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GRAPHIC AND ARTISTIC POLITICAL EXPRESSION IN CONTEMPORARY IRAN

The theme of this paper stems from an in-depth case study undertaken on electoral politics during Iran's recent 'interlude of reform' – that for the purpose of this paper begins with the election of Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammad Khatami as President in May 1997 and ends with the neo-conservative victory in the 7th Majlis election in February 2004. Throughout this eight-year period¹ election campaign material was collected for analysis. It soon became apparent that the material warranted further independent study and that interesting parallels existed with the evolution of other forms of artistic and graphic expression².

Much has been written about various forms of graphic and artistic political expression in Iran for the period of the Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War. One of the first is William Hanaway's paper on the symbolism of Iranian revolutionary posters (Hanaway, 1985). During the late 1980s Peter Chelkowski wrote a number of articles on Iranian postage stamps, photography and banknotes (Chelkowski, 1987, 1989, 1990) and more recently co-authored 'Staging a Revolution: the Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran' with Hamid Dabashi (Chelkowski and Dabashi, 2000).

Nevertheless very little has been published that explores developments since the end of the Iran-Iraq War. The main exception being catalogues of

¹ 7th and 8th Presidential elections, 6th and 7th Majlis elections, 1st and 2nd Islamic Council elections and the 3rd Assembly of Experts election.

² Additional fieldwork to explore these parallels was made possible by grants awarded by the British Institute of Persian Studies; University of London; School of Oriental and African Studies; and the Iran Society.

contemporary Iranian art published in association with exhibitions³. These exhibitions are primarily a consequence of a growing interest in contemporary Iranian art and culture following Khatami's election in 1997; his subsequent promotion of a 'dialogue amongst civilisations'; increased patronage and promotion of Iranian arts by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance; and the appointment of Dr A. Samiazar as Director of the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Arts.

There is no doubting the importance of visual imagery as a means of mobilisation during the Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War and this is well reflected in the literature. However between 1997 and 2004 Iran experienced an interlude of reform – not revolution or war. New myths, symbols and ideologies predominated and public mobilisation had a different purpose – mobilisation in support or opposition to reform. One of the key arenas for this struggle was national elections and the main visual media reflecting these struggles were the candidate's campaign materials.

This election campaign material also offers useful insights into ideological conflicts within the Iranian state. Since the Revolution Iran has seen a significant amount of intra-state ideological and political conflicts between opposing factions. These 'insider' conflicts sometimes spill over into the public arena – primarily within the print media – but tend to become particularly acute during elections.

Iranian politics is complex and far from transparent. Consequently it is sometimes better to look for what is absent rather than what is clearly evident. Iranian murals; commemorative and propaganda posters; postage stamps; coins; banknotes; and revolutionary art (Goodarzi, 1988; Khosrojerdi, 1999) all reflect an official ideology in one form or another. But most of the symbols and iconography prevalent in these examples cannot be found in election campaign material produced after 1997. There are of course important changes in the examples listed – they are evolving and new symbols and iconography are beginning to be seen. To account for these changes this paper will begin by exploring developments in some of the examples listed before focusing on election campaign material for the 7th and 8th Presidential elections and the 6th and 7th Majlis elections.

Anyone who has visited Iran since the Revolution will know that the most prominent examples of graphic political expression are the murals one encounters on billboards and buildings in all major cities and particularly Tehran⁴. Few of the early revolutionary murals still exist – most have been whitewashed or built over. Figure 1 shows one example near the junction of Kordestan and Soheyl that

³ For instance exhibitions held at the Barbican, London, 2001 (Issa, 2001); Christies, London, 2002; and a number of exhibitions held by the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art.

⁴ All the examples explored in this paper are taken from Tehran.

depicts Imam Hossein astride a horse cutting through the flags of the USA and USSR with Iranian soldiers following him into battle. A popular slogan from the Revolution – 'Neither East nor West – Islamic Republic' – is clearly visible. The naive style of this and similar work is typical of the early murals which were generally spontaneous expressions of popular will executed by untrained artists.

