

Rethinking the so-called Polish carpets

Tomasz Grusiecki



Figure 1 *The Czartoryski Carpet*, seventeenth century, “Polonaise,” made in Iran, probably Isfahan, cotton (warp), silk (weft and pile), metal-wrapped thread, asymmetrically knotted pile, brocaded, 486.4 × 217.5 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr. and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, by exchange, 1945, 45.106 (photograph provided by The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

The so-called Polish carpets—highly appreciated among collectors and textile historians for their vibrant designs, intricate patterns, and their overall formal ingenuity (see, for example, fig. 1)—are an intriguing group of objects. Filled with flowers, leaves, and scrolling vines, these richly ornamented flat-woven carpets are known not only for their luxurious aesthetics; they are also widely recognised among experts for being formerly associated with Poland, a place that—as we now know—had only an indirect impact on these objects’ material qualities and stylistic features.¹ The misattribution of their origins is still evident in the phrase by which

¹ For earlier scholarship on the so-called Polish carpets, see Arthur Upham Pope, ‘So-Called Polish or Polonaise Carpets (Oriental Rugs as Fine Art, V)’, *International Studio* 76, March 1923, 535–44; Maurice S. Dimand, *Loan Exhibition of Persian Rugs of the So-Called Polish Type*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930; Kurt Erdmann, *Seven Hundred Years of Oriental Carpets*, ed. Hanna Erdmann, trans. May Beattie and Hildegard Herzog, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970; Donald King, ‘The ‘Doria’ Polonaise

the whole group is referred to in most art-historical accounts: ‘the so-called Polish carpets’. The phrase is a negative construction in that it includes the appellative ‘so-called’ to detract from the objects’ fictional Polish provenience; but other than conveying what these carpets are not, the idiom fails to communicate any factual information about their geographic origins or physical appearance. As is nowadays commonly presumed, it was likely in the Persian cities of Kashan and Isfahan (in modern-day Iran) that these artefacts were manufactured and began their itinerant wanderings across different Eurasian locations, including Poland. The epithet ‘so-called Polish carpets’, however, points neither to the provenience nor to the wider geographic mobility of the objects it denotes, merely indicating the term’s own historiography. An example of referential branding that preserves the memory of a historical misattribution, the term thence invites a scrutiny of art-historical semantics.

‘The so-called Polish carpets’ are not only a specific class of objects with a shared set of stylistic characteristics; they are also a well-known example of artistic mobility that – when addressed critically – can offer a flexible framework for thinking about artefacts that belong in more than one cultural context. As these objects are some of the most valuable Safavid-era Persian carpets and, simultaneously, items historically associated with a European realm (Poland), they can be productively employed to illuminate the paradox inherent in the idea of artistic origins (often termed ‘provenience’): the assumption that it is possible to pin down an object’s geographic roots.² More recent art-historical approaches recognise that materials, technologies, designs, as well as the social and economic environments of production, all must be seen as transcultural, mobile, shared, borrowed, bricolaged, and continually reimagined components of the object’s ontology, effectively ruling monocausal interpretations untenable.³ The historiographic travails of the ‘so-called Polish carpets’ accentuate the problem of single-origin interpretation still further: to this day, there is no term or label that can describe this group of artefacts without running into a problem of semantic inexactitude, geographic determinism, or conjectural history. Terms like ‘Shah Abbas carpets’ or ‘representation carpets’ (to be discussed in detail below) were coined specifically to bypass conventional assumptions about artistic geography (i.e., the classification of artefacts by country or region of origin). These alternative

Carpet’, in *Persian and Mughal Art*, ed. B. W. Robinson, London: Colnaghi, 1976, 303–7; Murray L. Eiland, ‘Scholarship and a Controversial Group of Safavid Carpets’, *Iran* 38: 1, 2000, 97–105.

² On ‘provenience’, see T. Douglas Price and James H. Burton, ‘Provenience and Provenance’, in *An Introduction to Archaeological Chemistry*, by T. Douglas Price and James H. Burton (New York: Springer, 2011), 213–42; Rosemary A. Joyce, ‘From Place to Place: Provenience, Provenance, and Archaeology’, in *Provenience: An Alternate History of Art*, ed. Gail Feigenbaum and Inge Reist, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012, 48–60.

³ See, for example Christy Anderson, Anne Dunlop, and Pamela H. Smith, eds., *The Matter of Art: Materials, Practices, Cultural Logics, c.1250-1750*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014; Dagmar Schäfer, Giorgio Riello, and Luca Molà, eds., *Threads of Global Desire: Silk in the Pre-Modern World*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018; Edward S. Cooke, *Global Objects: Toward a Connected Art History*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022.

terms have brought about different issues, however, including linking objects to an individual ruler or a specific social practice of collecting and display – thereby leaving the monocausal model of art history unchallenged. Rather than embracing a particular term, this essay treats debates around ‘the so-called Polish carpets’ as an art-historiographic case study of geographic ambiguity: an insightful guide to help us grapple with the possibility of interpreting an artform’s origins in two or more distinct ways. With conflicting theories about their artistic geographies vying for attention, ‘the so-called Polish carpets’ therefore offer a springboard for considering the spatial dimension of the practice of naming in Art History.

First coinage

Perhaps the best-known example of the so-called Polish carpets is the *Czartoryski Carpet*, a flat-woven silk carpet decorated with floral motifs and European coats of arms, today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 1).⁴ The object’s eminence stems not only from belonging to one of the world’s most venerable art collections (the Met); even more noteworthy is the carpet’s historical appearance as a ‘masterpiece’ at the 1878 Paris World’s Fair (held at the Palais du Trocadéro), which led to coining the term ‘Polish carpets’ (French *tapis polonais*): a direct antecedent of the denotative (though blatantly ironic) phrase currently in use. It is thus important to note that the term is a modern creation, unknown before 1878, when the critics who admired the *Czartoryski Carpet* and similar objects arrived at a conclusion that, given their ownership history, these carpets must have been produced in Poland.⁵ Indeed, many of these items belonged to Prince Władysław Czartoryski (1828–1894); others to other Polish noblemen, supporting the theory of their Polish provenience. The Met’s *Czartoryski Carpet* made a particular impression on viewers, and several years later (in 1881, to be precise) it reappeared in a publication dedicated entirely to tapestries and carpets (fig. 2). Referring to undisclosed ‘documents’, the author of this compendium followed critics at the World’s Fair in his endorsement of the Polish manufacture of the object, without any attempt to find actual evidence for the inference.⁶ Trust in the customary Polish attribution of this and other carpets was strong enough to ignore their stylistic features, even though the formal language of objects such as the *Czartoryski Carpet* was more typically associated with other geographic locations, West Asia in particular.

