

Carl Johan Lamm (1902-1981)

Jens Kröger

Anyone interested in glass from the Islamic lands will sooner or later discover two thick volumes bound in green cloth. Both represent the principal work of Carl Johan Lamm published in Berlin in 1929-30 with the title '*Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*'.¹ Vol 1, the text, includes a foreword and introductory remarks, followed by introductions to the three categories and descriptions of each object included. Lamm wrote, that he did not want to publish an easy to be read book but rather a well-arranged one suitable for reference from a variety of aspects including a comprehensive index. It includes ten plates, six of which are in colour; reproductions of photographs and plates for the numerous drawings. Its rich bibliography is unique for many single objects, revealing an incredible variety of results from his reading of the sources. Of major importance is his documentation of 137 citations from historical sources on glass as well as a further 37 excerpts on the history of rock crystal carving. Both supply the historical framework for the objects.

Published nearly a hundred years ago, these volumes remain one of the essential reference works for the history of Islamic glass. They contain a vast

¹ This is an updated and extended version of a contribution originally written in German in 1985-86 and published in 1990: Jens Kröger, 'Carl Johan Lamm (1902-1981): ein Beitrag zur Forschungsgeschichte islamischer Kunst', *Oriens* 32, 1990, 250-259. This version was accepted by Rudolf Sellheim (1928-2013) for publication in the journal *Oriens* and I am very grateful to him because at the time there was little or no interest in historiography. I wrote the text after I had become familiar with Lamm's works on glass and his connections with the scholars of the Islamic Department in Berlin. After 1989 and the unification of Germany I had access to a number of important letters between Sarre and Lamm which allowed a complete reconstruction of the genesis of *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*. From his very beginnings as a young scholar, Lamm was in contact with Friedrich Sarre (1865-1945) the longtime director of the Islamic Department of the Berlin State Museums until 1931 and later on also with Ernst Kühnel (1882-1964) and Kurt Erdmann (1901-1964). Robert J. Charleston (1916-1994), Jan Peder Lamm (1935-2020) and Karin Ådahl helped me with details for the 1990 version. Ingeborg Krueger and Elke Niewöhner gave me their extremely valuable help with this much enlarged version. I am very glad to thank Karin Ådahl for her renewed help with this version. Quotations of letters are from the Sarre-Nachlass, Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, the Museum für Islamische Kunst Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz for correspondence of Carl Johan Lamm, Kurt Erdmann and Ernst Kühnel as well as the Kühnel-Archiv, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Orient-Abteilung, Berlin. All translations of letters and quotations written in German are mine.

number of different objects from varied collections and because the catalogue entries have such outstanding bibliographies, they present an invaluable survey of earlier literary documents on glass and rock crystal. Although the book did not claim to be a corpus, Kurt Erdmann (1901-1964) in his detailed review found it very close to being so and in the following years it served this purpose.²

Lamm's methodological approach opened up many new vistas for the years to come and since its publication every study on Islamic glass and rock-crystal cites these tomes. Starting with the Lamm volumes is a means of approaching this field. The inclusion of rock crystal objects was innovative and built on the work of art historian Robert Schmidt (1878-1952) carried out in connection with glass in his article on the Hedwig glasses.³ Thus Lamm's work has never been totally superseded and is fortunately readily available through reprints. As is inevitable after almost a century, some chapters would be written differently nowadays, as new material has turned up and many of his conclusions are no longer valid.⁴ That is only natural for early studies in a new field of art, when it is essential to offer an overview of the existing objects.

It should be remembered that Lamm authored many more volumes and his research was not limited to Islamic glass. As the extensive bibliography compiled by his nephew, Jan Peder Lamm (1935-2020), indicates in his latest edition of his article on the Marby rug, Carl Lamm wrote on a wide variety of subjects.⁵

The Early Years

Carl Johan Lamm was born on 20 September 1902 in Stockholm and died on 10 November 1981 in Östhammar (fig. 1).⁶ In the year he was born, his father, Carl Robert Lamm (1856-1938), acquired Näsby Slott, a property just north of Stockholm in order to present his art collection in the appropriate surroundings of a country mansion.⁷ Carl Robert Lamm was an engineer and industrialist who collected European paintings and tapestries as well as objects of Islamic art and had a deep

² Kurt Erdmann, Carl Johan Lamm, 'Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten', *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 6. Dezember 1931, Heft 49, 2329-34.

³ Robert Schmidt, 'Die Hedwigsgläser und verwandte fatimidische Glas- und Kristallschnittarbeiten', *Jahrbuch des Schlesischen Museums für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer (Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift)*, vol. N.F. 6, 1912, 53-78.

⁴ C.J.Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*. 2 vols, *Forschungen zur Islamischen Kunst*, Hrsg. Friedrich Sarre, vol. 5, Berlin 1929-30, abbreviated as Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*.

⁵ A complete bibliography of C. J. Lamm's publications can be found in: C. J. Lamm, *Carpet fragments*, Stockholm 1985 (Nationalmuseums Skriftserie, 7), 97-101.

⁶ On Lamm's life see Bo Gyllensvärd, 'Carl Johan Lamm', in: Carl Johan Lamm, *Carpet fragments. The Marby rug and some fragments of carpets found in Sweden*, Stockholm 1985 (Nationalmuseums Skriftserie, 7), 7-8.

⁷ S. E. Vingedal, Näsby slott på Lamms tid. *Tankar och minnen kring det anrika Näsby i Täby kommun*. Täby 1973 (Täby hembygdsförenings skriftserie, 11).

interest in Oriental carpets. Lamm had a lifelong affection for his parents - especially his art-loving mother, Dora Lamm, née Upmark (1880-1959). She was the daughter and sister of art-historians who worked in museums. He remained living with his parents and never married, calling Dora his ideal partner. She participated in his scholarly work and made all the drawings according to his sketches or photographs and was active in making excerpts and in proof-reading. Carl Robert Lamm had her portrayed by the painter Carl Larsson (1853-1919) in 1903 with their two eldest sons.⁸



Figure 1. Lamm Portrait 1944

At the age of seven Carl Johan may have witnessed some bronze candlesticks with Arabic inscriptions, a wooden door from Khokand in Turkestan, numerous kettle-drums and weapons as well as a number of carpets from his father's large collection being packed for shipping as loans to the exhibition of 'Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst' in Munich in 1910. The official catalogue names 22 loans from the Lamm collection.⁹ Lamm later mentioned that his father

⁸ Jan Peder Lamm, 'Dora och familjen Lamm' in: *Carl Larssons Dora, Historien om portättet av den rödklädda damen. Länsmuseum i Gävleborgs län*. Gävle 1985, 1-25.