Another type of mural commonly seen depicts a series of events in a single long chronological painting. We use the term 'chronological painting' rather than 'narrative painting' because the murals tend to depict an open ended series of events rather than key scenes from a self-contained story. A prominent example close to Sarkis Cathedral at the western end of Karim Khan-e Zand takes us through revolution, war, leadership change, reconstruction, and into an idealised Iran. This mural and many other examples found in Tehran have the commissioning logo of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps.

In a relatively early anti-American mural further east along Karim Khan-e Zand the stars and stripes of the American flag have become skulls and bomb paths across which is written 'Down with the U.S.A.' The use of universal symbols and English indicate its target audience is clearly not just Iranian. It is noteworthy that the Persian text underneath the flag reads 'Death to America' rather than 'Down with America'.

As well as anti-American murals there are also many showing support for 'oppressed' Muslims around the world. Murals in support of the Palestinian struggle are particularly common and a recent example (Figure 2) at the junction of Palestine and Modarres depicts a Palestinian youth using a catapult against an unseen enemy. In the background is the Dome of the Rock in a sea of fire. To one side is the hand of Abbas and on the other side an American and Israeli flag in flames. The Persian text reads 'Today it is Ashura in Palestine and like Abbas we must help' – clearly linking the Palestinian struggle with the Hossein paradigm – a central theme in Shi'ism and a rich source of symbolism.

However the Hossein paradigm; the glorification of martyrdom; and the perpetuation of myths associated with the Revolution; are all becoming less relevant. Increasingly, contemporary murals reflect a growing identification with Persianism and shy away from a politicisation of Shi'ism and associated symbolism. Persian myths, literature, poetry, art and non-Islamic national symbols are becoming more prevalent. Themes mirrored in reformist election campaign material produced during the interlude of reform. These changes are a reflection of not just ongoing political struggles within the state but also the self-perceptions of many Iranians. The symbols and ideology of revolution and war are simply no longer relevant.

A large mural at the junction of Modarres and Mottahari epitomises this development. It consists of a large pale-blue mural of a Sufi mystic sitting under a tree playing a *ney* (a type of Iranian flute) while a number of simorgh's (a mythical bird) can be seen swooping in the sky to his right. Three more

representative examples can be found on the western side of Vali Asr (Figure 3). The subject of these murals, commissioned in 2002 by Tehran Municipality, are love stories taken from classical Persian literature. The move away from a social-realism style towards a somewhat abstract Persian miniature style is clearly evident and shows how the themes and styles of murals are evolving. Both of these examples would have been unthinkable prior to Khatami's election in 1997.

Agit-prop posters became an important medium for political expression in Iran even before the Revolution. Some of the most interesting are political narratives in the style of coffeehouse paintings. These posters – and coffeehouse painting in general – should not be seen in the same light as naïve soviet proletarian art or Chinese peasant art. It is a sophisticated art form whose primary purpose is to form the backdrop for the telling of a story. Traditionally they depict stories from the *Shahnameh*, *Eskandarnameh*, and Shia religious struggles such as Hossein's martyrdom (Bulookbashi, 1999). And it is these traditional coffeehouse paintings that are the earliest examples of revolution art when the paintings and associated stories became metaphors for the struggle against the Pahlavi regime – evil rulers represented the Shah and the heroes' struggle against oppression represented Khomeini and the Iranian people⁵.

In a famous example of agit-prop coffeehouse painting by Hassan Esmaeilzadeh⁶ the Shah is depicted in the foreground shadowed by a devil and fleeing Iran carrying bags of money and gold. In the background looking over a stylised map of Iran is Khomeini. Contained within the map are scenes of martyrdom from the Revolution.

Another notable class of agit-prop posters combined revolutionary Marxist with Islamic symbolic elements. A typical example published by the *Mojahedin-e Khalq* before it became proscribed includes a clenched fist with a stylised Persian Allah. The Allah is in the form of blood flowing through the veins of the forearm and breaking the chains of oppression. Included around the fist are portraits of Khomeini and Shariati; the symbol of the Hoseiniye-ye Ershad⁷; and the logo of the *Mojahedin-e Khalq*. This use of a political logo died out in the early 1980s when the clerical regime solidified its rule and destroyed or subsumed all political associations. Political logos became obsolete partly because the idea of national and political 'unity' under Khomeini became an important ideological component of the regime. Below we will see how political logos have returned to Iranian politics.