⁴ Provenance: Prince Władysław Czartoryski, Cracow (in 1878); Mr. Larcade, Paris, until 1927; sold to Rockefeller; John D. Rockefeller Jr. (American), New York (1927–45); gifted to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. For further details, see

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/450563>

⁵ Other Polonaise carpets belonging to Prince Czartoryski formed the nucleus of a newly created Czartoryski Museum (opened in Cracow 1880), which after decades of legal uncertainty was formally incorporated into the National Museum in Cracow in 2016. See Beata Biedrońska-Słota, ‘Classical Carpets in Poland’, *Hali*, no. 163, 2010, 74–82. See also:

<https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/poland-ii-persian-art-in>

⁶ ‘Mais des documents auxquelles nous devons nous rapporter donnent pour auteur de ce tapis un Polonais du nom Mazarski, établi à Cracovie à la fin du XVII^e siècle, au retour de Perse, où il aurait appris l’art de leur fabrication.’ In Alfred Darcel, *Les tapisseries décoratives du garde-meuble ... Choix des plus beaux motifs*, Paris, J. Baudry, 1881, cat. no. 94.

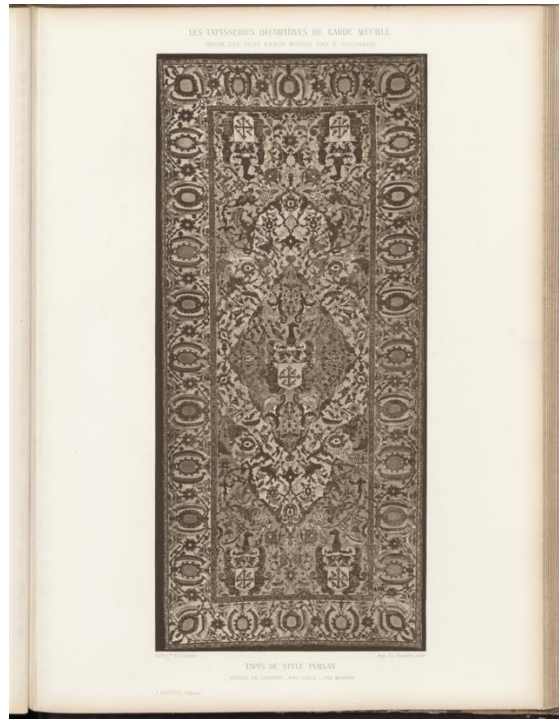


Figure 2 Carpet, 17th century, Czartoryski Collection, from Alfred Darcel, *Les tapisseries décoratives du garde-meuble . . . Choix des plus beaux motifs*, Paris: J. Baudry, 1881, plate 94, photolithograph by P. Dujardin. Westsächsische Hochschule Zwickau, 92050530 (photograph provided by sachsen.digital/SLUB Dresden)

In embracing the Polish manufacture of the World's Fair carpets, critics were guided by their placement in the gallery dedicated to Poland, as well as their apparently secure ownership history in the hands of a prominent Polish family, the Czartoryskis. Provenience, the location where an artefact was made, is thus correlated with provenance in this account, the sequential history of all places where an artefact has been held since its creation, here limited, however, to the anecdotal knowledge of these carpets' Polish holdings. In acknowledgment of the alleged historical context of these objects' geographic embeddedness, the 1878 World's Fair souvenir album—to give a telling example—frames them as 'carpets from Cracow in the Persian style'.⁷ In doing so, the author endorses their Polish manufacture while simultaneously marking their physical appearance as Persian, and thus Polish only in a qualified sense. The general appearance of these carpets was seemingly at odds with their assigned place of making, stirring up taxonomic uncertainty. Not only was their style geographically unmatchable; it was also ambiguous, and other critics saw these objects in their own ways. Referring to one of them—reportedly, the most 'distinguished' piece in the room—as specifically 'a *tapisserie* [tapestry or carpet] in the style of Smyrna [İzmir, Turkey]', the writer for the *Gazette des beaux-arts* endorsed the West Asian aesthetics of the object (likely the

⁷ 'On y trouve des armes et des armures de différentes époques, des selles ornées avec toute l'ostentation de la race slave, des étoffes précieuses, des tapis de Cracovie de style persan, des pièces d'orfèvrerie, des portraits, des livres, des porcelaines, des émaux, etc.' In *Les merveilles de l'Exposition de 1878: Histoire, construction, inauguration, description détaillée des palais, des Annexes et des parcs ...*, Paris: Librairie contemporaine, 1879, 727.

Met *Czartoryski Carpet*) but disagreed with other critics about the specific point of its stylistic inspiration; for him, the object's aesthetics were Turkish rather than Persian.⁸ Importantly, in all reviews of these carpets, the critics evoke Poland's cultural affinity with the 'Orient' by intimating its culture's visual 'Easternness'. The souvenir album even points to the country's alleged 'Slavic ostentation',⁹ effectively placing it within the familiar rhetoric of excess that was usually applied to North Africa and West Asia.¹⁰ This essentialising projection of Poland as not fully European (that is, 'Eastern' European) is typical. Places like Poland have long been consigned to the continent's eastern margins through an intellectual project of demi-orientalism, which since the Enlightenment has been relegating the entire region of Central and Eastern Europe to the role of ('real', i.e., Western) Europe's complementary half, congenitally backward, culturally dependent, and inherently impure.¹¹ In this respect, it is not surprising that critics would have assigned objects rarely associated with Europe to Poland.