⁹ Ausstellung München 1910. *Amtlicher Katalog*. 3. Auflage, München: Verlag Rudolf Mosse, 1910, Nos. 12. 50. 55. 59. 93. 96. 256. 292. 293. 294. 323-24. 447-48. 462. 469. 520. 2215. 3097.

had already at an early age given him a feeling for the fascination of art from the east. The greater part of the Islamic works of art collected by his father had entered his collection with the aid of Fredrik Robert Martin (1868-1933) a well-known Swedish explorer, art historian and art dealer.¹⁰ They represented only a fraction of the complete Lamm collection though, which also encompassed European paintings, tapestries and 18th century furniture.

Martin was one of the important art dealers in northern Europe in the last part of the 19th century who travelled widely and had a special interest in art from the Eastern Hemisphere. He brought numerous works of art of different periods and of different quality from his trips and sold them to collectors and museums in Europe. Martin also published a number of art catalogues on his collection to make it known.¹¹ With these he promoted his sales and won international collectors. One part of these publications consisted of plates and texts in German.¹² A second part were scholarly publications on special subjects.¹³ His most important scholarly book was a first attempt to write a history of Oriental carpets C.J. Lamm's father Carl Robert Lamm was one of the few Swedish collectors who participated in collecting Islamic art. The more important carpets in the Lamm collection were published by Martin. Much to the regret of Carl Johan, the major part of the collection had to be auctioned off at the American Art Galleries, New York in 1923.¹⁴ It was there that the Metropolitan Museum of Art and other museums or private collectors such as George Hewitt Myers, the founder of the Textile Museum in Washington D.C., were able to acquire some of the more important carpets and a wooden door from Khokand. If the Islamic works of art collected by Carl Robert Lamm had remained in Swedish collections, their collections would be considerably richer today. Perhaps a certain disregard for Islamic art in his own country is what Lamm meant in the letters he wrote to the scholars Sarre, Kühnel and Erdmann of the Islamic Department in Berlin, when he mentioned that the situation was not favourable for Islamic art in Sweden. If Carl Johan Lamm has not received the recognition he deserved, this is due to the situation in Sweden and his personality. Lamm was not

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¹⁰ A critical biography on F.R. Martin is still missing.

¹¹ Fredric Robert Martin, *F.R. Martins Sammlungen aus dem Orient in der Kunst- und Industrie-Ausstellung zu Stockholm 1897*, Stockholm: Nordstedt, 1897.

¹² F.R. Martin, *Thüren aus Turkestan*. 5 Tafeln nebst Text. Stockholm: Königl. Buchdruckerei, 1897. *Sammlung F.R.Martin. Morgenländische Stoffe*. 15 Tafeln nebst Text. Stockholm: Chelius, 1897. F.R. Martin, *Sammlung F.R.Martin, Stickereien aus dem Orient*, 18 Tafeln mit Text. Stockholm: Chelius und Hiersemann, Leipzig 1899.

¹³ F.R. Martin, *Figurale persische Stoffe aus dem Zeitraum 1550-1650*, Stockholm: Chelius und Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1899. F.R. Martin, *Die persischen Prachtstoffe im Schlosse Rosenborg in Kopenhagen*, Stockholm: Chelius und Hiersemann: Leipzig 1901. F.R. Martin, *Ältere Kupferarbeiten aus dem Orient*, Stockholm: Chelius und Leipzig: Hiersemann 1902.

¹⁴ *Illustrated Catalogue of the very notable collection of Mr. Carl Robert Lamm, Näsby Castle (near Stockholm), Sweden*, New York: The American Art Galleries, February 21-22, 1923. Nos. 1-990.

a companionable character, he was fiercely independent and did not submit easily. He also aired his opinions freely and was inclined to be undiplomatic even with kings. On the other hand, what is little known is that he stepped back from possible appointments when he realised others needed the post more for economic reasons than he did. Lamm's letters written to Sarre, Kühnel and Erdmann which I was able to consult for this outline reveal a complex personality with cramped handwriting tilted towards the right with little difference between the individual letters. In signing his name, both his surnames and his last name were written as one word.

Having grown up in the mansion of his parents in Roslags-Näsby just north of Stockholm, Lamm passed his school exams at the Djursholm Samskola in 1920 and then studied art history at Stockholm University with the art historian Johnny Roosval (1879-1965) and Oswald Sirén (1879-1966), a specialist in Italian painting as well as Chinese art. Roosval, a student of Heinrich Wölfflin (1864-1945) and Adolph Goldschmidt (1863-1944), specialized in the art of the Middle Ages in Northern Europe. He encouraged Lamm to study Islamic art. In 1923 Lamm passed his exams as candidate of philosophy.

In 1924 Lamm was able to participate in the excavations at Tell el-Amarna, Egypt. Beginning in 1924 Lamm also undertook travels to all major museums and collections within Europe in order to collect material for his dissertation. He planned a comparison between the decoration of gilded and enamelled glass and related works of art. Due to the numerous examples of glass of this type the initial plan was gradually changed to a corpus of enamelled and gilded glass, including remarks on the decoration. In 1925 and 1926 he studied Classical Arabic at the School of Oriental Studies of the American University in Cairo. It was only one of the numerous languages he acquired during his life. In addition to Swedish he published in German, English and French. And he also took private courses in Turkish, Persian, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, learnt Hebrew at the Judiska Bildningsinstitutet and Russian at the Borgarskola in Stockholm.

During his time in Cairo he acquired more than 4,000 mostly enamelled glass fragments from the art dealer Isma'il Farağ, whom he had met through the services of F. R. Martin. The fragments were mostly said to have been found in Fustat/Old Cairo. However, Lamm was always of the opinion that enamelled glass was not manufactured in Cairo but must have been an import from Syria. In December 1929 his father, who had given the money for this acquisition, presented the collection of sherds to the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm. Using the abbreviation of his initials C. J. L. for the collection, Lamm had already integrated them into his scholarly work.¹⁵ They are now kept in the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm.

¹⁵ Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser* 2-3.

