpret the sphere as the representation of a traditional Persian architectural element, a small edifice placed either at the highest point or in the middle of the garden, and reflected in the water surrounding it. In response to the limitations of the site, Guevrekian translated the central edifice of the Persian garden into a sphere of light placed in the pool in his miniature sample landscape. The thin, concrete walls of the pool were colored in white, blue, and red, which can be interpreted as a nationalist reference to France.[26] The motif of colorful tiles at the bottom of pools, a defining characteristic of Persian garden, seems to have been achieved by the three circles in blue, white, and red drawn by Robert Delaunay in the Garden of Water and Light pool.

Symmetrical on one axis, the Persian garden is divided into four quarters by a waterway. This type of pattern is called *Chahar Bagh* (Four Gardens), which refers to the Garden of Eden that was watered by four rivers. The concept of a walled, quadripartite garden containing a pavilion points to an ancient Iranian concept of garden design, going back to Achaemenid times.[27] Guevrekian translated the quadripartite geometrical division of Persian gardens into a cubist language of forms through a four-part division within the triangular space. Apart from the four-part pool, the layout of the triangular flowerbeds around the pool is a repetition of the pattern of quarters. Truncated rectangles, triangles, and circles are the characteristic vocabularies of analytic cubism utilized by Georges Braque and Pablo Picasso.[28] One can clearly recognize how the cubist vocabulary utilized by Guevrekian in the Garden of Water and Light presents a spatial abstraction of Persian gardens.

If we view Guevrekian's garden as a cubist, modern representation of Persian gardens, it is useful to refer to another two-dimensional form of representation, combining the top-plan and elevation of a garden simulta-

25 Guevrekian, "Ein Landhaus in Neuilly" (see note 11), p. 319.

26 Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (see note 3), p. 128.

27 Maria Eva Subtelny, "Agriculture and the Timurid Chaharbagh: The evidence from a medieval Persian agricultural manual", in Attilio Petruccioli (ed.), *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1997), p. 116.

28 Thomas Vargish, *Inside Modernism: Relativity Theory, Cubism, Narrative* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 112.

neously. Persian gardens have been widely depicted in Persian carpets – in particular the four-part plan, representing the four major elements of Zoroastrian religion (fire, water, soil, and wind) and symbolizing an earthly paradise.[29] In these carpets, at the intersection of the two axes there would usually be a pool (Fig. 2). The *Chahar Bagh* carpet, a woven Persian garden, appears as a very distinct form of representation from cubist painting. However, it is possible to draw similarities in the concept of perspective offered by the carpets and the cubist representation of objects and space on the canvas. Just like the cubist painting, or more precisely the 1920s simultaneist understanding of cubism, the carpet also provides simultaneous views of the same entity. Just like in Guevrekian's garden, the viewer is supposed to look at the carpet on a horizontal plane, and there is no fixed point of view assigned. In the garden, however, the viewer can move and view the design from different perspectives.

Persian gardens were usually located on sloped land that would create a better vista into the landscape and would naturalize the flow of water in the garden. In Guevrekian's garden the slope is achieved through tilted triangular flowerbeds that are not separated from each other by their tilt angle and the texture and color of their vegetation. The triangular flowerbeds included blue ageratums, white pyrethrums, red begonias, and a green lawn.[30] Although these colors have been described slightly differently in various sources,[31] Guevrekian's garden has nonetheless been evaluated as a direct realization of his gouache rendering published in 1925, "an over-scaled cubist painting in which the depth of the field was frontally compressed" (Fig. 3).[32] The closure of the garden formed a frame into which one was supposed to look, but not enter; the viewer was not assigned a single point of view, and was supposed to have dynamism in his visual journey through the garden. The spatial properties of Persian gardens were represented in an entity that was visual and spatial, somewhere between painting and space.

29 Donald N. Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavillions,* (Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1962), pp. 33–34.

30 Dodds, "Freedom from the Garden" (see note 5), p. 185.

31 Imbert describes the color of the flowerbeds as orange pyrethrum instead of white pyrethrum, and in the only available picture of the garden, the pyrethrums are yellow.

32 Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (see note 3), p. 128.

2

Fig. 2
Isfahan Chahar Bagh "Paradise Garden" carpet, 17th c. (www.electrummagazine.com)

3

Fig. 3
Gouache rendering of the Jardin d'Eau et de Lumiere, Gabriel Guevrekian (www.tehranprojects.com/The-Cubist-Garden)

While the use of straight lines can be interpreted as a common characteristic of Persian gardens as well as cubist painting, Guevrekian's geometric shapes and intense colors have been read as a sample of cubist landscape design. However, his gouache rendering of the project bears more reference to paintings of Robert Delaunay than Picasso and Braque. Dorothee Imberth connects Guevrekian's garden to simultaneism, stating: "The garden literally rendered Forestier's view of nature as a *tableau d'art*, while achieving the effects of the Delaunay's simultaneist paintings in two and a half dimensions".[33] Later, George Dodds re-affirms this opinion by strongly rejecting the cubist reading of color in the garden, and states that "the palette of colors that Guevrekian used in the drawing is neither cubist, nor purist, but an extension of color schemes of *simultaneisme* developed by Robert and Sonia Delaunay".[34] The rendering of the garden is somewhere between architectural plan and a perspective in sharp lines and colors. This ninety-degree axonometric drawing was favorable in architectural drawings as well as purist paintings of the time.[35] Guevrekian's design has been described as the first full break from the architectural nature of traditional gardens, having become an abstract picture composed of natural living elements.[36] However, in order to draw an analogy to cubism or simultaneism it is crucial to better understand Guevrekian's modernist reading of the "oriental" garden.

The playfulness of the composition in terms of layout, color, material, even the literal dynamism of elements such as the water and the rotating sphere, created an optical vibration that draws his work more away from cubism and closer to the simultaneism of Sonia and Robert Delaunay. In their paintings and textiles, "the contrast of difference was exchanged for a contrast of resemblance" and the line disappeared in favor of freedom, while "color brought forth form, movement, and depth: not a perspectival or successive depth, but a simultaneous one".[37] Although it is not possible to ascertain that Guevrekian's garden is a spatial translation of the Delaunays' paintings, it is possible to observe that he was exploring a similar thematic in his gardens. However, apart from the use of the color palette of simultaneism in Guevrekian's garden, the distinction between the garden as cubist or simultaneist is not a key issue for this argument. The concern here is more on their geometrical vocabulary and the question of perspective.

The simultaneist vision of Sonia and Robert Delaunay was displayed in several parts of the 1925 Exposition. Vibrant textiles of Sonia Delaunay were presented in the background of the avant-garde designs displayed in the Exposition. Guevrekian was familiar with their work, as he had previously designed a boutique for Sonia Delaunay that was presented at the *Salon d'Automne* in 1924. This was the first step of an ongoing collaboration on his 1925 garden and also led him to meet Jacques Heim, for whom Guevrekian designed a villa and garden in 1928.[38] The paintings of Robert Delaunay not only show a connection to architecture and space, but also his approach to color is similar to Guevrekian's designs.

33 Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (see note 3), p. 46.

34 Dodds, "Freedom from the Garden" (see note 5), p. 191.

35 Dodds, "Freedom from the Garden" (see note 5), p. 191.

36 Catherine Royer, "Art Deco Gardens in France", in Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot (eds.), *The Architecture of Western gardens: a design history from the Renaissance to the present day,* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press), 1991, p. 460.

37 Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (see note 3), p. 128.

38 Elisabeth Vitou, Dominique Deshoulières and Hubert Jeanneau, *Gabriel Guévrékian (1900–1970): une autre architecture modern,* (Paris: Connivences, 1987), p. 32.

The theory of simultaneism developed by the Delaunays was based on the work of Michel Eugene Chevreul (1786–1889), the French chemist who drew a classification of colors and a chromatic diagram that illustrated the relationship between colors. The diagram demonstrated the effect of the complementary image of one color on the appearance of another color that would generate a new color.[39] Robert Delaunay created paintings that depended on color: "contrast would develop in time, simultaneously perceived, at a single moment".[40] The juxtaposition and coexistence of complementary colors would create a tension and vibrancy, and color was the element that would generate motion and dynamism in the painting. This is also evident in Guevrekian's gouache rendering of the garden, and indeed in his avant-garde garden he offers an inherent optical vibration. The reason behind the persuasiveness of such a claim, in the case of Guevrekian's gardens, is his specific approach to color and its utilization in the creation of form, movement, and depth. His concern with color appears in a part of one of the few remaining writings: "Another important factor is the color. It influences, depending on the tone, the human neurosystem in various ways. Through experience and experiments, it has been found that red stimulates, green calms down, yellow increases the motivation for work, and blue has a tranquilizing and 'neurasthenic' effect".[41]

A Garden for Villa Noailles: Cubist Collage or Bas Relief

The Garden of Water and Light gained the attention of many critics, including the Vicomte Charles de Noailles, a major patron of the avant-garde art world. In 1926 de Noailles asked Robert Mallet-Stevens, who was designing for him a concrete modern villa in Hyeres in Southern France, to commission Guevrekian for the design of the garden.[42] While his Garden of Water and Light was created generally from a gouache rendering, Guevrekian presented the Villa Noailles design through a model (Fig. 4),

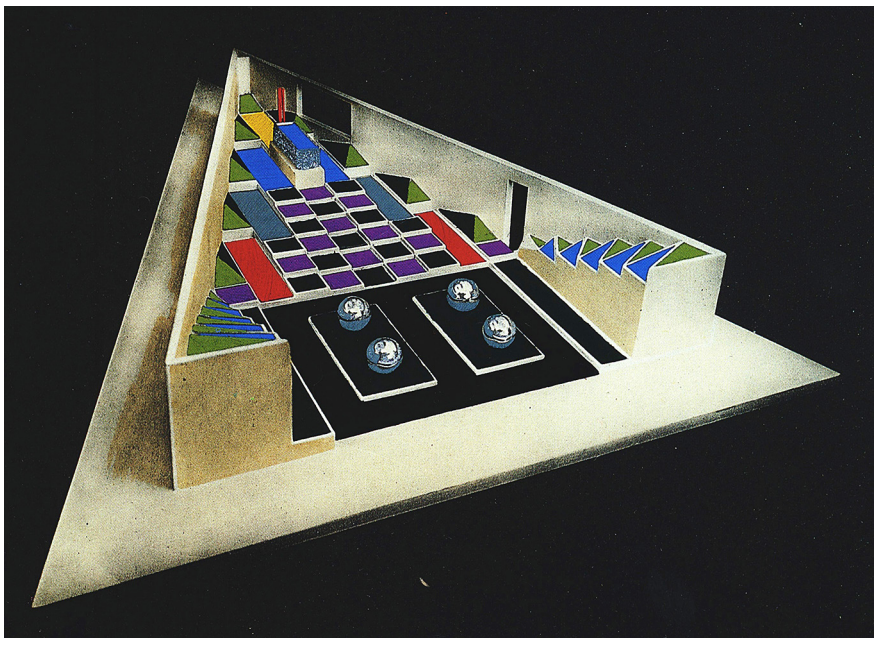


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Fig. 4
Model for the Villa Noailles garden, Gabriel Guevrekian, 1926 (www.tehranprojects.com/The-Cubist-Garden)

39 Robert Delaunay, *The New Art of Color: The Writings of Robert and Sonia Delaunay*, (New York: Viking Press, 1978), p. 11.

40 Delaunay, *The New Art of Color* (see note 39), p. 23.

41 Guevrekian, "Ein Landhaus in Neuilly" (see note 11), p. 320.

42 Treib, "Axioms for a Modern Landscape Architecture" (see note 13), p. 39.

exhibited at the 1927 Salon d'Automne.[43] Although resembling his earlier project, the second garden's sharp geometrical form and color were still unacceptable as a landscape design, and some critics define it as a "garden that looked like anything but a garden," and added that any natural addition, for instance plants, to this garden would be a nuisance.[44]

In a short description, Guevrekian introduces his project for Villa Noailles:

> "During planning the Garden of the Vicomte de Noailles in Hyéres the idea was to create a contrast to the rich and bountiful vegetation of the South. Thus, the garden has been demarcated with walls to isolate and distinguish it and to give it the impression of a backyard. A triangle corner of the premise/area has been left open to allow a view on the wide sea. In addition, the garden has been planned in this particular way in order to allow a totally different view from the salon on the first floor than from the roof terrace above. (…) The whole is more architecture than a garden; utmost profound composition and work to the last details with particular consideration of proportions and tone and nuances of colors have produced a piece of organized soil, that integrates itself in an harmonic way into nature."[45]

The model, showing a triangular site walled on two sides, was detached from the vast site of the villa, and its effect on the landscape and connection to the villa were missing. The design was once again symmetrical on one axis. A square grid resembling a checkerboard was placed at the center of the triangular site. Adjacent to the walled edges of the triangle the square grid turned into rectangles that touched the edges of the triangle at one corner. At the connection of the grid with the triangular site, new triangles were formed that surrounded the grid. The squares, the rectangles, and the triangles proposed a bold composition of colors, sharp tones of black, purple, red, green, blue, and yellow.