It is equally unsurprising that the critics saw it necessary to define these objects in geographic terms. As Elizabeth Rodini has observed, the pursuance of monocultural interpretations has been enmeshed in art-historical and museological thinking since the nineteenth century — concurrently with the formation of modern nation states — leading to classification of artefacts by point of geographic origin.¹² In this vein, nineteenth-century connoisseurs and curators often viewed art from a nationalistic lens as they framed objects within a sequence of analogies and prototypes.¹³ The prevalence of geographic and ethnic criteria in the classification of artefacts in turn prompted most art museums in Europe and North America to organise their collections by so-called national schools that anchored objects' origins in a particular place.¹⁴ The *Czartoryski Carpet* and other carpets assembled in the

⁸ 'On distinguera aussi une tapisserie dans le goût de Smyrne, sur les parois de ce salon.' In A.-R. de Liesville, 'L'exposition historique de l'art ancien,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1 July 1878, 13.

⁹ *Les merveilles de l'Exposition de 1878*, 727.

¹⁰ Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myth of the Orient*, London: Saqi, 2008, 134.

¹¹ Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994, 1–16; Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997; Ivan Kalmar, *White but Not Quite: Central Europe's Illiberal Revolt*, Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2022.

¹² Elizabeth Rodini, 'Mobile Things: On the Origins and the Meanings of Levantine Objects in Early Modern Venice', *Art History* 41: 2, 2018, 247.

¹³ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, London: Routledge, 1992, 186–88; Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, London: Routledge, 1995; Donald Preziosi and Bettina Messias Carbonell, 'Narrativity and the Museological Myths of Nationality', in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, Second Edition, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, 82–91.

¹⁴ Matthew Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847-1918*, University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2013, 74–75; Matthew Rampley, Markian Prokopovych, and Nóra Veszprémi, *The Museum Age in Austria-Hungary: Art and Empire in the Long Nineteenth Century*, University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2020; Kathleen Curran, *The Invention of the American Art Museum*, Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2016, 9–48.

Polish Room at the 1878 World's Fair are an example of this way of thinking about art—these objects were understood as a manifestation of the culture to which they were assigned.

The practice of assigning a geographic location to an art object required evidence, and the Trocadéro critics likely relied on information acquired from Prince Czartoryski and the Polish nobles who displayed their collections at the World's Fair. As Zdzisław Żygulski suggested, these Polish collectors may have been reluctant to express doubts (if they had any) about their items' provenience. After all, the very rationale for the 'Polish Room' was to promote the arts and culture of Poland, a country then much diminished on an international stage due to its partition between the great powers of Prussia, Russia, and Austria.¹⁵ Family lore rather than archival records, then, served the critics and connoisseurs who were searching for facts about the Polish section carpets. Thus, the exhibition pocket guide attributes these carpets rather elusively to 'a Pole named Mazarski' who had been taken hostage in Persia where he is said to have acquired his weaver's skills.¹⁶ An 1879 catalogue of 'famous works of art' adds that 'in the course of the sixteenth century, many manufactories were established in Poland by rich and illustrious families'.¹⁷ One of the carpets in the catalogue is described as a 'very fine specimen of that branch of Polish industry [that] bears witness to the degree of perfection to which the industrial arts of Poland had attained by the sixteenth century'.¹⁸ The evidence is admittedly scarce, but despite its merely anecdotal value, the whole class of flat-woven silk rugs brocaded with gold and silver thread—of which the *Czartoryski Carpet* is a prime example—was to be henceforth associated with Poland.¹⁹ Many of them had floral design elements such as palmettes, curving

¹⁵ Zdzisław Żygulski, *Sztuka perska*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2002, 185–86.

¹⁶ 'Dans la vitrine suivante sont des tapis en brocart d'or, avec ornements et fleurs en velours; beaucoup de nos collectionneurs possédant des tapis du même genre les croyaient persans et du XVI^e siècle, quand on découvrit dans la bordure de l'un d'eux un M; on fit des recherches, on trouva dans d'autres tapis du même genre cet M répété à satiété soit dans les détails de la bordure, soit dans les dessins d'ornement des angles; et on ne tarda pas à se convaincre que ces tapis, de toute beauté du reste, avaient été fabriqués à Cracovie, vers la fin du XVII^e siècle, par un polonais, nommé Mazarski, revenu de Perse où il avait été retenu prisonnier et où il avait travaillé dans une manufacture de tapis. Approchez-vous de ces tapis et vous y verrez, répétés à l'infini dans la bordure des oeuvres de cet habile homme, les M, lettre initiale de son nom.' In Breban, *Livret-guide du visiteur à l'Exposition historique du Trocadéro*, 64.

¹⁷ 'Dans le cours du seizième siècle, on vit s'élever en Pologne de nombreuses fabriques établies par de riches & illustres familles.' In *Les collections célèbres d'oeuvres d'art, dessinées et gravées d'après les originaux par Edouard Lièvre*, Paris: Goupil, 1879, cat. no. 60.

¹⁸ 'Le tapis de notre dessin représente un fragment de un très-beau spécimen des produits de cette branche de l'industrie polonaise, fabriqué au seizième siècle, qui a appartenu à la famille Czartoryski. ... Ces feuilles semées à profusion & sans confusion sur un fond d'or, sont un effet splendide & attestent le degré de perfection auquel étaient déjà arrivés à cette époque les arts industriels en Pologne.' In *Les collections célèbres*, cat. no. 60.

¹⁹ Paulina Banas, 'Persische Kunst und polnische Identität', in *Sehnsucht Persien: Austausch und Rezeption in der Kunst Persiens und Europas im 17. Jahrhundert & Gegenwartskunst aus Teheran*, ed. Axel Langer, Zürich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2013, 123; Beata Biedrońska-Słota,

leaves, and vines arranged in field patterns, giving these carpets the appearance of stylistic coherence. Adding to the impression, in the late nineteenth century (and early twentieth), there was a high supply of carpets of the (so-called) Polish type in Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine—the constituent lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569–1795).²⁰ As a result, the Polishness of the flat-woven carpets of the Czartoryski variety was widely accepted, and even if there were doubts about this classification, they were not shared in public.