Studies on his dissertation called *Sammelwerk*

In 1926 Lamm met Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Kühnel, then curator of the collection in the Islamic Department of the Berlin State Museums. Sarre, who had probably known Lamm's father since the 1910 Munich exhibition, had visited Näsby in 1925 and was already much impressed by what he heard of the young Lamm who was in Egypt at that time. Although Sarre initially wanted to publish the glass finds from the Samarra excavations himself, he quickly realised that Carl Johan's knowledge was far superior to his and he therefore asked him to work on this glass corpus. Lamm agreed, although he was already making good progress and near completion of his book on enamelled glass. In a letter to Sarre of 13 August 1927 he wrote of a new plan which later developed into his magnum opus *Mittelalterliche Gläser*. On 16 September 1927 he mentioned his proposal for the title which was *Beispiele frühmittelalterlicher Gläser und Bergkristallarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten. Ein Sammelwerk*. At the same time he had completed his dissertation on enamelled glass which was supposed to have 75 plates. He was thus looking for 2,000 Kronen to have it printed. On 9 October 1927 he had finished the manuscript of the *Sammelwerk*, as he still called it; some 46 plates had already been produced as printing blocks. On 19 October 1927 he wrote to Sarre: 'I do not know yet if I should publish the *Sammelwerk* in German or in English. The book on the enamelled glass I will publish in English. The Germans read English but the English scholars unfortunately do not always read German'. On 23 November 1927 he proposed to Sarre that the *Sammelwerk* should become a supplement to the book on the glass from Samarra with the title *Das Glas von Samarra*, with a richly illustrated supplement of 46 printed book plates. Sarre could not accept this proposal as the objects in the supplement were not part of the excavated material. However he seems to have encouraged Lamm and agreed in principle that his new work could eventually become a volume in the series 'Forschungen zur Islamischen Kunst' since Lamm wrote on 1 December 1927: 'However I will now go on with the work in German. What has already been written in English, can easily be changed - and not everything will be finished at the same time.' As Lamm later stated in both the foreword to the Samarra book as well as in that of his *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, he saw the Samarra book as a first volume to which the *Sammelwerk* and his dissertation on the enamelled and gilded glass would have to follow.

***Das Glas von Samarra* Berlin 1928**

Only two years after Sarre's invitation, Lamm wrote to him on 15 February 1928 that the work on the Samarra book was finished. On 23 March 1928 he had already produced an Addendum, but it came too late, as on 13 April 1928 he had his first book *Das Glas von Samarra* on his desk, the fourth volume of the series of the Samarra excavations and the second volume of the 'Forschungen zur Islamischen Kunst' edited by Friedrich Sarre. It was the first monograph on Islamic glass found

during an excavation. As a result, the work found considerable attention.¹⁶ The book appeared with drawings and photographs made by the excavator Ernst Herzfeld (1879-1945) during the 1911-13 Samarra excavations. Lamm's task had not been an easy one since the dispersal of the Samarra finds after the excavations ended in 1913 and the following 1914-18 war resulted in a confiscation and division of these finds. A decision to further arrange 'type-sets' of the excavated glass material before its final publication and their distribution to different museums,¹⁷ made it impossible for Lamm to see all the glass.¹⁸ He thus had to concentrate on those in the Islamic Department in Berlin and those in the British Museum. Lamm was also unable to consult Herzfeld's many diary notes on the glass finds in Samarra.¹⁹ However he wrote introductions to the chapters on the different techniques and described the glass finds briefly. One of the shortcomings of his book is the limited number of drawn fragments. It is thus not as easy to visually grasp the varied material as would have been desirable. Lamm used the drawings of Ernst Herzfeld, but could not consult him as Herzfeld was in Persia during these years.²⁰ A copy of a black and white drawing of an undecorated plate as well as a coloured drawing of a bottle kept in the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin²¹ indicate that Lamm may have missed a number of Herzfeld's drawings. Considering the economic difficulties at the time it was probably impossible to get funds for new drawings. The main drawback for a wide recognition of the book was that it had been written in German.

Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten Berlin 1929-30

Having finished work on the Samarra volume in spring 1928, Lamm travelled to Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey and Eastern Europe from November 1928 to spring

¹⁶ Reviews were written by Raymond Koechlin, *Syria* 9, 1928, 261-2 and Bernard Rackham, *Burlington Magazine* 55, 170-1.

¹⁷ Jens Kröger, 'Chronik der Ausgrabungen von Samarra 1911-1913', *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie*, vol. 4, edited by Julia Gonnella et al., Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2014, 234-346, 292-304 for 'type-sets' and 318-19 for Lamm's volume on glass. For type-sets see Yuka Kadoi, 'The Samarra Finds in the New World: Fragments of Artistic Legacy in North American Museums', *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie*, vol. 4, edited by Julia Gonnella et al., Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2014, 28-37.

¹⁸ Carl Johan Lamm, *Das Glas von Samarra, Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra* vol. 4, *Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst*, Herausgeber Friedrich Sarre, vol. 2, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer/ Ernst Vohsen Verlag, 1928, 5.

¹⁹ Thomas Leisten, 'Excavation of Samarra', Volume I, *Architecture, Final report of the first campaign 1910-1912*, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2003, 31 and the diary notes 153-212.

²⁰ Ernst Herzfeld, 'Reisebericht', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 5, 1926, 225-84.

²¹ Jens Kröger, 'Painting on glass before the Mamluk period' in Rachel Ward ed., *Gilded and enamelled glass from the Middle East*. London: The British Museum Press, 1998 (8-11) 9-10 and Fig. 3,6 on plate A. Abbreviated in the following as Ward, *Gilded and enamelled glass*.

1929 and returned to Stockholm via Berlin. His travels served the need to view objects in different collections. On this stay in Berlin, during which he also met Maria Sarre in their Neubabelsberg house and Kurt Erdmann 22, a member of the staff in the Islamic Department, the decision to publish '*Mittelalterliche Gläser*' in its final form must have been agreed upon by Lamm, Sarre and the publisher. Shortly after his return to Näsby he sent an open letter dated 25 May 1929 to colleagues, museums and private collections. In this letter of 14 pages he announced the book and included a brief chronological list of gilded and enamelled glass datable by their inscriptions and asked for more information as he wanted to publish a list „as complete as possible, and so form a kind of corpus summarizing present knowledge on the subject'. He also worked on the volume of plates with proofs coming in from the printer J. J. Augustin in August of that year after he had sent all the material by 3 July 1929 to the publisher. He had initially given 1,100 German Marks of his own money for the plates volume and 6,000 German Marks from his father in July 1929. In 1927 he had applied for money from the 'Längmanska Kulturfonden' but after an inordinately long time he was finally received a reply turning down this request. He remarked in a letter of 13 April 1928 'that it may have been due to my name, because people always seem to believe that a Lamm must be rich'. At the end of 1929 he received a copy of Cairo catalogue on the enamelled lamps from Wiet ²³ and remarked to Sarre in a letter of 4 December 1929: 'Wiet had initially asked me to write the catalogue but seems to have forgotten that later on'.

The second half of 1929 was fully occupied with work on the text volume. The text went to print in chapters and Sarre negotiated between Lamm and the printer and read Lamm's texts as soon as they were ready. In October 1929 Lamm wrote the foreword. Work on the text volume was finished at the beginning of 1930. Both volumes went to the bookshops in that year and were sold at a price of 160 Reichsmark. Lamm dedicated the book to his parents and on August 20, 1930 he had their copy ready with additional coloured drawings of enamelled fragments.