The shallow steps rising towards the apex of the triangle culminated in a rotating statue by Jacques Lipchitz called *La joie de vivre* (The Joy of Life)[46], which replaced the rotating sphere in the Garden of Water and Light. Indeed, in his model Guevrekian uses a raised rectilinear pool of water with a bright red element on top of it, which could have been a fountain, as the focal point of his garden. Considering this statue a turning point in his career, Lipchitz described it as a culmination of all his findings in cubism, but at the same time an escape from cubism.[47] Water, initially aimed to be the focal point of his design, was still present in this garden in the rectangular pool covered with glazed tiles.

Close to the open side of the triangle, facing the villa, two triangular, zigzag flowerbeds sloped up from the ground level to the walls of the villa. In the model, below the square grid close to the villa entrance, there are two squares with four steel or mirror spheres that provide reference to the Persian *Chahar Bagh.* However, in the final construction of the

43 Dodds, "Freedom from the Garden" (see note 5), p. 187.

44 Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (see note 3), pp. 130–131.

45 Guevrekian, "Bei der Planung des Gartens des Vicomte de Noailles in Hyères" (see note 12), p. 331.

46 Treib, "Axioms for a Modern Landscape Architecture" (see note 13), p. 39.

47 Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (see note 3), p. 135.

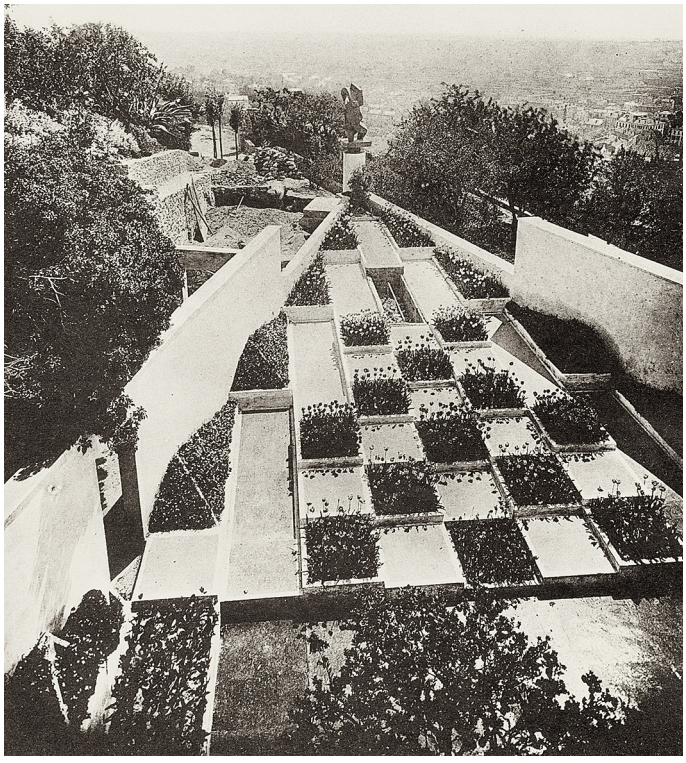
garden, these four spheres are replaced by two mini orange trees. Using the natural setting of the site as a framed view subjected to change with the movement of the viewer, Guevrekian played further with the tension between perspective and the in-betweens of the dimensionality of the garden. In the actual construction the portions of the wall near the apex on both sides were removed, reinforcing the connection of the garden to the surrounding vista.

Although the garden was physically accessible, its geometrical layout and spatial arrangement of plants and paved surfaces within its grid clearly called for a visual and pictorial experience rather than a physical one. Indeed, with all its various planes angled in different direction and its playful fragmented surfaces, the garden demanded a dynamic mode of perception placed outside its frame – a different mode of engagement, neither completely resting on traditional gardens, nor on cubist paintings. To perceive the space, the viewer was required to move, not within the space, but around it. The existing pictures usually represent two views, a flat garden from one point of view and a sloping garden from another (Fig. 5, Fig. 6).[48] Although these two viewpoints might have been the most appealing in photographic representations because they provide a full symmetrical, perspectival view of the garden, it is crucial to recognize that the semi-spatial experience offered by the garden provided many variable viewpoints, not only around the garden, but also from the villa. In a range of pictures showing the garden, it is possible to see how the design offers a different perspective from every viewpoint, and that it called the viewer to be dynamic, not inside the garden, but outside it. No single perspective from a single point equaled another one. The fragmented views of the

[48] Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (see note 3), p. 138.

Fig. 5
Villa Noailles, view from the roof of the villa to the garden, 1930s (www.tehranprojects.com/The-Cubist-Garden)

Fig. 6
Villa Noailles, view from the rotating statue to the villa, 1930s (www.villanoailles-hyeres.com)



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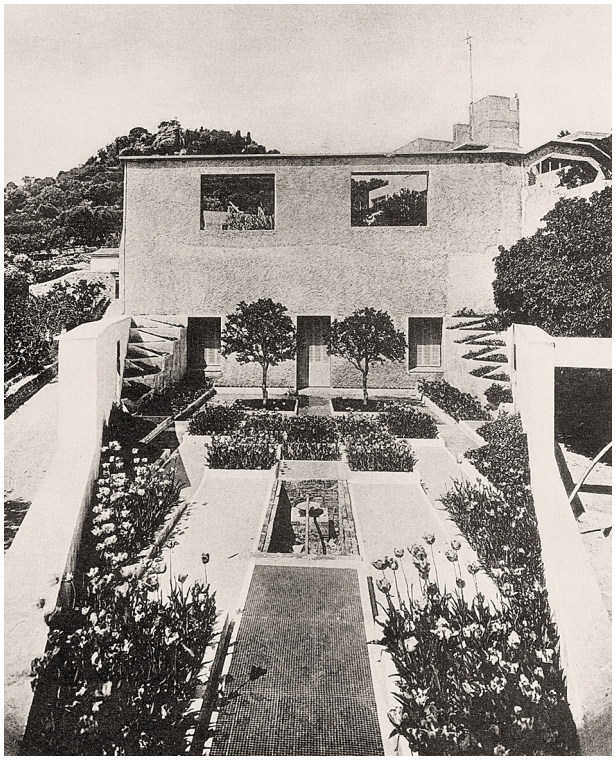

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garden from various points, suggesting new perspectives at every moment of the movement of the viewer, was an intentional avant-garde theme of the garden offering a new perception of space that was different from the spatial experience of traditional European gardens. The sharp triangular shape of the garden is indeed inverting the cone of vision, which adds to the inherent dynamism of the scene.

Overlaying a strong perspective with a plan of geometrical fragments, Guevrekian created a cubist garden with material layers of such as plants, water, concrete, steel, ceramics and mirror; a cubist collage made from a palette of plants and different materials. Reading Guevrekian's gardens not just as cubist paintings, but as cubist collages, would suggest the material aspect of these gardens as three-dimensional entities that make them more complicated than their representations in pictures and drawings. Just as cubist collages presented an uneasy and paradoxical relation to the objects and materials they were using to produce art, Guevrekian's cubist gardens were also offering an uneasy experience for the viewer. For instance, the steel and mirror sphere in the Garden of Water and Light seem to belong to a nightclub rather than a garden.[49] By creating an electrified garden, with a statue or a sphere that was illuminated and rotating, he was introducing a movement and dynamism into the garden that was not familiar to the public of that time and was a strong avant-garde step in the field of landscape design.

Based on the principle of contrasting monochromatic geometric areas in order to revitalize them, the simultaneist paintings intended to create the impression of a "relief" of intense colors.[50] Imbert has justified Guevrekian's garden for Noailles as a "bas-relief", which is a metaphor to familiarize and ground its two-and-a-half dimensionality.[51] A reading of Guevrekian's garden as a relief might provide a better understanding of its essence as a ground of tension between two-dimensionality and three-dimensionality, but it reduces the dynamism and the specific visual-spatial experience that the garden offers. Moreover, the question of the depth that is achieved by the exaggerated perspective of his design and its geometric determinism remains intact.

Epilogue

Despite the painterly readings of his gardens, Guevrekian saw art and architecture as essentially different:

> "A piece of art can be progressive, without being understood by its time and is not subordinate to any conditions. However, the building of sheer utility and use is being created through the limitation through the needs and technical means of its time. The architecture of today is like craft, a science. It delivers a house to the human, just as the tailor creates a suit (there are good and bad tailors). It is not bound to fashions and trends that just last

49 Fletcher Steele, "New Pioneering in Garden Design", *Landscape Architecture Quarterly* 20, no. 3, (April 1930), pp. 158–77, 166.

50 Suzanne Krizenecky, "Im Avant-Garten der Avantgarde: Gabriel Guevrekians Garten fur die Villa Noailles in Hyeres", in Annemarie Buchler and Johannes Stoffler (eds.), *High and Low: Garten zwischen Kunst, Luxux und Alltag,* (Zurich: SGGK Topiaria Helvetica, 2013), pp. 30–37.

51 Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (see note 3), p. 138.

> for a semester, such as hats for ladies. Architecture changes from generation to generation – unless modifications and changes occur that change a whole epoch such as social or technological upheavals."[52]

Guevrekian's cubist gardens, his designs can be approached as tailor-made for specific purposes, integrating avant-garde artistic approaches into traditional forms of landscape design. However, it appears that Guevrekian himself was not able to position his two gardens within his wider portfolio of architectural works. Despite his association with CIAM, his gardens were closer to art than architecture, challenging his functionalist approach to architectural design. His cubist gardens as avant-garde practices of a certain moment were not taken up in garden design and were not subsequently replicated.

In both gardens, the enclosed triangular forms of the site appear as a clear manifestation of a play with the traditional form of perspective. In the dilemma between a modernist European design and a traditional Persian garden, Guevrekian does not confine himself to a presentation of a mere mixture of the exotic aspects of Persian garden with modern techniques and materials. Indeed, he moves far beyond an exotic and primitive representation of the "orient", and offers a break within the European tradition of garden making that simultaneously moves forward along the modernist vision and expands sideways over the reinterpretation and translation of traditional Persian gardens. However, these two discourses come together in an uncanny and unresolved way within these two gardens. They are not static entities, but rather apply opposite forces on the viewer; the viewer is not welcome to engage with the space due to its organization, while being pulled into it by the extreme directionality of the gardens.

Guevrekian's gardens would only reveal themselves conditioned by the dynamism of the viewer. In contrast to other similar designs of the time, Guevrekian did not use plans to show his project for Villa Noailles to the public – he used a model instead.[53] A model as a form of representation of an architectural project provides a three-dimensional, tangible representation of the design to communicate the ideas and the concepts of the structure. The viewer is invited to look at the model from various angles and distances simultaneously, conditioned by his movement around it. The model was thus a clear manifestation of the visual experience of this semi-flat space by the moving viewer. However, it is worth noting that Guevrekian's gardens, just like Persian gardens, have nothing to do with the Renaissance point of view, and they both require a different visual experience that is fragmented and not holistic. The two avant-garde gardens of Guevrekian are both "Persian" and "cubist" and yet indeed neither "Persian" nor "cubist." In his pursuit to find an alternative direction out of the dead end of the European tradition of garden design, and by utilizing his experience with Persian gardens, Guevrekian offers an approach that is not primitivized, but rather highly sophisticated. Through the arguments presented here, this paper aimed to reveal the intricacy of these

52 Guevrekian, "Ein Landhaus in Neuilly" (see note 11), p. 318.

53 Imbert, Dorothee. "Unnatural Acts: propositions for a new French garden, 1920–1930", in Eve Blau and Nancy J. Troy (eds.), *Architecture and Cubism,* (Quebec, Canada: Canadian Center for Architecture and Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), p. 176.

two gardens while indicating that being cubist and Persian at once, they suggest internal conflicts within these two discourses and therefore they are neither Persian, nor cubist.

Robert Delaunay's paintings have been described as motivated by the retinalism of the painting of modern life that aimed to see more, see quickly, and see simultaneously.[54] The undeniable reflection of these approaches in both Guevrekian's gardens resonate in the simultaneous aerial and lateral visions that the composition of the gardens offer to the dynamic spectator – a simultaneity and transparency that was being practiced through cubism. As Robin Evans suggests, the common ground between architecture and cubism was not a new conception of space, nor the perception of objects in space, but it was picture-making itself: creating pictures of pictures.[55] Through such an analogy, Guevrekian's gardens demand a reading as the two-and-a-half dimensional pictures, recalling Persian gardens' representation on traditional carpets. The Guevrekian's cubist approach a modern interpretation of the Persian garden is indeed a utilization of two-dimensional space of cubism as a way of representing rather than building. Due to this representational significance of the cubist approach, the pictorial quality of his gardens becomes more dominant than its material quality. However, the realization of the gardens with various materials, turning them into cubist collages, forms a tension between the material and the pictorial. Therefore, Guevrekian's gardens are inherently positioned in a space of tensions: Persian and modern, two dimensionality and three-dimensionality, materiality and pictoriality, dynamism and staticity.

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54 Gordon Hughes, "Coming into Sight: Seeing Robert Delaunay's Structure of Vision", *October,* Vol. 102, (Autumn 2002), p. 89.

