

PROPAGATING “MODERNITIES”:
ART AND ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE
OF
SHAHBANU FARAH PAHLAVI

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ABSTRACT

**PROPAGATING “MODERNITIES”:
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This dissertation focuses on the last decade of the Pahlavi era to understand the role of royal Pahlavi women in the shaping of Iranian “modernity” within the broader context of architecture. Exploring various relations between gender, power, art and architectural practice, this study is an attempt to assess the authoritarian modernization under the royal patronage of Shahbanu Farah Pahlavi and the influential role she maintained in popularization of modern Iranian culture. The last decade of the Pahlavi era marks a crucial turning point in the enforcement of reforms aiming at the deep transformation in the Iranian cultural modernity. While many efforts were made to rebuild a nation, the shahbanu was the initial driving force behind the comprehensive reform program in the fields of art and architecture. Endowed with the role of regent, the shahbanu shaped much of the cultural agenda of the Pahlavi era during the last decade of the Iranian monarchy. Patronizing numerous social, cultural, educational and medical organizations, she enacted the Pahlavis’ modernization ideologies by constructing and renovating buildings, establishing art centers, institutionalizing museums, and organizing national and international symposiums and conferences in various fields of arts and architecture. For Shahbanu Farah, culture was an appropriate instrument to legitimize politics.

Keywords: Female Royal Patronage, Shahbanu Farah Pahlavi, Architectural Patronage, Modernity, Modern Iranian Art and Architecture

ÖZ

MODERNİTELER'İN YAYILMASI: ŞAHBANU FARAH PAHLAVI'NİN HİMAYESİNDE SANAT VE MİMARLIK

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Bu tez, ikinci Pahlavi dönemine odaklanarak, İran modernitesinin şekillenmesinde kraliyet Pahlavi Kadınları'nın rolünü mimarlık bağlamında anlatmaktadır. Bununla beraber, Kraliyet himayesinde yürütülen otoriter modernleşme süreci içerisinde Şahbanu Farah Pahlavi'nin özellikle çağdaş İran kültürü üzerindeki etkilerini cinsiyet, güç, sanat ve mimari uygulamalar arasındaki çeşitli ilişkiler üzerinden ortaya koymayı hedeflemektedir. Pahlavi döneminin son on yılı, İran kültürel modernitesinin dönüşümüne yönelik yapılan reformların hayata geçirildiği önemli bir süreçtir. İran ulusal kimliğini yeniden inşa etmek için verilen geniş çaplı uğraş kapsamında sanat ve mimarlık alanlarında gerçekleştirilen reformların arkasındaki itici gücü şahbanu temsil etmektedir. Saltanatın vekili olarak yetkilendirilen şahbanu, Pahlavi Dönemi'nin son on yılında kültürel gündemin büyük bir bölümünü şekillendirmektedir. Şahbanu, Pahlavilerin modernleşme ideolojisini himayesine aldığı çok sayıda sosyal, kültürel, eğitsel ve tıbbi kuruluşların yanı sıra, inşa ve restore ettirdiği binalar, kurduğu sanat merkezleri ve müzeler, organize ettiği sanat ve mimarlık alanlarındaki ulusal ve uluslararası sempozyum ve konferanslarla hayata geçirmeye çalışmıştır. Şahbanu Farah için sanat ve mimarlık Pahlavi modernite ideolojisini meşrulaştırmak için kullanılacak en önemli enstrümanlardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın Kraliyet Patronaj, Şahbanu Farah Pahlavi, Mimari Patronaj, Modernite, Modern İran Sanat ve Mimarlık

To Women Builders of Modern Iran

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Definition

This dissertation focuses on the second Pahlavi era, a period starting from Reza Shah Pahlavi's abdication in the wake of the Anglo-Soviet invasion of Iran in 1941 and Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi's accession to throne and lasting until the overthrow of the monarch in 1979 and the Iranian Revolution, to understand the role of royal Pahlavi women in the shaping of Iranian modernity within the broader context of architecture. Exploring various relations between gender, power, art and architectural practice, it is an attempt to assess the authoritarian modernization particularly under the royal patronage of Shahbanu Farah Pahlavi and the influential role she maintained in popularization of modern Iranian culture.

During the last decade of the Pahlavi reign, the shahbanu was involved in many artistic and architectural projects: building a home, a library, a secretariat, exhibition halls, museums and art centers. She was also involved in organizing festivals, symposiums and conferences in various fields of arts and architecture. Each of these projects reveals the experience of a particular form of "modernity" which was predefined by the Pahlavis' socio-political and socio-cultural ideologies; a "hybrid" form of modernity that was shaped in a recurring theme of duality manifested on different levels between contemporary and traditional, universal and local, imported and native, authentic and mimetic, immutable and developing and secular and religious.

Some of the major projects in which the shahbanu was involved were selected for a comprehensive investigation in this study.¹ These projects highlight Shahbanu Farah's role in directing the architectural agenda during the late Pahlavi era. They are

¹ The shahbanu was also an active patron in many fields of visual arts (including painting and sculpture), performing arts (including music, theater, film, and dance) and applied arts.

the Niavaran Palace and the Private Library of Shahbanu Farah between 1968 and 1976 by the Iranian architect Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian and the French designer Charles Sévigny; an unrealized project for the Arts Center in Persepolis in 1968 by the Greek architect, civil engineer, and music theorist, Iannis Xenakis; the Negarestan Museum of Qajar dynasty arts in 1975 by the Czechoslovakian architect, Jaroslav Fritsch; the Abguineh Museum of pre- and post-Islamic glassware and ceramics in 1976 by the German architect, Hans Hollein; and the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art (TMOCA) in 1977 as per Kamran Diba's proposal.

The shahbanu's involvement was not limited to her patronage in constructing and renovating architectural projects, she also expanded her role by initiating national and international festivals and conferences such as Shiraz Arts Festival held in Persepolis between 1967 and 1978 and the Conference of Women Architects organized in Ramsar in 1977.

In addition to those projects, general data regarding the Marmar Palace Complex, and the Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex, which were either erected or renovated under the patronage of the shahbanu, as well as the Festival of Culture and Arts, the Tus Festival, the Festival of Popular Traditions, the first World Architecture Conference in Isfahan and the second International Congress of Architects in Shiraz, all of which were organized by the shahbanu, have also been partially assessed in relation to those selected works and therefore have been addressed to a certain extent. Examination of these projects allows a broader understanding of the nature of the shahbanu's architectural patronage.

During the eight decades of the Pahlavi monarchy, a particular conception of modernity had been generated and (re) interpreted through several constructs such as westernization, centralization and nationalism. The dynamic process through which Iran's determination of modernity was formed represents an intriguing blend of these concepts within a wider historical, cultural and socio-political relationship that penetrated the key aspects of the country's modernization project.

By the turn of the century, the political disenchantment with the Qajar state directed various sections of society with different ideologies (including the bazaar merchants, ulama and radical reformers) to act against the state in the Constitutional Revolution of 1906. Although the Revolution highlighted a series of characteristics for social, political and cultural change, in practice however, the lack of a popular base for such developments postponed the aims of the movement to another period.² The main objectives of the Revolution that led to chaos in Iranian culture during the following decades were the abolition of the arbitrary regime and its replacement with a constitutional one, the elimination of foreign intervention, and the conflict over modernization.³

During the post-revolutionary era, when the chaos reached its peak due to the power struggle between various political trends in the country, Iran experienced the changing nature of the state through a reactionary leader, Reza Khan (later Reza Shah). The 1921 Coup launched a new era in modern Iranian history.⁴ The shah imposed a wholesale process of modernization with the encouragement of foreign powers to shape the framework of new ideas and to transform the traditional structures into modern ones.

Reza Shah's revolutionary program was not only effective in the political sphere, but also in the broader social, economic and cultural circumstances of the twentieth century Iran. The discovery of petroleum by William Knox-D'Arcy in 1908, after having been sold the exploitation rights by the Iranian government in 1901, brought Europe to the country.⁵ The Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC) was established. In 1946, Iran's integration within America's Cold War interests increased the great

² Ali M. Ansari, 2003, "The Constitutional Revolution," *Modern Iran Since 1921: The Pahlavis and After* (London: Pearson Education Limited), p. 5.