When the volumes of *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten* finally appeared, it was a landmark of 20th century book production. As a volume in the series 'Forschungen zur Islamischen Kunst' edited by Friedrich Sarre, the volumes follow the same large format and the outstanding typography of the series. The text volume has 10 plates, six of them in colour and the volume with the images has 67 Collotype plates, 15 plates from photographs and 123 plates after the drawings by Dora Lamm. The volumes are thus an unusual accomplishment of the author, his parents, as well as the editor of the series and the publisher during a very difficult financial period.

²² For Erdmann see my contribution to the current special issue of the *Journal of Art Historiography*.

²³ G. Wiet, *Lampes et bouteilles en verre émaillé*, Catalogue Général du Musée Arabe du Caire, Cairo: Musée National de L'Art Arabe, 1929.

The unusual way of publishing the volume of plates before that of the text resulted in a number of peculiarities. Thus the results of the first campaign of Excavations at Ctesiphon 1928-29 did not appear with the drawings or photographs of significant examples in this volume because it was already too late for additions. However, a note by Kühnel on the finds was integrated into the introduction to the text volume at a late stage.²⁴

As Gustav E. Pazaurek noted in his review,²⁵ there is hardly a book that has received similar help from an author's parents. The volumes not only appeared with the financial aid of his father, but all the drawings were done by Lamm's mother. Unfortunately, a considerable number of the drawings are technically incorrect because Dora Lamm never had the chance to handle the objects she drew.

These volumes are an encyclopaedia of Islamic glass and rock crystal objects; typical for the first generation of scholars working in the field of Islamic art history. For the first time a survey of the diverse techniques and types of an Islamic glass production was possible. Lamm had been aware of the fact that except for the enamelled glass the material was unsuitable for a corpus. He therefore arranged it in such a manner that it could be used as easily as a dictionary. He managed this by giving each object or fragment a number on the plates and by arranging the text according to the plate numbers. Some of the dating proposals within this largely undated material were remarkable for their time and Lamm's stylistic criteria were followed for a considerable time. The impact of this publication was such that for a long time the field of Islamic glass studies was dependent upon Lamm's criteria.²⁶ For many years it was the only field of Islamic art in which such a wide collection of objects were available in a single publication. It was not until 1995, at a conference on the topic 'Gilded and enamelled glass from the Middle East' organized by Rachel Ward in the British Museum, that Lamm's theories were put to the test.²⁷

In his introduction to the text volume of '*Mittelalterliche Gläser and Steinschnittarbeiten*' Lamm gave a short review on glass from Iran about which little was known at the time. He had written a letter to Ernst Herzfeld who was then in Persia and quoted from a letter in which Herzfeld gave his opinion on the issue of glass in Persia: „Your question on glass in Persia is worthwhile thinking about: all Persian medieval archaeological sites are full of glass. Earlier on it came in large

²⁴ Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser* vol. I, 18-9. The excavators had returned from the First campaign of the Ctesiphon Excavations 1928-29 to Berlin in late March 1929.

²⁵ Gustav E. Pazaurek, 'Alte Gläser aus dem nahen Orient', *Der Kunstwanderer* 12, 1930, 104-105.

²⁶ George T. Scanlon, 'Lamm's classification and archaeology' in: Ward, *Gilded and enamelled glass*, 27-9.

²⁷ Ward, *Gilded and enamelled glass*, see the Introduction by Rachel Ward, IX-XII and amongst the many articles Oliver Watson, 'Pottery and Glass', 15-9, George T. Scanlon, 'Lamm's classification and archaeology', 27-9, and Ingeborg Krueger, 'An enamelled beaker from Stralsund: a spectacular new find', 107-09.

numbers from Ray (Raghes or Rhages), now also from Sāva near Qum. I think it is impossible that more than a small part was imported. These masses of glass can only have been made on the spot. If we do not have news from literary sources, it is only because news on such topics are rare, but I cannot think that one may not find some'.²⁸

Mittelalterliche Gläser and Steinschnitarbeiten and its arrangement into three parts

Part A Glass in different techniques.

Lamm was well aware of the fact that this group of plain glass, or glass decorated by different techniques, was not yet a corpus and most of these objects were difficult to date; nor was it possible to give a provenance with certainty. However, his survey incorporates all techniques and was especially important because many of these techniques had attracted little interest in the earlier years. A major topic in this section was lustre-painted objects, a theme to which he returned to in his 1941 publication.

Part B Rock crystal objects (Steinschnitarbeiten)

Lamm had a great interest in the topic of rock crystal items and he thus 'collected data on more than 120 rock crystal objects and conceived each plate, in which several objects were gathered, as an entity'²⁹ using more drawings than photographs. The catalogue entries have very complete bibliographies, as well as comparanda and parallels alongside relevant quotations from historical sources. He succeeded in making this section as complete as possible and it is thus a first very comprehensive survey of medieval rock crystals objects which laid a foundation for scholars.³⁰ The fascinating topic as to where these unique objects were made as well as the question of the origin of the rock crystal used has been tackled by numerous authors since.

²⁸ Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, 19-20. This letter was later quoted by different authors.

²⁹ Quoted from Jens Kröger, The state of research on some rock crystal ewers and related vessels from Islamic Lands. *Seeking Transparency. Rock crystals across the medieval Mediterranean*, Cynthia Hahn and Avinoam Shalem eds, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag 2020, (13-33), 20.

³⁰ See Kröger 2020 (note 24) passim in which most relevant later articles by different authors are mentioned. A new approach on provenance and dating is Marcus Pilz, 'Beyond Fatimid: The Iconography of Medieval Islamic Rock Crystal Vessels and the Question of Dating', *Seeking Transparency. Rock crystals across the medieval Mediterranean*, Cynthia Hahn and Avinoam Shalem eds., Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2020, 169-81 and Marcus Pilz, *Transparente Schätze. Der abbasidische und fatimidische Bergkristallschnitt und seine Werke*, Darmstadt: wbg Academic, 2021.

Part C Gilded and enamelled glass including the 'Syro-Frankish' enamelled glass group

Among the gilded and enamelled glass, the most comprehensive part of the book, Lamm dealt with the numerous questions on this topic. However, in the opinion of David Whitehouse and others he 'constructed an elaborate and largely hypothetical typology of enamelled glass since he attributed the glass to workshops in the Syrian cities of Raqqa, Aleppo and Damascus. Most scholars had difficulty in following Lamm's theory and it has not found approval.³¹

For a small group of enamelled glass, mostly beakers with Latin inscriptions, he used the term 'Syro-Frankish', coined by Robert Schmidt³² in 1912, because he believed they could have been produced in Greater Syria for European customers. Lamm took up this topic in 1941 in a separate publication with new material.

