

(Re)Framing Rapid Modernities: American Historians of Iranian Architecture, Phyllis Ackerman and Arthur Pope

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In the mid-1920s, two American art historians were introduced to the Iranian cultural landscape; they were to remain there even after their death. Phyllis Ackerman (1893-1977) and her husband Arthur Upham Pope (1881-1969) devoted most of their professional lives to the research and publication of Iranian art, architecture, and archeology. They made two lasting contributions; one was their survey of Persian art, originally published in 1938-39 in six volumes. The twelve-volume collection, titled *Survey of Persian Art: From Prehistoric Time to the Present* (hereafter *Survey*) was reprinted in 1964 and remains the single most substantial collection on Iran's material culture to this day. The second major contribution was Ackerman-Pope's role in mounting several international congresses and exhibitions on the artistic heritage of Iran. These events were affiliated with the American Institute of Persian Art and Archeology in New York, in turn, founded by their shared efforts in 1928. Enlarged and renamed as the Asia Institute, it was relocated to Shiraz in 1966. Soon after their death, the Society for National Heritage (hereafter SNH), under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Art of Iran, built their joint mausoleum in the historically and architecturally rich city of central Iran, Isfahan (*fig. 1*).¹ A mirror to their philosophy, the tomb structure was the SNH's last major project erected before the fall of the Pahlavi royal dynasty in the 1979 Revolution. The two Pahlavi kings – Reza Shah (r. 1921-1941) and his son and successor, Mohammad-Reza Shah (r. 1941-1979) – forcibly westernized and effectively modernized the society that they ruled, each in various degrees and techniques. In

this project of rapid economic and cultural development, western scholars and scientists proved to be pivotal to their plans of modernization for the Shah was persuaded that “in our march toward this Great Civilization, Iran was one vast workshop.”² Between 1925 and 1977, while Ackerman-Pope's undertakings in form of publications, lectures, and exhibitions were instrumental to the making of modern institutions and practices within the context of Shahs' modernizing plan, the underemphasized fact that Pope was one of the most active dealer of Iranian art renders their place in history an uneasy one. Nevertheless, they imprinted the development of the country's cultural legacy more profoundly than any other westerner in 20th-century Iran.

In this essay, I first analyze Pope's most influential lecture delivered in Tehran in 1925 – a public speech that, possibly, altered the architectural theory and practice of modern Iran. A brief introduction to Ackerman-Pope's involvement in a number of international congresses and archeological projects will reveal their role in the representation of 'Persian Art' as a discourse. Then, I will bring to the fore the details of Ackerman's life and work, as an American feminist scholar who was undermined in historiography both before and after her death. As a perfect example, the petty quarrels between Ackerman and Pope over the typeset of the *Survey* will demonstrate the centrality of cultural manifestations in making a discourse on 'national' art. Finally, I will present the double-domed mausoleum of the historians as a gendered metaphor of their long and often turbulent career. Methodologically, this article raises the following question: within the



Fig. 1. Mausoleum of Phyllis Ackerman and Arthur Pope in Isfahan, 1969-1977. (Author, 1999)

larger project of Iranian modernization, how can we voice Ackerman's authority, when all we have to refer to is "what Pope said"? How should Ackerman be '(re)represented' knowing too well that the history written by/about "Arthur" is the only public domain of their private dynamics? In order to tackle this, I situate their joint-tomb as an allegory of this simultaneously public and personal historiographical reconstruction. Both the tomb and the *Survey* complicate the examination of these 'gendered misrepresentations.'

While Ackerman-Pope made a significant contribution to that history, they nevertheless handsomely nurtured the modernist myth of a utopian Iran – a future that would never come. They injected into the political regime the concept of revivalism and a false 'return' to an imagined 'glorious' past. Pope's first public lecture was the inseminating moment of such mythical return, financed and propagated by the Pahlavi dynasty. The internal dynamic between Ackerman and her husband not only reveals the coercive process of making the history of Iranian art and architecture but also points to the masculine constructs of that modernity. As subversion of the masculine myth, Ackerman's feminism occasions the reconstruction of her contribution to the discourse on Iranian art and

architecture. The fact that she neither adopted her husband's name nor missed a single opportunity to be (re)presented in the very discourse that Ackerman-Pope invented, enables this (re)construction of Ackerman and Pope, at least, as equals.

Pope's Debut in Iran

Invited by the SNH in 1925, Pope traveled to and within Iran under special protection of the Pahlavi state; this kind of 'royal attention' became a standard practice thereafter. The office of the Ministry of Public Instructions sent a signed and sealed letter to the Governor of Isfahan on April 29, 1929: "the American Professor Pope who is a renown expert on Iran is traveling...assist him in his wish to see the historic heritage."³ The next day, prompt and affirmative reply returned from the Ministry of Interior of Isfahan.⁴ Pope's main purpose for his travels within the country was to document and photograph various sites and structures of ancient as well as Islamic Iran. By then, Ackerman-Pope had initiated their colossal project – the *Survey* – for which he was shooting black and white photographs 'on site' and she was conducting research in European and American archives.

While in Iran during that same year, Pope made his debut during “the most powerful and profound of all these orations” in Tehran at the end of April 1925.⁵ He presented on two occasions. The first appearance at the YMCA was organized and translated by the then Prime Minister of Iran and President of the SNH, Mohammad-Ali Foroughi; described by Pope as “one of the makers of modern Persia.”⁶ Moved by “such cataract of exciting and new ideas,” Foroughi asked Pope for a second presentation in a few days, this time translated by the soon-to-be Minister of Education, Issa Sadig. At the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Pope stood in front of high-ranking officials: the soon-to-be king Reza Khan, representatives of the Parliament, the Government Cabinet, and the American community of Tehran. Titled *The Past and Future of Persian Art*, the speech addressed Iranian craft, its history, and historiography but was fundamentally political in nature.⁷ Within the first paragraph, the Achaemenian and Sassanian “great names” like Cyrus and Ardeshir were cited. In 1920s Iran, where revival of the ‘nation’s real heritage’ was the state’s main concern, the names of these pre-Islamic kings were uttered as national slogans. Cyrus the founder of the Achaemenian dynasty in 559 BC and Ardeshir I that of the Sassanian dynasty in 224 AD were evoked as ‘pure’ Persian heroes, the founders of the presumed “nation.”⁸ During the rest of Pahlavi rule between 1925 and 1979, Pope would be known as the art historian who by far privileged the artistic “authenticity” and historic significance of pre-Islamic Iran over Shi’a Persia; the Zoroastrian Land of the Aryans was selected as the “true spirit” of this modern nation.