⁵ Interview conducted with Kazem Chalipa, Tehran, 2002, and discussions with other Iranian artists.

⁶ One of the most respected latter 20th Century coffeehouse painters and the father of Kazem Chalipa whose revolutionary paintings will be explored below.

⁷ The principle venue for Shariati's lectures.

Soon after the revolution a host of state-affiliated organisations began publishing posters for mobilisation during the Iran-Iraq War and the commemoration of revolutionary events or martyrdom. A typical example from the period of the Iran-Iraq War depicts three generations of fighter and reads 'War, war, unto victory'. A chadored female figure is included in the background reinforcing regime defined gender roles. In a poster published to commemorate Khomeini's return to Iran the image of Khomeini is taken from a widely published photograph taken of him leaving the aircraft on his return to Iran from France. This repetition of image is a common feature of Iranian graphic political expression – with the apparent intention of reinforcing a particular message. A photographic image is often reproduced in a graphic or artistic form and then used on anything from posters to postage stamps.

A good example of this repetition of image is a work by Nahid Farasat, a lecturer in graphics from the Faculty of Fine Arts, Tehran University, that hangs in the Arts Centre of the Islamic Propagation Organisation (Figure 4). The work has subsequently become the image most closely associated with the martyrdom of Beheshti and includes the large mural commemorating Beheshti's martyrdom that dominates Haft-e Tir Square and a postage stamp commemorating the first anniversary of his death.

The various forms of graphic and artistic political expression already outlined offer an opportunity for visually challenging the ideological messages they convey. Figure 5 depicts a large mural of Modarres merging into the Sepahsalar Mosque. He is depicted holding a book inscribed with 'politics is our religion' – a response given in the Majlis to a question about his view on the role of religion in politics. It is clearly a stance identifiable with the ruling ideology of the Islamic Republic – hence the commissioning of the mural by *Bonyad-e Shahid*. However in apparent opposition to the mural's ideological message someone has thrown a bottle of ink over the inscription.

One of the most marked changes in artistic political expression can be found in the works of the 'Painters of the Revolution' (Goodarzi, 1988). The origins of this group can be traced back to February 1979 when a number of students from Tehran University's Faculty of Fine Arts staged an exhibition of revolutionary paintings at the Hoseiniye-ye Ershad. The exhibition was a huge success and subsequently toured Iran. Soon afterwards they were joined by other artists, writers and cultural figures⁸ to form the Centre for Islamic Art and Thought.

One of the most accomplished Painters of the Revolution is Kazem Chalipa⁹ who has produced a number of important artistic reflections of state ideology

⁸ Including the celebrated film director Mohsen Makhmalbaf.

⁹ Other prominent Painters of the Revolution interviewed in the course of the research were Mostafa Goodarzi, Iraj Eskandari and Hossein Khosrojerdi.

during the early years of the Islamic Republic. In Figure 6 we see one of his most celebrated works produced in 1981 and entitled *Dedication*. It depicts a deeply pious mother holding her martyred son in a pose reminiscent of Michelangelo's *Pieta*. It contains many important symbolic elements: Imam Hossein, martyr shrouds, a prayer rug, and blood-red tulips – a powerful glorification of martyrdom in line with state ideology. Figure 7 is representative of Chalipa's more recent work. It is a large oil-on-canvas depicting a young woman with a bird perched on her hand – a traditional subject of Persian miniatures¹⁰. Whereas the bottom half depicting the hand, bird, neck and lower face is relatively clear the top half is dark and indistinct with angry random brushstrokes. Consequently the painting could be interpreted as a veiled attack on the *hijab*.

Chalipa, together with a large proportion of the other Painters of the Revolution, have ceased to actively engage artistically in contemporary Iranian politics – although in theory this could be construed as a political act in itself – and have started to use Iranian rather than the Islamic symbols and iconography usually associated with the Islamic Republic. Furthermore they are turning to nature and Persian sources for inspiration, themes and styles rather than revolution, war or religion.

The election of Mohammad Khatami as president in May 1997 with 69% of the vote was a key turning point in Iran's post-revolutionary political development and heralded an eight-year interlude of reform. An important factor in this victory was the efficacy of Khatami's campaign material that reflected many of the graphic and artistic developments already outlined.