Oriental glass of medieval date found in Sweden and the early history of lustre-painting. Stockholm 1941.

In 1941 Lamm was able to publish this book in English and as it contained little known material from Swedish excavations it appeared in a series of the Royal Academy of History and Antiquities.³³ He took up major topics from his *Mittelalterliche Gäser*, gave extended discussions and added new material as well as literary sources. In a way it was a supplement to *Mittelalterliche Gläser*. In the beginning he presented the glass finds from Swedish graves and their connections with glass from the lands of Islam. The second topic was the origin of lustre-painting on glass and ceramics, in which he proposed an Egyptian origin for the lustre technique in the sixth or seventh century. A fragment of lustre painting in the Islamic Museum in Cairo shows that the technique was indeed practised at an early Islamic date in Egypt.³⁴ The third topic was enamelled and gilded glass where he put forward new ideas, and the fourth topic was the 'Syro-Frankish group'. He incorporated the Scandinavian finds and added further examples to prove his theory that these beakers were produced in the Levant commissioned by European customers. However, Lamm's theory had to be abandoned later because there is

³¹ David Whitehouse, *Medieval Glass for Popes, Princes and Peasants*, The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning N.Y. 2010, 47-8. See also Stefano Carboni, *Glass of the Sultans*, Stefano Carboni and David Whitehouse (eds.), New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001, 199-207.

³² Robert Schmidt, *Das Glas: Handbücher der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Kunstgewerbe-Museum. Berlin: Verlag Georg Reimer, 1912, 56-7.

³³ Due to the war, only a limited number of reviews were written. Donald B. Harden, *Antiquity* 19, Issue 75, September 1945, 160. Ernst Kühnel, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 1943 Nr. 7/8, 293-6.

³⁴ *Fustat Glass of the Early Islamic Period. Finds excavated by the American Research Center in Egypt 1964-1980*. George T. Scanlon and Ralph Pinder-Wilson, London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2001, 110-14.

sufficient evidence for their manufacture in Venice/Murano (and maybe other European locations) due to the archival evidence from Italy published in the 1960s and an exhibition in 1988 as well as studies by Ingeborg Krueger in 2002 and 2018.³⁵

The language question

Due to German being read even less today than at the time when the volumes of *Mittelalterliche Gläser* appeared, there may be few scholars who read Lamm's text with ease. However, due to the layout of the book, the language did not pose a serious problem as one could easily grasp the essentials using the catalogue entries and the plates. Lamm himself however was undecided in the language question. To publish his dissertation in German and not in English as he had at first planned, - he had even started to write in English - was probably a decision that was due to the fact that it appeared as vol. 5 in Sarre's 'Forschungen zur Islamischen Kunst'.³⁶ German was spoken and read as the first foreign language in Sweden at that time. His choice of German reveals evidence for Swedish-German scholarly relations before the 1939-45 war, for which Lamm is a very good example. He was well aware of the fact that his work would probably sell better if written in English.³⁷

Lamm's situation in Sweden

Work on the volumes had not always been easy for Lamm. In order to earn some money, he accepted a post as a teacher of art history at the graduate-school 'Anna Sandströms Fortbildningskurser' for young women once a week. However, as he remarked in a letter, his salary was less than the costs incurred in his preparations

³⁵ Erwin Baumgartner und Ingeborg Krueger, *Phönix aus Sand und Asche: Glas des Mittelalters*, München: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1988, 126-60. Ingeborg Krueger, A Second Aldrevandin beaker and an Update on a Group of Enamelled Glasses, *Journal of Glass Studies* 44, 2002, 111-32, especially 116-18. Ingeborg Krueger, Die europäischen emailbemalten Becher des 13./14. Jahrhunderts: eine Zusammenfassung zum Forschungsstand, *Journal of Glass Studies* 60, 2018, 129-162, with a map Fig. 1 showing the find-spots.

³⁶ A review was written by K. Erdmann, C.J.Lamm, 'Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten', *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1931, Heft 49, 2329-34. Raymond Koechlin, *Syria* 11, 1930, 107-8 and 385-6. Johann Heinrich Schmidt, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 35, 1932, 173-8. For an admirable concise assessment within a history of glass studies: Donald B. Harden, 'Study and Research on Ancient Glass: Past and Future', *Journal of Glass Studies* 26, 1984, (9-24) 11: '...This was a work of masterly scholarship, and these two books by Lamm are still the main sources from which all seek guidance on Islamic glass. Yet strangely, although all the items of glass Lamm discusses are given a range of date (and usually one in tune with modern knowledge), he never gives a reason for his choice. He clearly possessed some inner guidance...' see 13-4. See also the remarks by David Whitehouse, 'The Growth of Interest in Islamic Glass', *Glass of the Sultans*, Stefano Carboni and David Whitehouse, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001, 11.

³⁷ On 10 January 1929 he wrote to Sarre from Damascus: "I hope that you will be able to use my book for the *Forschungen*. Unfortunately it would be more profitable for sales prospects if it would be written in English rather than in German".

for the course. Worse however was the isolation in which he lived. Throughout his correspondence one notes that Lamm not only found himself unaccepted in Sweden but that also from the beginning he felt himself completely isolated in his studies. Thus he was very glad when Kühnel sent him an offprint of a bibliography on Islamic art³⁸ as it was difficult or nearly impossible to do bibliographical work in Sweden's large libraries. To Sarre he wrote on 25 September 1929: 'It is quite desolate as in Sweden one never finds someone who is interested in Islamic things. I am completely isolated and if something happens abroad, I hardly get to know about it.' He thought about taking part in an excavation in the Near East. Should that prove impossible, he wanted to apply for a scholarship to Yale with the help of Rostovtzeff, whom he had met in Stockholm. As he wrote in a letter to Sarre on the 22 September 1929 it became obvious to him at an early stage that he would not be able to find work in Sweden. Three years after his dissertation appeared, Lamm finally received his Ph. D. in Art History on 24 May 1933 with the highest academic recognition 'cum insigniore laude aprobatur'.