During this lengthy talk, Pope conveyed several politically current themes. He began, first, by glorifying Persian history, historical figures, and the ‘spirit’ of the nation. Then under the heading of “The Periods of Persian Art,” he listed the “great art periods” that shaped Iranian history with its various inventions and influences on other ‘civilizations.’ Under his second heading,

“Some Fundamental Characters,” Pope elaborated on the “fundamental principles of Persian art” although, he confessed, such ‘full understanding’ is ‘no small matter’ for “such a gifted nation as Persia.”⁹ Pope soon moved to his next headings, termed “Standards for Judging Persian Art” and “Present Condition of Persian Art.” Making links between art and race, he stated “the Persians despite the admixture of other blood...are still a gifted people” where “one finds the same lively imagination, the same delicate touch that created marvels for Cyrus.” Continuity, despite ‘dreadful calamities,’ remained possible, which, Pope assured, resulted in the “return of justice and security and order.” Art was not only linked to racial valor, but also had something to do with public discipline and instruction. For this, he continued, the vital importance of an art museum was indisputable; without “the establishment of a real museum for her art...no revival of Persian culture is possible.” The museum was a place of “historic instruction.” In order to service the public, it must “be assembled in a common and public place” to “revive the spirit of the nation” and “awaken artists to new achievements” through which Persians “would themselves be astonished...” As with most of his colleagues in Iran, Pope hoped to revive an innate national spirit in the people of Iran, a spirit that was presumed to have been ‘forgotten.’ Through the museum, the revival of this spirit would guarantee a harmonic continuity of its cultural history, “so that there shall be no further disastrous break in the artistic traditions of the country.” More important perhaps, a ‘much-needed museum’ would no doubt need a director, a concern that was at the core of American, German, and French contention in Iran between 1925 and 1927.¹⁰

Pope’s third and final headings, “Practical Measures for Revival of Persian Art” and “Wrong Views of Art that Delay Revival in Persia,” brought his narrative into the 20th century, addressing the concerns of the politicians in the audience. He chose his words well:

If by *instruction* and by example these wrong theories that *retard* the revival and development of a *real* artistic sense can be *corrected*, then with the government's energetic support of practical measures, the future of Persian art is secure. The claims of art on the attention of busy ministers and administrators may at first seem slight. Yet art is a vital necessity of life for the nation... The government and people together must do everything possible to bring art again to life in Persia [emphasis added].

The wrongs that needed correction stem from an equally 'wrong' understanding of art and its value. Pope maintained that the mere passage of time does not make an artwork more valuable.¹¹ In effect, there is no age-value in art, "if so the common stones by the roadside ought to be the loveliest of all creation's things." Rather art acquires its "beauty" from "understanding, skill and inspiration of some serious hardworking person." Nor are things that are "expensive necessarily beautiful," a prosaic point made by the speaker. His emphasis on the 'nation's artistic spirit' came back in the form of 'understanding and inspiration,' the revival of which hinged on men of 'taste.' "The Peacock Throne is *only* a copy made by Fath Ali Shah, who was an unqualified calamity to Persian art as different as possible from Shah Abbas and other great monarchs. He had no *taste*..." Past rulers played against each other: a strategy the efficacy of which Pope only knew too well in the context of the 1920s Iran. Similarly, past objects, such as the Qajar Peacock Throne, made during Fath Ali Shah's reign (r. 1798-1834) on which Reza Shah chose *not* to be made king in 1926, were words that Pope used successfully. The Qajars, soon to be deposed, were characterized as bad mimics of the more 'authentic' Safavids (r. 1491-1722). According to Pope, Fath Ali Shah's "grotesque and stupid carving of himself" in Sassanian style on the hills of Ray "will remain as one of the greatest artistic scandals in the history of the world." Still, the

stylistic revival of the pre-Islamic art of Iran was precisely that which he advocated. As a finale, Pope stated: "May the new renaissance of Persia that is now dawning usher in again a day of great artistic achievement in which Persia will once more delight mankind and bring honor to herself." As he finished his speech, 'Persian Art' had made a full Hegelian circle: from its glorious past, to its present-day demise, and finally to the solution of a still glorious revival. The talk also gave the art historian the biggest opportunity of his career. On that day, Pope, single-handedly and successfully, made a place for himself at the vanguard of that same "Persian Art."

The future Iranian king, Reza Khan, sitting in the audience along with his modernist reformists, must have been particularly moved by the enormous responsibility that Pope placed on the state in undertaking the task of revival of ancient glories and the cultivation of taste. "The government must see to it that as in the ancient days of Persia's greatest glory artists shall receive encouragement from the highest sources and be shown to the public for what he is: a benefactor to the nation." The General was, indeed, deeply moved. Convincingly arguing on the importance of art, Pope implored the reformists to endeavor so as to 'bring back' the once civilization of ancient Iran. It was there that his most fundamental ideas about Iran's artistic heritage were formulated. According to the Shah's biographer, Donald Wilbert, the speech resonated with what Reza Khan believed about Iran's past glories. "He became restless before the end, but there can be no doubt of the lasting impact of what he heard on the occasion...he was convinced that the heights reached by Iranians in the past must be scaled again..."¹² It was there that he recognized the political potential of 'mere art.' Later, influenced by Pope's minor remark on the missing tiles on the 1617 mosque of Sheik Lotfollah in Isfahan, Reza Shah ordered their immediate replacement as well as the duplication of the mosque's dome and drum in his newly built Marble Palace in Tehran.¹³ In the same vein, the

opening up of the mosques to non-Muslims, a decree from the king, was, no doubt, Pope's 'polite suggestion' to 'His Majesty,' for he had confessed to a friend, standing on the roof of Louvre, that he planned to photograph Persian architecture, "including especially the occupied mosques, rigidly closed to all unbelievers..."¹⁴ The state soon laid claim to various historically-revered spaces like mosques and cemeteries. They were to be turned into 'historic heritage,' a bold confirmation of Iran's cultural legacy, open to all kinds of visitors. The Royal Mosque of Isfahan (1612-1637) was the first to be opened to foreign tourists.¹⁵

Immediately translated into Farsi, twenty-six pages of Pope's speech were published and distributed by the Ministry of Public Instructions. According to Education Minister Issa Sadig, this translation was "for the use of teachers all over the country," written by a man who "first reawakened our own love of beauty by painting out the significance of our accomplishment; it was [he] who thus promoted the understanding and appreciation of Iranian art and craftsmanship in all its forms."¹⁶ The American art historian's opinions regarding Persian art were taught in the new Iranian secular schools in the following decades, which reinvested 'art' in terms of a national discourse. In the west, a revised version was published in English under the title "Persian Art and Culture" in the *Asiatic Review* 24 of April 1928.¹⁷ This metaphoric cornerstone of 'Persian Art' became a source of inspiration for local nationalists and westerners alike. Printed and reprinted, referred to and re-referred to over the decades, it resurfaced in Sadig's *Past and Future of Persian Art* for the last time in 1977.¹⁸ Each of Pope's points – from revival to museums, from pedagogy to art-value, from historical figures to nation's spirit – all marked the subsequent undertakings of both the SNH and Ackerman-Pope.