Early correctives

The unresolved tension between the incongruity of these objects' aesthetics and their alleged Polish manufacture did not go unnoticed, however, and experts began to harbour doubts. Alois Riegl (1858-1905), the eminent art historian and an authority on carpets, was among the earliest challengers. Thirteen years after the World's Fair that popularised the term 'Polish carpets', he pointed to the similarities between these artefacts—he used the German compound phrase *Polenteppiche* to describe them—and the objects with accepted provenience from the Kashan and Isfahan royal workshops in Safavid Persia.²¹ Riegl's seminal book *Altorientalische Teppiche* [Ancient Oriental Carpets] that questions the Polish theory was published in 1891, and others picked up on his criticisms. This included the carpet collector and scholar Wilhelm Bode (1845-1929), who would soon become the general director of the Royal Museums of Berlin—and in this capacity, the founder of Berlin's Museum of Islamic Art (established in 1904 as the Islamic Department in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum). Just like Riegl, Bode was unconvinced by the Polish provenience of the *Polenteppiche*. Instead, he classified them as Persian in his 1902 survey of 'Hither Asian Knotted Carpets' [*Vorderasiatische Knüpftteppiche*] based on similarities with other flat-woven silk rugs with floral designs, all of which were undoubtedly made in Persia; he also rejected the claim that any of these carpets could be woven by Mazarski who in fact ran his workshop in the eighteenth century, over a century later than the pundits at the 1878 World's Fair had believed.²²

There is no denying that Bode was right; the elusive Pole Mazarski could not be the maker. Existing archival records indicate that he was in fact Armenian, notwithstanding being referred to by his Polonised name, Jan Madżarski (d. 1800 or 1801), in the surviving documents. As Polish art historian Tadeusz Mańkowski (1878–1956) demonstrated, Madżarski was active in several towns, including Niasvizh (Polish: Nieśwież) and Slutsk (Polish: Słuck), but not Cracow, and was best

'Composition of Persian Carpets Called Polish', in *Studies in Oriental Art and Culture in Honour of Professor Tadeusz Majda*, ed. Anna Parzymies, Warsaw: Dialog, 2006, 285–86.

²⁰ T. Krygowski, 'Polenteppiche (Polnische Knüpftteppiche)', *Orientalisches Archiv* 2, 1911/1912, 70–76, 106–21.

²¹ Alois Riegl, *Altorientalische Teppiche*, Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1891; Chris Dercon and et al., eds., *The future of tradition - the tradition of future: 100 years after the exhibition 'Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art' in Munich = 100 Jahre nach der Ausstellung 'Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst' in München*, Munich: Prestel, 2010, 119.

²² Wilhelm Bode, *Vorderasiatische Knüpftteppiche aus älterer Zeit*, Leipzig: Hermann Seemann, 1902, 49–60.

known for his *kontusz* sashes rather than carpets.²³ By the time the influential Munich exhibition of the ‘Masterpieces of Mohammedan Art’ [*Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst*] opened its doors in 1910, carpet expert Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945) could quip that ‘the fable of the Polish origin of the silk Persian rugs woven with silver and golden threads had long been destroyed’.²⁴ But rather than inventing a new classificatory label for these objects that would avoid subjecting them to a Eurocentric logic (through their absorption into a Western art hierarchy), critics, connoisseurs, and art historians have continued to use the phrase ‘Polish carpets’, only adding the qualifier ‘so-called’ – tacitly acknowledging the appeal of the backstory behind the name.²⁵ Another commonly used term ‘Polonaise carpets’ is an Anglicised variant of the French original that ultimately does nothing more than evoke the erroneous 1878 attribution (albeit in a foreign language). Both these terms bring us to a single event in an over four-hundred-year long history of these objects, the Paris World’s Fair, whose imperial and Eurocentric overtones have been widely recognised.²⁶ And so, these seventeenth-century flat-woven carpets from Kashan and Isfahan find themselves grouped together with other objects described in European-based terms, like Holbein-, Lotto-, and Memling-type carpets named after the Renaissance artists who included them in their paintings, implying the primacy of Western culture in artistic taxonomies.²⁷

The term ‘so-called Polish carpets’ comes with a contentious legacy of favouring Western tastes and preferences in conceptualising and classifying West Asian artefacts, a well examined problem in the study of Persian carpets and other

²³ Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Polskie tkaniny i hafty XVI-XVIII wieku*, Wrocław: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, 1954, 100. Mańkowski (1878-1956) is the author of a series of important publications on the history of commercial and artistic contacts between Poland and Persia. See, for example, Tadeusz Mańkowski, ‘Note on the Cost of Kashan Carpets at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century’, *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology* 4: 3, 1936, 152–53; Tadeusz Mańkowski, ‘Some Documents from Polish Sources Relating to Carpet Making in the Time of Shāh Abbās I’, in *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, ed. Arthur Upham Pope, vol. 6, London: Oxford University Press, 1938, 2431–36; Tadeusz Mańkowski, ‘Wyprawa po kobierce do Persji w roku 1601’, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 12, 1951, 184–211.

²⁴ ‘Schon seit langem ist von Wilhelm Bode die Fabel von der polnischen Entstehung der seidenem, mit reicher Einwirkung von Silber- und Goldfäden Perserteppiche zerstört worden.’ In Friedrich Sarre, ‘Die Teppiche’, in *Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München 1910: Text*, ed. Friedrich Sarre and Fredrik Robert Martin, vol. 2, Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1912, n.p. For the significance of this exhibition, see Avinoam Shalem and Andrea Lerner, eds., *After One Hundred Years: The 1910 Exhibition ‘Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst’ Reconsidered*, Leiden: Brill, 2010.

²⁵ For the critique of Eurocentrism in carpet studies, see Dorothy Armstrong, ‘What Is an “Oriental” Carpet? Reimagining, Remaking, Repossessing the Patterned Pile Carpets of South, Central and West Asia since 1840’, PhD Thesis, London, Royal College of Art, 2019, 153–54.

²⁶ Moya Carey and Mercedes Volait, ‘Framing ‘Islamic Art’ for Aesthetic Interiors: Revisiting the 1878 Paris Exhibition’, *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 9: 1, 2020, 31–59.