³ Homa Katouzian, 2006, "Constitutionalism and Chaos Positive Achievements," *State and Society in Iran, The Eclipse of the Qajars and the Emergence of the Pahlavis* (London. New York: I. B. Tauris), p. 82.

⁴ Ervand Abrahamian, 2008, "The Iron Fist of Reza Shah," *A History of Modern Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press), p. 63.

⁵ Ansari, 2003, "International Integration," p. 9.

powers' control over the country.⁶ The foreign intervention into the political process in Pahlavi Iran resulted in a particular model of development. This transformation put the social and cultural structures of the country through a process of dynamic change towards modernization. At the turn of the century, indeed, an imposed and a pre-defined political, social and cultural program dominated the ideological perspective of the Pahlavi state to appropriate a centralized, modernized and nationalist ideology from above.

While the main issue is **modernization** and modernity in Pahlavi Iran, the parameters of the debate require greater elaboration. The term “modernity” may refer to various distinctive definitions during different periods from the beginning of the Qajar period. According to the Iranian architect and historian, Amir Bani Masud, the characteristic of this phenomenon during the late Pahlavi era is “the very fact of it being Iranian”⁷. The Iranian narrative of “modernity” is not seen as imitative reflection of the canonical Western model. The Pahlavis, however, attempted to legitimize their own discourse of “modernity”. According to the Iranian art historian and the Assistant Curator at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, Fereshteh Daftari, “modernity” in the Iranian context was a “field of negotiation not a simple act of mimicry”⁸ in particular during the last decades of the Iranian monarchy. To understand the complex dialectics of modernity in Iran, it is essential to explore Iranian social, historical and political complexities.

According to Bani, “the modernity in Iran and that in the West are similar only in ‘concept’ and ‘name’; otherwise in terms of content they are quite different”⁹. He stated that, the Iranian desire for “modernity” and Iran’s progress in the context of its history could be categorized into two historical periods: “the westernization of

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Amir Bani Masud, 2013, *Iranian Contemporary Architecture, An Inquiry into Tradition and Modernity* (Tehran: Honar-e Memari-e Qarn Publications), p. 1.

⁸ Fereshteh Daftari, “Another Modernism: An Iranian Perspective 39,” in Shiva Baaghi & Lynn Gumpert (ed.), 2002, *Picturing Iran: Art, Society and Revolution* (London: I. B. Tauris), pp. 24-5.

⁹ Bani Masud, 2013, p. 1.

Iranian thought or thinking and the Iranization of western thought or thinking.”¹⁰ He writes “if the early modernists preferred to modernize and westernize Iranian thinking (from the beginning to the fall of Reza Shah), more recent intellectuals, having a considerably more limited grasp of western civilization, decided to *Iranianize* Western thinking (from the fall of Reza Shah to the fall of the system of constitutional monarchy)”¹¹. What seems to be important in relation to this aspect is the convergence of art and architecture and political developments during the Pahlavi Iran which will be discussed in the following chapters of this dissertation.

The question of mapping the modern is not limited to matters of politics. While the concerns of the thinkers of the 1960s and the 1970s were forms of a tendency towards cultural vernacularism, Iranian artists and architects were, in parallel, engaged in the search for a solution to the problem of culture under capitalism. To Daftari, in order to solve the tension, modern scholars turn to the notion of “hybridity”.

According to Shiva Balaghi, a cultural historian of the Middle East, “in the cultural lexicon of Iran, the West did not simply represent a higher civilizational model to be emulated, but an imposing presence for its national autonomy ... therein lie the origins of Iranian modernity”¹². The construction of “modernity” in Iran, she believes, was “an act of resistance through the reproduction of a local, national culture”¹³ during the 1960s onward. In this regard, Iran’s shifting position in the post-World War II international economy from that of quasi-colonized loan seeker to major oil producer resulted in “a fusion of the historical and the present, the universal and the local”¹⁴ and the modern and the national. “Modernity” in Iran was a synthesis of localism (national) and universalism (modern) during the 1960s and the 1970s.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 2.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Shiva Balaghi, “Iranian Visual Arts in “The Century of Machinery, Speed and the Atom””: Rethinking Modernity,” in Shiva Baaghi & Lynn Gumpert (ed.), 2002, *Picturing Iran: Art, Society and Revolution* (London: I. B. Tauris), p. 24.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Iran imbued its self-definition of “modernity” with nationalist overtones during this period.

Nationalism is a determining ideology and a central *raison d’etre* of Pahlavi Iran.¹⁵ Modern Iranian nationalist discourse was appropriated from Europe, through the dominant Western political threat promoted during the French Revolution of 1789. However, as stated by the Iranian historian Ali M. Ansari, “while in the West, nationalism has increasingly been seen as the child of modernity, an unfortunate progeny, in Iran modernization was the handmaiden of nationalism. Nationalism allowed modernization and modernization strengthened the nation.”¹⁶ In Iran, nationalism was conceived during the late nineteenth century and made its entrance onto the political stage during the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 through various factions: secular nationalism, religious nationalism and dynastic nationalism.¹⁷ Among these three forms, dynastic nationalism was an adapted form of secular nationalism that borrowed from the west refocusing attention on the importance of the Iranian monarchy in the service of state.

The search for national origins shifted following the development of the Aryan myth that resulted from the European discovery of its Indo-European origins and rediscovery by Iran during the nineteenth century that the Europeans could trace their roots to noble Aryan origins.¹⁸ Western historians had discovered that Iran and the West shared common historical origins, and in imitating the West, Iranians were simply returning to their roots.¹⁹

¹⁵ Ali M. Ansari, 2012, “Pervasiveness of Nationalism,” *The Politics of Nationalism in Modern Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press), p. 1.

¹⁶ Ansari, 2003, “Nationalism,” p. 17.

¹⁷ Ioannis N. Grigoriadis and Ali M. Ansari, “Turkish and Iranian Nationalisms,” in Youssef M. Choueiri (ed.), 2008, *A Companion to the History of the Middle East* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing), p. 320.

¹⁸ Ansari, 2012, “The Aryan Myth,” pp. 13-4.

¹⁹ Ansari, 2003, “Reza Khan: The Continuation of Reform: Nationalism and Modernization,” p. 47.

This rediscovery of the Iranian national identity and the Iranian historical consciousness of their pre-Islamic past had a direct impact on shaping the nationalist political agenda of the Pahlavi Iran at the turn of the century.²⁰ The allusion to the greatness of pre-Islamic Iran, Zoroastrian heritage and Aryan ethnicity as ‘dynastic nationalism’ was a political instrument in Reza Shah’s emotional appeal and reforms.

The re-appraisal of ancient past meant a political legitimization for the Pahlavi dynasty. Its very first move was to adopt the surname Pahlavi, the language which had been spoken by the Parthians, ‘the purest Iranians’. It was an explicit association with the Iranian pre-Islamic glories for the Pahlavis.²¹ Celebrating the two thousand five hundredth year of monarchic rule in Persepolis, Mohammad Reza Shah assumed a continuing historical consciousness between Cyrus as the patriarch of the nation and the contemporary Iranian self.²² On March 1976, the same ideology enforced the substitution of Imperial calendar, a system that originated in the foundation of the Achaemenid Empire as the birth of the nation in place of the Muslim calendar.

The development of Aryanism and fascination with Zoroastrianism had a direct impact on enthusiasm for Iranian identity, history and archeology as well. While Persians played an important role in the Biblical narratives and were described by Hegel as "people with which the process of historical progress had begun"²³, the excavation of their ancient roots became important indeed. This provided a rational base for an emphasis on nationalistic symbols in architecture. The revival of the nation’s pre-Islamic ethos would strengthen modern Iran. And architecture made this ideology concrete.

²⁰ Ansari, 2003, “Nationalism,” p. 17.

²¹ Ansari, 2003, “Reza Khan: Domination of the Majles and Civilian Reforms,” p. 36.