This powerful lecture was Pope's window of opportunity into the Iranian cultural scene. Deeply moved by his projection of a modern and utopian future, the secular political elite pro-

moted Pope to undertake further projects. Immediately after the lecture, Reza Shah ordered the establishment of the Iran American Society with Pope's initiation. He also joined in the 1934 Ferdowsi celebrations that started in Tehran and Tus, and stretched as far as Leningrad's Hermitage Museum, the British Museum of London, the University and Musée Guimet of Paris, as well as Columbia University and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.¹⁹ The Tus gala, according to Farajollah Bazl, was carried out with "great dignity" with the erection of a "proper" monument "over Ferdowsi's grave."²⁰ These events, like the nation, "would have never succeeded without the efforts of Professor Pope."²¹ As the chief participant of the Tehran conference, Pope presented a paper, *The Influence of Firdausi in Persia*, which was later published in a collection of essays suitably titled *Firdausi 934-1934*.²² Moreover, as early as 1926, Ackerman-Pope organized their "First Congress and Exhibition of Persian Art and Archeology" in Philadelphia, represented by a full-scale replica of Isfahan's Royal Mosque.²³ This was to be followed by a series of similar international exhibitions throughout the 20th century: London in 1931; Leningrad and Moscow in 1935; New York in 1940; Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington D.C. in 1960. The 1968 exhibition was organized at 'home' in the three major cities of Tehran, Isfahan, and Shiraz. The displayed art objects were part of the Fifth Congress on Iranian Art during which Pope made his last public speech. The two final exhibitions, with the sole participation of Ackerman, took place in London and Munich in 1972.

Aside from the two publications of the *Survey* in 1938-1939 and 1964, Ackerman-Pope cooperated in the production of other works on the same topic; titles including *Introduction to Persian Art* (1930), *Masterpieces of Persian Art* (1945), and *Persian Architecture: The Triumph of Form and Color* (1965). Posthumously published in 1969 and republished four times in the following years by Jay Gluck, long friend and assistant to



Fig. 2. Column Capital at Persepolis, 518–331 BC. (Author, 2001)

Ackerman-Pope, *Persian Architecture* was a 120-page concise history of Iranian architecture from the Achaemenian to Qajar periods. According to its critic, Michael Levey in *Apollo*, it was a “concise introduction” to Iranian architectural history “of epic scale” – a work that embraced “concentrated authority, clarity, and appeal.”²⁴ In like fashion, Lewis Mumford wrote,

Dr. Pope’s work has never been adequately treated in English. The most casual student of architecture should find even the first contact with this work a dazzling experience, for its illustrations demonstrate the unique character of Persian architecture: the integration of durable colored surfaces of intricate pattern with audacious constructive forms. The unique feat puts

Persian architecture on a par with that of Egypt, Greece or our Middle Ages. With his characteristic grasp and philosophic acumen, Dr. Pope has summed up in a book of relatively modest dimensions a whole lifetime of ardent research.²⁵

These publications, coupled with exhibitions and conferences, not only rendered the study of Iranian art and architecture physically available and conceptually legible to a new generation of western scholars, but also instigated a distinct discourse based on the Hegelian model that began with the Achaemenians and Sassanians in the antiquities and early middle ages, declined because of 7th-century Arab invasions to be revived in modern times. This was a new historiography of Iranian art, which was not only rigidly linear based on western paradigms, but was exclusively national. Coincidentally, the revivalism rested on the shoulders of none other than Pope’s more affluent and loyal patron: the Shahanshah of Iran. The architectural product of this discourse came to be known as “Pope Architecture” – the neo-Achaemenian style that shaped most of the built environment of the mid-1930s Tehran (figs. 2 and 3). State-sponsored constructions, which were to house modern institutions such as the National Bank, the Central Post-Office, or the various ministries, were adorned with replicas from Persepolis and Nagsh-e Rostam, signaling what Pope had prophesied in his 1925 public speech: if revivalism is achieved, the “new Persia will be clothed in a *style* becoming its character and achievement, the *national spirit* will be fortified and enriched; Persian cities will again be *beautiful*, providing comfort and delight to the inhabitants and earning the admiration of the world.”²⁶

However, “the ‘problem’ of Arthur’s being a ‘scholar’ while also selling art bothered many...”²⁷ As a dealer in art, Pope was involved in the fierce competition over the archeological digging rights of historic sites and the transfer of their objects to the west. In 1929, he was added to the French



Fig. 3. "Pope Architecture" or example of the neo-Achaemenian style in Tehran, mid-1930s. (Author, 2002)

attacks on the German archeologist Ernest Herzfeld who had been invited to Iran by the SNH. Herzfeld's main role, as far as the members of the SNH were concerned, was to challenge the French monopoly on the archeological services through a German presence in Tehran. Pope openly expressed concerns about Herzfeld's archeological activities in Persepolis to his good friend and ambassador to France, Hossein Ala.²⁸ The French were, in turn, complaining about the "Germano-American" cooperation in the effort to export antiquities to New York and Berlin markets; according to French diplomatic records, "America provides the money; Germany, the men."²⁹ However, the interaction of these men was more complex. Pope and Herzfeld each sought ways to consolidate their respective positions while attempting to deny the others' advances. Soon they started to dislike each other. On one hand, the subsequent projects and publications involving each of these individuals not only entailed a process of redefining the very concepts of 'heritage,' 'culture,' and 'taste,' but also had much to do with the potential re-valuation and ownership of the archeological and architectural riches. On the other hand, while each of these 'scientific' investigations was sponsored by the Pahlavi state, no one ever questioned either its

revisionist assumption or its underpinning politics of representation. The western modernists and local nationalists were working hand in hand.