²⁷ Denise-Marie Teece, ‘Through the Renaissance Frame: Carpets and the Beginnings of “Islamic Art” in Nineteenth-Century Vienna and Berlin’, *The Textile Museum Journal* 44, 2017, 57–58.

artforms.²⁸ A less explored issue is the zero-sum thinking about artistic origins that is also evident in the term. On the one hand, the epithet offers a negative formulation: we are led to believe (correctly) that these carpets are not Polish; they were only erroneously known as such at some point in history. On the other hand, their Persian manufacture is implied (also correctly), and indeed expected to know by textile experts and collectors—entailing (more problematically) a single-origin scenario for these objects. The phrase ‘so-called Polish carpets’ thus simultaneously serves as a cautionary tale against geographic misattribution, and a testimony to art historians’ self-asserted expertise in fixing the object’s epistemic status. Consider the *Czartoryski Carpet* again (fig. 1). Although described by the 1881 French catalogue of tapestries and carpets (see fig. 2) as ‘made by Mazarski’, a master-weaver ‘established in Cracow’ (*établi à Cracovie*),²⁹ the object is today identified as a ‘so-called Polish carpet’ of Persian manufacture, a classification upheld by all specialists who have assessed it since the artefact’s arrival in New York in 1930.³⁰ Comparison with other Polonaise carpets, and in particular with the well-documented objects in Munich (not always classified as ‘so-called Polish’/Polonaise but reportedly made in Kashan), has allowed modern scholars to date the *Czartoryski Carpet*—as all other objects within the group—to the seventeenth century.³¹ In his thesis on the subject, Friedrich Spuhler, formerly a curator at the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin, documents some 230 examples of the Polonaise type, all sharing design details, and all produced in royal workshops in Isfahan and Kashan.³² As the *Czartoryski Carpet* fits squarely into Spuhler’s taxonomy, the Met catalogue can claim with confidence that the artefact ‘occupies a special historical niche because it was mistakenly identified as Polish, hence Polonaise’.³³ The fallacy of the previous identification appears in this statement as a self-evident truth; after all, Riegl and Bode did assure the correct, Persian manufacture of the so-called Polish carpet, and following this logic there is no longer any point in trying to prove otherwise.

But while Riegl and Bode correctly identified the whereabouts of these objects’ production (i.e., either Isfahan or Kashan), one might argue that the geographic determinism present in their thinking went a step too far. Even contemporaries thought the purist notion of these carpets’ Persian roots too limiting.

²⁸ See, for example, Yuka Kadoi and Iván Szántó, ‘Why Persian Art Needs to Be Studied and Collected’, in *The Shaping of Persian Art: Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia*, ed. Yuka Kadoi and Iván Szántó, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, 2–28.

²⁹ Darcel, *Les tapisseries décoratives*, cat. no. 94.

³⁰ Dimand, *Loan Exhibition of Persian Rugs of the So-Called Polish Type*, cat. no. 6; Maurice S. Dimand and Jean Mailey, *Oriental Rugs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973, cat. no. 17.

³¹ For example, Caroline Mawer, ‘Polish Relations: The Vasa Silk Kilims’, *Hali* 172, Summer 2012, 50–57.

³² Friedrich Spuhler, ‘Seidene Repräsentationsteppiche der mittleren bis späten Safawidenzeit: Die sog. Polenteppiche’, PhD Thesis, Berlin, Freie Universität, 1968, 163–252.

³³ ‘The Czartoryski Carpet’, in *The Met*, accessed September 26, 2017, <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/450563>

Fredrik R. Martin (1868-1933), the author of a key survey of carpets, offered a more open-ended approach, when in 1908 he suggested that:

it is a curious fact that most of these carpets are in the possession of the ancient Italian, Polish and Austrian families since the seventeenth century, but that very few have found their way to the West of Europe ... nor can they be proved to have remained in the East. Not even the Treasury of the Sultan contains a single specimen, and during my many travels in the East I have never come across a single one, not even a fragment ... This fact strengthens still more my opinion that these carpets have exclusively been made as gifts for European princes.³⁴

The accuracy of Martin's theory aside, he argues that—despite their 'Eastern' provenience—these objects owe their existence to the 'European princes' for whom they were made. Without giving in to the old theory of their Polish origins, Martin crucially defines the Polonaise carpets as transcultural, mobile things. Rather than claiming a singular artistic geography for them, he embraces these objects' multiple locations and contexts. Other Persian carpets experts, including Arthur Upham Pope (1881–1969) and Maurice S. Dimand (1892–1986), too, believed that the so-called Polish carpets were designed specifically to astonish and delight Europeans, pointing to the entangled circumstances of their making, as well as their peripatetic lives.³⁵ This approach fits better with what we know about these objects today than Riegl's and Bode's rigid geographic constraints of artefacts' reach and scope. Although produced and appreciated in Safavid Persia, the so-called Polish carpets were often presented or sold to Europeans, with documented gifts and commercial transactions with Poles, Venetians, Muscovites, and Germans, among others.³⁶ In this respect, their bright and conspicuous designs, although Persian-inspired, may indeed have been developed to cater to nonlocal tastes.³⁷ Even the manufacture of these objects transcends a single geographic definition: The silk was procured from the Caspian province of Gilan and its making and distribution were monopolised by Greek and Armenian merchants.³⁸ Many of the dyestuffs used in Safavid carpets were coming from abroad: indigo from India, Armenian cochineal from the Caucasus, American cochineal from New Spain, and Polish cochineal from Central

³⁴ Fredrik Robert Martin, *A History of Oriental Carpets before 1800*, Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1908, 62.

³⁵ Arthur Upham Pope, 'So-Called Polish or Polonaise Carpets (Oriental Rugs as Fine Art, V)', *International Studio* 76, March 1923, 542–43; Maurice S. Dimand, *Loan Exhibition of Persian Rugs of the So-Called Polish Type*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930, xviii. On Pope's carpetology, see Yuka Kadoi, 'Arthur Upham Pope and His 'Research Methods in Muhammadan Art': Persian Carpets', *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 6, 2012, <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2012/05/kadoi.pdf>

³⁶ Dimand, *Loan Exhibition of Persian Rugs of the So-Called Polish Type*, xvii.