The years 1931 to 1945

From 1931 to 1934 he worked as an assistant at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, where he met the Swedish textile historian Agnes Geijer (1898-1989). In the following years he repeatedly worked with her, as Islamic textiles and carpets became another of his specialities. Despite this added interest Islamic glass still remained a favourite subject. At the centre of his scholarly interest stood the question of glass production in Iran. In 1931 he acted as a member of the Swedish Committee for the International Exhibition of Persian Art in London and thus also met Arthur Upham Pope, who later invited him to take part in his project, *A Survey of Persian Art*; details of his chapter will be discussed below. His participation at the 15th Glastechnische Tagung in 1931 in Berlin gave him a chance to see his colleagues and give a talk on Islamic glass.³⁹ In 1931 more than forty glass finds from the Louvre excavated by different French expeditions to Susa were published by Lamm.⁴⁰ He chose fragments from the late Sasanian period to the 10th century manufactured in different techniques. This was of considerable interest at a time when knowledge of glass production in Iran was still very poor.

In the autumn of 1933, the International Congress of Art History took place in Stockholm. On this occasion Lamm's teacher Johnny Roosval had personally invited the German art historian Adolph Goldschmidt (1893-1944) and made him Honorary President. Roosval had been a student of Goldschmidt's. Goldschmidt,

³⁸ Ernst Kühnel, 'Kritische Bibliographie: Islamische Kunst 1914-1927', *Der Islam* 17, 1928, 132-248.

³⁹ C.J. Lamm, *Islamische Gläser*. (1. Vortrag der 15. Glastechnischen Tagung, Berlin 1931). *Glastechnische Berichte*, hrsg. von der Deutschen Glastechnischen Gesellschaft e.V., Jahrgang 10, 1932, 65-71.

⁴⁰ C.J.Lamm, 'Les verres trouvées à Suse', *Syria* 12, 1931, 358-67.

who was also on very good terms with Sarre, had been forced to live under the deplorable conditions for Jews in Germany due to the laws of the National Socialist Party.⁴¹ The political changes in Germany also deeply disturbed Lamm, being of Jewish descent himself. However, his personal relationship with Sarre, Kühnel and Erdmann was not affected by the rise of antisemitism. Although he was aware of the political changes, he travelled from Cairo to Stockholm via Berlin in 1935 to meet his colleagues there.

Glass from Iran in the National Museum, Stockholm and London 1935

During his term at the Nationalmuseum he completed work on the glass catalogue of the Hannibal collection which was published in 1935. Already during a visit to the Berlin Museum in 1929 he had met Hannibal, a merchant who lived in Teheran; Hannibal invited him to publish his collection. Although the invitation was to Iran, he was unable to make the visit. Hannibal, of Russian origin, was, according to Lamm's statement, an eccentric who had become a Muslim and loved to quote verses from Hafiz and Omar Khayyam. His collection consisted of glass from commercial excavations in Rayy, Saveh and other sites. Through the mediation of Swedish archaeologist T. J. Arne (1879-1965), the excavator of Shah Tepe in Iran, the collection consisting of 750 items was acquired by the Nationalmuseum;⁴² it is now in the Medelhavsmuseet, where Lamm worked on it with the assistance of the young R. J. Charleston, who was then a student at Oxford but had family ties in Stockholm. Not counting Lamm's paper on the Susa finds, the catalogue *Glass from Iran* which appeared again with the financial assistance of his father in 1935, is the first publication of a considerable corpus of Islamic glass from Iran. With 370 drawings by his mother Dora, Lamm wanted this catalogue to serve as a supplement to his earlier study of Islamic glass from Iran in his *Mittelalterliche Gläser*. In the Preface he therefore states that it was published '...with the aim of forming a kind of supplement to what I had previously written on Persian Glass'.⁴³ The catalogue of the Hannibal collection was well received and remains an admirable work, being a concise catalogue with short introductions to each glass group, notes for the plates, numerous drawings and a list of the literature.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Adolph Goldschmidt, 1863-1944. *Lebenserinnerungen*. Herausgegeben und kommentiert von Marie Roosen-Runge - Mollwo. Berlin 1989, 345-8. For the relationship between Goldschmidt and Sarre see 413.

⁴² It should be remembered that King Gustav VI Adolf of Sweden was a great admirer of Far Eastern art. In his capacity as Chairman of the Society of Friends of the Nationalmuseum, he enabled the acquisition of the Hannibal Collection when still the Crown Prince of Sweden.

⁴³ Carl Johan Lamm, *Glass from Iran in the National Museum of Stockholm*, Stockholm: C.E. Fritzes k. hovbokh, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1935, 6.

⁴⁴ It was the first publication in English by Lamm which thus found the largest number of reviews, Donald B. Harden, *Antiquity* 12, Issue 45, March 1938, 127-8. Bernard Rackham, *Burlington Magazine* 69, 1936, 140-1. R. T. Bittinger, *Ars Islamica* 3, 1937, 216-7. Phyllis Ackerman, *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology* 5, June 1937, 53-4.

'Glass and Hard Stone Vessels' in the *Survey of Persian Art* in 1939

In 1935 Lamm had submitted his contribution for the *Survey of Persian Art*, which was not published until 1938-39.⁴⁵ Following his work on the Hannibal collection's glass, Lamm must have realized that his cautious treatment of Iran as a glass manufacturing provenance in his earlier writings was outdated; a few years later many more examples of glass production in Iran were found, although most of these finds were from non-scientific, commercial excavations and major questions remained unsolved. His initial views were superseded by his Hannibal collection publication in 1935 and as a result his chapter for the *Survey of Persian Art* was outdated when it was finally published in 1939.

Only a few years later in 1942, R. J. Charleston, who had worked with Lamm on the Hannibal Collection,⁴⁶ came to the conclusion in his paper 'A Group of Near Eastern Glasses'⁴⁷ that some Iranian cut glass pieces could be seen as prototypes for the Egyptian rock-crystal works. This topic was continued in subsequent years. It was only after the 1939-1945 war that the art market was flooded with glass from Iran and it entered numerous glass collections.⁴⁸ The American excavations in Nishapur from 1935 to 1940 and again in 1947 resulted in a glass corpus which demonstrated that the north-eastern province of Khurasan was a manufacturing center.⁴⁹ However no kilns were excavated and thus Nishapur as a production site still needs to be confirmed.

From 1934 until 1937 Lamm taught 'Moslem Minor Arts' at the Fouad I. University, now the Cairo University in Giza. As 'maître de conférences' he was a much-liked teacher. It must have been extremely unfortunate that at the same time he had been appointed lecturer at Stockholm University from 1935 to 1937. Due to his commitments in Cairo he could not take up this position. During his Cairo

It was Phyllis Ackerman who remarked in a review that Lamm saw far too many pieces as imported because recent finds had shown that an independent glass industry had existed in Iran. Katharina Dorn, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 22, 252. Anon, *The Times Literary Suppl.* 20. June 1936. Lamm later wrote again on this collection: 'Hannibal'ska glassamlingen', *Nationalmusei Arsbok*, Ny serie 9, 1939, 197-9 and fig. 97.