Phyllis Ackerman, the Scholar

Phyllis Ackerman, born in Oakland, California at the turn of the century, received her Ph.D. in 1917 at the University of California in Berkeley where she studied under Professor Arthur Pope. Her dissertation, titled *Hegel and Pragmatism*, upset the entire educational world; "a critical indictment...marvelous, brilliant!"³⁰ in Pope's words. As a student of his, she became an assistant fellow in the Department of Philosophy and Aesthetics, where he "depended on her critical judgment then and on through their long life together."³¹ Their student-teacher affair soon resulted in Pope's divorce from his first wife and forced the couple to move to New York City University. Here, they collaborated on teaching a course on Asian ornament, focusing on Near Eastern societies. While iconography and interpretation was her area of concentration, aesthetics and history was his. Whereas she focused on interpretation of history, he focused on providing the 'objective' facts. From here we know that early in her career, Ackerman approached 'other cultures' with an

‘interpretive’ method of study. An authority on ceramics, John Walker recalled, “I must say she convinced me that much of the early ceramic ornamentation was a form of ancient language.”³² The following incident is also a remarkable indication of Ackerman’s in-depth understanding of art objects within their cultural context and original use. Contesting the process that went into ‘experiencing’ a Persian rug, she entered into a dispute with the director of the Frick Museum, Mortimer Clapp. True to the western tradition of ‘framing things’ in museums, he claimed that the Persian rug was meant to hang on the wall and to be experienced ‘simultaneously’ – as a whole. In unyielding disagreement, Ackerman held that it was, in fact, intended to lie on the floor and be viewed ‘sequentially’ – each piece at a time as the viewer walked over or experienced the object. She assured Clapp that “you are confusing repetitive identity with continuity.”³³ Ackerman was pointing to the repetitive experience of the object – the rug being viewed as fragmented pieces, while the viewer is in motion – versus a holistic gaze from a single fixed viewpoint; in other words, a more marginalized and feminist approach to the viewing of the object by its moving subject. Clapp stopped arguing.

Early feminists and active advocates of modern art, Ackerman and her “great pal” Georgia O’Keefe changed American modern art, each from her own corner of the margin.³⁴ Particularly sensitive to maintain an independent identity and corresponding designation, when married to “Arthur,” Ackerman kept her name.³⁵ This politics of naming has conditioned the authority of the voice. Ackerman was fully aware of this, for early on, under five different names, each using the initials P.A., she wrote critics and reviews for almost every major art journal published in New York, London, and Paris. Eventually, she solidified her designation to ‘Phyllis Ackerman.’ Her first principal work of the 1930s, titled *Tapestry, Mirror of Civilization*, depicts the course of civilization as reflected in the art of tapestry. It was a “quite a brilliant production,” “profound, impor-

tant,” according to her reviews, “a magnificent peace of work.”³⁶ A leading Russian sinologist praised it as “thrilling, important, and true.”³⁷ It remained for decades the principle authority on the topic of wallpaper and its origin in China; but which also describes the course of civilization as reflected in the art of tapestry. In the Iranian context, she was considered an authority on the pre-historic myths and symbols of the Persian culture. She was also the first to see the link between Persian and Japanese cultural forms. “In the famed and popular pattern of the Four Kings tapestry, she identified the king in Japanese tapestry as the Persian Chosroe II” from the sixth century.³⁸ Her familiarity with Asian cultures coupled with her questioning of existing approaches to the subject was to have a lasting influence on Iranian art and architectural historiography.

Ackerman’s nephew, John Forbes, conceded to her biographer, Rexford Stead in 1978, “PA never did receive her due – how right you are. And the *Survey* is the No. 1 example, as you say.”³⁹ The *Survey*, of course, remains to this day Ackerman’s greatest contribution to the study of Iranian art and architecture. The 1938-1939 publication in six volumes is a massive work of scholarship: a collection of academic essays from pre-historic architecture to modern tapestry and music to which Ackerman contributed far more than Pope. The manuscripts of the submissions, kept in the New York Public Library’s archives, to this day carry her meticulous corrections.⁴⁰ However, those who helped complete the enormous project recalled years after their death, “she had done more editing than he had done; she had been more than his assistant, she had written or rewritten so many of the articles that it bore throughout the trace of her muscular style.”⁴¹ Another confirmed that,

during Arthur’s long career – and it was often a stormy one plagued by financial anxieties and other frustrations – he and Phyllis worked side by side in an intensity of intellectual devotion. No other woman

could have or would have done so much for him. To have proofread, five times, and checked 8,000 cross-references in *Arthur's* six volumes *Survey of Persian Art* was proof enough of a 'marriage of true minds' [emphasis added].⁴²

Nevertheless, on the 1939-publication, Ackerman's name appeared neither on the title page nor the cover page – not even as "Miss. Pope."

Twenty-six years and a world war later, during the publication of the second edition in 1964, Ackerman fought her partner in order to get her name on the spine of all twelve volumes. In response to her scholarly work, Pope had maintained that the appearance of her name on the spine would "only crowd it" because "both names would not fit in the *ideal* type size."⁴³ He had added, "Isn't it enough that you have been handsomely credited on each title page?"⁴⁴ Regardless, with the help of her student, Ackerman managed to print her name without Pope's consent. After seeing it, he remained silent. She, on the other hand, was pleased when the so-called 'ideal type size' was adjusted to give her the credit that she deserved; all the same, in the subordinate position of an 'assistant editor.' Subsequently, the additional four volumes would use the same title-page design with her name present. For, there was no doubt in anyone's mind that the *Survey* could not have been completed, even the second time around, without Ackerman's voice of authority.

Without her, Arthur could never have completed the *Survey*, for she had gifts of literary organization which he completely lacked, she organized the flow of work, proofread the 3,000 pages of text not once but several times, translated the chapters written in German, French and Italian – and one from a minor language no one else read either but she knew the subject better than the author – and by her scholarship gave to it an authority it would not otherwise possess...⁴⁵

As it stands, the *Survey* along with its historiography neglects Ackerman's authoritative voice, precisely because it undermines the very structures that it is supposed to reinforce. A glance at the bibliographies of these two historians immediately confirms my point. Whereas nearly all of Ackerman's articles appeared in referred art journals, Pope published mostly in commercial magazine like *Country Life*, *Travel*, *Kayhan International*, *Tehran Journal*, *Mainichik Daily News*, *Times*, *Near East and India*, the Soviet *Pravda* and *Izvestiia*; among these *The New York Times* and *The Illustrated London News* seemed to have been his favorites.⁴⁶ The few exceptions consisted of *Apollo*, *Encyclopedia Britannica* and *Bulletin of the American Institute of Persian Art and Archeology* and *Bulletin of the Iranian Institute*; the later two publishing institutions were under his management.