55 Blau and Troy, *Architecture and Cubism* (see note 53), p. 7.

Iranischer Klassizismus: Konstruktion einer nationalen Identität

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Einleitung

Im Laufe der reichen Geschichte des Irans hinterliess fast jede Dynastie Spuren ihrer Ideen in der materiellen Kultur ihrer Zeit. Die Geschichte des Landes ist geprägt von nationalen und religiösen Ereignissen, die zum Teil unauflöslich mit den Bauten der jeweiligen Epoche zusammenhängen. Bei der Dynastie der Pahlavīs, der letzten Monarchie des Irans (1924–1979), ist eine moderne nationalistische Entwicklung, besonders in der Architektur des Landes, zu beobachten.

Während die Malerei beim Dynastiewechsel unter dem ersten Shah der Pahlavī-Dynastie (Reżā Shah, 1925–1941) keine grossen Veränderungen erlebt, kann in der Architektur eine grundlegende Wende festgestellt werden,[1] die zum Teil als Rückbesinnung auf die vorislamische Periode Irans anzusehen ist. Reżā Shahs Bestrebungen zu einer Modernisierung Irans zeigen sich ebenfalls in der Architektur der Zeit.

Die Regierungszeit Reżā Shahs wurde in der Forschung in verschiedener Hinsicht thematisiert. Das Zusammenspiel zwischen Kultur und Politk ist aber noch ungenügend untersucht.[2] Dem Shah und seinen Spitzenpolitikern lag daran, das Land zu reformieren und in einen Nationalstaat zu verwandeln. Diese Umgestaltung ging mit der Entdeckung der Archäologie als Mittel der nationalen Identitätskonstruktion einher. Diese neue Identität zeigt sich in der Errichtung neuer Bauten und in der städteplanerischen Entwicklung. In der Architektur wird einerseits eine Adaptation der westlichen Stilformen erkennbar, anderseits werden Bezüge zu den antiken Perserreichen der Achämeniden (559–330 v. Chr.) und Sasaniden (224–651 n. Chr.) beobachtet. Diese Wende ist kaum zu verstehen, ohne die kulturellen und sozialen Ereignisse der Zeit in Betracht zu ziehen. Aus diesem Grund wird sich ein Teil dieses Artikels mit der Politik der Pahlavī-Dynastie, insbesondere ihres ersten Herrschers, Reżā Shah, beschäftigen.

Iranische Architektur im 20. Jahrhundert

Die iranische Architektur ist bis zum 20. Jahrhundert stark von regionalen und klimatischen Bedingungen auf der einen Seite und von religiösen Konzepten des Zusammenlebens auf der anderen Seite geprägt.

[1] Donald Newton Wilber, *Pahlavi Architecture before World War II*, (abgerufen am 21. Dezember 2015).

[2] Bianca Devos und Christoph Werner (Hg.), *Culture and Cultural Politics under Reza Shah. The Pahlavi State, New Bourgeoisie and the Creation of Modern Society in Iran*. New York 2014, S. 7.

So beeinflussen islamische Regeln wie etwa das Verhältnis von weiblichen und männlichen Personen das architektonische Konzept von Privathäusern massgeblich. Hinzu kommt, dass die Baumaterialien besonders bei Privathäusern meist regionaler Herkunft waren, weil deren Verwendung kostengünstiger war.[3]

Die politische Wende von den Qāğāren (1794–1925), einer turkmenischen Dynastie, zu Reżā Ḫān, dem Befehlshaber einer Kosakeneinheit,[4] bedeutete auch für die Gestaltung der Städte und ihrer Architektur einen Paradigmenwechsel. Nach seiner Machtübernahme 1925 begann Reżā Ḫān (nun als Reżā Shah) das Land durch wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklungen zu modernisieren.

Einfluss des Kemalismus

Sein Staatsbesuch in der Republik Türkei im Jahre 1934 bestärkte Reżā Shah in seinen Modernisierungsbestrebungen. Dort führte Mustafa Kemal Atatürk nach dem Zerfall des Osmanischen Reiches und der Gründung der Republik Türkei tiefgreifende Neuerungen im politischen und gesellschaftlichen System des Landes ein. Atatürks Neuorientierung, die zum grössten Teil auf den Leitideen des Nationalismus, Modernismus und Laizismus beruhten, ermutigten Reżā Shah mehr denn je, sein Land auf dieselbe Weise zu modernisieren – mit einem Unterschied: Im Iran blieb die Monarchie bestehen. Anders als in der Türkei wurde demnach die bestehende Staatsform beibehalten. Somit erfolgte die Modernisierung des Landes innerhalb des Systems der Monarchie, was grosse gesellschaftliche Veränderungen mit sich brachte.

Diese Neuerungen gingen einher mit einem Wandel vom Agrar- zum Industriestaat. Als Folge wurden Institutionen geschaffen, die es zuvor im Iran nicht gegeben hatte. Dieser Umgestaltungsprozess verlangte rasch umsetzbare architektonische Lösungen. Neue Ministerien, Bildungsinstitutionen und Fabriken sollten gebaut werden, was neue Bautypologien erforderte. Gleichzeitig wurde die Geschlechtersegregation aufgegeben,[5] was Reżā Shahs Geschlechter- und Religionspolitik entsprach.[6] Für ihn ging die rasche Modernisierung des Landes einher mit einem allmählichen Säkularisierungsprozess nach dem bereits genannten Vorbild des Nachbarlandes Türkei.[7] So wurde das Tragen des Schleiers für Frauen (Tschador) und der religiösen Kopfbedeckung für Männer (Turban) in der Öffentlichkeit verboten.

Die Modernisierungbestrebungen Reżā Shahs wurden zum Teil durch Gesetze von oben durchgesetzt, die etwa die öffentlichen Kleidervorschriften und das Bauwesen regelten. Gleichzeitig war die Regierung Reżā Shahs davon überzeugt, dass die Erneuerung der iranischen Architektur nicht von tradionellen Baumeistern bewerkstelligt werden könne. Architektur galt bis anhin als Handwerk und wurde im Meister-Schüler-Verhältnis erlernt, was mit dem Modernisierungsprozess nicht vereinbar war.

3 Moḥammad Karīm Pīrnīyā, *Typologie der iranischen Architektur (Sabkšenāsī-e meʿmārī-e Īrānī),* Teheran 2003. Hier wird als eine Eigenschaft der persischen Architektur die Verwendung der lokalen Baumaterialien genannt. Als allgemein gebräuchliches Baumaterial in den Wüstenrandregionen wird Lehm verwendet.

4 Zu seiner Zeit war die Einheit der iranischen Kosakenbrigade in Qazwīn stationiert und Reżā Ḫān war als Kommandant der Einheit angestellt. Später wurde er Verteidigungsminister der Qāğāren, um schliesslich nach der Absetzung des letzten Qāğāren-Shahs Moḥammad ʿAlī Shah im Jahre 1925 zum neuen Shah ernannt zu werden. Siehe A. Reza Sheikholeslami, *The reign of Reza Pahlavi*, www.iranicaonline.org/articles/courts-and-courtiers-viii (abgerufen am 21. Dezember 2015).

5 Touraj Atabaki und Erik Jan Zürcher (Hg.), *Men of Order. Autoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah*, London 2004, S. 209–230.

6 Atabaki/Zürcher 2004 (wie Anm. 5), S. 229–230.

7 Ebd., S. 299–230.

Zeitgenössische Architekten waren gefragt, die sich mit fortschrittlichen Techniken auskannten und moderne Gebäude errichten konnten.

Die neuen Bauten folgten zwei unterschiedlichen Strömungen, die zwei ebenso unterschiedlichen Denkansätzen entstammten, wie Negar Hakim in ihrer Dissertation von 2007 gezeigt hat.[8] Während die eine Strömung die Modernisierung der iranischen Architektur in der Nachahmung des Westens sah und die Meinung vertrat, nur die im Westen erprobten Lösungen könnten für dieses Zeitalter Irans fruchtbar sein, strebte die zweite Strömung, die im Rahmen des vorliegenden Aufsatzes genauer untersucht werden soll, eine architektonische Erneuerung unter Rückbezug auf die persische Vergangenheit und die vorislamischen Nationalstile bei einer gleichzeitigen Einführung westlicher Bautechniken und -materialien an. Die Bauten dieser zweiten Gruppe zeichnen sich durch ihren Variantenreichtum aus, der massgeblich davon abhängt, welche Bauformen bzw. Stile rezipiert und welche Techniken bzw. Materialien zur Anwendung kamen. In der Forschung wird deshalb zwischen einem primär eklektischen Stil und dem in persischen Quellen als 'neoklassischer iranischer Stil' bezeichneten Variante unterschieden.[9] Letztgenannter Stil prägt die iranische Bautätigkeit seit den 1920er Jahren und wurde zum Sinnbild der nationalistisch geprägten iranischen Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts, die bis heute als kulturelles Erbe der Pahlavī-Dynastie angesehen wird.

'Iranische Antike'

Die 1921 gegründete Nationale Denkmalschutzbehörde,[10] die also noch vor Reżā Shahs Machtübernahme ihre Tätigkeit aufnahm, setzte sich zum Ziel, das kulturelle Erbe des Iran zu bewahren und zu fördern. In diesem Rahmen nahmen sich die Mitglieder dieser Behörde, die zum Teil in der Politik aktiv waren, eine zeitgemässe kulturelle Agenda vor. Ihre und Reżā Shahs Vorstellung der Modernisierung beruhte auf mehreren Faktoren. Ein säkulares und modern organisiertes Land musste sich von der alten und traditionellen Architektur trennen. Dies geschah mit der Beseitigung aller Spuren der vorherigen, in ihren Augen 'rückschrittlichen' Dynastie der Qāğāren. Von 1932 bis 1937 wurden die Teheraner Stadtmauer und elf Stadttore abgerissen.[11] Diese wurden weder als historisch wertvoll noch als Denkmäler von nationaler Bedeutung angesehen, sodass bis auf wenige Ausnahmen alle Spuren der Qāğāren aus dem Stadtbild verschwanden.[12] Auf der anderen Seite wurde versucht, mit Hilfe von Bauten, die der Erinnerung an eine glorreiche Vergangenheit dienen sollten, eine neue nationale Identität zu konstruieren.

Zusammen mit westlichen Orientalisten und Archäologen wurde eine Liste derjenigen Bauten bzw. Bauensembles erstellt, die als Monumente nationaler Grösse galten. Der deutsche Archäologe Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948), der als Berater beigezogen wurde, erhielt den Auftrag, eine Liste historisch bedeutungsvoller Bauten zu erstellen. Herzfeld sprach in einer der ersten öffentlichen Reden der Denkmalschutzbehörde am

8 Negar Hakim-Afyuni, *Entwicklung der modernen Architektur in Iran. Die Suche nach der Identität der iranischen Architektur in der 2. Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Universtität Wien 2007, S. 59. Weiter siehe Thomas Meyer-Wieser, *Architekturführer. Teheran-Isfahan-Shiraz*, Berlin 2016, S. 234 (im Druck, mit besonderem Dank an Thomas Wieser für die Einsicht).

9 Amīr Bāni Masʿūd, *Meʿmārī-ye moʿāṣer-e Īrān (Iranian Contemporary Architecture)*, Teheran 1391 h.š. (2012), S. 190–227. Bānī Masʿūd verwendet sowohl *sabk-e mellī*, wie auch *Neoklāsīk* als persische Begriffe für den neoklassischen Stil.

10 *Anğoman-e āṯār-e mellī*.

11 Homa Katouzian, *State and Society in Iran. The Eclipse of the Qajars and the Emergence of the Pahlavis*, New York 2000, S. 5.

12 Talinn Grigor, Recultivating 'Good Taste'. The Early Pahlavi Modernists and Their Society for National Heritage, in: *Iranian Studies*, 37 (2004) Nr. 1, S. 42.

13. August 1925 über die glorreiche iranische Kultur und deren Überlegenheit gegenüber der westlichen Zivilisation. Weiterhin lobte er das Werk des iranischen Dichters Abu'l-Qāsim Ferdowsī (940–1019 oder 1025) als ein wahres kulturelles Erbe des Landes.[13] Seine Gedanken fanden Anklang unter den Abgeordneten, die sich für den Bau eines Mausoleums für Ferdowsī aussprachen, was einer der ersten Aufträge an die Denkmalschutzbehörde sein sollte. Der im Parlament erörterte und von der Regierung Reżā Shahs schliesslich angenomme Antrag sah den Bau eines Mausoleums für den grossen persischen Dichter in Tūs vor. Nach 12-jähriger Bauzeit wurde das Grabmal im Oktober 1934 fertiggestellt, worauf eine vierzigjährige Restaurationsphase folgte.[14] Mehrere Architekten und Archäologen, unter ihnen der bereits genannte Ernst Herzfeld, waren am Entwurf beteiligt. Die Einweihung durch Reżā Shah erfolgte im Rahmen eines Orientalistenkongresses anlässlich der Tausendjahrfeier für Ferdowsī.