³⁷ Friedrich Spuhler, Preben Mellbye-Hansen, and Majken Thorvildsen, *Denmark's Coronation Carpets, Copenhagen*, Copenhagen: The Royal Collections, 1987, 32.

³⁸ Rudolph P. Matthee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver, 1600-1730*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

and Eastern Europe, including Poland and Ruthenia (today's Ukraine).³⁹ There was, after all, something Polish about the so-called Polish carpets. As the making of these carpets went beyond the scope of local affairs, to simply call them 'Persian' is to completely ignore their global circuits and entanglements.

Alternative terms

Although the ineradicable misnomers 'so-called Polish carpets' and 'Polonaise carpets' are still the most commonly used today, attempts have been made to replace them with a term more specific to these objects' Persian contexts. In an early revisionist impulse, Kurt Erdmann (1901–1964), fourth in a succession of directors of Berlin's Museum of Islamic Art and one of the protagonists of the 'Berlin School' of Islamic art history, proposed to call these objects 'Shah Abbas carpets' after the Iranian monarch of that name who reigned from 1587 to 1629. Although the term accurately conveyed Abbas's patronage of the royal looms in Isfahan and Kashan, where the carpets under consideration were (most likely) woven, others were reluctant to pick it up. Kurtmann himself acknowledged that his attempts to do away with the term 'so-called Polish carpets' were only slowly gaining ground.⁴⁰ One reason might have been that the phrase was imprecise; other groups of carpets, such as 'vase carpets' and 'tapestry-woven carpets'—classified as such in Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackermann's *Survey of Persian Art*—were, too, produced during the reign of Abbas I, including in Kashan.⁴¹ It is also important to note that despite its foregrounding of the agency of a shah, the term may still be seen as Eurocentric as it clearly follows the model associated with the 'Berlin School', of the 'four social layers' of carpet production—nomadic, village, town, and court manufacture—where the carpets woven in royal looms were seen as the most authentic in terms of their designs, while the other types were marked down as the degenerate and derogatory examples of court production.⁴² By inserting Shah Abbas into the picture, these carpets are classified as the highest achievement of Safavid-era textile production. Needless to say, this is still a way of looking at Persian art from a Western perspective, with the latter's fixation on authorial originality and high-end artistic production—an approach that is as ethnocentric as using the 'ante quem' method of dating carpets based on their appearance in western European paintings.

³⁹ Nobuko Shibayama, Mark Wypyski, and Elisa Gagliardi-Mangilli, 'Analysis of Natural Dyes and Metal Threads Used in 16th -18th Century Persian/Safavid and Indian/Mughal Velvets by HPLC-PDA and SEM-EDS to Investigate the System to Differentiate Velvets of These Two Cultures', *Heritage Science* 3: 12, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40494-015-0037-2>

⁴⁰ 'Meine Versuche, ich durch Schah-Abbas-Teppiche zu ersetzen, gewinnen nur langsam an Boden.' In Kurt Erdmann, *Siebenhundert Jahre Orientteppich: Zu seiner Geschichte und Erforschung*, Hereford: Bussesse Verlagshandlung, 1966, 227.

⁴¹ Arthur Upham Pope, 'The Art of Carpet Making: History', in *A Survey of Persian Art: From Prehistoric Times to the Present*, ed. Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, vol. 6, Ashiya and New York: SOPA and Maxwell Aley Literary Associates, 1981, 2372–88, 2401–6. On the *Survey of Persian Art*, see Yuka Kadoi, ed., *Arthur Upham Pope and a New Survey of Persian Art*, Leiden: Brill, 2016.

⁴² Robert Pinner, 'Editorial', in *The History of the Early Turkish Carpet*, by Kurt Erdmann, London: Oguz Press, 1977, xiii–xvi.

Spuhler proposed another term that did not readily catch on, other than in the discussions of politics of display: ‘representation carpets’ (*Representationsteppiche*).⁴³ In embracing this phrase, he hoped to foreground these objects’ ability to boost their owners’ social status and cultural distinction. As we have seen—and as Spuhler re-emphasised—many of these carpets found their way into Europe, and some can be linked to ambassadorial gifts.⁴⁴ For Spuhler, this was enough to reaffirm Pope’s and Dimand’s theories that the brightly coloured palettes of the ‘so-called Polish carpets’, featuring luminous silks and shiny metal-thread, gave them an overtly baroque treatment in the eyes of European beholders, and may have been catering to European tastes—certainly, the use of gold or silver (or both) would have made these carpets’ appearance both dazzling and brilliant.⁴⁵ Although the impact of consumers outside Persia on the visual form of these carpets cannot be verified given the lack of archival evidence, their geographic mobility and transcultural makeup are backed up by sources. Thus, these objects were made somewhere in what is today central Iran, but they could also be easily repurposed as an essential facet of cultural life elsewhere.⁴⁶ The term ‘representation carpets’ conveys the transcultural aspect of these artefacts, but it lacks the semantic clarity of an expression like ‘Shah Abbas carpets’, or the erroneous phrase ‘Polish carpets’. A term that can apply to most textiles cannot be wrong, but its usefulness to convey a specific context seems limited.⁴⁷

The challenge of coining a term that would better render the complex transcultural contexts of these rugs is that simple catchphrases can rarely convey a fuller history of objects with all their artistic entanglements and geographic trajectories. While it is relatively easy to invent a term that reflects the creation moment for the purpose of art-historical classification and analysis, be it the place of manufacture or the patron’s name—the ‘Shah Abbas carpets’ come to mind here—it is much harder to conceive of a phrase that would encompass the artefact’s mobility and its adaptability to new contexts. If we accept Martin’s theory that most of the ‘so-called Polish carpets’ were sent to central and eastern Europe, we may then want to emphasise the role of intermediaries in delivering these artefacts to consumers in places like Poland. We may even risk forging a new term, and the most fitting epithet in this context would be something along the lines of ‘Armenian carpets’, a phrase which recognises the role played by the Armenian diaspora in Polish-Persian

⁴³ Spuhler, ‘Seidene Repräsentationsteppiche der mittleren bis späten Safawidenzeit: Die sog. Polenteppiche’, 15–34.