After Pope's death, Ackerman chose to stay in Shiraz and continue to work despite her illness. Rahim Manaberi, the whirling dervish, took care of her as she became increasingly senile. Despite her physical condition, she decided to travel to England for the fall of 1972 for the final Persian congress in Oxford. It was there that in her old age, she confessed to Stead that "Arthur should never have changed the Iranian Institute into the Asia Institute...ought never to have left the 89th Street building" in New York; Iranian studies "alone could have lasted Arthur the rest of his life...it was a mistake to go all over the map." Ackerman's forced marginality reinforces the marginal historiography of her contribution to the larger project of "Persian Art." Nor did posthumous attempts to praise the historians situate Ackerman on an equal footing with her husband. The voluminous *Surveyors of Persian Art* published in 1996, while a very important contribution to the study of Iranian art history remains methodologically problematic in that it mimics the original *Survey* both in style and tactics.⁴⁷ Whereas Pope is often characterized as "a community man, a true citizen" – one with lofty aims like turning "his beloved San Francisco" into a

new “Pericleian Athens” – Ackerman comes across as a “sorority girl, campus beauty.”⁴⁸

Still her scholarly efforts substantially delineated the gendered politics of the artistic discourse in modern Iran. She introduced flexible identities and subjective interpretation to the construct of modernity, monopolized by the implied masculine voice. Even Pope had changed at the end. In a posthumously published article, he states, “the ideal historian...needs more knowledge and more skills than one person can hope for.”⁴⁹ He proposed instead a “sympathetic and informed cooperation among the associated disciplines, a sense of fraternal dedication, mutual advantage and mutual responsibility.” “Coordinated effort” while making “rigorous ethical and psychological demands...offers promising result.”⁵⁰ More important perhaps, Ackerman’s activities subverted the western modernist project of cultural exclusion. Her very presence in the Iranian cultural milieu, even as late as 1966 disturbed this imagery of inclusion/exclusion. She was one of the few who forced the female gaze on the masculine discourse of Iranian art. What modernist art history celebrates is a selective tradition, which normalizes as the only modernism, a particular and gendered set of practices. Any attempt to deal with the cultural historiography of 20th-century Iran that is made by women necessitates a deconstruction of the masculinist myths of modernism.

Monument as Gendered Metaphor

Four years before his passing in 1969, Arthur Pope wrote to the chairperson of the Society for National Heritage’s Board of Trustees, Issa Sadig, making the final arrangements for the location and construction of his tomb. “Isfahan, of course, is my special love, where my most important work was done and my greatest happiness.”⁵¹ Pope had made a career out of Iran’s cultural heritage. After his death, he wished to become a “les-son” to foreigners and locals alike;

the whole point is to show the Persian people that their great spirits, artists, poets,

creative leaders, scholars are of such quality as to evoke the profoundest admiration of kindred spirits in other lands, who affirm their gratitude and devotion in more than words, and to affirm to visitors from other countries that one is not interned in Persia by the accident of dying there, but with the conviction that it is a holy ground and a privilege for those who understand it to use it as a final resting place, as a witness of their faith in the land and the great personalities that have through the many centuries made it what it has been and, at the same time, prophecies a noble future.⁵²

The monument was going to be not only an active agent in the *mission civilisatrice* but also an icon to Pope’s memory. Towards the same end, in a letter on October 27, 1967, he implored his once student and assistant at the Asia Institute in New York, the museum director Rexford Stead, to embark on a biography where his life “could be used as a demonstration that neither health nor money are essential to decent achievement.”⁵³ His own attempt on an autobiography, titled *Nine Lives*, was never realized; highlighting Stead’s words in 1982 that Ackerman “was the behind-the-scenes indefatigable worker for most of Arthur’s successful endeavors.”⁵⁴ In Pope’s mind, the tomb, erected by the SNH, and the biography, composed by Stead, would no doubt guarantee his memory.

According to Sadig, Pope’s letter ‘spontaneously triggered’ the idea of the construction of a landmark in Isfahan. Reportedly, Sadig transmitted this letter to Mohammad-Reza Shah who was so “touched” that he issued commands to the authorities of Isfahan and the SNH for its realization.⁵⁵ However, according to Pope’s successor as the head of the Asia Institute, Richard Frye, the story was quite different.⁵⁶ After its bankruptcy in the 1950s, the New York Institute was closed down and the library shipped to the University of Pennsylvania Museum; including a number of valuable art works. Until the mid-



Fig. 4. *Narenjestan Qajar summer residence, Shiraz, 1881, renovated 1960s. (Author, 1999)*

1960s, the couple lived in upper Connecticut when they received a message from the Iranian Embassy in Washington D.C. “saying that the present Shah ‘wants to do something for you, because of your service to Iran and friendship for my father.’”⁵⁷ Pope’s final return to Iran was agreed on two conditions. According to Frye, Pope wanted two things:

‘One, I want my Asia Institute to be resurrected and brought to Iran, brought back to life. Two, I want to be buried under a mausoleum on the bank of the Zayandeh [river].’ So the Shah said, ‘Let it be done.’ And, of course, this is what happened. They got the library...sent it all to Iran...and Pope and his six cats...they came into that house, it was really almost a caricature!⁵⁸

While the two historians first arrived in Tehran to settle there, the Shah soon changed his mind realizing the political implications of Pope’s presence at the heart of the social and academic rivalry of Tehran University. He instead insisted that the Asia Institute be established in the southern city of Shiraz – near the historic capital of Persepolis, for he had new plans for Shiraz. In the

late-1960s, there were rumors about the potential relocation of Iran’s capital city from Tehran to Shiraz. The newly reopened Asia Institute there would have greatly enhanced the new capital’s political and academic prestige. Hence, Pope’s first wish was soon granted by the king: Narenjestan, a rather rundown 19th-century Qajar summer residence was turned over to the Institute. With it came a substantial amount of money to renovate the entire complex, including its wall paintings, mirror-work, wood-frames, and garden (*fig. 4*). The work was completed just before the dawn of the Iranian Revolution in 1978.

The newly established Pahlavi University in Shiraz took the Institute under its bureaucratic wings after months of reluctance. Whereas Pope and his protégés wanted it to remain independent, under the direction of the Queen Farah’s office, Frye insisted that for the Institute’s effectiveness and prosperity it needed to associate itself to the Pahlavi University. Frye argued with Pope, “you know, for the future of the Institute, for its service to Iran, it’s got to belong to the University.”⁵⁹ Frye recalls that Gluck, Pope’s later biographer, was “violently opposed to this” disregarding warnings that the Institute “cannot function by itself...without any students, without any credits, we’re just doing [the work] in a vacuum.