⁴⁵ Carl Johan Lamm, 'Glass and Hard Stone Vessels', in: *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, Alexander Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman (eds.), London & New York: Oxford University Press 1938-9, 2592-2606 pls. 1438-59.

⁴⁶ Carl Johan Lamm, *Oriental glass of medieval date found in Sweden and the early history of lustre-painting*. Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1941, 74 note 48.

⁴⁷ Robert J. Charleston, 'A Group of Near Eastern Glasses', *Burlington Magazine* 81, 1942, 212-18.

⁴⁸ Kurt Erdmann, 'Neuerworbene Gläser der Islamischen Abteilung', *Berichte aus den ehem. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Berliner Museen* N.F. 11, 1961, 31-41, especially the introducing remarks 31-33. Erdmann repeated Herzfelds view of glass in Iran.

⁴⁹ Jens Kröger, *Nishapur. Glass of the Early Islamic Period*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995, 1-3 and 34-37.

sojourn, where he lived in furnished rooms in pensions, he became extremely interested in textiles and acquired Coptic and Islamic textiles for the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm and other Swedish museums such as those in Göteborg, Lund and Malmö.⁵⁰ At the same time he acquired his own textile collection, which in 1938 was given to the Nationalmuseum and in October 1938 was shown in an exhibition in the Danish Kunstindustrimuseum in Copenhagen. As his study *Cotton in Mediaeval Textiles of the Near East*, which is mainly based on his collection and which appeared in Paris in 1937, shows, Lamm was much involved with cotton textiles in a Sasanian tradition, many of which had surfaced in Egypt.⁵¹ With this work he was able to demonstrate the extended influence of Sasanian motives in many different directions and especially for the foundations of the art of early Islamic textiles in Egypt.

In 1937 he also published a paper on the most important carpet in Sweden. It belongs to a group of animal carpets from Anatolia and has a design of two identical rectangles filled with a pair of birds flanking a tree. Found in the church of Marby in 1925, it became known as the Marby rug and was thought to be datable to the 15th century. Lamm's study (republished in 1985 with colour plates) was based on carpet fragments which he had acquired in Cairo.⁵² Taking fragments from all fields into account for his scholarly work was Lamm's typical practice. The Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm owes the larger part of its Islamic collections of glass, textile and carpet fragments to this approach.

Having returned from Egypt in 1937, where he had suffered health-wise and had longed to be back in a European climate, Lamm became assistant professor for Swedish and European art history and art theory at Uppsala University and was for several years in charge of the introductory lectures in Nordic art history. While in Egypt, Lamm had also seen and studied the glass collection of Antony Benaki in Athens. Already in 1938 his study of this collection was in manuscript form titled 'Benaki Museum, Athens. Catalogue of Glass, Chiefly Acquired in Egypt', but the war prevented its publication. He never managed to update this study, so the catalogue appeared as a work written by Christoph Clairmont based on Lamm's original manuscript.⁵³

⁵⁰ Marianne Erikson, *Textiles in Egypt 200 - 1500 A. D. in Swedish Collections*. Göteborg 1997, 26-8 for Lamm's rôle as contributor to Swedish textile collections.

⁵¹ Carl Johan Lamm, *Cotton in Mediaeval Textiles of the Near East*, Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1937, 45, 50-52, figs. 26-7. See also the contribution by Carol Bier, Textiles, in: Prudence Oliver Harper, *The Royal Hunter. Art of the Sasanian Empire*, New York: The Asia Society, 1978, 119-140.

⁵² Carl Johan Lamm, 'The Marby rug and some fragments of carpets found in Egypt', *Svenska Orientsällskapets Arsbok*, 1937, 52-130. Carl Johan Lamm, *Carpet fragments*. Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1985, 9-96.

⁵³ Christoph W. Clairmont, Benaki Museum, *Catalogue of Ancient and Islamic glass: Based on the notes of C.J.Lamm*, Athens: Benaki Museum, 1977.

Teaching in Uppsala, largely due to his war work, led to changes in Lamm's life which were not at all favourable for his scholarly activities in the field of Islamic art. As an officer of the reserve he had to fulfil his duties in the Swedish air defence. He also took an active part in the Norwegian resistance and accommodated numerous students who had fled from Norway to Sweden. On 25 February 1941 he wrote a letter to Kühnel, stating that his parent's house Näsby Slott had been sold and that he had moved to Uppsala. Furthermore he wrote that he had not found time to work on Islamic art. His isolation from his colleagues was markedly worse and he would very much have liked to talk to Erdmann on the subject of rock crystal, 'but when and how will we ever be able to do this'.⁵⁴ Because important reference works were not within reach, his main study possibilities depended on his own extensive library. It was not until 1951 that Lamm's bibliography on the publications of the war years appeared.⁵⁵ This revealed what had happened in Islamic art and related fields in Scandinavia during this time.

The years from 1945 to 1981

On the 25 August 1946 Kühnel wrote a long letter to Lamm, in which he informed him of the death of Sarre, the destruction of parts of the Mshatta facade in the Pergamonmuseum and about the loss of the famous carpets of the Islamic Department in the Reichsmünze in Berlin. They had not been able to contact each other throughout the war, something which Kühnel remarked upon: 'It is a pity, how due to the war all threads have been cut and how difficult it is, to take them up again'. Kühnel repeatedly asked Lamm to write a paper for his project a 'Jahrbuch für Islamische Kunst' as it was called initially. The first volume had been completed but was destroyed twice during the war. Finally, in the second volume of 'Kunst des Orients', as the journal was renamed, Lamm published his last paper on the theme of 'Ein türkischer Wappenteppich in schwedischem Besitz'.⁵⁶ Scholarly research for this paper had already been accomplished in 1952. From the first volume of the Swedish journal 'Orientalia Suecana' published in 1952 Lamm was a member of the Editorial Board but this did not result in many Islamic Art and Archaeology contributions to the periodical.

In a letter to Kühnel written on 10 November 1952 Lamm again complained about his isolation: 'The larger questions cannot be answered here because I am too isolated from the material and from the growing literature... But there is absolutely no interest here for Islamic art and nothing on this subject is displayed in the museums'...' and at the university, where one does not care for non-European art, I

⁵⁴ Kurt Erdmann had just published his 'Islamische Bergkristallarbeiten', *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 61, 1940, 125-46 and continued to publish on rock-crystals until 1959.

⁵⁵ Carl Johan Lamm, 'Literature on Islamic art 1939 to 1945, Part II. Bibliography of wartime publications in Scandinavia, 1939-1945' in: *Ars Islamica* 15-6, 1951, 161-5.