²² Majid Sharifi, 2013, “Imperial Interventions (1941 and 1953): Hegemonizing Iranian Democratic Nationalism (1951-1953),” *Imagining Iran: The Tragedy of Subaltern Nationalism* (Maryland: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing), p. 113.

²³ Ansari, 2012, “History and Archeology,” p. 16.

While Reza Shah's nationalist sentiments are beyond the scope of this study, what urged for "looking to the past as reference for the future greatness of Iran"²⁴ some decades later in 1967 provided a rational base for an annual international Shiraz Arts Festival in the ruins of ancient capital of imperial Persia under the patronage of the shahbanu. And it was for the same reason that in 1971, the shah announced the celebration of the upcoming commemorative ceremonies of the two thousand five hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Persian Empire by Cyrus the Great at Persepolis. Standing in front of the pile of ruins, Mohammad Reza Shah declared: "Rest in peace, Cyrus, for we are awake and we will always stay awake to guard thy proud heritage"²⁵. This was a full integration of a cultural and artistic formation into politics. Persepolis introduced "the richness of Iranian civilization" and the "uniqueness of Iranian culture" to the world, linking the Pahlavi monarchy to its Iranian legendary past in the Achaemenian golden age. The site was a place that "united [us] by our cultural roots".²⁶

Similarly integration between Iran's national cultural artistic and architectural heritage and Iran's modern political agenda encouraged the establishment of national museums under the patronage of Shahbanu Farah during the last decade of the Pahlavi monarchy. **Centralization** was another aspect of the Pahlavis' socio-cultural ideology that characterized the final decade of the Pahlavi era. Standing alongside the ruins of Persepolis, the shah declared that: "On this historic day when the New Iran has turned to the glorious birthplace of the ancient Iranian empire to renew its covenant with 25 centuries of glorious history, as the Shahanshah of Iran, I call to witness the world history, that the inheritors of Cyrus's heritage have remained loyal during this long period to our spiritual mission."²⁷ These declarations exaggerated by the shah's revolutionary (White Revolution) strategy (through which the stability of

²⁴ Robert Graham, 1978, "Problems of Culture," *The Illusion of Power* (London: Croom Helm), p. 192.

²⁵ Talinn Grigor, 2009, "Founding a Society: Debating Modernists," *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs* (New York: Periscope Publishing, Ltd), p. 23.

²⁶ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, *An Enduring Love: My Life with the Shah* (Hyperion: Miramax Books), p. 232.

²⁷ Afshin Marashi, 2008, *Nationalizing Iran: Culture, Power, and the State, 1870-1940* (Washington: University of Washington Press).

the monarchical regime was ensured) and the steady increase in petroleum revenues in 1974 underlined that the shah had attained an apogee in his power to confront the country's socio-political problems single-handedly.²⁸ The implementation of the Land Reform program eliminated the socio-political power of the landowners and mobilized them in a progressive agenda closely tied to the shah himself. Now the shah became the absolute power to secure his dynasty. Subsequently, in 1975, the shah decreed a one-party system by creating the Resurgence Party and reached the pinnacle of his personal ability to complete the revolutionary missions aimed towards a "Great Civilization".²⁹ The Party's mission was the consolidation and the extension of the Pahlavi state. The state spent much of 1975 building a state-wide organization. It enrolled almost all the Majles deputies, and took over the main state organizations and intensified state control over the National Iranian Radio and Television, the ministries of labor, education, industry, housing, tourism, health and social welfare, rural cooperatives, art and culture.³⁰ Power was to be exercised by a group of selected upper echelon of Iranian society while above them the state was influential in shaping Iran's mainstream high-art and cultural agenda. According to Grigor, this period was defined by the "epitomization of high-culture as the ultimate signifier of a utopian modernity wherein individuals came to play their substantial role through the fully crystalized apparatus of culture." She wrote "this made the relationship between politics and its artistic expression an immediate and resilient one."³¹

In much of the 1970s, the operation of high culture in politics as a shaping force of cultural norms in modern Iran was conceived by royal hands and in particular by the shahbanu. The narratives behind the establishment of national museums in Iran, accordingly, positioned high art at the heart of politics. Iran's high artistic culture was propagated through the Tehran Carpet Museum, the Abguineh Museum of Glass

²⁸ Ervand Abrahamian, 1982, "The Politics of Uneven Development: Political Underdevelopment (1963-1977)," *Iran between the Two Revolutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 427.

²⁹ William Shawcross, 1989, "The Great Civilization," *The Shah's Last Ride* (New York: Touchstone), p. 197.

³⁰ Abrahamian, 2008, "Mohammad Reza Shah's White Revolution," p. 150.

³¹ Talinn Grigor, 2005, "Modernity Feminized," *Cultivating Modernities: The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda, and Public Architecture in Twentieth Century Iran* (Ph.D. diss., MIT), pp. 468-70.

and Ceramics, the Reza Abbasi Museum, the Negarestan Museum and the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Arts in the capital under the patronage of the shahbanu.

While the state co-opted all the processes of high culture, artistic and architectural discourses increased in scope to achieve their political undertone. Various artistic and architectural events were accordingly supervised by the institution of monarchy as the leading patron of high culture. During the last decade of the Pahlavi monarchy, as the benefactors of modern Iranian culture, the shahbanu and her entourage incorporated in organizing architectural conferences as another form of cultural expression of political power. As mentioned before, during the 1960s onward, the inclinations toward tradition and anti-modernity combined with a kind of political culture that opposed the Western hegemony in the country. In Iran, it was the struggle for nationalization of the Iranian petroleum industries that brought about anti-western sentiments. Forward-looking ideas dominating the period before and after the Iranian Constitutionalism, accordingly, gave way to some nationalist tendencies to confront westernization in the 1960s and the 1970s. The sympathy towards national culture resulted in the organization of three international architectural symposia in Iran under the patronage of Shahbanu Farah. “The Interaction of Tradition and Technology” in 1970 in Isfahan, “The Role of Architecture and Urban Planning in Industrializing Countries” in 1974 in Shiraz and “The Crisis of Identity in Architecture” in 1976 in Ramsar were in fact a critical view of modern architecture’s anti-historical characteristics.

The last decade of the Pahlavi era marks a crucial turning point in the enforcement of reforms aiming at the deep transformation in the Iranian cultural modernity; while many efforts were made to rebuild a nation, the shahbanu was the initial driving force behind the comprehensive reform agenda in the cultural and artistic arena. In her conception of modernity, she heavily relied on the state’s cultural ideologies, since politics determined culture. The shahbanu’s advocacy for modernization was to be materialized through constructing and renovating buildings, establishing art centers, institutionalizing museums, and organizing symposiums and conferences on art and architecture since culture was an appropriate instrument to legitimize politics.

1.2. Research Methods

Many scholars have undertaken the narration of twentieth century modern Iranian art and architecture. Yet, most of these scholars do not focus their study on gender issues and their effects in shaping the history of Iranian modernity in the fields of art and architecture. The study of gender as such in Iranian historiography still remains a new frontier. Vanished within the patriarchal structure of Iranian modernity, the instrumental female role in reformulating the life of a modern society has largely been ignored.

Focusing on the second Pahlavi era, this study is one of the first attempts to question the female royal patronage and its contribution in shaping and directing the architectural and cultural history of Pahlavi Iran. The insertion of gender representation in the history of modern Iran is one of the objectives of this study. In spite of the active role women occupied in shaping modern Iran, their representation was largely ignored in history.

The turn of the century witnessed women's participation in various social, political and cultural affairs of the country; among them royal women gained a unique power of patronage in the modern state and modern country. In 1967, with the amendment of the constitution, Farah Pahlavi was decreed as the first queen-regent in modern Iran. She assumed much of the power to patronize many contemporary projects to legitimate her political authority.

Although the Pahlavi royal women played active roles in shaping many of the social, political and cultural agendas of the court, however no academic monograph has been devoted to imperial women and their patronage. In this respect, the contention of this dissertation is that without considering the role of women, and in particular the female imperial patronage, the Pahlavis history of modernity is incomplete. The difficulty in the mode of description and therefore the methodology of the survey which is trying to re-interpret a modernization through a gendered perspective is the major challenge of this study.