Fig. 5. Mausoleum of Isma'il the Samanid, Bukhara, Uzbekistan, 914-943 AD. (Author, 1997)



Fig. 6. Mausoleum of Ackerman and Pope by Mohsen Foroughi, Isfahan, 1969-1977. (Author, 1999)

We're doing it for ourselves.”⁶⁰ Because of the decision to go under the jurisdiction of the University, Frye would struggle six years to get the smallest task accomplished.⁶¹

Whereas the Institute was Pope's scholarly legacy, the mausoleum in the heart of Isfahan was the physical manifesto of his ideologies. However, contrary to mainstream history, it was not a 'generous gesture granted to Pope' by the Iranian government, but rather a condition for his return to Iran. It was accordingly granted right before his death: Mohsen Foroughi, a well-known Iranian architect with a large number of projects, worked with Pope on the design. The former dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts at Tehran University and a Beaux-Arts trained Iranian architect, Foroughi was the son of the prominent politician, Mohammad-Ali Foroughi, former Prime Minister and one of the founding fathers and president of the SNH. Mohsen, like his father before him, were very good friends of Pope. Like most of the SNH's undertaking, Ackerman-Pope's mausoleum was a result of the Shah's patronage. "This arrangement, twice approved" by "His Majesty," was erected in 1972 on the south bank of the picturesque Zayandeh

river, overlooking the Khajoo Bridge from the 17th-century Safavid era.⁶² The sketches were approved by Pope in June 1969 and the funeral held in September of the same year. Formally intended as a revival of the "twelfth-century style that he liked," the structure's typology seems to imitate the mausoleum of Isma'il the Samanid in Bukhara, Uzbekistan dated between 914 and 943 (figs. 5 and 6). Albeit a missing gallery and the addition of a second dome, the delicate façade brickwork – completed by mason Ostand Hossein Mu'arefi – similarly evokes to the Samanid structure (figs. 7 and 8). The tombstones, engraved both in Farsi and English, were placed diagonally under each small dome, under which run two strings of calligraphy in Farsi.

Wishing to be venerated at the same platform as Hafez and Sa'adi, Pope wanted his name eternalized in the form of a monument. The SNH had built the resting place of these historic figures in the previous years; Pope aspired to be part of that historic repertoire. Stead recalled that the structure was a "Hafiz-type tomb."⁶³ However, the sociopolitical upheaval of the 1979 Revolution, both usurped from Pope's patron his throne as well as any hope of Pope's memorialization. In



Fig. 7. Brickwork on the surface of Isma'il the Samanid Mausoleum. (Author, 1997)



Fig. 8. Brickwork on the surface of Ackerman and Pope Mausoleum. (Author, 1999)



Fig. 9. Post-revolutionary inscriptions on the surface of Ackerman and Pope Mausoleum. (Author, 1999)

1981, Frye wrote that the ordinary people of Isfahan claimed that “Shiraz had its Sa’adiyya (Sa’adi’s place) and its Hafiziyya (Hafez’s place), and now Isfahan had a Popiyya.”⁶⁴ In the same vein, another ordinary Iranian wrote on the wall of the tomb, “Rise oh scholar who sleepeth here; this is no place to repose but a park of fun, leave this place (*fig. 9*).”⁶⁵ Neither the joke nor the graffiti were mere acts of vandalism – these were real popular sentiments against a kind of modernization that imposed by a political elite that brought Pope and Herzfeld to Iran. These iconoclastic practices questioned and resisted real power through the subvention of its sign. Cultural objects, placed in public space, were systems of signification that were subject to contestation and renegotiation by people who were both constructed by and also agents in their world. The green area around the tomb was named and marked “Pope’s Park.” The post-revolutionary renaming of the park to *Shatagh’s Park* is perhaps a reevaluation of such coercive constructs. Thirty-three years after his letter to the SNH, Pope is forgotten. To my question, “who is buried here?” an student from the local university assured me that I was looking at a three-hundred-years-old structure; “the tomb of a Safavid saint,” she said with confidence. Whereas Pope’s revivalistic architectural ideology has turned him into a Safavid saint, at least in popular collective memory, Ackerman has all together disappeared. Neither then nor now is she (re)presented.

Her funeral in Shiraz on January 25, 1977 was “very quiet and small.”⁶⁶ As her old disciple Abdol Hossein Hamzavi put it, Ackerman’s death “marks the end of an era in Persian Art.”⁶⁷ It was particularly true because it was the voice of a marginal subject about another kind of marginality within the larger context of cultural modernism in Iran. Similarly, when Ackerman died, the *New York Times* wrote an article devoted to her passing, titled “Phyllis Pope Dies at 83, an Expert on Asian Art.”⁶⁸ The article referred to her as ‘Mrs. Pope.’ A friend later wrote: “Alas, poor Phyllis, called ‘Pope’ and ‘Mrs.’ at the very

end, when she wasn't around to read the proofs or fire off a letter to the editor."⁶⁹ Today, a solid attestation to these fluid voices, Ackerman's tombstone reads, "Dr. Phyllis Ackerman, *Professor Pope's wife* and collaborator who died in Shiraz in 1977 A.D. [emphasis added]" (fig. 10).⁷⁰ The double-domed mausoleum, furthermore, represents Ackerman's presence only in an 'architectural echo' – in its formal duplication of the "second" dome; still only legible by the holistic composition of "Pope's resting-place." The tombstone and the double-domed structure as well as the *Survey* and the *Surveyors* are all cultural symbols of a discourse that is made through coercive tactics – made through the use of power from within a much larger project of Iran's modernization. The two American art historians endeavored, during the second half of their lives, to make "Persian Art" out of the arts of Iran and at the end, they died in order to become part of that "already made Art." In death, they became a fragment of the entity called 'heritage' that they helped create. Historians, who colored the discourse on Iranian architecture during their lives, became a physical part of the Iranian landscape after their death. Along with medieval historic figures like poets Ferdowsi, Hafez, and Sa'adi, two American scholars were 'naturalized' into the Iranian land as part of its 'eternal' heritage.