In previous campaigns the electorate tended to vote for a presidential candidate on the basis of his revolutionary or religious credentials rather than clear policies or programmes. Election posters were merely portraits of the candidate and included little more than the candidate's name and the political group publishing the poster. A high degree of ideological homogeneity was assured by the Council of Guardian's vetting procedure and the 'favoured' candidate always won.

Khatami, and those backing Khatami, significantly changed the nature of electoral politics in Iran. An early indicator of this and the political change to come are Khatami's election campaign posters. The Executives of Construction published the most interesting of these posters (Figure 8). Important elements are the use of calligraphy; reference to Khomeini, Khamenei and Khatami all being descendents of the Prophet; and a two dimensional spatial hierarchy from Khomeini to Khatami; making it a highly significant change to the established format. But it is the message that is most interesting – while Khomeini and Khamenei are crying about the past Khatami is thinking about the future.

¹⁰ See Figure 18. *Kobieta z ptakiem*, Isfahan, 1840. Kat. Nr I/36, (Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 1992).

In another of Khatami's election posters there is the addition of a campaign slogan: 'A better tomorrow for Islamic Iran'; the national colours; and a background photo of a crowd. By contrast the main election poster for Nateq Nouri – a conservative challenger to Khatami and favoured regime candidate – was merely a portrait with his name and the name of the political association backing him.

In February 2000 Iran elected a new Majlis. Of the 290 seats on offer 190 were won by reformist candidates, 40 by independents, and only 55 by neo-conservative candidates. Majlis elections in Iran have many significant differences with presidential elections. Most importantly the focus turns from an individual candidate to candidate lists published by political associations. Some candidates will appear on a number of different lists while a minority of candidates will have the resources to publish their own campaign material – Rafsanjani is a good example.

Rafsanjani's attempt to re-enter the Majlis came as a surprise to many. His aim was to become the next Majlis Speaker but after much manipulation of the validation process by the Council of Guardians the best he could manage was one of the last seats in Tehran. The episode was such a blatant attempt at rigging the outcome in Rafsanjani's favour it would have been impossible for him to muster enough support to become the Speaker. To save face he resigned soon after the final results were published.

Figure 9 depicts one of his election campaign leaflets showing him unusually without a turban. In an obviously staged photograph he can be seen sitting under a tree with an open book looking paternally upon a young boy – presumably one of his grandchildren. The text below the photo says condescendingly 'I will stay with you through the winter and deliver you to the spring'.

In another example published by the Executives of Construction Party we see a smiling Rafsanjani next to President Khatami – a deliberate attempt to associate Rafsanjani with the popularity and reform programme of President Khatami. In the background is mount Damavand – a non-Islamic national symbol steeped with mythical significance and used by many of the candidates.

Figure 10 depicts a campaign card for *Mosharekat*. As the political association most closely associated with President Khatami they have chosen to use a photograph of President Khatami rather than a Majlis candidate. The slogan 'Iran for all Iranians' is prominently displayed together with the *Mosharekat* logo. The logo consists of a blue octagonal star reminiscent of Persian tile work surrounding two birds that represent peace and hope in the national colours of Iran. Importantly the logo is void of Islamic and revolutionary symbolism and is the first use of a political logo by an 'insider' political association since the early 1980s.

In June 2001 President Khatami was re-elected president with 77% of the vote for another four years in office. There were ten candidates for the 8th Presidential election but the paper will focus on just four – chosen on the basis

of their profile and campaign material. The four are Khatami, Jassbi, Shamkhani and Fallahian.

Approximately twenty political associations supported President Khatami's re-election and fought the campaign as a united front known as *Dovvom-e Khordad* – the Persian date of Khatami's victory in the 7th Presidential election. In parallel *Mosharekat* ran its own very professional campaign while other associations produced independent campaign material that reflected their own interests and ideologies.

In one of the main *Dovvom-e Khordad* posters the twenty or so political associations that made up the front were listed beside a portrait of Khatami. Along the top was the slogan 'durable reforms as strongly rooted as the palm tree'. In another poster published independently by the Followers of the Imam's Line we see the slogan 'Under the light of social justice, religious democracy and social welfare' – clearly reflecting the leftist tendencies of the group. In the background the flag of the Islamic Republic gives the poster an Iranian nationalist overtone common too much of the campaign material.