Der Zentralbau über einem abgestuften Podest (Abb. 1) zeigt deutliche Bezüge zu den sozio-politischen Absichten, die hinter seiner Errichtung standen. An der Hauptfassade über dem Haupttor ist das Zeichen des zoroastrischen Gottes Ahūrāmazdā angebracht, das demjenigen im Thronsaal von Persepolis nachgebildet ist (Abb. 2). An den Seitenfassaden ist jeweils ein Blendtor angebracht, flankiert von Säulen, die wie in der achämenidischen Architektur mit Stierkapitellen versehen sind. Ähnliche Säulen stehen an jeder Ecke des Baus und reichen bis zum Architrav. Oben schliesst der Bau mit einem mehrgliedrigen Kranzgesims ab.

Der tempelartige Zentralbau auf einem mehrstufigen Podest, das Ahūramazdā-Zeichen an jeder Seite des rechteckigen Baus und die Säulen an der Fassade verweisen auf das Mausoleum des Gründers der Achämenidendynastie Kyros II. (590–530 v.Chr.) in Pasargadae (Abb. 3). Die Verwendung von weissem Marmor wird ebenfalls als Parallele zur hellen Farbe des Kyrosmausoleums angesehen und symbolisiert gemäss Talinn Grigor die weisse, reine Sprache von Ferdowsīs Dichtung.[15]

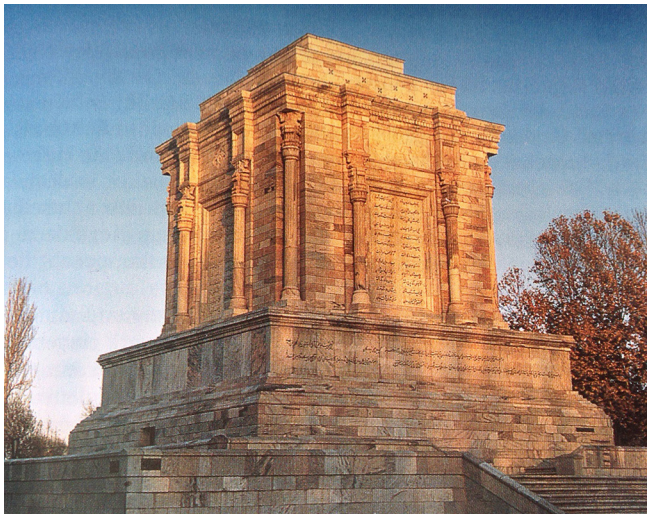
[13] Grigor 2004 (wie Anm.12), S. 27.

[14] Grigor 2004 (wie Anm.12), S. 37.

[15] Grigor 2004 (wie Anm.12), S. 37.

Abb. 1
Tus, Ferdowsi Mausoleum, Iran. In: *Geschichte, Kultur und lebendige Traditionen – antike Stätten und islamische Kunst in Persien*. 2000. (Courtesy Mahmoud Rashad Archives)

Abb. 2
Persepolis, Das Ahūrāmazdā-Symbol auf beiden Seiten der Ost-Tür des Tripylons. In: Koch 2001, S. 94 (s. Anm. 43).



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Das Hauptwerk Ferdowsīs, das persische Nationalepos Šāhnāma (Buch der Könige) erzählt die Geschichte der vorislamischen Könige in epischer Form und enthält fast keine arabischen Lehnwörter. Deshalb wird die Sprache Ferdowsīs als eine reine Sprache bezeichnet, die die iranische Identität wiedererweckt.

Auch für andere persische Dichter und Denker wurden Grabmonumente errichtet. Diese sollten als neue Pilgerorte und als Erinnerung an eine iranische Identität fungieren. Solche Denkmäler gaben Gelegenheit zur Verehrung eines Nationalhelden und begünstigten so das nationale Bewusstsein.[16] Ernst Herzfeld war der erste Archäologe, der beauftragt wurde, durch das Land zu reisen und eine Liste der Stätten von historischer Bedeutung für das nationale Erbe zu erstellen. Er überreichte das Resultat 1925 der Nationalen Denkmalschutzbehörde in Form einer Schrift mit dem Titel "A Brief Inventory of the Historical Heritage and Edifices of Iran".[17] Seine Auswahl basierte auf wissenschaftlichen Betrachtungen der islamischen und vorislamischen Stätten und gab den Impuls zum Bau weiterer Gedenkstätten.[18]

Persepolis als architektonisches Vorbild

Die Begriffe *Klassik* oder *Antike* stammen aus der westlichen Wissenstradition und kamen im Iran im 19. Jahrhundert in Gebrauch. Der berühmte iranische Historiker Ḥasan Pīrnīyā (1872–1935)[19] griff in seinem historiographischen Werk *Īrān-e Bāstānī* (Der antike Iran) 1927 auf die Begriffe *Rasse* und *Antike* zurück und erzählte die Geschichte Irans von ihren Anfängen.[20] Pīrnīyā hatte mehrere politische Posten in der Regierung Reżā Shahs inne. 1907–1908 war er Aussenminister, danach wurde er Justizminister und schliesslich 1915 zum ersten Mal Premierminister. Mit seinem Werk schuf er ein Modell, das eine iranische Antike in Gegen-

16 Afshin Marashi, *Nationalizing Iran. Culture Power and the State, 1870–1940*, Seattle/London 2008, S. 113.

17 Grigor 2004 (wie Anm.12), S. 30.

18 Marashi 2008 (wie Anm. 16), S. 113.

19 Ḥasan Pīrnīyā war Historiker und Minister unter den Qāğāren. Er war der älteste Sohn des qāğārischen Premierministers Mošīr ad-Dowla und wurde fürs Studium nach Russland geschickt. Dort studierte er Rechtswissenschaften und sprach zusätzlich fliessend Französisch. Er wurde Botschafter in Russland und war massgeblich beteiligt am Entwurf der ersten iranischen Verfassung nach der Konstitutionellen Revolution 1905–1911 und an der Gründung des Parlaments. Er wurde zur Zeit Reżā Shahs Premierminister. Mit seiner umfangreichen Publikation über den antiken Iran schuf er eine noch nie dagewesene neue Identität für die Iraner und Iranerinnen. Sein zweites Buch *Tārīḫ-e moḫtaṣar-e Īrān-e qadīm (Eine kurze Geschichte des alten Iran)* wurde ein Standardwerk für Studierende.

20 In seinem ersten Kapitel beschreibt er die Zivilisationen Mesopotamiens und erst im zweiten Kapitel stellt er die Meder als die ersten "iranischen Arier" dar.

Abb. 3
Pasargadae, Kyros-Mausoleum
(E. Palenzona-Djalili 2012)

überstellung zur griechisch-römischen Antike konstruiert, was die Vertrautheit des Autors mit der westlichen Forschung seiner Zeit und seine Hochachtung vor derselben verrät.[21] Er beginnt seine Abhandlung mit den Elamitern,[22] die er als nicht iranischstämmig einordnet. Dabei unterscheidet er die Kulturen hinsichtlich Rasse, wobei er Rasse allerdings eher als kulturellen Begriff verwendet. Er bezeichnet die Achämeniden als eines der ersten iranischen Völker mit dem mächtigsten und grössten Reich ihrer Zeit. Mit den Achämeniden treten die Arier in die Weltgeschichte ein. Hier gilt anzumerken, dass Pīrnīyā in der genannten Abhandlung eine Definition von Rasse vertritt, die nicht auf biologisch aufgefasster Abstammung, sondern auf Sprache und Lebensweise beruht.[23] Davon ausgehend, setzt Pīrnīyā die Abstammung der nomadischen Völker aus der Volksgruppe der Indoeuropäer mit der 'arischen' Rasse gleich.[24] Er behandelt die Achämeniden als erste iranisch-arische Monarchie und schreibt detailliert über ihre Staatsform, Sprache, Schrift und ihre Paläste. Mehrere Kapitel behandeln verschiedene achämenidische Könige. Dabei benutzt er antike Quellen wie Herodot, Aischylos und das Alte Testament und interpretiert diese.

Als Hochburg der antiken Kultur nennt er Persepolis, das als Palaststadt der Achämeniden errichtet wurde. In einem eigenen Kapitel beschreibt er die Steinreliefs, die Säulen und ihre Kapitelle.[25] Diese Informationen bewegen sich im Rahmen der staatlich betriebenen Identitätskonstruktion, die von Reżā Shah angestrebt wurde und als Leitgedanke bei der Konstruktion einer iranischen Antike gesehen werden kann.

Mehrere staatliche Bauten werden in dieser Zeit als Auftragswerke ausgeführt, bei denen die islamisch-iranische Architektur einer kreativen Rezeption der vorislamisch-iranischen Architektur Platz gemacht hat. Diese Bauten bedienen sich achämenidischer Dekor- und Architekturelemente und werden deshalb, wie oben erläutert wurde, als neoklassische Bauten eingestuft. Vorbilder für viele Bauten waren die achämenidischen Paläste von Susa[26] und Persepolis. Beide waren achämenidische Städte. Sie sollen hier zunächst kurz vorgestellt werden.

Die Palaststadt Persepolis, so ihr Name in den griechischen Quellen,[27] liegt in der heutigen Provinz Fārs, im Süden des Irans. Der mit den kostbarsten, von weit her geschafften Materialien ausgeführte Komplex wurde 515 v. Chr. von Dareios I. (522–486 v. Chr.) gegründet und symbolisiert das Selbstverständnis des achämenidischen Reiches. Persepolis wurde vor allem für repräsentative Zwecke und als Zentrum politischer Verwaltungsstrukturen benutzt.

Die aus mehreren Räumen und Teilpalästen bestehende Anlage befindet sich auf einem erhöhten Plateau, 12 m über der Ebene. Die Bauten auf dieser Terrasse wurden zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten errichtet. Im folgenden werden wir uns aber nur auf das Apadana, den grossen Audienzsaal des Dareios und wichtigster Bau auf der Terrasse, konzentrieren.[28] Dieser Bau steht selbst wieder auf einer Plattform von 2.5 m Höhe über dem

21 Ali M. Ansari, *The Politics of Nationalism in Modern Iran*, Cambridge, 2012, S. 102–104.

22 Die Elamiter sind ein Volk, das im Südwesten Irans in der jetzigen Provinz Ḫuzestān östlich des Tigris von 6000 bis 640 v. Chr. gelebt hat und für seine hohe Zivilisation und den Besitz einer Schrift, der Keilschrift, bekannt ist. Sie lassen sich mit anderen mesopotamischen Mächten wie Assyrern, Sumerern, Akkadern und Babyloniern vergleichen und haben mit ihnen viele Kämpfe geführt.

23 Ḥasan Pīrnīyā, *Īrān-e bāstānī. Yā tārīḫ-e Īrān az zamān-e besyār qadīm tā enqerāż-e dowlat-e Sāssnī bā żamīme wa do naqše wa 28 grāvur,* Tehrān 1306 h.š. (1928), S. 11. Seine Beschreibungen der "arischen" Rasse beschränken sich auf die indoeuropäische Sprache und die Lebensform, indem sie Nomaden waren oder Ackerbau betrieben.

24 Pīrnīyā 1928 (wie Anm. 23), S. 12.

25 Pīrnīyā 1928 (wie Anm. 23), S. 81.

26 Susa liegt im Südwesten Irans und war eine wichtige Stadt der Elamiter und eine der achämenidischen Hauptstädte.

27 Persepolis ist in Iran bekannt als "Thron des Ğamšīd". Ğamšīd ist ein König aus dem oben erwähnten iranischen Heldenepos Šāhnāma des persischen Dichters Ferdowsīs (940–1020). Der Name Persepolis findet jedoch weiterhin Verwendung.

28 Die Bezeichnung *Apadana* bedeutet "Palast" oder "Halle" und bezieht sich auf eine grosse Säulenhalle, die sich Inschriften zufolge Dareios zuweisen lässt, siehe www.iranicaonline.org/articles/apadana. Als Ernst Herzfeld in den 1920er Jahren die Ruinen von Persepolis untersuchte, führte er die bis heute in der Literatur gebräuchlichen Benennungen "Apadana", "Hundertsäulen Halle", "Tripylon" und "Harem" ein.

erwähnten Plateau. Beim Innenraum handelt es sich um einen grossen quadratischen Zentralbau mit 60.5 m Seitenlänge. Dieser Raum enthält sechs Reihen von jeweils sechs Säulen. An drei Seiten ist je eine vorgelagerte Portikus zu finden. Die drei Portiken sind nach Norden, Westen und Osten ausgerichtet und haben je zwölf Säulen, die imperiale Grösse symbolisieren und deren Vielzahl die Macht des Reiches darstellt (Abb. 4).