ENDNOTES

This article is part of a ongoing Ph.D. dissertation, entitled *Acculturating the Nation: The 'Society for National Heritage' and the Production of Public Monuments in Modern Iran*, at the History, Theory, and Criticism of Architecture Section of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

1 The Farsi name of the SNH was *Anjoman-e Asar-e Melli*. During its fifty-eight-year existence, the SNH constructed thirty-eight mausoleums, carried out over sixty preservation projects, and created a national museum as well as a public library in Tehran. The cultural and ideological scope of the SNH's undertakings was unprecedented in the

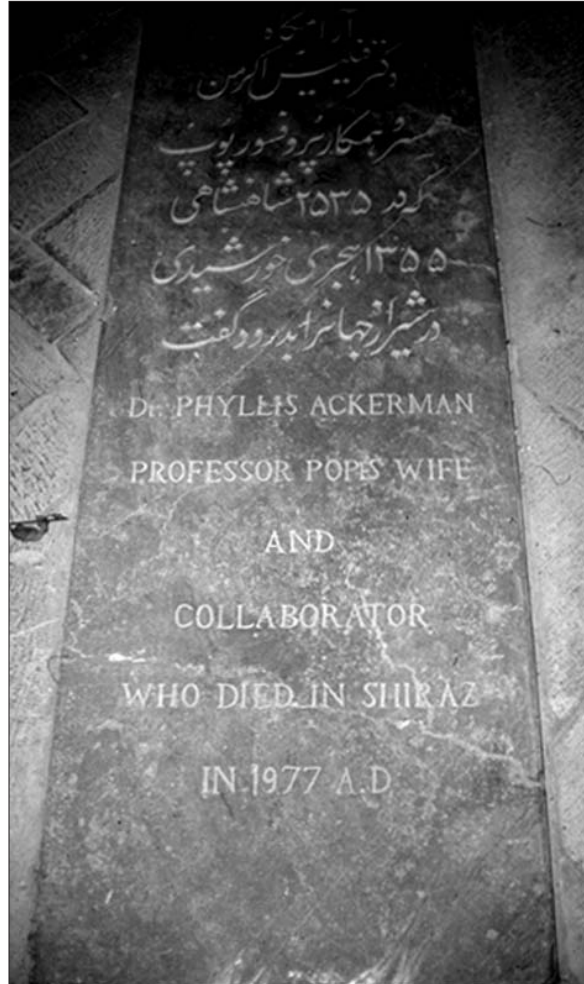


Fig. 10. Ackerman's tombstone, 1977. (Author, 1999)

history of Iran and was bolstered by its publications, lectures, exhibitions, and contribution to the tourist trade. The significance of the SNH's architectural ventures lies in the way they penetrated most aspects of Iranian society's modernizing project. Furthermore, these projects provided a platform for western scholars to negotiate their conflicting personal ambitions. The discourse on Iranian architecture occasioned quarrels over techniques of preservation, authenticity of heritage, and ownership of archaeological sites. In sum, these landmarks created novel ways to map modern space, time, identity, and power, in that they not only reflected but affected sociopolitical developments in modern Iran.

2 Mohammed-Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Answer to History*

- (New York: Stein and Day Publishers, 1980), 175.
- 3 Iran National Archives 290, Micro-reel 8, Document 75, pages 1-2. Ordibehesht 9, 1308/April 29, 1929, Tehran, Iran.
 - 4 Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, *Documents on Archaeology in Iran: Excavations, Antiquities and Historical Monuments* (Tehran: Ministry Publications, 2001), 400-401; Documents 122-123: Court Ministry communication in regards to Pope's photographic missions; Ordibehesht 18, 1310/May 9, 1931, Tehran, Iran.
 - 5 Society for National Heritage 131, Hossein Bahra al-Ulumi, ed., *Karnameh-e Anjoman-e Asar-e Meli* [Report-book of the SNH] (Tehran: Society for National Heritage Publications, 1976), 10.
 - 6 *Nine Lives*, the draft autobiography in process 1956-1969. See, Jay Gluck and Noel Siver, eds., *Surveyors of Persian Art: A Documentary Biography of Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman* (Ashiya: SoPA, 1996), 79.
 - 7 Arthur Pope, "The Past and Future of Persian Art," delivered on April 22, 1925 in Tehran. For the complete English text of the speech, see Gluck, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 93-110.
 - 8 "Cyrus of the family of the Achaemenids led the Persians, but had begun his chieftainship as a vassal of the Medes (559 BC). Ten years later he defeated the Median ruler, Astyages. In 546 he defeated Croesus of Lydia, in 539 Nabonidus of Babylon. He died in 529, and his successor Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525. With Darius I (522-486 BC) the empire resumed the course set by Cyrus the Great. For centuries it was ruled with efficiency, justice, and tolerance." Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 1989), 348.
 - 9 Pope, "The Past and Future of Persian Art."
 - 10 According to the 1927 Convention, the French Republic renounced its archeological monopoly in exchange for the directorship of the Antiquities, Museum, and Library in Tehran. The French control over the Archeological Services was exchanged for the concession to excavate Persepolis by Herzfeld. In both cases, the Iranian government maintained legal control over all archeological activities within its boundaries. See, Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Direction des Affaires Politique et Commerciales Asie-Océanie 1919-1929, Perse 66, Fouilles archéologique E387-3, 75-764, October 18, 1927, Teheran, Iran.
 - 11 Pope's point on the value of art was exactly the opposite of what Alois Riegl had advocated in his article about art's age-value, which would become the foundational text for preservation of art and architecture in the 20th century. See Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin," *Oppositions Reader* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998) 621-651. I have not found any evidence that Arthur Pope was aware of Riegl's work. However, Pope was informed about the "Orient Oder Rom" debate between Josef Strzygowski and Giovanni Teresio Rivoira at the turn of the last century for his 1925 lecture is imbued with Strzygowski's ideas. While Strzygowski argued that the origin of western architecture must be located in ancient Iran, Rivoira maintained that it must be found in Imperial Rome. For more detail, see Annabel Jane Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 3-12.
 - 12 Donald N. Wilber, *Reza Shah Pahlavi: The Resurrection and Reconstruction of Iran* (Hicksville: Exposition Press, 1975), 98. This point is confirmed by Lenczowski, "...Reza Shah's awareness of [Iran's] great past was stimulated by the work of...Arthur Pope." George Lenczowski, ed., *Iran under the Pahlavis* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978), 37.
 - 13 SNH, *Karnameh*, 12.
 - 14 Pope writes in his unfinished autobiography titled *Nine Lives*.
 - 15 Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982), 141.
 - 16 Issa Sadig, "American Pioneers in Persian Art," *IVth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1972), 3207-3209.
 - 17 Arthur Pope, "Persian Art and Culture," *Asiatic Review* 24 (April, July 1928) 289-304 and 513-527. The text was also reprinted separately by *New Orient Society of America*; New York in 1928 and London in 1929.
 - 18 Issa Sadig, *The Past and Future of Persian Art*