This research does not attempt to propose theories of modernity, nationalism or high culture. It does not try to put someone else's theory into practice. This study, however, offers the story of "modernity" under the female royal patronage of Shahbanu Farah. It is the cultural expressions of her political power. Theories of modernities, therefore, are defined through the very act of looking, examining and narrating the history of these cultural events and forms. "Modernity" is a historical subject in conceiving, constructing, discoursing and co-opting these projects as a part of the Pahlavis' socio-cultural ideologies.

Considering the scope of this dissertation, suppressed and limited archives after the Islamic Revolution as well as the lack of certain types of documentary sources such as letters, architectural projects, and correspondences related to orders from the patron and the architects and artists raised challenges in highlighting the exact role of the shahbanu in materializing her projects.

While this is the first inquiry trying to cover the history of Iranian art and architecture through a feminine perspective, my efforts were comprehensive. Although it was impossible to be all-inclusive in tracing the shahbanu's cultural activities, this dissertation focuses on selected projects on art and architecture in each respective chapter to be analyzed in detail as a part of a larger project of modernity under the shahbanu.

1.3. Fieldwork

This research was mainly carried out in Iran as the main fieldwork to consult public and private archives and collections such as Iran National Archives Organization (sazman-e asnad-e melli-e Iran), National Library of Iran's Islamic Republic (ketabkhane-ye melli-e Jomhuri-ye Eslami-ye Iran), Iranian Parliament Library (ketabkhane-ye Majles), the Institute for Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies (mo'asseseh-ye motale'at-e tarikh-e Iran-e mo'aser), Office of Modern Iranian History (daftar-e tarikhi-ye Iran-e moaser) and Foundation for Iranian Studies (Bonyad-e Motale'at-e Iran) as well as the Technical Bureau and the archive of the Golestan Palace Complex, the Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex and the Niavaran Palace Complex and Cultural Center.

The first phase of this research consisted of visiting and studying each case with particular attention to those under close examination. In the second phase, the archives and collections were interrogated to provide an interpretive framework for a gender-based modernity. Pahlavi diplomatic records, letters, speeches, published memoirs, scholarly writings, symposium and festival records of patrons, practitioners and scholars obtained from the collections mentioned above were crucial to this study.

This work is also based on the examination of official newspapers and magazines published during the Pahlavi era; such as *Ettela't* (1926-2002), *Keyhan* (1941-2002), *Ayandegan* (1970s), *Tehran Journal* (1935-1980) as they were instrumental for the state propaganda. In shaping and directing modern Iranian architectural agenda during the second Pahlavi period, the journal of *Art and Architecture* (1967-1979) is the primary source to be thoroughly referred to in this study.

To support the archival documents, a number of interviews were conducted and recorded to provide physical description for the shahbanu's patronage; among them were interviews with the editor of *Art and Architecture* Journal, Abdol-Hamid Eshragh; the architect of Niavaran Palace and the Private Library, Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian; among the women practitioners of architecture, Noushin Ehsan and Nasrin Faghih; the architect of Shahyad Monument, the last shah's memorial built during the two thousand five hundredth anniversary of the Persian Empire in Tehran, Hossein Amanat; the Beaux-arts educated Iranian architect, Houshang Seyhoun; and the editorial board of the Encyclopedia Iranica and Iranian Studies at Columbia University, Princeton University and Pennsylvania University Ahmad Ashraf. This dissertation also referred to variety of oral and material archives which has been provided by the shahbanu's private secretariat in Paris.

1.4. Archives

Considering the nature of the shahbanu's patronage, the lack of archival and documentary sources after the Islamic Revolution has limited further thoughts and research on the subject. This study was able to partly benefit from the primary

archives over the course of the Shahbanu Farah's patronage as they had been kept in the Private Secretariat and the Niavaran Palace Documentation Center. Both organizations are closed to study for researchers today. The study confronted many problems in obtaining the architectural projects as well. While many of these constructions (such as national museums) are currently overseen by the Iran Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization, some (like palaces) are used as presidential palaces and the Expediency Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran and indeed are prohibited to researchers due to security issues. This problem is mostly apparent in the case of the Pahlavi palaces discussed in the epilogue of this dissertation. The nature of Shahbanu Farah's patronage in the case of home is further obscured by suppressed information and absent documentary sources on the subject. Nonetheless, the primary materials regarding the Shiraz Arts Festival are provided by the Ministry of Information through several publications which include many documents about the organizing, programing and performance of the event. These documents, in addition to the festival books, explicitly highlighted the shahbanu's role as patron in materializing the festival. In a similar vein, the case of museums was widely propagated through mass media as they were accepted as the signifiers of Iran's modernity under the institution of monarchy. The final chapter on women architects benefited extensively from oral history and interviews conducted with the contributors both in Iran and abroad.

In the case of the private archives, they were seized after the Revolution.³² Regarding secondary sources (mostly in the form of autobiography or diary), these documents include non-objective materials as they were published before the Iranian Revolution and aimed at glorifying the system and the figures. This one-sided perspective obscures the Pahlavis' role in setting Iran's cultural agenda. While focusing on Farah Shahbanu has rendered the study unique, limited critical and scholarly sources on the subject has made further research problematic for this dissertation.

³² In an interview with the architect of the Niavaran Palace and the Private Library of Shahbanu Farah, Abdol Aziz Farmanfarmaian said that even he has not a copy of those projects he had designed for the Pahlavis before the Revolution.

1.5. Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation is centered on a chronological framework of modern Iranian political history and its effects on the reformulation of the status of modern Iranian women with a particular attention to a woman from the Pahlavi Imperial court, Shahbanu Farah Pahlavi, and her legitimate power that was materialized through her patronage in the fields of art and architecture.

The introduction concludes by illuminating the initial concern of this research of the need for a new approach to analyzing the interrelation among state, gender and culture in Pahlavi Iran through following inclusionary questions: ‘How did the Pahlavis challenge commonly held notions of “modernity” and nationalism in the Iranian context?’ And, ‘What was the role of the shahbanu in materializing the state’s political ideology?’

The second chapter, **Power**, offers a critical overview of the historical background of the changing status of women under the Pahlavis and their emergence in various spheres of society while emphasizing the historical figure and patronage of Shahbanu Farah Pahlavi. Appointed as the first ‘queen-regent’ of Iran, the shahbanu expressed her political power through the artistic and architectural activities she commissioned. The art accordingly became a concrete form of legitimate power and an instrument in shaping and directing the Iranian “modernity” under her reign. This chapter asks ‘How did Pahlavi modernization re-formulate the position of woman in social, cultural and political domains?’ and ‘How did the female royal patronage operate in the second Pahlavi era?’

Farah Pahlavi’s significance was exemplified by the very symbolic part she took in the 1967 coronation ceremonies where she was entitled as the first queen-regent of modern Iran. As the shahbanu of Iran, Farah Pahlavi’s initial attempt in modernizing her nation was to organize festivals on art and culture. The Shiraz Arts Festival was her most controversial event held annually since 1967 in Persepolis. Focusing on the festival, the third chapter, **Culture**, is an overview of Shahbanu Farah’s patronage of arts and its related architectural production, the Arts Center at Persepolis, by posing the questions ‘What was the cultural politics of the Pahlavis during the 1970s?’, and

‘How were arts used and criticized to articulate specific conceptions of power and progress in Pahlavi Iran?’ Art was accordingly accepted as a tool in the attempted acculturation of the nation.

The shahbanu’s second principal role towards modernization was to preserve Iran’s artistic and architectural heritage. Museums and cultural centers were established to create a visual account of Iran’s traditional patrimony. The fourth chapter, **Identity**, focuses on the establishment of national museums in Tehran under the patronage of Shahbanu Farah. Highlighting the Pahlavis’ national cultural policy of the 1970s, this chapter asks ‘How did the recurrent theme of contemporary and traditional transcend the definition of identity in Iran?’