⁴⁴ Spuhler, ‘Seidene Repräsentationsteppiche der mittleren bis späten Safawidenzeit: Die sog. Polenteppiche’, 102–3.

⁴⁵ Spuhler, Mellbye-Hansen, and Thorvildsen, *Denmark’s Coronation Carpets, Copenhagen*, 32.

⁴⁶ Irene Sabatini, ‘Polonaise Carpets in Baroque Rome’, in *Oriental Carpets and Textiles Studies*, vol. 7, London: Hali, 2011, 99–103.

⁴⁷ On issues of classification, see also Arthur Upham Pope, ‘The Art of Carpet Making: History’, in *A Survey of Persian Art: From Prehistoric Times to the Present*, ed. Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, vol. 6, Ashiya and New York: SOPA and Maxwell Aley Literary Associates, 1981, 2265–68.

commercial relations.⁴⁸ Without the Armenian business partnerships and networks scattered all across the region, local elites would have struggled to keep up with their acquisitions of Persian carpets.⁴⁹ Yet the problem with this possible substitute for ‘the so-called Polish carpets’ is that while foregrounding Armenians’ involvement in their dispatch and handling, it neglects these objects’ other (equally important) geographic and cultural contexts.

To better convey these objects’ itinerant lives across a wider region, we may opt for a semantically broader term like ‘Eurasian carpets’ — a descriptive referent that invites a comparative and connective study of material and visual culture across early modern state formations and empires.⁵⁰ As with ‘representation carpets’, the term lacks precision (and is admittedly useless in museological study), but as a minimum it does not deter from all the recontextualizations and reinterpretations that these carpets have endured. In addition, the open-endedness of the term embraces the transcultural aspect of these carpets, which often inspired other forms, acquired new uses, and changed meanings, all the while reversing, upending, translating, surprising, and reappropriating local lifestyles and traditions.⁵¹ As they have been merging and converging cultures since their creation, and continue to do so (the *Czartoryski Carpet* comes to mind as an object that is part of multiple worlds and facilitates communication between different cultural geographies), these carpets thus evade easy categorizations — they were equally at home in Persia, Poland, and elsewhere in Europe. Evoking their ‘Eurasianness’ through the semantics of interconnectedness would take us away from the tired rhetoric of provenience which still prevails in art-historical taxonomies. This is not to say that art-historical terms based on geography serve no useful purpose, but they must be used with a disclaimer of limited applicability, as it is becoming increasingly untenable to limit artifacts and materials to national, ethnic, and local circumstances.⁵²

⁴⁸ Eleonora Nadel-Golobič, ‘Armenians and Jews in Medieval Lvov: Their Role in Oriental Trade 1400-1600,’ *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 20: 3/4, 1979, 347–51; Michael Połczyński, ‘The Relacja of Sefer Muratowicz: 1601–1602 Private Royal Envoy of Sigismund III Vasa to Shah ‘Abbas I’, *Turkish Historical Review* 5, no. 1, 2014, 60.

⁴⁹ Alexandr Osipian, ‘Between Mercantilism, Oriental Luxury, and the Ottoman Threat: Discourses on the Armenian Diaspora in the Early Modern Kingdom of Poland’, *Acta Poloniae Historica*, no. 116, 2017, 171–207.

⁵⁰ Maxine Berg, ed., *Goods from the East, 1600-1800: Trading Eurasia*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

⁵¹ On transculturation, see Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint, Tobacco and Sugar*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1995, 32–33.

⁵² To mention only several of the transcultural stories spanning early modern Europe, Chinese porcelain was appropriated, integrated, and reinvented as part and parcel of a Dutch lifestyle, even signalling ‘Dutchness’ as a result; Iznik ceramics were embraced by the Anabaptists in Moravia to create a distinctively local style of artistic production now referred to as Habaner pottery; and Mamluk, Ottoman, and Italian silks with Arabic (and pseudo-Arabic) script were used in religious vestments in both Catholic and Orthodox Europe to denote the Holy Land. See Anne Gerritsen, ‘Domesticating Goods from Overseas: Global Material Culture in the Early Modern Netherlands’, *Journal of Design History* 29: 3, 2016, 228–44; Laura Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity and the Making of Czech Identity, 1453-*

Needless to say, neither of the taxonomic labels I have proposed here is entirely satisfactory. It would be hard to argue that place of manufacture is more consequential for our understanding of an artefact than the place where it was put to use; but—at the same time—it is impossible to fully contextualise an artefact without paying attention to its original context of production and patronage. Cultural forms cannot be simply assigned to a single cultural region and its historical traditions, as they easily transgress geographic and political boundaries.⁵³ At the same time, geographic and political circumstances co-shape an artefact's appearance, material make-up, and function. Connecting Europe and Asia, the subgroup of Persian carpets discussed in this essay challenge the binary of exotic versus local, instead offering an inroad towards transcultural histories of Eurasian artefacts, where provenience matters as much as objects' pathways and afterlives. Although they are Persian by assembly, these carpets can be also seen as European by use. In fact, new ways of looking at textiles emerged recently that challenge singular place of production taking precedence over a more expansive geographic purview of the object's complex trajectories.⁵⁴ But while we can confront the artificial distinction between Europe and Asia as we address the entangled mobile lives of the Persian carpets consumed avidly by Polish and other European elites, the terms we have on disposal to describe them are deficient in their ability to signify with clarity what we already know about them.

Names are not just names

Words matter and we must use them responsibly. Since the nineteenth century, when the study of carpets became a separate field of scholarly inquiry, these objects have been appreciated as 'Oriental' decorative arts, valuable because of their creation in a distant, foreign place, notionally different from Europe.⁵⁵ Stemming from a taste for the remote and exotic, the assumption that carpets should be

1683, Farnham: Ashgate, 2013; Aleksej Konstantinovič Levykin, ed., *The Tsars and the East: Gifts from Turkey and Iran in the Moscow Kremlin*, London: Thames & Hudson, 2009; Denise-Marie Teece, 'Arabic Inscriptions in the Service of the Church: An Italian Textile Evoking an Early Christian Past?' in *The Nomadic Object: The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, ed. Christine Göttler and Mia M. Mochizuki, Leiden: Brill, 2017, 74–102.