Der Portikus des Apadana wird über zwei Treppen erreicht. Die Treppenwangen schmiegen sich an die Wand des Plateaus, auf dem sich das Apadana erhebt. Jede von ihnen führt in Gegenrichtung der anderen auf das Plateau und endet vor dem Portikus zum Apadana. Die Treppenwangen weisen detailliert gearbeitete Reliefs auf. Diese Reliefs zeigen die Gesandtschaften der verschiedenen Völker des Reiches, die dem König ihre Gaben darbringen. Achämenidische Soldaten und das Hofpersonal sind ebenfalls dargestellt.[29]

Ein späterer Treppenaufgang wurde von Dareios Sohn Xerxes I. (486–465 v. Chr.) erbaut. Er markiert den Eingang zum Plateau auf der südwestlichen Seite der Anlage. Auch hier handelt es sich um doppelläufige Treppen, die zum Haupttor der Stadt führen, dem sog. Tor der Nationen.[30] Ebenfalls erhalten sind einige mächtige, mit Stierkapitellen bekrönte Säulen (Abb. 5). Die hier beschriebenen Bautypen finden sich nicht nur in Persepolis, sondern auch in anderen achämenidischen Hauptstädten. Anhand der Paläste von Persepolis sowie der früher entstandenen Paläste von Susa lassen sich folgende Grundcharakteristika achämenidischer Architektur benennen: die Gebäude sind freistehend und symmetrisch angelegt, der hinter einem vorgelagerten Säulenportikus gelegene Eingang zum Hauptsaal ist meist erhöht und wird über doppelläufige Treppen erreicht, deren Wangen von präzise gearbeiteten Flachreliefs besetzt sind, die Figuren in Profilansicht wiedergeben.

Wie im Anschluss gezeigt werden soll, wurden viele dieser Elemente in der neoklassischen Architektur der 1920er Jahren nachgeahmt, indem das Formenvokabular der Achämeniden in die neuen Bauten integriert wurde.

[29] Josef Wiesehöfer, *Das antike Persien. Von 550 v.Chr. bis 650 n.Chr.* Zürich/München 1993, S. 43–45.

[30] Persepolis wurde von 1931–1939 von den deutschen Archäologen Ernst Herzfeld und Friedrich Krefter erforscht. Die Namensgebung geht zurück auf die Entzifferung der Schriften durch Grotefend im Jahre 1805.

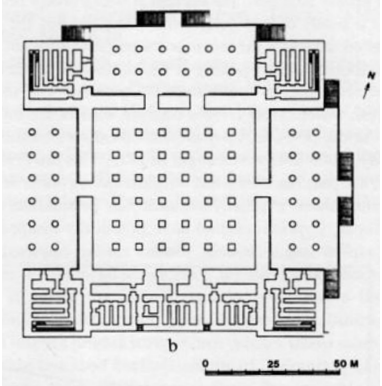

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Abb. 4
Grundriss Apadana. In: www.iranicaonline.org/articles/apadana (abgerufen am 21. Dezember 2015)

Abb. 5
Doppelseitiges Stierkopf-Kapitell vom Apadana, um 500 v. Chr., Oriental Institute, Chicago University (Courtesy Art History Survey Collection)

Bauten im neoklassischen Stil

Die Merkmale dieses neoklassischen Stils sollen zunächst anhand zweier Beispiele exemplarisch erörtert werden. Den Anfang macht das in den Jahren 1932–1935 entstandene Polizeipräsidium, *Kāḫ-e Šahrbānī*, von Teheran, das zu den prominentesten neoklassischen Bauten der Pahlavī-Ära gehört (Abb. 6). Der im Jahre 1935[31] von Mīrzā ʿAlī Ḫān[32] aus Mākū, einer Grenzstadt in Azarbaidschan, ausgeführte Bau wurde im Zuge der Modernisierungsbestrebungen Reżā Shahs neben weiteren Verwaltungsbauten in Auftrag gegeben.[33] Zuerst diente er als Polizeipräsidium. Danach wurde er zum Aussenministerium umfunktioniert, als welches der Bau bis heute dient.

Das auf einer Fläche von 22'000 qm errichtete Polizeipräsidium verfügt über einen E-förmigen Grundriss (Abb. 7), der auf seine Verwaltungsfunktion hinweist. Diese Grundrissgestaltung bezieht sich stark auf die Zentralverwaltung der I.G.Farben von Hans Poelzig in Frankfurt am Main (1928–1931), die bis in die 1950er Jahre zu den grössten Verwaltungsgebäuden Europas zählte und aufgrund ihres neuratigen Entwurfes zu den modernen Bauten Deutschlands gehörte.[34] Der Grundriss des Polizeipräsidiums besteht aus einem langrechteckigen Haupttrakt, von dem in regelmässigen Abständen drei Quertrakte abgehen. Der imposante Haupteingang steht in der Mitte des horizontalen Traktes und zieht die Aufmerksamkeit des Betrachters auf sich. Möglicherweise kannte der Architekt des Teheraner Polizeipräsidiums den deutschen Bau von seinem Studium in Russland,[35] da es seinerzeit im Iran selbst noch wenig Möglichkeiten gab, sich mit westlicher Architektur vertraut zu machen.

Mehrere Details der Hauptfassade wurden direkt vom Apadana in Persepolis übernommen. So rezipieren die Kapitelle und die Reliefs die achämenidischen Vorbilder. Den Eingang markiert ein vorgelagerter Portikus, die wie beim Apadana über eine doppelläufige Treppe erreichbar ist. Die Dachfriese und die Fassadenreliefs sind weitere Dekorelemente, die direkt von den Palastanlagen in Persepolis übernommen worden sind (Abb. 8).

Somit lassen sich bei diesem Bau zwei unterschiedliche Traditionen feststellen: Während sein Grundriss und seine ursprüngliche Funktion europäischen Modellen entlehnt wurden, sind bei der Aussenfassade achämenidische Bau- und Dekorformen des Apadana in Persepolis übernommen worden. Allein schon aus der äusseren Gestaltung der Fassade lässt sich dieser Bau als ein Vertreter des neoklassischen iranischen Stils der 1930er Jahre erkennen.

Wie das Teheraner Polizeipräsidium, so repräsentiert auch die zwischen 1933 und 1936 von Hans Heinrich errichtete Iranische Nationalbank, *Bānk-e Mellī*, aufgrund der Übernahme antiker Elemente den Nationalstil der Pahlavī-Ära (Abb. 9). Als erste Staatsbank Irans wurde die Iranische Nationalbank 1927 auf Beschluss des Parlaments in Auftrag gegeben.

31 Bezieht sich auf das Einweihungsjahr, Bānī Masʿūd 2012 (wie Anm. 9), S. 195.

32 Er gehört zur ersten Generation iranischer Architekten, die in Russland studierten und für den Bau einiger offizieller Verwaltungsbauten in Teheran ausersehen wurden. Zu den wichtigsten Bauten gehören das zentrale Post- und Telegraphenamt (1926) und das Staatsarchiv.

33 Über diesen Architekten weiss man nicht sehr viel, ausser dass er sein Studium in Russland absolvierte. Da er eine ausländische Ausbildung genoss, wurde er für viele öffentliche und Verwaltungsbauten beauftragt. Die Universität Teheran wurde erst 1934 gegründet und die Fakultät der schönen Künste, die auch die Architektur beinhaltete, existierte zu seiner Zeit noch nicht. Er war der Architekt von *ʿEmārat-e post va telgrāf* (Post- und Telegraphenamt) 1305 h.š. (1926), *Sāḫtemān-e maṭabb-e aṭfāl* (Kinderkrankenhaus) 1309 h.š. (1930), *Sāḫtemān-e kālā-ye Īrān* (Iranische Warenmesse) 1311–1313 h.š. (1932–1934). Er konzipierte den prominenten Platz Ḥasanābād 1313 h.š. (1934), siehe Bānī Masʿūd 2012 (wie Anm. 9), S. 231.

34 Bānī Masʿūd 2012 (wie Anm. 9), S. 195.

35 Es gibt nicht viele Informationen über den Architekten Mīrzā ʿAlī Ḫān. Zu dieser Zeit gingen einige Studierende entweder nach Russland oder nach England und Frankreich.

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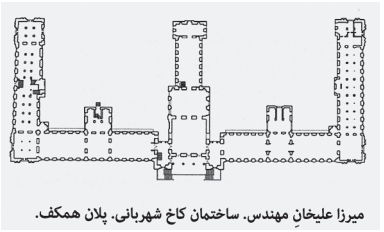

میرزا علیخانِ مهندس. ساختمان کاخ شهربانی. پلان همکف.

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Abb. 6
Teheran, Polizeipräsidium, jetzt Aussenministerium, Vorderfassade (Thomas Wieser 2014)

Abb. 7
Grundriss Polizeipräsidium. In: Bānī Masʿūd 2012, S. 232 (s. Anm. 9).

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Abb. 8
Persepolis, Apadana, Östlicher Treppenaufgang, rechtes Relief der Prozession, 518-460 v. Chr. University of California, San Diego (ARTstor Slide Gallery)

Abb. 9
Teheran, Iranische Nationalbank, (Thomas Wieser 2014)

Abb. 10
Persepolis, Lotusblume als Verzierungselement an der Treppe von Artaxerxes III. Persepolis. In: Koch 2001, S. 46 (s. Anm. 43).

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10

Nach Errichtung des Hauptsitzes in Teheran wurden weitere Zweigstellen in anderen Städten eröffnet. Der Architekt dieses Baus, der Deutsche Hans Heinrich,[36] wurde auch mit der Ausführung mehrerer anderer Bauten betraut.[37] Der Bau mit seinen monumentalen Dimensionen ist an die deutsche Architektur der Zeit angelehnt. Ziel dieser Architektur in Nazi-Deutschland und dem faschistischen Italien war, das Bauwerk imposant und verständlich für das Publikum zu machen. Die antike Kultur war Leitidee und Vorbild.[38] Dem einzelnen Menschen sollte das Gefühl der Bedeutungslosigkeit angesichts der Staatsgewalt vermittelt werden.

Wie beim oben beschriebenen Polizeipräsidium, so ist auch hier der Dekor der Hauptfassade dem achämenidischen Vokabular entlehnt. Die Hauptfassade zeigt ein hohes achämenidisches Gesims. Ein vorspringendes Mittelrisalit markiert den imposanten, hinter einer Vorhalle mit monumentalen achämenidischen Säulen liegenden Eingang. Alle vier Säulen sind vollständig im achämenidischen Stil mit Stierkapitellen ausgeführt. Das Mittelrisalit wird von zwei in dunklem Stein ausgeführten Reliefs flankiert, die achämenidische Soldaten darstellen. Der Dachfries besteht aus Lotusblumen, welche ebenfalls ein typisches florales Ornament der achämenidischen Paläste sind (Abb. 10).

Konzepte hinter diesem Prozess

Um die Tendenzen der Rückbesinnung auf die antike iranische Kultur zu verstehen, muss die historische, politische und gesellschaftliche Situation des Iran in der besagten Zeit berücksichtigt werden. Die damals in Auftrag gegebenen Bauten belegen das Streben nach Zentralismus, das von Reżā Shah im Zuge der Modernisierung des Landes angeordnet wurde. Für die neuen Ministerien und die Institutionen von Industrie und Finanzdienstleistung mussten in kurzer Zeit neue Bauten errichtet werden. Eine prachtvolle Hauptstadt sollte repräsentative, besonders imposant wirkende Verwaltungsbauten erhalten, was den Rückgriff auf die Antike nahe legte. Der kaiserliche Bauherr drückte in den neu entstandenen Bauten gewissermassen seine Bewunderung für das antike persische Erbe aus. Dieses rückte bereits unter dem Qāǧāren-König Nāṣer ad-Dīn Shah (reg. 1848–1896) ins Blickfeld der Herrscherfamilie. So förderte Nāṣer ad-Dīn Shah Ausgrabungen in seinem Land, indem er den Franzosen als erster Nation die Genehmigung erteilte, in Susa archäologische Grabungen durchzuführen, nachdem die Engländer ihr Interesse an Susa verloren hatten und sich neu auf Mesopotamien konzentrierten.[39] Die Qāǧāren gewährten den Franzosen Exklusivrechte an ausgedehnten Ausgrabungen im ganzen Land, die vom französischen Aussenministerium unterstützt wurden. Dadurch wurde Susa zum Zentrum der archäologischen Interessen und die sogenannte *Délégation en Perse* wurde für unbeschränkte Zeit mit Grabungsarbeiten beauftragt.

Unter dem Einfluss der Konstitutionellen Revolution von 1906 kam es im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts zu einer signifikanten Wende

36 Zu der Zeit waren entweder die Architekten, die im Ausland studiert hatten, für solche Aufträge vorgesehen, oder ausländische Architekten wurden ins Land geholt. In diesem Fall geht es um einen deutschen Architekten, siehe Bānī Masʿūd 2012 (wie Anm. 9), S. 223.

37 Daneben hat er das Polizeirevier in Darband und den Bau für die "Aktiengesellschaft der Teppichproduktion" ausgeführt, siehe Bānī Masʿūd 2012 (wie Anm. 9), S. 223.