Shahbanu Farah’s modernizing project did not only include the festivals, art centers, museums and galleries; the shahbanu was also involved in arranging symposiums and congresses on art and architecture. Focusing on the International Congress on Women Architects, the fifth chapter, the **Discipline**, analyses the role of Shahbanu Farah and her architectural patronage on gender issues through asking ‘How did gender influence architectural practice and architectural discourse during the period under review?’

In the conclusion, focusing on the life of Shahbanu Farah, this dissertation addresses the matters of high-arts and feminism during the last decade of the Pahlavi era in terms of their misuse by and disappearance in Iranian political culture. This chapter generally asks “Was the shahbanu (as a woman and as a patron) a revolutionist in gender issues and women rights during the second Pahlavi era?”, “Were Shahbanu Farah’s activities influential in the shaping of modern Iranian cultural history?”, and if so, “What was the contribution of the shahbanu in directing the modern artistic and architectural agenda of Pahlavi Iran?”

The epilogue of this dissertation focuses on the shahbanu’s very initial attempt at modernizing the Pahlavi palaces. Coming to power, the shahbanu’s public function was secondary to the more pressing matter of managing the imperial household. During the early 1960s, the shahbanu decided to leave their residence for a modern

building at Niavaran. **Home**, focuses on the shahbanu's artistic and architectural patronage in constructing the private quarters of their residence at Niavaran. Considering the shahbanu's involvement, however, this study is a speculative preliminary thought based on the author's assumptions and reflections in the Niavaran palace, the 'Private Library' and the storeroom (today's Jahan-Nama Museum) as well as in the Artistic Museum and Movie Theater at Sa'ad Abad Palace. In analyzing the materials and recovering the events, the gaps in the narrative are critical in terms of the absence of archival and documentary sources that would allow researchers to infiltrate the privacy of the closed-doors of the Pahlavi palaces. This section is ultimately framed through visiting, documenting and interviewing the contributors to demonstrate the role Shahbanu Farah maintained in shaping the architecture and architectural decoration of her 'home' at Niavaran. Among the questions to be raised is 'What was the shahbanu's relation to the home, its structure, its decoration, its furnishing and the arrays of objects that fill its spaces at Niavaran?'

CHAPTER 2

POWER

2.1. Struggle for Modernity: Women and Iranian Constitutionalism

The principle concerns of the women's rights movement in Persia have been equal access to modern education; improvements in health and hygiene; removal of the veil and other changes in traditional gender roles and household relations; greater employment opportunities for women, specifically in the professional arena; greater participation in different spheres, including women's suffrage and political representation; and changes in marriage and family laws. Many of these goals were generally achieved and maintained with the help of the state.³³

Contrary to the popular notion that women in pre-modern non-Western societies were oppressed (because of their cultural practices and religious beliefs), recent scholarship has shown that women's power did already exist in Iran's history³⁴. Yet it existed somehow different from a Eurocentric paradigm of modernity in gender-role perception by the West.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, exposure to Western ideas expanded with the increase in the number of Iranian students abroad and the rise of Europe's interest in the Orient and the perception of Western women in Qajar Iran (Appendix A). Persia³⁵ witnessed women's striving for emancipation on the terms that European modernity defined and practiced.³⁶ Iranian women became acquainted

³³ Janet Afary, 1999, "Feminist Movements I," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Vol. IX (Fasc.5), p. 489.

³⁴ Lois Back & Guity Nashat (ed.), 2004, *Women in Iran from 1800 to the Islamic Republic* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press), p. 7.

³⁵ In 1935, Reza Shah issued a letter to the League of Nations insisting on the name of Iran instead of Persia. Being the center of political power during the Achaemenian and Sassanid period, Persia (Pars), however, had remained to refer the entire region, a Greek legacy; "Persia, The Thousand-Year-Old Name of Iran," 2013, *Iran Chamber Society: Geography of Iran*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: http://www.iranchamber.com/geography/articles/persia_thousandyearold_name.php [Accessed: 15 April 2013].

³⁶ Shireen Mahdavi, "Reflections in the Mirror-How Each Saw the Other: Women in the Nineteenth Century," in Lois Back & Guity Nashat (ed.), 2004, *Women in Iran from 1800 to the Islamic Republic* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press), p. 80.

with women's enfranchisement in the western world observing foreign women who operated as tutors³⁷, teachers³⁸, students³⁹ sent to abroad, missionaries⁴⁰ and medical assistants as well as those who traveled⁴¹ to Iran as the members of the diplomatic community⁴². Although there was no one working for women's rights in the political scene, the most powerful women were among the members of the royal family⁴³ (Fig 1) and aristocracy (Fig 2); and they were questioning the social and political situation of Iranian women (Fig. 3).

³⁷ Among whom were the French tutor Madame de la Marininere. She was employed in the Qajar court as the private instructor of the crown prince Abdol Mirza's children. Naser al-Din Shah's tutor was a French woman as well. The wife of Haj Abbas Shirazi, Madame Abbas, not only tutored the future king but she was the close confidant of the queen mother, Mahd Ulya, and the future official interpreter of the *andarun* (the inner section of the house used as women's quarter); Back & Nashat p. 64.

³⁸ Established in 1851, Dar al-Funun was the first institution that employed European teachers in Tehran among them Hidayat al-Allah Khan and Haj Mohammad Khan who married the daughters of Constant were the painting teachers at the institution; Mahdavi, p. 65.

³⁹ These were among the first group of students sent to Europe in 1811 to introduce western culture to members of the royal family among them Mary Dudley, an English woman who married Muhammad-Ali Chakhmaq-Saz and became the habitué of the *andarun* of Abbas Mirza. Finishing medicine studies in Paris, in 1861, Mirza Reza and his French wife became the private teachers of the prince; Ibid, p. 64.

⁴⁰ Dividing the country in the north, the American missionaries and in the south the English missionaries influenced the Iranian women through the schools they had established since 1835; among those were American schools in Urumia as well as the French sisters of Saint Vincent de Paul in Tehran; Ibid, pp. 65-6.

⁴¹ Lady Sheil Carla Serena and Jane Dieulafoy's travel accounts highlighted European women's impressions about the public and private lives of Iranian women in the nineteenth century; Ibid, pp. 66-71.

⁴² Wives of diplomatic community in Iran had a close relation with the members of the royal harem and the *andarun*; Ibid, p. 65.

⁴³ Among the influential women in the Qajar court was Anis al-Dawla, Naser al-Din Shah's favorite wife whose role in shaping and directing governmental policies was significant. Furugh al-Dawla, daughter of Naser al-Din Shah was another active figure, a patriot and a supporter of the Constitution in Iran. The wife of Amin al-Dawla, Naser al-Din Shah's advisor, Gulrukh Khanum was another example of an important woman in directing the political career of her husband. Questioning the social and political statues of Iranian women, Taj al-Saltana (Fig. 4), Naser al-Din Shah's daughter, was another example of influential woman in the Qajar royal harem; Shireen Mahdavi, "Reflections in the Mirror-How Each Saw the Other: Women in the Nineteenth Century," in Lois Back & Guity Nashat (ed.), 2004, *Women in Iran from 1800 to the Islamic Republic* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press), pp. 72-6.; Influenced court politics through connections with the royal harem were Mahd-e Olya, Naser-al-Din Shah's mother, and Fakr-al-Dawla, Mozzafar-al-Din Shah's daughter. These figure among the other members of royal haram participated in nationalist protests and movements during the Iranian Constitution period; Afary, 1999, "Feminist Movements ii: In The Late Qajar Period," pp. 489-91.

In 1906 with the Constitutional Revolution⁴⁴ and the establishment of the Parliament (Majles), the contribution of women in country's socio-political affairs became indispensable. Although a large number of studies concentrated on the role of male actors in the Constitutional Revolution of Iran, women played important role in anti-governmental demonstrations seeking remedy to their lack of social, cultural and political rights.⁴⁵ Qajar women became active participants in legitimizing constitutional laws in the Parliament (majles) together with their male counterparts. However, the advantage of the Revolution in transforming and developing women's status quo was quite limited.