Mosharekat's campaign material for the 8th Presidential election had many similarities with the material produced for the 6th Majles election. The use of yellow as a dominant colour and the *Mosharekat* logo made their campaign material immediately identifiable. A calligraphic symbol that read 'Ali please help me' was also prominent – an exclamation used when one calls for additional strength to achieve a difficult task and used by Khatami when declaring his candidature. And the use of a simple, effective and immediately understandable slogan: 'Reform: Yes – With a vote for Khatami' was repeated on leaflets, stickers and posters. This commonality of colour, style and message was unmatched by any other campaign.

Jassbi's was another well-organised campaign. This was not Jassbi's first attempt at the presidency. He had previously stood against Rafsanjani in 1993 in an obvious attempt to give Rafsanjani's re-election some sort of competitive legitimacy. In reality his long association with Rafsanjani destroyed any pretext of a real challenge.

Jassbi's campaign was unique in a number of ways. It was the only campaign to have posters openly designed by a commercial company – 'Shams: Advertising, Marketing, Consultant'. His advertising was the only one to use English that, according to one of his campaign managers, was meant to make him appeal to an educated class of students and professionals believed to be the constituency most receptive to Jassbi and his policies.

Figure 11 is one the most interesting of his campaign posters. It is a stylised map of the world made up of many individual square images. The slogan 'Knowledge is Power' was used on all his election campaign material and was meant to associate his academic credentials with his, one assumes, philosophy of good executive government.

Figure 1: Early revolutionary mural, Sohil and Kordestan, Tehran (2002).



Figure 2: Mural in support of the Palestinian struggle, Palestine and Modarres, Tehran (2002).



Figure 3: Three murals depicting Persian love stories, Vali Asr, Tehran (2002).



Figure 4: Nahid Farasat, Martyrdom of Beheshti; mural, Haft-e Tir, Tehran (2002); commemorative postage stamps.



Figure 5: Mural of Modarres, Modarres, Tehran (2002).



Figure 6: Kazem Chalipa, Dedication, 1981; commemorative postage stamps.



Figure 7: Kazem Chalipa, untitled, 2001/2.



Figure 8: 7th Presidential election campaign poster published by the Executives of Construction Party for Khatami.

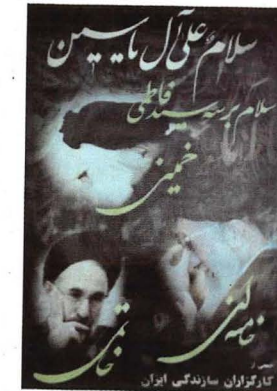


Figure 9: Campaign leaflet for Rafsanjani from the 6th Majlis Election.



Figure 10: Mosharekat campaign leaflet from the 6th Majles election.

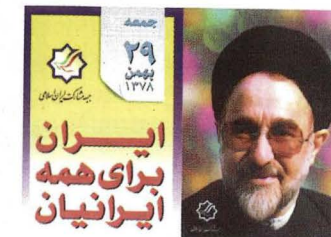


Figure 11: Campaign poster for Jassbi from the 8th Presidential election.

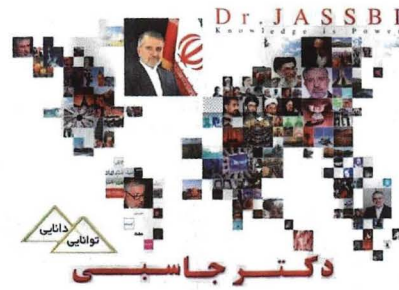


Figure 12: Campaign poster for Shamkhani from the 8th Presidential election.



Figure 13: Campaign posters for Fallahian from the 8th Presidential election.

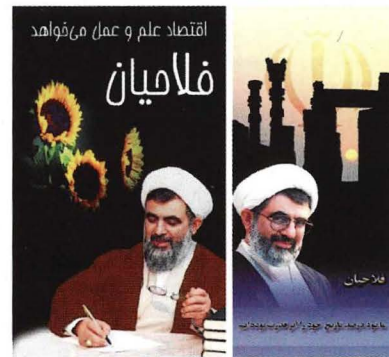


Figure 14: Haddad-Adel's election campaign leaflets from the 6th and 7th Majles elections.