- (Tehran: Madrasah-e Ali Khadamat-e Jahangirdi va 'Ittila'at, 1977).
- 19 Tus is the historic birthplace of poet Ferdowsi, the author of the 'Book of Kings' or the *Shahnameh*; it is located a few kilometers north of Mashhad in northeastern Iran. Arthur Pope, "The Celebrations of the Thousandth Anniversary of the Birth of Firdawsi, Epic Poet of Persia," *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology* #7 (December 1934): 39-42.
- 20 Gluck, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 11.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Arthur Pope, "The Influence of Firdausi in Persia" *Firdausi 934-1934*; Supplement to *Near East and India* 43 (18 October 1934) 8-9. During his turn behind the podium, Arthur Pope stated that "no poet has ever dominated the consciousness of a whole race more thoroughly and none for so long a period... King and scholar, grandee and saint, have all been these many centuries nurtured and refreshed at this inexhaustible foundation of wisdom and beauty." Issa Sadig, *Ferdowsi: His Life, His Personality, and His Work* (Tehran: British Council, 1945), 13.
- 23 Gluck, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 116-119.
- 24 Jay Gluck, ed., *Arthur Upham Pope Introducing Persian Architecture* (Tehran: Soroush Press, 1969), cover page.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Iran National Archives 290, Micro-reel 44, Document 75, page 1. No date, Tehran, Iran. Speech delivered in Tehran in 1934 to government officials and reformist elite of the early Pahlavi era. The speech was entitled "Architecture in Modern Persia." See Gluck, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 283-286.
- 27 Letters between Rexford Stead and Robert Payne from 1978 and 1983; Gluck, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 573.
- 28 A year after his return from Paris, Ala would rise to great prominence in the SNH, becoming deeply involved in its cultural efforts. As Prime Minister of Iran in the mid-1950s, Ala became the most influential member of the SNH. Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, *Documents on Archaeology in Iran*, 31-33; Document 7: communication between Ministry of Public Instruction and the Court Ministry in regards to Pope and Herzfeld; Azar 18, 1308/December 9, 1929 and Aban 11, 1308/November 2, 1929, Tehran, Iran.
- 29 Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Direction des Affaires Politiques et Commerciales Asie-Océanie 1919-1929, Perse 66, Fouilles archéologique E387-3, 10971, November 30/March 20, 19298, Teheran, Iran.
- 30 Robert Lewis Taylor, "Under the Rug-II" *New Yorker* 21 (21 July 1945): 23-24; Gluck, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 62.
- 31 D. Joralemon, "Arthur Upham Pope, '70-Fold Genius," *To Live Strivingly* (Berkeley: [publisher unknown], 1979), 242-243; Gluck, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 61.
- 32 Gluck, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 57.
- 33 Ibid., 64.
- 34 Letter from Rexford Stead to Robert Payne, May 25, 1982; Gluck, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 58.
- 35 The changing the use of "Pope" to "Arthur" in this text would signal a similar methodological reversal of names and would meant to subvert the traditionally accepted reference to "wives" by their first name, while "the artist/the historian/the author" has always been referred to by "his" last name.
- 36 Ibid., 57.
- 37 Letter from Pope to Rexford Stead, June 4, 1946; Gluck, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 61.
- 38 Gluck, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 571.
- 39 Letter from John Douglas Forbes, Ackerman's nephew, to Rexford Stead, December 14, 1978; Gluck, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 64.
- 40 Arthur Upham Pope Papers, 1921-1951, Box 5, Page proofs of the Survey of Persian Art (Oxford 1938). Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library.
- 41 Ibid., 58.
- 42 Joralemon, "Arthur Upham Pope, '70-Fold Genius," 244; *Surveyors*, 64.
- 43 Gluck, *Surveyors of Persian Art*, 58.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid., 61.
- 46 *Pravda* and *Izvestiia* were the two major state-run newspapers of the Soviet Union, *Pravda* means truth and *Izvestiia* means information.
- 47 Jay Gluck and Noel Siver, eds., *Surveyors of Persian Art: A Documentary Biography of Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman* (Ashiya: SoPA, 1996).
- 48 Ibid., xv.

- 49 Arthur Pope, "Art as an Essential of Iranian History" *Acta Iranica* (Tehran-Liege: Bibliothèque Pahlavi and E. J. Brill, 1974) 153-162.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Iran National Archives 290, Micro-reel 44, Document 75, page 1. No date, Tehran, Iran. Also see SNH *Karnameh*, 431.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Gluck, *Surveyorsys of Persian Art*, xvi.
- 54 Letter from Rexford Stead to Robert Payne, May 25, 1982, *Surveyorsys of Persian Art*, 57. Pope's early solo projects were seldom completed. After marrying Ackerman, he moved to New York to work on a book called *Philosophical Maladies of the Nineteenth Century*, which was never finished.
- 55 Issa Sadig, "American Pioneers in Persian Art" *Surveyorsys of Persian Art*, 4.
- 56 Richard N. Frye was emeritus professor of Iranian Studies at Harvard University. He became the head of Asia Institute of Pahlavi University from Pope's death in 1969 to 1974. In the 1940s, he was sent to Afghanistan by the Roosevelt administration to gather information on the political situation of the region. According to Frye, his curiosity for ancient inscription brought him to Shiraz in 1948, after which he was regularly involved in Iranian cultural and political affairs, particularly during the Mosaddeq era (1951-1953). His books include *A History of Bukhara, the Golden Age of Persia, The History of Ancient Iran*, and *The Heritage of Persia* (1962) reprinted last in 1993.
- 57 "The Institute fell on hard times during the war. It was originally, until 1941, called the American Institute of Iranian Studies...Then it was changed to the Asia Institute, and they got money from Washington to teach languages and expand greatly into all of Asia: China, Japan and everything else. After the war, it didn't flourish because it really was a kind of one-man show...Pope his personally...kept it going. It fell on bad times, and was forced to go bankrupt and close. The library was boxed up and sent to the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and a lot of the objects that were in the Asia Institute. Arthur...was 85 when he retired." Richard Frye, in an interview recorded by Shahla Haeri, October 3, 1984, Cambridge, MA. Tape No. 2, pp. 10-11. Iranian Oral History Collection, Harvard University.
- 58 Ibid., 11.
- 59 Ibid., 12.
- 60 Ibid., 13.
- 61 Ibid., 9. Later Frye implemented a vast number of projects academic and otherwise, for instance, the organization of the 2500-year anniversary of the Persian Empire in 1971. Forced by the location of the celebrations in Shiraz, on the occasion Frye had to select and invite scholars, provide translators and cultural guides, etc. His efforts, however, went into making the Congress on Iranian Studies a success.
- 62 Iran National Archives 290, Micro-reel 44, Document 75, page 1. No date, Tehran, Iran. Also see SNH *Karnameh*, 431.
- 63 Gluck, *Surveyorsys of Persian Art*