The main body of the Constitution in Iran was based on the 1830 Belgian Constitution. It restrained the power of the monarch by granting extensive powers to the Parliament (Majles) although the king had the authority to appoint senators. The Constitution guaranteed equal rights to all Iranians. However, the reforms excluded women and denied political rights for them since Constitutionalism in Iran was subject to a strict conformity with *Shari'eh* approval. Accordingly, while women were prevented from voting and electoral politics, their bid for women's suffrage was limited to recognition of their societies and to a guarantee of reforms for women's education.⁴⁶

Developed in parallel with the constitutional era and progressing until the overthrow of the Qajars in 1925, the women's movement underwent an "intense" and "spontaneous" process in Iran. The emergence of women's societies⁴⁷ during this

⁴⁴ During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Iran confronted an economic concession as a result of British and Russian manipulation which finally channeled the country into a concrete anti-Qajar movement by merchants, clerics and artisans. The events lead to the adaptation of the *Constitution* through a new alliance of various socio-political strata in order to oppose the domineering foreign powers in Iran. In 1906, the Shah was forced to grant Iran a *Constitution* and the Majles was elected; Parvin Paidar, 1997, "Women and the Era of Constitutionalism," *Women and the Political Process in Twentieth-Century Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press), p. 50.

⁴⁵ Hamideh Sedghi, 2007, "The Qajar Dynasty, Patriarchal Households, and Women," *Women and Politics in Iran: Veiling, Unveiling and Reveiling* (New York: Cambridge University Press), p. 25.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 47-50.

⁴⁷ During the course of the Revolution, women's associations proliferated. Various women's groups obtained support from the Socialist, the Communist and the Revivalist parties. Established in 1907, the Women's Freedom Society (Anjoman-e Horriyat-e Vatan) was the first community devoted to women's issue in political debates. Followed by the Women's Society (Anjoman-e Nesvan) to react

period encouraged their members to implement social, political and educational reform programs. The post-revolutionary era endorsed the development of various women's organizations and independent political parties through which women's groups obtained support for their rights. Women's emancipation, accordingly, had been seen as a part of national development and progress by both the political parties and the women's societies.

The turn of the century witnessed an upsurge of self-financed educational institutions for Iranian women. Despite the persistent opposition by an influential section of clergy and conservatives, educational institutions for women spread rapidly throughout Tehran and provincial towns beginning in 1906.⁴⁸ During this period, women also took advantage of the supplementary fundamental laws on the freedom of the press, which became pivotal in women's awakening reform program. Women accordingly started to publish and edit magazines on a wide variety of issues related to women's problems.⁴⁹

against backward-looking views, this organization renamed as the National Ladies' Society (Anjoman-e Mokhaddarat-e Vatan) in 1910 and changed perspective to give itself over nationalist issues. Women's Secret Union (Ettehadieh Gheyb-ye Nesvan) and Women's Community (kanun-e banovan) were among other societies appeared during this period., Mansoureh Ettehadieh, "The Origins and Development of the Women's Movement in Iran, 1906-41," in Back & Nashat, pp. 89-90. The Patriotic Women's League (Anjoman-e Nesvan-e Vatan-khah) was the largest establishment set up in 1922 by Mohtaram Eskandari in order to develop women's contribution in welfare, health and education systems. Founded by Zandokht Shirazi in 1927, the main objective of the Society of Women's Movement was to gain freedom and equal rights for Iranian Women. Women's Awakening (Bidari-ye Zanan) was a more radical society emerged from the Patriotic Women's League in 1923. During its activities, the establishment was involved in adult education and literacy classes, organized meetings and celebrated International Women's Day; Paidar, 1997, "The Discourse of Modernity: Women and the Era of Nation Building," pp. 95-7. Members of the Qajar Royal family were also involved in women's movement for emancipation, among them were the two daughters of Naser al-Din Shah, Malakeh Iran and Taj al-Saltaneh. The two constitutionalists participated in secret societies and criticized polygamy, veiling and women's seclusion while they were getting education. They also were involved in political activities for women rights; Ibid, p. 68.

⁴⁸ The first school for Muslim girls, Saadat (prosperity), was established in 1899 in Bushehr with the participation of religious minorities. Foreign missionaries started to accept Muslim girls in 1906 for the first time. Among them were the American missionary school, the Ecole Franco-Persan and Jandark [Joan of Arc]. Effatiyeh (the house of chastity) girls' school by Safiyeh Yazdi, Namus (honor) by Tuba Azemudeh, Om mol-Madares (mother of schools) by Dorrat ol-Maali and Terraghi (progress) School by Mahrokh Goharshenas were among the well-known educational establishments of this era; Ibid. Despite the proliferation of private schools the government did not assume responsibility for improving girls' educational status until 1918 when it became involved in the establishment of ten primary schools for girls and a teacher training college for women; Ettehadieh, pp. 95-6.

⁴⁹ The first newspaper devoted to women was *Danesh* (Knowledge). Edited in 1910 by Qamari Kahhal, it was aimed at the awakening of women in Iran. it was followed by *Shokufeh* (Blossom), was another magazine dedicated to women published in 1912 by Mozayan al-Saltaneh. Initially concerned

As mentioned, despite the establishment of the system of parliamentary democracy, however, the post-constitutional period remained insufficient in initiating the complementary social and political developments, and the problem of women was never seen as crucial to shaping the government's political orientation. While the women's movement lost impetus in the struggle for legal rights as it was modeled after Western conceptions of gender equality, "it took the advent of another dynasty, the Pahlavis, and another ideology"⁵⁰ for an attempts for the emancipation of the Iranian women.

The ideology of forming modern Iran under the leadership of the two Pahlavi monarchs, Reza Shah and his successor Mohammad Reza Shah, directed the state policy toward a series of reforms in which the question of women was seen as central to the state's modernization project. The leaders' apparent contributions to the expansion of women's rights were to terminate, albeit superficially, the segregation of women in society⁵¹ and to encourage their participation in various social, political, cultural and educational fields. This section explores the overthrow of the Qajar dynasty and the emergence of the Pahlavis with particular attention to the interrelation between gender and state power in modern Iran. Gender ideologies and "feminist politics" developed under the Pahlavi shahs are investigated in relation to the political context of twentieth century Iran before the Islamic Revolution.

with the issues of gender equality, education, marriage and patriarchy, the magazine became more relevant in women's social and political struggle. Another important periodical was *Zaban-e Zanan* (Mouthpiece of Women) by Sediqeh Dowlatabadi, who was introduced as "the founding mother of Iranian feminism". Published in 1919, the magazine was effective in questioning women's social and political advancement; Hamideh Sedghi, 2007, "Women in the Early Twentieth Century Iran: The Qajar Dynasty, Patriarchal Household, and Women," *Women and Politics in Iran Veiling, Unveiling and Reveiling* (New York: Cambridge University Press), pp. 55-8. *Jahan-e Zanan* (Women's World) by Fakhr Afagh Parsa, *Alam-e Nesvan* (Women's Universe) by the Association of the Graduates of the American Girls' School, *Jam 'iyat-e Nesvan* (Women's Association) by Molouk Eskanfari, and *Nameh-ye Banovan* (Women's Letter) by Shahnaz Azad were among the thirteen publications appeared at the turn of the century; Ibid, p. 92.

⁵⁰ Shireen Mahdavi, 2003, "Reza Shah Pahlavi and Women, A Re-Evaluation," in Stephanie Cronin (ed.), *The Making of Modern Iran* (London and New York: Routledge), p. 183.

⁵¹ Mahnaz Afkhami, "The Women's Organization of Iran: Evolutionary Politics and Revolutionary Change," in Back & Nashat, p. 112.

2.2. Questioning Modernity: Politicization of Gender and State Feminism

Reza Shah's ascendancy to power had a parallel with the upsurge of chaos and disintegration in the Iranian political system under the Qajars which was influenced by external powers: an atmosphere that elevated Reza Khan from cossack officer, minister of war, and prime minister to the throne on December 15, 1925 (Appendix C).