Each continent is meant to reflect aspects of Jassbi's character that would make him an ideal candidate for president. Australia represents a sporting and cultured Jassbi with photos of various sportsmen and artists. South America represents a media savvy Jassbi reading with glasses amongst domestic and international media logos and even a photo of Christiane Amanpour. Africa represents his knowledge and understanding of the need for education, science, medicine, economic development and solutions to various social ills. Eastern Russia and China reflect aspects of Iran's national history and Islamic heritage. North American represents Jassbi as world leader where we see him depicted above all other world leaders. There is an obvious spatial hierarchy with George Bush and a photo of the statue of liberty beside Jassbi. As we move down the continent we see Putin and the Kremlin, Blair and Big Ben, Chirac and the Eiffel Tower. Ending inexplicably with portraits of Mubarak and the Pope.

Europe, Eurasia and the Middle East represent aspects of Iranian domestic politics and are a rich source for analysis. Khomeini, Khamenei and Jassbi are the central focus. Another spatial hierarchy is evident with Khomeini at the apex but with Jassbi above the row of previous and current Iranian presidents. Bani-Sadr, Iran's 'disgraced' first post-revolutionary president is represented by a grey and white chequered square. Above the presidents is a row of now deceased revolutionary figures including Shariati, Mottahari, Beheshti, Bahaonar, Taleqani and Chamran. Above these are the heads of the legislature (Karrubi) and judiciary (Shahrudi) smaller but at the same level as Jassbi's portrait. Below the row of presidents are other political figures from Iran's history. Previous royal dynasties are shown with the Pahlavi's also represented by a grey and white chequered square. A large image of the Majlis is included but with Rafsanjani rather than Khatami addressing it.

The sophistication of this poster (and Jassbi's campaign as a whole) was ultimately futile. His reputation meant that few looked beyond the name. However the poster did provide an opportunity for people to express their own views on contemporary Iranian politics. A long row of these posters were pasted to the wall of the British Embassy residential compound and someone had methodically crossed out every cleric on every poster with a red marker. Another example of how a particular political message can be easily subverted.

Admiral Shamkhani was the most unexpected of the ten candidates. Issues of unconstitutional military involvement in politics were raised but subsequently quashed by statements made by Khamenei, Khatami and the Council of Guardians. Many questioned his reasons for standing and few thought it a wise decision. However as a relatively young Admiral and Minister of Defence a career in politics is the only avenue for advancement open to him. He never imagined he could realistically compete against Khatami and as one of his campaign managers explained 'he isn't standing for this presidential election – he is standing for the next'. To lose against Khatami would be no barrier to a future career in politics

while standing would enable him and his supporters to gain valuable experience. In fact a number of his campaign workers openly admitted that they would be voting for Khatami¹¹.

There were two distinct phases to Shamkhani's election campaign. For most of the campaign he was portrayed in civilian clothing with the title of 'engineer' in an attempt to portray him as a 'politician' and 'man of the people' rather than a senior military officer. His campaign slogans were somewhat bewildering – 'Today's youth, today's managers' – and similar to most of the other candidates there was little in the way of coherent policies or programmes reflected in his campaign material.

A few days prior to the election the second phase of Shamkhani's campaign became evident. The limited impact of the first phase had led to a change in campaign strategy from playing down Shamkhani's military background to playing it up. His Arab ethnicity was also highlighted in an attempt to attract the minority vote. In the new posters (Figure 12) he was shown wearing his white naval dress uniform and surrounded by images of different Iranian ethnic minorities. The colour bands top and bottom combined with the white of his uniform represent a novel reference to the Iranian flag.

Apart from Khatami Ayatollah Fallahian was the only other clerical candidate in the election. As a previous Minister of Information and Security closely linked to the murder of a number of writers and nationalist political figures he was never going to win many votes. In the weeks leading up to the election he was further handicapped when his son, who acts as his bodyguard, shot dead a policeman outside his father's office. The poster on the right in Figure 13 is the first of Fallahian's election campaign posters. We first saw this in a meeting with his election campaign committee when it was used to indicate that we should regard Fallahian as a 'new *mullah*' rather than focus on his past reputation. We challenged this assertion by using the poster to critique their characterization of Fallahian as a 'new *mullah*' by pointing out that the predominance of black gave the impression of 'old *mullah*' and mourning ceremonies in Qom; that the use of the sunflower was meaningless – none of them could tell us what it symbolised; and that because you could not see Fallahian's eyes there was no possibility of building trust. We then went on to explain that the campaign material needed a nationalist element (such as Persepolis) and a predominance of brighter eye catching colours (preferably the colours of the sun). Our critique was duly noted and a few days later we received a call from one of the campaign managers asking if we would like to see the new campaign poster. The poster on the right of Figure 13 is what he showed us. The change of slogan is particularly interesting. In the first poster it read 'Economics requires knowledge and action' in the second