38 Hartmut Frank (Hg.), *Faschistische Architekturen. Planen und Bauen in Europa 1930 bis 1945*, Hamburg 1985, S. 8.

39 Ali Mousavi, *Persepolis. Discovery and Afterlife of a World Wonder,* Boston/Berlin 2012, S. 155.

hin zu einem nationalen Bewusstsein. Diese Phase brachte neue Ideen und besonders einen neu erwachten Stolz auf das nationale Erbe. 1916 gründete das damalige Kultusministerium das erste Antikenmuseum mit einer 270 Objekten umfassenden Sammlung.[40] Mit dem Aufkommen der Pahlavī-Dynastie annullierte die neue Regierung den Vertrag mit Frankreich im Jahre 1927. Persepolis als ein nationales Wahrzeichen wurde zum Zentrum des Interesses. In diesem Zusammenhang wurde die Denkmalschutzbehörde, die bereits 1921 ins Leben gerufen worden war,[41] wieder aktiviert, und Konferenzen, zu denen man unter anderem Ernst Herzfeld in den Iran einlud, wurden abgehalten.

Die 1930er Jahre waren ein bedeutendes Jahrzehnt hinsichtlich der Rolle der Archäologie und der Wiederentdeckung der antiken Kultur des Iran. Herzfeld, der schon 1907 erstmals Persepolis besucht und seine Beobachtungen in diversen Zeitschriften publiziert hatte,[42] war bemüht, diese Aufgabe zu erfüllen. Er nutzte seine Position, um auf die Wichtigkeit der Bewahrung des persischen Erbes für die nationale Identitätsbildung hinzuweisen. Herzfeld verbrachte 1923/1924 sechs Wochen in Persepolis, wo er sehr intensiv die Inschriften studierte. 1928 begann er zusammen mit dem deutschen Architekten Friedrich Krefter die Ausgrabungen in Persepolis und Pasargadae. Mit der Ausgrabung von Persepolis entstand eine neue Möglichkeit der Identitätskonstruktion, die im Zuge des Rückgriffs auf die vorislamische iranische Antike von Reżā Shah offiziell gefördert wurde. Diese Politik diente Reżā Shahs Interessen in zweierlei Hinsicht: einerseits konnte er sich durch die Anlehnung an die glorreiche Antike Irans in die Nachfolge der vorislamischen Herrscher einreihen und seine ‘persische’ Monarchie damit legitimieren. Anderseits konnte er sich auf eine Zeit beziehen, in der die Religion des Iran der Zoroastrismus und nicht der Islam war. Interessant ist hier natürlich, dass Reżā Shah die Achämeniden offenbar nicht nur als Gegenentwurf zum Islam, sondern auch als Garanten für nationalistischen Säkularismus sah. Dabei waren die Achämeniden bestimmt keine Muslime, aber ebenso bestimmt keine Säkularisten.[43] Die Frage ihres Zoroastrismus ist übrigens ebenfalls ein Dauerthema in der Forschung. Das Flügelwesen ist an achämenidischen Bauten zu sehen, kann jedoch erst seit den Sassaniden mit Sicherheit als zoroastrisches Symbol verstanden werden. Mit diesen Anlehnungen an die vorislamische Religion versuchte Reżā Shah die Rolle der islamischen Geistlichen, die unter den Qāğāren viel bedeutender war, zu begrenzen. Die Übernahme des Symbols der Gottheit Ahūrāmazdā an der Hauptfassade des Teheraner Polizeipräsidiums diente demnach nicht der religiösen Symbolik, sondern als blosse bauliche Reminiszenz an die Grösse der Achämeniden.

Fazit

In den erwähnten Beispielen fand eine selektive Auswahl der rezipierten Motive statt. Dabei konnte festgestellt werden, dass lediglich bei der Gestaltung der Hauptfassade die Formensprache der antiken Perserreiche

40 Mousavi 2012 (wie Anm. 39), S. 156.

41 Die Initiatorengruppe waren die Intellektuellen und politischen Grössen der Zeit: A. Pīrnīyā (Ehemaliger Premierminister), M.A. Forūğī (Aussenminister), A.H. Teymūrtāš (Hofminister), siehe Mousavi 2012 (wie Anm. 39), S. 156; Grigor 2004 (wie Anm. 12), S. 20; Kamyar Abdi, Nationalism, Politics and the Development of Archeology in Iran, in: *American Journal of Archeology*, 105 (2001) Nr. 1, S. 51–76, hier S. 105.

42 Mousavi 2012 (wie Anm. 39), S. 159.

43 Heidemarie Koch, *Persepolis. Glänzende Hauptstadt des Perserreichs,* Mainz am Rhein 2001, S. 10.

zur Anwendung kam. Weder der quadratische Grundriss noch die Portiken und Treppen der Seitenfassade wurden übernommen.

So sind beim Teheraner Polizeipräsidium der Haupteingang, die zweiseitige Treppe, die Reliefs und die Säulen direkte Anleihen beim Apadana in Persepolis, während Funktion und Grundriss westlichen Vorbildern folgen. Ähnlich verhält es sich bei der Nationalbank, wo ebenfalls mehrere Elemente der erwähnten achämenidischen Bauten in der Fassade rezipiert wurden, ohne dass eine weitere Kontextualisierung stattgefunden hätte. Neben den Säulenkapitellen, Pilastern, Fensterlaibungen und Dachfriesen werden das Motiv des Ahūrāmazdā sowie Lotusblumen als Baudekor verwendet.

Diese Vorliebe für Pracht- und Verwaltungsbauten erreichte in den 1930er Jahren in Iran ihren Höhepunkt. Neoklassische Architektur behielt auch in der nachrevolutionären Zeit eine starke politische Bedeutung. Im Gegensatz zu den 1930er Jahren steht in der postrevolutionären Zeit der Rückgriff auf das achämenidische Vokabular im Zeichen des Nationalismus im Sinne der Ablehnung des gegenwärtigen Regimes. Deshalb wird der Stil seither vor allem von Privatleuten und nicht von der Regierung verwendet.[44]

Elika Palenzona-Djalili studierte an der Universität Zürich Kunstgeschichte und Islamwissenschaft. Sie war die erste Absolventin an der neu eingerichteten Abteilung für Geschichte der Islamischen Kunst am Kunsthistorischen Institut der Universität Zürich und untersuchte in ihrer Lizentiatsarbeit das Verhältnis zwischen Text und Bild in einem noch nicht erforschten safavidischen Manuskript (Negārestān, datiert 1571) aus der Aga-Khan-Sammlung. Im Juni 2014 hat sie ein Dissertationsprojekt mit dem Arbeitstitel “Historienmalerei im Kadscharischen Iran. Persische Malerei der Henri-Moser-Sammlung in Bern” in Zürich begonnen. Sie arbeitet als wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin im Bernischen Historischen Museum und gibt Lehraufträge zu islamischer Kunst in diversen Lehrinstitutionen.

[44] Beispiele dieser Architektur sieht man auf der Insel Kish, im Süden Irans. Dariush Grand Hotel: www.dariush-grandhotel.com (abgerufen am 21. Dezember 2015). Iranische Architektur in der Diaspora im selben Stil sieht man in Napa Valley, Kalifornien: www.darioush.com/our-journey (abgerufen am 21. Dezember 2015). Bei beiden Bauten, die als exquisite Hotels funktionieren, finden wir dieselben Elemente wie Säulen, Kapitelle und Reliefs, die der achämenidischen Architektur entlehnt sind.

Bauen in Bagdad um 1958: Wenn Bauvorhaben Revolutionen überstehen

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Irak und die 1950er Jahre

Das Königreich Irak (1921–1958) entwickelte sich Anfang der 1950er Jahre durch Teilverstaatlichung der Erdölindustrie zu einem der finanzkräftigsten arabischen Staaten. Bereits am 24. April 1950 hatte die Regierung das Iraqi Development Board (IDB) eingerichtet, das ab 1953 dem neu gegründeten Entwicklungsministerium unterstand und mittels der neuen Petro-Dollar landesweite Entwicklungsprogramme lancieren sollte. Die Neugestaltung der Hauptstadt Bagdad nahm dabei einen prestigeträchtigen Stellenwert ein, die mit einer Reihe von repräsentativen, mehrheitlich öffentlichen Gebäudetypen realisiert werden sollte. Die Liste der hierfür zwischen 1955 und 1957 angefragten ausländischen Architekten liest sich wie das 'Who is Who' der damaligen internationalen Architekturszene, darunter Alvar Aalto (Kunstmuseum und Posttelegrafenamt), Le Corbusier (Olympisches Stadion), Willem Marinus Dudok (Justizpalast, Hauptgebäude der Stadtpolizei und Liegenschaftsamt), The Architects Collaborative mit Walter Gropius (Universität), Gio Ponti (Verwaltungsgebäude des IDB und des Entwicklungsministeriums) und Frank Lloyd Wright (Opernhaus, später "Plan for Greater Baghdad").[1] Die Auswahl an Kooperationspartnern verdeutlichte sowohl die finanziellen Dimensionen und die prestigeträchtigen Ambitionen des städtischen Transformationsvorhabens als auch die zugrundeliegenden politischen Präferenzen zu Zeiten der Monarchie – einer pro-britischen Regierung, die zwar nominell seit ihrem Eintritt in den Völkerbund 1932 unabhängig war, in Realität jedoch weiterhin von Grossbritannien kontrolliert wurde. Die Unzufriedenheit mit der monarchischen Innen- und Aussenpolitik und das Aufbegehren gegen die koloniale britische Einflussnahme führten schliesslich dazu, dass am 14. Juli 1958 die irakische Armee unter der Führung von General Abd al-Karim Qasim die konstitutionelle Monarchie absetzte und die unabhängige Republik Irak ausrief.

Obwohl politisch äusserst unruhig, gelten gerade die 1950er Jahre im Irak als kulturell und künstlerisch äusserst produktive Zeit. In *The Other Iraq* (2009), eine exzellente Bestandsaufnahme der literarischen Szene des haschemitischen Iraks, zeigt Orit Bashkin, Professorin für Geschichte des Nahen Ostens, auf, dass eine künstlerisch-kulturelle Emanzipation stattfand, die in der gesamten arabischen Welt anerkennend wahrgenommen wurde.[2] Dasselbe galt für die damalige Filmproduktion und die bildende Kunst.[3] Auch im Bereich der Baukunst, so die Architekturhistorikerin

[1] Weiterführend: *City of Mirages: Baghdad. From Wright to Venturi*, Ausst.-Kat. Barcelona, College of Architects of Catalonia, o. D. 2008 et al., hrsg. v. Pedro Azara, Barcelona 2008; Laura Hindelang, *Bagdads urbane Transformation. Die 1950er Jahre zwischen Monarchie und Republik, städtebaulichen Visionen und Nation Building*, Universität Bern 2014 (unveröff. Masterarbeit).

[2] Orit Bashkin, *The Other Iraq. Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*, Stanford 2009; Phebe Marr, *The Modern History of Iraq*. Boulder/London 1985, S. 147–151.

[3] Siehe Wijdan Ali, *Modern Islamic Art. Development and Continuity*, Gainesville et al. 1997; Eric Davis, *Memories of State. Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 2005; Silvia Naef, *A la recherche d'une modernité arabe. L'évolution des arts plastiques en Egypte, au Liban et en Irak,* Genève 1996; Nada M. Shabout, *Modern Arab Art. Formation of Arab Aesthetics*, Gainesville et al. 2007; *Strokes of Genius. Contemporary Iraqi Art*, Ausst.-Kat. London, Brunei Gallery, SOAS, University of London, 16.10.–08.12.2000, hrsg. v. Maysaloun Faraj, London 2001.

Mina Marefat, setzten die jungen, im Westen ausgebildeten irakischen Architekten an, "the British monopoly on building, dominated since the early 1920s by the neoclassical tradition prevalent in European colonies", aufzubrechen.[4] Ähnlich wie Magnus T. Bernhardsson in seinem Aufsatz "Faith in the Future. Nostalgic Nationalism and 1950s Baghdad" (2011), resümiert Bashkin das Klima im Irak um die Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts wie folgt: "In conclusion, Iraq of the 1940s and 1950s witnessed a public sphere that was inspired by a literary and cultural renaissance on the one hand and growing social and political unrest on the other."[5]

Vor diesem Hintergrund ist es zunächst erstaunlich, dass gerade das Iraqi Development Board nach 1958 kaum personelle und inhaltliche Änderungen vornahm, denn gerade dessen Versagen, trotz der ungeheuren Einnahmen aus Erdölverkäufen wirtschaftliche und lebensräumliche Modernisierung für jedermann spürbar zu machen, hatte wesentlich zur Kritik an der Monarchie beigetragen.[6] Diese erstaunliche Kontinuität könnte aber eine Erklärung sein, warum ein Teil der prestigeträchtigen Bauprojekte auch nach 1958 mit denselben Architekten umgesetzt wurden, anstatt – im Zeichen des politischen Umbruchs – diese an aufstrebende irakische Architekten, wie beispielsweise Rifat Chadirji, Mohamed Makiya oder Hisham Munir, zu vergeben. Demnach verwundert es auch kaum, dass sich der Bürohochhauskomplex für das IDB und das Entwicklungsministerium unter den realisierten Bauten befindet.