⁵⁶ Carl Johan Lamm, 'Ein türkischer Wappenteppich in schwedischem Besitz', *Kunst des Orients* 2, 1955, 59-68.

am employed for very different matters and must now face the fact, that I will not get anything else. Such is the state and I am in parts engaged with things, which have nothing to do with scholarly work.' With the latter he probably meant his pioneer work of biodynamic horticulture and the letting of holiday cottages, which had come to the fore since he acquired an estate on Gräsö Island in 1949, where he had moved from Uppsala with his library and the remaining parts of his parents' art collection. Robert J. Charleston and his wife Joan remembered a visit to Gräsö during the strawberry season: '...that year we had a heavenly summer, and one could swim in the waters surrounding the island without undue discomfort. Annexed to one of the buildings he had a private sauna... There he used to sit, reading the local farmers' newspaper, no doubt to find out the current economic price of strawberries, which he grew as a cash crop'.⁵⁷

Financially things were not easy. He wrote to Kühnel in 1952: 'Because of economic reasons I am not able to visit Berlin at the moment, otherwise I would have liked to come.' Since I was unable to find letters written to Kühnel later on, correspondence may have broken off.

In the post-war years Lamm was asked to apply for a professorship in Islamic art and archaeology in Turkey and as a custodian of National Monuments in Jordan. To make him leave his isolation as manager of holiday cottages on Gräsö, Agnes Geijer in 1959 proposed to Ernst Kühnel that he should be asked to follow L. A. Mayer at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Lamm felt unable to accept these offers because of his Jewish ancestry which excluded scholarly work both in Israel and in Arab-speaking countries.

However, Lamm was still interested in Islamic art. He wrote reviews on such works as Erdmann's *Der orientalische Knüpftteppich* which appeared in 1955⁵⁸ as well as on *Europa und der Orientteppich*⁵⁹ and he also wrote entries for encyclopaedias.

When Erdmann was in Stockholm in 1961 as loans courier for the exhibition '5000 Years of Egyptian Art', he did not meet Lamm, although they had been in touch on different topics. In July 1963 Lamm sent a postcard to Erdmann, telling him that he would have liked to show him his own carpets. Perhaps a meeting would have been arranged later, but both Kühnel and Erdmann died in 1964. For Lamm this meant that his ties to German scholars were finally broken off.

The following years seem to have been rather quiet. On the occasion of his eightieth birthday in 1978 Bo Gyllensvärd published a review on his life with an additional bibliography provided by Lamm's nephew, Jan Peder Lamm.⁶⁰ Both these

57 Letter by Robert J. Charleston of 6 February 1991 to the author.

58 Carl Johan Lamm, Review of Kurt Erdmann, *Der orientalische Knüpftteppich*, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 52, 1957, 207-8.

59 Carl Johan Lamm, Review of Kurt Erdmann, *Europa und der Orientteppich*, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 60, 1965, 263-4.

60 Jan Peder Lamm, 'Svenska Forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul', *Meddelanden* 3, 1978, 112-28.

contributions have become known to a wider public due to the re-publication of the above-mentioned paper on the Marby rug in an English translation. Only a few colleagues may have been aware that Lamm died on 10 November 1981. Most may have realised this only through the obituary by Bo Gyllensvärd⁶¹ or an auction of some items from Lamm's collection in London.⁶² As Lamm had not left a detailed will, his belongings were divided. His library however was bequeathed to the Library of the Konstvetenskapliga institutionen in Uppsala and his archive went to the Handskriftsavdelningen of the University Library Carolina Rediviva in that city.

On the occasion of a large exhibition on Islamic art and culture in Stockholm in 1985, Lamm's significance for Sweden was acknowledged in an entry on Islamic art in Swedish collections by Karin Ådahl as well as by a new edition of the paper on the Marby rug. In 1998 a catalogue of the Medelhavsmuseet appeared on Oriental textiles in Sweden in which the Marby rug played an important role in a text by Karin Ådahl and Jan Peder Lamm wrote on the Oriental textiles in the collection of Lamm's father Carl Robert Lamm. Articles written by Carl Johan Lamm on textiles such as the Marby rug remain in the centre of Swedish publications on Oriental carpets.⁶³

As has been mentioned the proceedings of a conference held in London in 1995 to reassess the subject of Islamic gilded and enamelled glass nearly seventy years after Lamm's *Mittelalterliche Gläser* appeared in 1998. It showed both the continuing importance of his work and the new directions studies on enamelled glass had taken.⁶⁴

Lamm published his results of major themes of Islamic glass in a period which saw the continuous emergence of new glass finds on the art market from excavations in the name of different individuals or from scientific excavations. They were thus of major importance for later glass studies. As has become obvious he was not exclusively a glass scholar but he had conducted research in a much wider field of interest which makes him one of the fascinating pioneers of Middle Eastern art studies.

Jens Kröger is curator emeritus of the Museum of Islamic Art – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. He participated in exhibitions and published on Sasanian and Islamic architectural decoration (Jens Kröger, *Sasanidischer Stuckdekor*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Phillip von Zabern 1982), Islamic glass (Jens Kröger, *Nishapur: Glass of the Early Islamic Period*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995) and rock-

⁶¹ Bo Gyllensvärd, 'Carl Johan Lamm 1902-1981', *Journal of Glass Studies* 24, 1982, 121-22.

⁶² Auct. Cat. *Islamic Works of Art*, Sotheby's London. 12.-13. October 1982, Nos. 246-9. 252-3. 284. 288. 307-11. 325. 329-30. 333-4.

⁶³ *Islam, Konst och Kultur/ Islam. Art and Culture*. Stockholm: Statens Historiska Museum, 1985, 31-47. C. J. Lamm, *Carpet fragments*, Stockholm: 1985 (Nationalmuseums Skriftserie, 7), 9-96. *Den orientaliska mattan i Sverige*. Karin Ådahl ed., Stockholm: Medelhavsmuseet 1998.

⁶⁴ Ward, *Gilded and enameled glass*, Introduction, ix-xii.

crystal (Jens Kröger, 'The state of research on some rock crystal ewers and related vessels from Islamic Lands' in *Seeking Transparency: Rock crystals across the medieval Mediterranean*, Cynthia Hahn and Avinoam Shalem eds, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag 2020, (13-33), as well as on historiographical themes concerning the museum in Berlin and its scholars (Jens Kröger, 'Friedrich Sarre, Kunsthistoriker, Sammler und Connaissanceur', in *Wie die Islamische Kunst nach Berlin kam. Der Sammler und Museumsdirektor Friedrich Sarre (1865-1945)*, Julia Gonnella and Jens Kröger eds., Berlin: D. Reimer Verlag, 2015, 13-46).



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