¹¹ Interviews undertaken with Shamkhani's campaign managers and workers, Tehran. 2002.

it reads 'In 90 percent of our history we have been a superpower' – an obvious attempt to pander to Iranian nationalist sentiment.

The 7th Majlis election in February 2004 heralded an end to the interlude of reform. The forces of reaction ensured a neo-conservative victory by disqualifying over 2000 candidates including a significant proportion of sitting reformist deputies. Despite this setback for the reform movement clear evidence of their legacy could be seen in the conduct and material of the election campaign. Figure 14 is a representative example of this legacy. The leaflet on the left was produced for the 6th Majlis election for Gholam-Ali Haddad-Adel – the *de facto* leader of the minority neo-conservative faction in the 6th Majlis and now Speaker of the 7th Majlis. His campaign leaflet produced for the 7th Majlis election is on the right – the use of a colour portrait photograph, the stylised calligraphic background and a meaningful slogan ('Islamic belief – Iranian interests') are all significant improvements.

Although the paper could only survey a limited cross-section of graphic and artistic political expression an identifiable trend is clearly evident. There is a clear move away from revolutionary, religious or martyr symbolism and their associated ideologies toward a type of Persian nationalism with minimal reference to Islam – a trend that was even seen in the election campaign material of neo-conservative candidates in the 8th Presidential and 7th Majles elections. The examples given indicate how the old ideologies and politics of the Islamic Republic are failing and reveal the direction of political change desired by the Iranian electorate – in both the subversion of existing regime-sponsored forms of political expression and neo-conservative election campaign material and slogans.

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ZUM PROBLEM DER TERMINOLOGIE FÜR UIGURISCHE FALTBÜCHER

Wann immer uig. Handschriften und Drucke im Faltbuchformat behandelt werden – sei dies nun in Gestalt von Editionen dieser Texte oder im Zusammenhang mit irgendwelchen Einzelfragen, die sich bspw. auf inhaltliche Probleme beziehen (paläographische Fragestellungen oder „herstellungstechnische“ Untersuchungen wurden bislang ausgesprochen selten unternommen) – greifen die Autoren stets auf die von A. v. Gabain in einigen ihrer Arbeiten zu eben solchen „herstellungstechnischen“ Fragen eingeführten (allerdings auch in ihren gelegentlichen „Überblicken“ zur uig. Schrift- und Schreibkultur verwendeten) Terminologie¹ zurück. Diese wird dann nahezu ausnahmslos – und ohne weiter hinterfragt zu werden – übernommen.

A. v. Gabain brachte bereits 1964 eine entsprechende Terminologie ins Spiel.² Diese von ihr einmal eingeführten Bezeichnungen wurden später auch von ihr selbst – wenngleich (in Ermangelung geeigneterer) mit Vorbehalten – weiterhin benutzt. So schrieb sie 1967 in ihrer Schrift „Die Drucke der Turfan-Sammlung“:³

Auch sie [die Faltbücher] bestehen aus einer größeren Anzahl von aneinander geklebten, gleichgroßen Blättern; aber im Gegensatz zu den Rollen wird hier jedes Blatt ziehharmonikaartig in mehrere 'Seiten' gefaltet.

¹ Annemarie von Gabain: *Altürkische Schreibkultur und Druckerei*. In: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, II. Wiesbaden 1964. 171-191, hier 175 f.; dies.: *Die Drucke der Turfan-Sammlung*. Berlin 1967 (SDAW, Kl. f. Sprachen, Literatur u. Kunst 1967:1), 13 u. 18-23.

² Gabain (1964), 175 f.

³ Gabain (1967), 13.