⁵³ See, for example, Anna Grasskamp, 'EurAsian Layers: Netherlandish Surfaces and Early Modern Chinese Artefacts', *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 63: 4 (2015, 362–99; Anna Grasskamp, 'Unpacking Foreign Ingenuity: The German Conquest of Artful Objects with 'Indian' Provenance', in *Ingenuity in the Making: Matter and Technique in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Richard J. Oosterhoff, José Ramón Marcaida, and Alexander Marr, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021, 213–28.

⁵⁴ Paulina Banas, 'Persische Kunst und polnische Identität', in *Sehnsucht Persien: Austausch und Rezeption in der Kunst Persiens und Europas im 17. Jahrhundert & Gegenwartskunst aus Teheran*, ed. Axel Langer, Zürich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2013, 118–35; Barbara Karl, 'Silk and Propaganda: Two Ottoman Silk Flags and the Relief of Vienna, 1683', *Textile History* 45: 2, 2014, 192–215; Bogdan Pavlish, 'Relics in Exile: A Collection of Armenian Sacred Objects between Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman Empire, 1672–1699', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 26: 6, 2022, 520–543.

⁵⁵ See, for example, Brian Spooner, 'Weavers and Dealers: The Authenticity of an Oriental Carpet', in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 195–235.

classified as ‘Oriental’ artefacts is, of course, a form of orientalism, a discourse that reinforces a binary division between ‘West’ and ‘East’, ‘us’ and ‘them’ – turning the inhabitants of the allegedly separate realm of the ‘Orient’ into quintessentially different peoples, and their art into curious, unfamiliar marvels.⁵⁶ Hence to call carpets ‘Oriental’ is to draw a line between a familiar, ‘civilised’ Europe and its negative ‘Other’ in the ‘East’. This false dichotomy is not only historically inaccurate, given that early modern polities like Safavid Iran were not in any way politically inferior or less culturally advanced than western and central European states; it is also needlessly reductive as it obfuscates the transfer of knowledge and technology, as well as various cultural entanglements across Eurasia.⁵⁷

The popularity of ‘the so-called Polish carpets’ in Europe readily demonstrates that the (sub)continent was by no means quintessentially different from other Eurasian locations in early modernity, at a time when divergence between Christian and Muslim societies allegedly prevailed (as has been imputed until recently). Considering that attempts to conceptualise Europe as a space of encounter, or even Creolization, are ongoing,⁵⁸ these carpets continue to offer valuable lessons on art historiography and should not be dismissed as merely a group of objects that were once misattributed as Polish but are now properly understood as Persian. Work on the transcultural dimension of Asian-made textiles and their assimilation in Europe and elsewhere is a particularly well developed field of study, understandably so as silks, cottons, and woollens were traded and appreciated globally, touching every level of society and highlighting users’ connections with the wider world.⁵⁹ Adding ‘the so-called Polish carpets’ to the mix highlights a stimulating case study that reveals the shortcomings of art-historical terminology in conveying objects’ artistic geographies without resorting to essentialist or deterministic thinking.

In the face of a lack of a definitive way of addressing these artefacts, the term ‘so-called Polish carpets’ will carry the day until a better taxonomic label crops up. Although inaccurate when considering these objects’ provenience, it at least exposes their itinerant character and the historical context of their use outside of the original context of making. Woven on the royal looms in Persia, these carpets were appropriated, integrated, and reinvented in a distant Poland, among other locations,

⁵⁶ Said, *Orientalism*, 1–28.

⁵⁷ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, ‘Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia’, *Modern Asian Studies* 31: 3, 1997, 735–62; Maxine Berg, ed., *Goods from the East, 1600-1800: Trading Eurasia*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015; Anna Grasskamp and Monica Juneja, eds., *EurAsian Matters: China, Europe, and the Transcultural Object, 1600-1800*, Cham: Springer, 2018; Anna Grasskamp, *Art and Ocean Objects of Early Modern Eurasia: Shells, Bodies, and Materiality*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021.

⁵⁸ Christopher Pinney, ‘Creole Europe: The Reflection of a Reflection’, *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, no. 20, 2002, 125–61; Anca Parvulescu and Manuela Boatcă, *Creolizing the Modern: Transylvania across Empires*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022.

⁵⁹ See, for example, Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric That Made the Modern World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013; Susan Whitfield, *Life along the Silk Road*, Second edition, Oakland: University of California Press, 2015; Amanda Phillips, *Sea Change: Ottoman Textiles between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean*, Oakland: University of California Press, 2021.

where they were often seen as local.⁶⁰ We can classify them as one thing or another, as long as we apply a critical distance to the terminology that designates them; that is, if we do not expect a taxonomic term to signify in ways inconsistent with the multivalent practice of objects' commission, making, dispatch, appreciation, and consumption. As a self-depreciating term that directs our attention to its historical inaccuracy, 'the so-called Polish carpets' is not perfect, or anywhere near it, but it makes us ask questions. Why 'so-called'? Were carpets even made in Poland? How are stylistic typologies and material taxonomies used in art-historical study? Someone will surely coin a better term one day, or we may even change course of Art History so dramatically that such terms are no longer practical. But for now, 'the so-called Polish carpets' must continue troubling us into scrutinizing the mechanics of naming in the field of material and visual culture.

Tomasz Grusiecki is assistant professor of early modern art history at Boise State University. His research focuses on visual and material culture in central and eastern Europe. His first book, *Transcultural Things and the Spectre of Orientalism in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania*, is forthcoming with Manchester University Press

tomaszgrusiecki@boisestate.edu



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/)

⁶⁰ For further discussion, see Tomasz Grusiecki, 'Doublethink: Polish Carpets in Transcultural Contexts', *The Art Bulletin* 104: 3, 2022, 29–54.