Gio Pontis Gebäude für das IDB und das Entwicklungsministerium

1955 hatten das IDB und das Entwicklungsministerium Gio Ponti (1891–1979), einen italienischen Architekten, Designer und Professor am Polytechnikum in Mailand, mit einem Entwurf für den gemeinsamen Hauptsitz beider Institutionen beauftragt.[7] Für den Bau hatte man einen Standort am westlichen Tigrisufer mit direktem Anschluss, mittels der Jumhuriya-Brücke, an die gegenüberliegenden Stadtviertel gewählt. Damit positionierten sich die Auftraggeber in einem Teil der Stadt, dem neuen Stadtviertel Karradat Maryam (heute Karkh), der zukünftig das "Government Center" und den neuen Königspalast aufnehmen sollte, sprich an prominenter Stelle.[8]

Eine Aufnahme des Architekturmodels zeigt zwei zueinander versetzte Gebäudestrukturen unterschiedlicher Höhe und Kubatur, welche durch einen mehrstöckigen Übergangsbereich miteinander verbunden werden (Abb. 1). Ein Grossteil des rechteckigen Gesamtgrundstücks ist porticoartig überdacht, wobei die Dachkonstruktionen und Wegeführung teilweise ineinandergreifen und somit die darunterliegenden Parkplätze und Verkehrswege beschatten. Motorisierte Mobilität im urbanen Kontext war für Ponti wie auch für seine Architektengeneration ein zentrales Thema.[9] Das grössere Gebäude (Nr. 1) sollte die Büros des IDB aufnehmen, das kleinere, näher am Ufer gelegene Gebäude (Nr. 2) war als Sitz des

4 Mina Marefat, From Bauhaus to Baghdad. The Politics of Building the Total University, in: *TAARII Newsletter*, hrsg. v. The American Research Institute in Iraq, 2008, Nr. 2/3, S. 2–12, hier S. 2. Siehe auch: Mina Marefat, 1950s Baghdad. Modern and International, in: *TAARII Newsletter*, hrsg. v. The American Research Institute in Iraq, 2007, Nr. 2/2, S. 1–7, hier S. 5 u. Anm. 36.

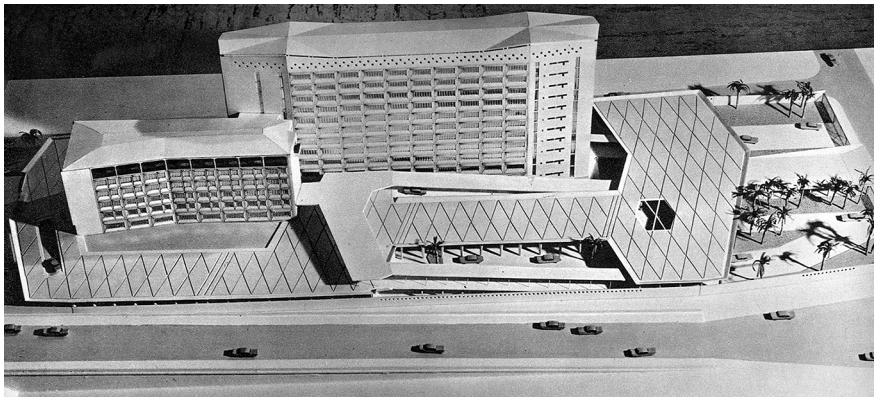
5 Bashkin 2009 (wie Anm. 2), S. 104. Vgl. Magnus T. Bernhardsson, Faith in the Future. Nostalgic Nationalism and the 1950s in Baghdad, in: *History Compass* 9 (2011), Nr. 10, S. 802-817.

6 Vgl. Stanley John Habermann, The Iraq Development Board. Administration and Program, in: *Middle East Journal* 9 (1955), Nr. 2, S. 179–186, hier S. 181; Noman Kanafani, *Oil and Development. A Case Study of Iraq*, Lund 1982, S. 84.

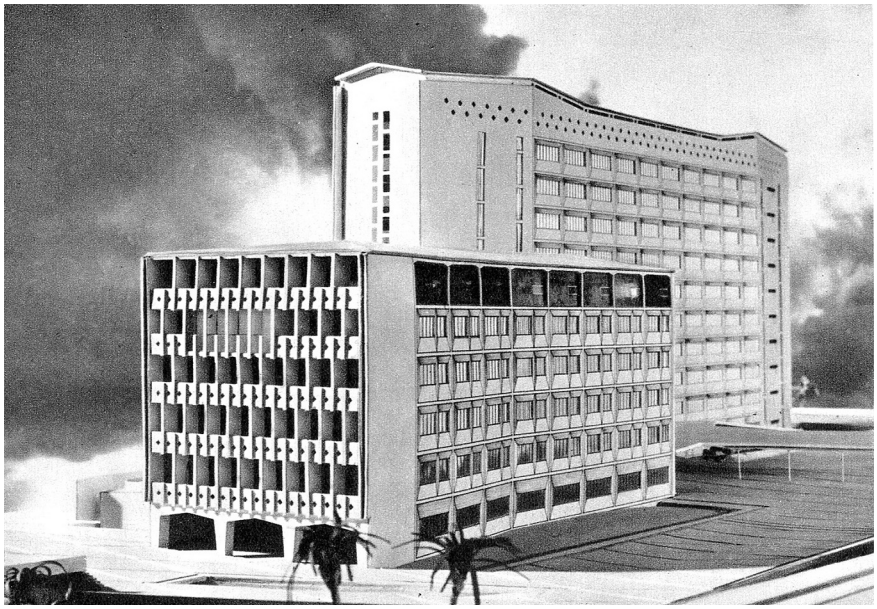
7 Dieser Auftrag resultierte vermutlich aus Pontis Teilnahme am Wettbewerb für die irakische Nationalbank im September 1954.

8 Vgl. Gio Ponti, Progetto per l'edificio del 'Development Board' in Baghdad, in: *Domus*, 1960, Nr. 370, S. 1–6, hier S. 4; Azara 2008 (wie Anm. 1), S. 211–213.

9 Vgl. Ponti 1960 (wie Anm. 8), S. 5.



1

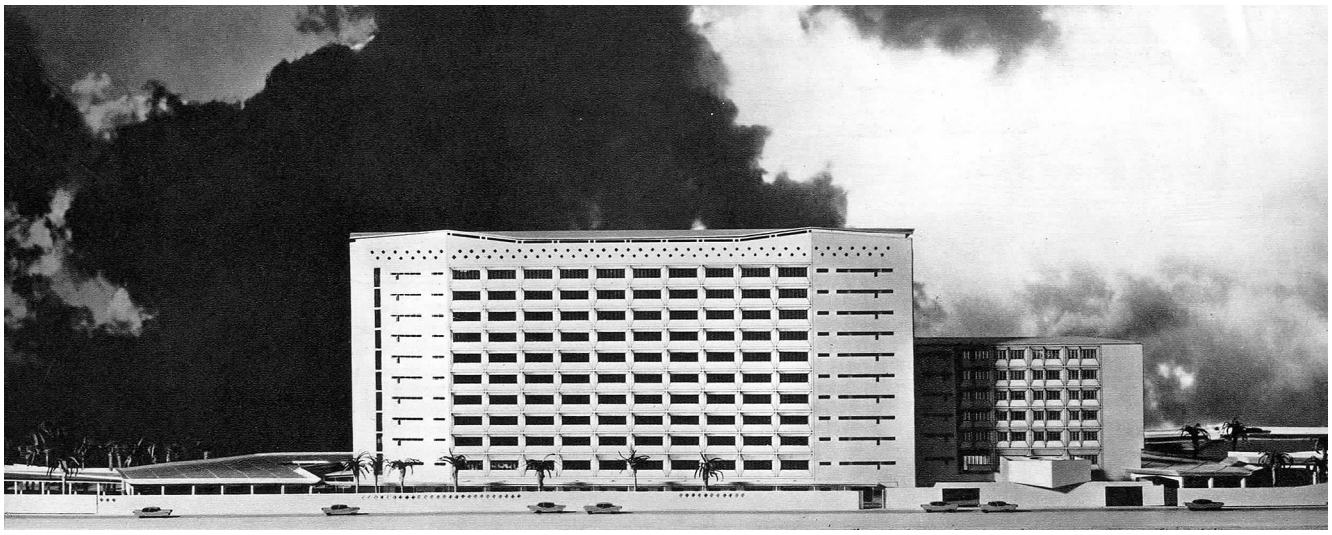


2

Abb. 1
Gio Ponti, Verwaltungsgebäude des IDB und des Entwicklungsministeriums, Bagdad, 1955–1960, Modellansicht 1960. In: Gio Ponti, Progetto per l'edificio del 'Development Board' in Baghdad, in: *Domus*, 1960, Nr. 370, 5. (Courtesy Gio Ponti Archives)

Abb. 2
Gio Ponti, Verwaltungsgebäude des IDB und des Entwicklungsministeriums, Bagdad, 1955–1960, Ansicht vom Tigrisufer, Modellansicht 1960. In: Gio Ponti, Progetto per l'edificio del 'Development Board' in Baghdad, in: *Domus*, 1960, Nr. 370, 6. (Courtesy Gio Ponti Archives)

Abb. 3
Gio Ponti, Verwaltungsgebäude des IDB und des Entwicklungsministeriums, Bagdad, 1955–1960, Ansicht aus südöstlicher Richtung, Modellansicht 1960. In: Gio Ponti, Progetto per l'edificio del 'Development Board' in Baghdad, in: *Domus*, 1960, Nr. 370, 4. (Courtesy Gio Ponti Archives)



3

Entwicklungsministeriums vorgesehen.[10] Während Gebäude Nr. 1 über einem schmalen, schiffsförmigen Grundriss aufgebaut ist, öffnet sich der ebenfalls polygonale und asymmetrische Grundriss von Gebäude Nr. 2 leicht trichterförmig in Richtung Tigris (Abb. 2). Diese Öffnung wird als grossflächige, flussseitige Rasterfassade in die Vertikale übersetzt, wodurch die Fenster tief in die Fassade eingestellt und beschattet werden, so dass die Innenräume nicht direkter Sonneneinstrahlung ausgesetzt sind. An den Fassaden der Längsseiten von Gebäude Nr. 2, wie auch im Mittelteil von Gebäude Nr. 1, sind bewegliche *brise-soleil* aus Aluminium den längsrechteckigen Glasfenstern vorgesetzt.[11] Des Weiteren sind die Fenster von Nr. 1 an den äusseren Bereichen der Längsseite auf schmale horizontale und vertikale Fensterbänder reduziert, die eine hohe Sonneneinstrahlung verhindern. Der innovative Charakter seines Projekts, so Ponti in einer seiner wenigen publizierten Beiträge, sei "la 'invenzione', si è mossa dalla caratteristica climatica di Baghdad, cioè da una realtà ambientale solo climatica".[12] Doch ist fraglich, wie funktional oder klimatisch angemessen die trotz *brise-soleil* stark perforierte Fassadenoberfläche der hohen Gebäude für die Büroarbeit während der sehr heissen Sommermonate tatsächlich ist (Abb. 3).[13]

Bautypologisch stellte der Bagdader Bau (Nr. 1) mit seinen zehn Stockwerken zunächst einmal kein Hochhaus dar. Doch relational und ortsspezifisch betrachtet, also gemessen an den sonst üblichen überwiegend zweigeschossigen Gebäudehöhen in Bagdad und aufgrund seiner exponierten Lage am Flussufer, entstand hier ein markant aufragender Hochhausbau. Hierin deutet sich bereits an, dass die zentrale architektonische Strategie weniger ein Anpassen an die Umgebung, sondern mehr ein Absetzen von derselben war, um so das IDB und das Entwicklungsministerium stadtbildprägend zu visualisieren.

Kristalline Form als *Corporate Architecture*: Ein Vergleich zwischen Mailand und Bagdad

Da über das Bagdader Projekt zu wenig (publizierte) Bild- und Textinformationen zur Nutzung, innenräumlichen Organisation und öffentlichen Rezeption der Gebäude vorliegen, soll dieses, um sich ihm anzunähern, mit dem wohl prominentesten Bauprojekt Pontis verglichen werden: dem Pirelli-Hochhaus in Mailand, das zwischen 1955 und 1958/1960 und somit fast zeitgleich zu dem Bau in Bagdad entworfen und errichtet wurde. Nicht nur, weil es damals "den höchsten bis heute in Europa gebauten Wolkenkratzer" darstellte, ist das Pirelli-Hochhaus Pontis bedeutendstes Gebäude der 1950er Jahre, sondern vor allem, weil der Architekt mit diesem Projekt seine Theorie der "L'architettura è un cristallo" realisierte.[14]

Ebenso wie in Bagdad beruhte die von Gio Ponti in Zusammenarbeit mit Antonio Fornaroli, Alberto Roselli, Giuseppe Valtolina und Egidio dell'Orto konzipierte Architektur auf einem aufwendigen Tragsystem, welches die Ingenieure Arturo Danusso und Pier Luigi Nervi entwickelt

10 Die Bezeichnungen "Gebäude Nr. 1" und "Gebäude Nr. 2" werden von der Autorin zur Differenzierung der Bauten verwendet.