The dissolution of the Qajar reign was followed by the emergence of a modernizing, Westernizing and centralizing state and the creation of a strong executive power that could provide the Parliament (Majles) with protection against internal chaos and external interference. Proclaimed king, Reza Shah, the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty, forced the Parliament to disband opposition political parties and disperse anti-monarchical activities. The political repression, however, was not aimed solely at political parties. The political autocracy had an important impact on any organization, even women's establishments.

Reza Shah's policies aimed at "a rapid adaptation of the material advances of the West" which had forceful effects on the women's rights movement in Iran. The centralization of power increased the struggle against the growing "dissident individuals and organizations, including women and their activities"⁵² in Iran. The state co-opted women's groups and promoted them as the unique power for women's emancipation by attracting female supporters of the monarchy while banning all independent oppositional women's organizations. Accordingly, contrary to the 1920's independent women's rights movement, "an official feminism [indeed] was now to be promoted from above"⁵³. In 1935, the shah ordered the establishment of Kanoun-e Banovan (Ladies Center), the only state-initiated society under the patronage of his daughter Shams Pahlavi (Fig. 5).⁵⁴

⁵² Sedghi, 2007, "The Pahlavi Dynasty as a Centralizing Patriarchy: Independent Women's Activities and "State Feminism"," p. 76.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ The Center included a number of Court women, leading female educators, and veterans of the women's movement of the 1920s under the directorship of Hajar Tarbiat. In its initial official reception, the aim of the Center was introduced as follows: "The Ladies' Center of Iran is instituted under the honorary presidency of H.I.H. Princes Shams Pahlavi and the patronage and supervision of

According to Badr al-Molouk Bamdad, a journalist and an active member of the Ladies' Center, the main focus of the center was to "campaign against Kafan-e Siah (black shroud, a pejorative reference to the black chador)"⁵⁵ in order to encourage unveiling for the Iranian women. While the center changed from women's organization to women's educational and welfare center in 1937 under Sedigheh Dowlatabadi (Fig. 6), a feminist activist, journalist and a pioneering figure in the women's movement in Iran, "[it] provided the organizational apparatus for propagating the idea of unveiling and its implementation"⁵⁶.

Modern woman became the image of the modern state and the prerequisite for the modern woman was seen as emancipation from the veil. What Reza Shah envisaged in his social reform program in consolidating and legitimizing political power was an implied emulation of the West as a model for modernizing his country; and as predominantly Islamic society, Turkey was to provide an inspiration in shaping the monarch's modernization policies in Iran: "a central state and a unified nation, a single language and religion, the secularization of society and national sovereignty, technological progress and economic development and emancipation of women"⁵⁷ were shaped around the ideology of creating a modern state and modern nation during the period between 1920 and 1940.

In fact, for Reza Shah, gender equality was a part of a larger political agenda of modernity, an inescapable part of their reformist program that the Pahlavis could not

the Ministry of Education, for the purpose of achieving these objectives: 1. To provide adult women with mental and moral education, and with instruction in housekeeping and child rearing on a scientific basis, by means of lectures, publications, adult classes, etc. 2. To promote physical training through appropriate sports in accordance with the principles of health preservation. 3. To create charitable institutions for the support of indigent mothers and children having no parent or guardian. 4. To encourage simplicity of life-style and use of Iran-made goods. 5. This Center has legal personality in accordance with article 587 of the Commerce Code, and its president is the legal representative of the center"; Paidar, 1997, "Women and the Era of Nation Building: Women's Emancipation and National Progress," pp. 104-5.

⁵⁵ Sedghi, 2007, "The Pahlavi Dynasty as a Centralizing Patriarchy: Independent Women's Activities and "State Feminism"," p. 83.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Paidar, 1997, "Women and the Era of Nation Building: The State as an Instrument of Social Reform," p. 81.

afford to reject. Conceived as synonymous with liberation from backwardness, emancipation from the veil was one of the basic planks in Reza Shah's Westernization program. Here, it should be emphasized that just as the woman's veil possessed importance greater than merely to protect her during the Constitutional era, the significance of woman unveiling during the Pahlavi period surpasses its relation with secularism, Westernism and modernism. Veiling and unveiling epitomize the contest for political power in the course of Iran's development. While a large number of Shi'ite clergy supported the Constitutional Movement, Iran continued to keep its traditional legitimacy and "concerns regarding veiling [accordingly] fostered challenges to the established power structure and the religious establishment".⁵⁸ Later in 1936, however, when Reza Shah issued an official decree outlawing the veil, concerns regarding unveiling "contributed to the Westernization posture of the Pahlavi dynasty and its apparent victory over the clergy".⁵⁹ Gender politics for Reza Shah was not only a way to bolster the state's image as modern in the Western world but also a means to discredit the ulama who rejected gender emancipation in an Islamic society. Since the early twentieth century, accordingly, problems relating to different forms of veiling encouraged a political power struggle over women; "gender [by then] remains a core concern of politics"⁶⁰ that contributes to the state's national and international legitimacy.

The state-sponsored unveiling was decreed with an educated accompanying group of female teachers, wives of ministers, senior military officers and government officials at the graduation ceremony of Daneshsara-ye Moghaddamati (Teacher Training College) and with the contribution of the queen mother and the princesses who appeared unveiled in public wearing European clothes and hats (Fig. 7 & 8). Reza Shah's decree was a compulsory state policy outlined in his proclamation of women's emancipation day:

"I am extremely delighted to see that women have become aware of their rights and entitlement... women of this country not only could not [before unveiling] demonstrate their talents and inherent qualities because of being separated from society, but also could not pay their dues to their homeland and serve and make

⁵⁸ Sedghi, 2007, p. 2.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

sacrifices for their country. Now women are on their way to gain other rights in addition to the great privilege of motherhood. We should not forget that half of our active force was laid idle. Women should consider today a great day and use the opportunities available to them to work for the progress and happiness of this country... Future prosperity is in your hands [because you] train the future generation. You can be good teachers to train good individuals. My expectation is that now that you learned ladies are becoming aware of your rights and duties towards your country, you should be wise in life, work hard, become accustomed to frugality, and avoid extravagance and overspending.”⁶¹

Introducing the image of western woman as a symbol of “feminization in power”⁶², Reza Shah’s policies in emboldening women’s entrance into society lead to many accomplishments as well as many drawbacks. The unveiling decree (“Kashf-e Hejab”) and the abandonment of the chador paved the way for a more drastic social change in the history of Iranian women rights and status in Pahlavi Iran.⁶³

Gender emancipation provided the state with a new form of power to accomplish its Europeanization policies through a series of innovative measures granting women’s accession in modern professions concerning education and workforce participation.⁶⁴ Enacted by Reza Shah, the educational reform was one of the greatest achievements that served his overall goal of establishing a modern state and economy. Although Parliament had embarked on a number of innovative measures to reform the educational system with the establishment of a Ministry of Education in 1910, the implementation of the law, however, was postponed until 1918. With the establishment of the High Council of Education in 1921, Reza Shah became involved in secularization of the educational system and its separation from the religious domain. The shah proclaimed the Supplementary Fundamental Law to modernize religious teaching schools (maktab-khaneh) and to encourage national system of

⁶¹ Paidar, 1997, “Women and the Era of Nation Building: Women’s Social Participation,” p. 113.

⁶² Mohammad Tavakoli-Targhi, 2001, “Imagining European Women: Farangi Women,” *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism and Historiography* (New York: Palgrave Publishers Ltd) pp. 106-7.

⁶³ The Law had many setbacks; veiled women were not served by shopkeepers. They were not admitted to public spaces and not permitted to use public transportation. The lack of security for veiled women forced a number to stay indoors until the Shah’s abdication in 1941; Lenczowski, 1978, “Social Developments: The Status of Women,” p. 98.