11 Vgl. Lisa Licitra Ponti, *Gio Ponti. The Complete Work 1923–1978*, London 1990, S. 202.

12 Vgl. Ponti 1960 (wie Anm. 8), S. 1.

13 Trotz der mehrjährigen Beschäftigung mit dem Projekt reiste Ponti nie nach Bagdad. Stattdessen schickte er seinen Mitarbeiter Antonio Fornaroli, um mit dem irakischen Partnerarchitekten Hisham al Madfai Planung und Bau zu betreuen.

14 Gio Ponti, *Amate l'Architettura*, Genua 1957. Die Publikation ist eine überarbeitete Erweiterung der Publikation *L'architettura è un cristallo* (1945).

hatten. Die graphisch gestalteten Etagenpläne des 2., 16. und 31. Stockwerks und der Querschnitt durch die Tragpfeiler, welche in jeder Publikation zu dem Pirelli-Bau mit abgebildet wurden und die Ponti selbst als "uno slogan grafico" des Bauwerks bezeichnete, zeigen, wie sich die Tragpfeiler von 2 m auf 50 cm verjüngen (Abb. 4, 5).[15] Dadurch werden mit wachsender Geschossanzahl zunehmend stützenfreie Räume über dem achsensymmetrischen, polygonalen Grundriss gebildet, die als offene Grossraumbüros konzipiert waren. Die Höhe des Gebäudes steht dabei in spezifischer Abhängigkeit zu Grundriss und Tragsystem, denn die statische Konstruktion legt den absoluten Baukörper fest, indem sie in Höhe, Länge und Tiefe nicht unendlich fortsetzbar ist.

Für Ponti stellte dies die Realisierung seiner Idee der "forma finita" dar: Im Gegensatz zu den üblicherweise modular-additiv konstruierten Hochhäusern sollte das Pirelli-Hochhaus eine durch die Konstruktion bestimmte Form erhalten, die nicht beliebig erweitert oder umgebaut werden konnte, also eine 'vollendete', das heisst perfekt und abgeschlossene Form zugleich.[16]

Während in den zeitgenössischen Besprechungen die technische Konstruktion des Pirelli-Hochhauses die grösste Beachtung fand, wie Beispiele aus deutschsprachigen Fachzeitschriften belegen,[17] scheint sich Ponti darüber hinaus selbst eher mit dem repräsentativen Potential seiner Architektur auseinandergesetzt zu haben.[18] Die Wahl des (Büro-) Hochhauses als bautypologische Entsprechung scheint in diesem Kontext sehr treffend, denn dem Bautyp selbst sind in erster Linie eine sich von der baulichen Umgebung deutlich absetzende Höhe, eine vertikale Ausrichtung und "height-related building technologies" zu eigen.[19] Der Typus 'Hochhaus', der sich in Europa nach dem 2. Weltkrieg zunehmend zu etablieren begann, galt seit seinen frühen Anfängen in den USA als

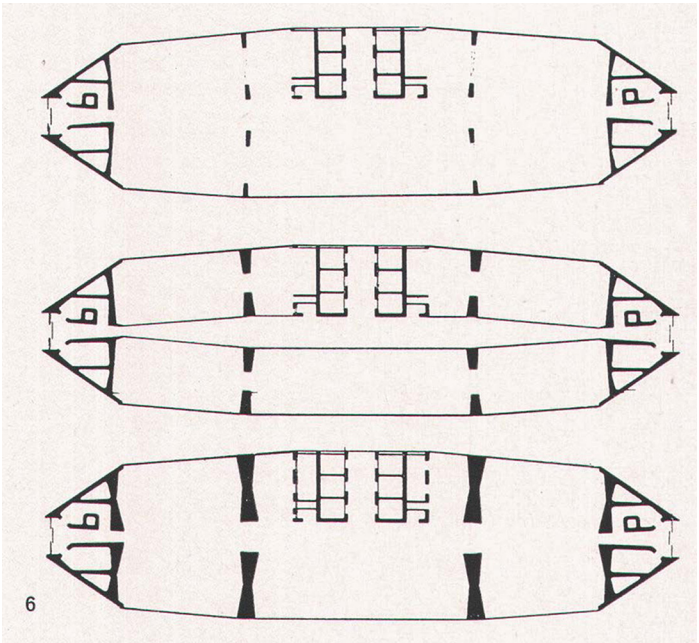
15 Claudia J. Ziegler, Out of Ashes and Rubble. The Pirelli Tower, in: *Places* 21 (2009), Nr. 1, S. 14–17, hier S. 16, zit. n. Terry Kirk, *The Architecture of Modern Italy*, Bd. 2: Visions of Utopia, 1900 – Present, New York 2005, S. 167.

16 Vgl. Gio Ponti, Si fa coi pensieri, in: *Domus*, 1961, Nr. 379, (= Reproduktion der ital. Ausgabe mit engl. Übers., hrsg. v. Charlotte & Peter Fiell, Hongkong 2006), S. 182–197, S. 551–553 (Übersetzung).

17 Siehe. Ernst Zietzschmann, Mailand baut Hochhäuser, in: *Bauen + Wohnen* 9 (1955), Nr. 5, S. 358 und S. 360; O[hne] A[utor], Pirelli-Hochhaus in Mailand, in: *Werk* 43 (1956), Nr. 10, S. 312–313; Jürgen Joedicke, Verwaltungsgebäude der Pirelli-Werke Mailand, in: *Baukunst und Werkform* 10 (1957), Nr. 4, S. 204–205.

18 Vgl. Ponti 1961 (wie Anm. 16).

19 Kheir Al-Kodmany und Mir M. Ali, *The Future of the City.Tall Buildings and Urban Design*, Southampton/ Boston 2013, S. 12.



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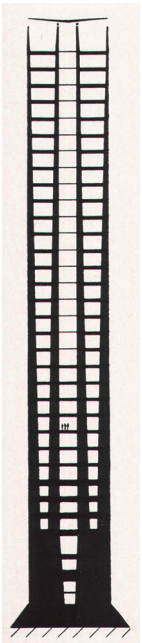

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Abb. 4
Gio Ponti, Pirelli-Hochhaus, Mailand, 1955–1958/1960, Grundrisse des 2., 16. und 31. Geschosses, Zeichnung 1956. In: *Gio Ponti. 1891–1979*, Ausst.-Kat. Tokyo, The Seibu Museum of Art, 19.9.–7.10.1986, Tokyo: Kajima Institute 1986, S. 117, Abb. 22. (Courtesy Gio Ponti Archives)

Abb. 5
Gio Ponti, Pirelli-Hochhaus, Mailand, 1955–1958/1960, Querschnitt durch Tragpfeiler, Zeichnung 1956. In: *Gio Ponti. 1891–1979*, Ausst.-Kat. Tokyo, The Seibu Museum of Art, 19.9.–7.10.1986, Tokyo: Kajima Institute 1986, S. 116, Abb. 20. (Courtesy Gio Ponti Archives)

Zeichen für technischen Fortschritt, Innovation und wirtschaftlichen Wohlstand. Nicht selten diente er als gebaute 'Visitenkarte' für Firmen.[20] Für Ponti stand er darüber hinaus im Zusammenhang mit seinem eigenen Wahlspruch "L'architettura è un cristallo", den er wie folgt erläuterte: "L'architettura è un cristallo, l'Architettura pura è un cristallo (…) forme chiuse e che stanno. Rifiuta le forme non finite: la sfera, forma infinita, non sarà mai un'architettura: rotola, non sta: nè comincia nè finisce."[21] Wie ein Kristall, der aus dem Felsen wächst, und doch von einer anderen materiellen Beschaffenheit und Formsprache ist, scheint für Ponti auch die Architektur etwas verkörpert zu haben, das sich von der Umgebung abheben sollte. Sie sollte eine geschlossene Form und gleichzeitig eine sich selbst transzendierende Wirkung besitzen. Das Hochhaus, gebaut auf Basis der neuesten Konstruktions- und Materialtechnik und formaler Überlegungen, kann daher als zentrales Symbol des Architekturverständnisses von Gio Ponti gelesen werden, das er anhand des Pirelli-Gebäudes perfektionierte und in Bagdad erneut inszenierte.

Verwaltung des Ölstaats in vollendeter Form

In dem bereits zitierten Domus-Artikel zum Bagdader Bau betonte Ponti die nationale Bedeutung des IDB als das zentrale Verwaltungsorgan wie folgt: "di tutte le *opere pubbliche* nazionali, quelle dal cui sviluppo l'Irak raggiungerà il suo assetto moderno, la sua attrezzatura moderna", für welches er "un edificio studiatissimo" errichten wolle.[22] Weniger durch "uno slogan grafico" wie der Mailänder Bau für Pirelli, als vielmehr durch die stadträumliche und stadtbildliche Manifestation selbst, werden die Verwaltungsgebäude des IDB und des Entwicklungsministeriums im Sinne einer kristallinen Architektur inszeniert. Aufgrund ihrer grossen repräsentativen 'Strahlkraft' fungieren sie als moderne *Corporate Architecture* für diese damals sehr wichtigen Institutionen, die auch den politischen Umbruch gewissermassen spurlos überstanden hatten.[23]

Der Architekturkritiker Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm weist zu Recht darauf hin, dass es die "Grundentscheidung des Hochhauses ist (…), den Kontakt zwischen Innen und Aussen auf das funktional Unvermeidliche zu reduzieren", sei es durch Lage, Zugangsbeschränkungen oder Höhe.[24] In Bagdad wird die Unzugänglichkeit durch die Lage entlang der heutigen Yafa Street, einer grossen Hauptstrasse, die in die Jumhuriya-Brücke übergeht, noch verstärkt. Die politischen Institutionen sind somit zwischen Fluss und Hauptstrasse verschanzt und verdeutlichen, ebenso wie die aufwendige Parkplatz-Anlage, dass der selektive Zugang im Entwurf bereits mitgedacht war. Insbesondere aus heutiger Perspektive ist es unbestritten, dass Hochhäuser nicht in erster Linie Medien nationaler Repräsentanz, sondern vor allem Manifeste eines globalen Wirtschaftsmarktes sind. Dies erklärt auch die Konzipierung des Bagdader Verwaltungsbaus fernab von gesellschaftlichem Zugang.

[20] Vgl. Anthony D. King, Worlds in the City. From Wonders of Modern Design to Weapons of Mass Destruction, in: ders. (Hrsg.), *Spaces of Global Cultures. Architecture, Urbanism, Identity* (= The Architext Series), London 2005, S. 3-22, hier S. 6. Weiterführend: Thomas A.P. van Leeuwen, *The Skyward Trend of Thought. The Metaphysics of the American Skyscraper,* Cambridge 1988.

[21] Ponti 1957 (wie Anm. 14), S. 39.

[22] Ponti 1960 (wie Anm. 8), S. 4 u. S. 6 (Kursivsetzung gemäss Original).

[23] Ziegler unterstreicht in diesem Kontext die Rolle von Alberto Pirelli, dem Mailänder Auftraggeber, welcher einen "American-type skyscraper as a corporate symbol" wünschte. Vgl. Ziegler 2009 (wie Anm. 15), S. 15. Ausführlich zur Begriffsgeschichte von *Corporate Architecture*: Tanja Vonseeln, *Von Erdbeeren und Wolkenkratzern. Corporate Architecture. Begründung, Geschichte und Ausprägung einer architektonischen Imagestrategie*, Oberhausen 2012.

[24] Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, Hochhaus und Stadt, in: *Werk, Bauen + Wohnen* 78 (1991), Nr. 12, S. 36–45, hier S. 38.

Dass das Bagdader Projekt trotz allem auch nach der Revolution von 1958 realisiert wurde, könnte man, neben den bereits aufgeführten Gründen, einerseits mit dem dringlichen Bedürfnis nach einem konzentrierten Standort des IDB gemeinsam mit dem Entwicklungsministerium erklären. Andererseits sollte die architektonische Konsolidierung sicherlich die Effizienz und Sichtbarkeit der Tätigkeiten des IDB stärken, die von der irakischen Bevölkerung damals stark kritisiert wurde. Demnach könnte ein zentraler Gedanke gewesen sein, dass der damals bestehenden gesellschaftlichen Skepsis mit einer 'vollendeten' Form immer noch am besten zu begegnen sei. Zumindest im Logo des später in diesem Gebäude ansässigen Planungsministeriums, scheint sich eine solche positive Zuschreibung bis heute erhalten zu haben.

Abschliessend kann festgehalten werden, dass der Mailänder und der Bagdader Bau trotz formaler Unterschiede konkrete bautypologische und architekturtheoretische Übereinstimmungen besitzen, die es erlauben von 'copy-paste' zu sprechen. Denn vor dem historischen Hintergrund der kollektiven Konstituierung des Iraks als unabhängige postkoloniale Republik und der breiten gesellschaftlichen Kritik am Auftraggeber des Gebäudes, stellt die von Ponti gewählte 'vollendete' Form keine angemessene architektonische Reaktion auf eine Gesellschaft im revolutionären Umbruch dar.

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