⁶⁴ Sedghi, 2007, “The Pahlavi Dynasty as a Centralizing Patriarchy: State-Building, Westernization, Repression, and Emasculation,” p. 67.

public education for girls⁶⁵ the curricula of which borrowed the European and in particular the French Lycee. During his reign, many schools were established and the enrollment of girls increased. The decree of 1936 not only provided for women's involvement in the Iranian workforce but also it provided opportunities for women's enrollment in higher education and, if perhaps unintentionally, participated in fostering the state's Westernization projects.⁶⁶ Just one year after its establishment in 1936, Tehran University admitted seventy women (Fig. 9); among them Fatemeh Sayyah was the first woman to attend the University.⁶⁷

According to Sedghi, Reza Shah's educational reforms, however, did not overcome discrimination against women although they were seen as essential in training the pioneers of Iranian "feminism" in subsequent years. She indicates that women's legal status continued to challenge the patriarchal structure of the Iranian family system; even Reza Shah himself forbade foreign education for his daughters, while Mohammad Reza Pahlavi studied in Switzerland. In response to the request of Ashraf Pahlavi to study abroad, Reza Shah refused and said: "stop this non sense and come home at once"⁶⁸.

Similarly, Paidar emphasizes that, "contrary to the myth that Reza Shah was a modernizer in the struggle against a traditional ... environment, he was not much above the social relations of his time than any other Iranian."⁶⁹ She believes that

⁶⁵ While in 1910, only two thousand one hundred sixty seven girls enrolled at forty seven schools. In 1918-19 the government founded a Teachers Training School (Dar al-mo' allemat) and ten public elementary schools for girls with the enrollment of a few hundred pupils in Tehran. The establishment of modern schools for girls increased in the 1920s-30s when the number of female students rose in the period 1926-27 from seventy thousand in elementary schools and seven hundred in secondary schools to forty seven thousand and two thousand respectively in 1936-37. The mid-1930s witnessed the opening of higher education to women and enrollment of over seventy female students in 1936-37 at the University of Tehran; Badr al-Molouk Bamdad, 1968, "Education," *Iranian Woman from the Constitutional Revolution to the White Revolution I*. (Tehran: Ibn-I Sina).

⁶⁶ Sedghi, 2007, "The Pahlavi Dynasty as a Centralizing Patriarchy: State-Building, Westernization, Repression, and Emasculation," pp. 70-2.

⁶⁷ Guity Nashat, "Women during the Pahlavi Era 1925-79," in Back & Nashat, p. 21.

⁶⁸ Sedghi, 2007, "The Pahlavi Dynasty as a Centralizing Patriarchy: Women's Work, Education, and Legal Reforms," p. 72.

⁶⁹ Paidar, 1997, "Women and the Era of Nation Building: Patriarchal Consensus in the Era of Nation Building," p. 113.

“Reza Shah fell short of introducing comprehensive legal rights for women [since] he faced consensus in preserving the fundamental aspects of patriarchy rather than its overthrow.”⁷⁰ While the consequences of Reza Shah’s educational reform for women were not fully assessed, it can be said that it was not before this period in the history of Iran that women’s education was officially institutionalized and legitimized.

Reza Shah’s substantial reforms of the Civil Code were completed in 1931, the Marriage Act of Iran supplemented in 1937 and the Penal Law passed in 1940 included articles concerning “wills, marriage and divorce, legitimacy and custody, [and] guardianship and child maintenance”⁷¹. However, the implementation of these reforms challenged the religious laws related to family rights for Iranian women. The reforms subsequently appeared without equally profound changes for women.

The discourse of modernity during the reign of Reza Shah defined women’s emancipation as a prerequisite for the establishment of a modern nation and a modern state through which women’ social participation co-existed in parallel with the patriarchal family system. In Reza Shah’s determination to modernize Iran, women’s emancipation was a step to encourage women’s entrance into various domains of society. Although not all of Reza Shah’s efforts at gender equality were genuine and effective, it can be said that before this period the issue was alien to Iran. Initiated during the reign of Reza Shah, the project was left to his successor, Mohammad Reza Shah as part of his White Revolution (Enghelab-e Sefid) or the Revolution of Shah and People.

2.3. Rethinking Modernity: Gender Dynamics and the Politics of “The White Revolution”

The last thirty-five years of the Pahlavi dynasty displayed the same characteristics in terms of reforms. Given his alliance with the Germans during the war, Great Britain and Soviet Union pressured the monarch to leave throne to his son, Mohammad Reza

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

Pahlavi.⁷² With the abdication of Reza Shah in 1941 and the absence of an overpowering monarch, Iran witnessed the expansion of the activities of newly established political parties⁷³ and the proliferation of independent women's movements and organizations once again.

Set up by Reza Shah, the Ladies Center was now a training center with a renewed publication, *Zaban-e Zanan* (Women's Language) by Sedigheh Dowlatbadi. Moreover, a large number of women's magazines were published during the first decade of Mohammad Reza Shah's reign. In 1944, the British Embassy in Tehran published *Alam-e Zanan* (Women's Universe) covering women's position in Iran. *Banu* (the Lady) by Nayereh Saidi was a periodical that questioned the issues of women's suffrage in 1944 followed by *Banu-ye Iran* (Iran's Lady) by Malekeh Etezadi. Defending social justice and emancipation for women, *Zanan-e Pishrow* (Progressive Women) by Sedigheh Ganjeh, was a weekly magazine first published in 1949. *Ghiyam-e Zanan* (Women's Revolt) was another publication by Soghra Aliabadi on women's social matters and literature followed by *Hoghugh-e Zanan* (Women's Rights) by Ebtehaj Mostsahagh in 1951. *Azadi-e Zanan* (the Emancipation of Women) by Zafardokht Ardalan and *Zan-e Mobarez* (Militant Woman) by Kobra Saremi were published later the same year.⁷⁴

As mentioned, the decade of the 1940s was dominated by the expansion of newly founded women's organizations and activities as well. Jame'ye Democrat-e Zanan (The Democratic Union of Women) was the most active organization established as a branch of the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party in 1940 with an accompanying feminist journal *Bidari-ye Ma* (Our Awakening) by Homa Houshmandar to promote issues of gender

⁷² Sedghi, 2007, "The Pahlavi Dynasty as a Centralizing Patriarchy: World War II, Dynastic Changes, and New Feminisms," pp. 90-1.

⁷³ "On the religious front, some of the clergy, such as Ayatollah Khomeini, came to the force and criticized Reza Shah's policies and a new fanatical Islamic group by the name of Fada'ayan Eslam (crusaders of Islam) was formed. In the nationalist ranks, Dr. Mohammad Mosaddegh founded the National Front [Jephe-ye Melli], which was a coalition of diverse nationalist and socialist groups. Within the royalist camp, the People's Party (Hezb Mardom) was established and dominated the Majles for the next thirty years. On the pro-Soviet left, the Tudeh Party of Iran was founded by a group of Marxists who were released from Reza Shah's prisons"; Paidar, 1997, "Women and the Era of Nationalism: Post-dictatorship Proliferation of Political Parties," p. 120.

⁷⁴ Ibid, pp. 125-6.

and class oppression concerning women's rights in education, politics and labor force.⁷⁵ In 1942, the Iranian Women's League (Jamiyat-e Zanan-e Iran) was founded by Badr ol-Moluk Bamdad with an accompanying magazine entitled *Zan-e Emruz* (Today's Woman). In the same year, Fatemeh Sayyah and Safiyeh Firuz were involved in the establishment of the Iranian Women's Party (Hezb-e Zanan-e Iran). Experienced in women's suffrage for their social, political and educational views, the group was transformed into the National Council of Women in 1946 with the participation of members of independent women's organizations in order to provide wider interconnection among different political perspectives. The main objectives of the Council, as described by Woodsmall, were "to establish equality between men and women, prohibit polygamy, safeguard mothers' health, raise the educational standard of women, [and] teach child care". The New Path (Rah-e Now) was another association that campaigned actively for women's enfranchisement. Founded by Mehrangiz Dowlatshahi, the organization worked on issues such as "prison reform, encouraging research, and providing leadership training for young women." During the 1950s, women also took part in organizing professional and religious or ethnic groups. Among them were the Ladies Association of Municipal Aid in 1945, the Iranian Jewish Ladies' Organization in 1947, the Women's Art Committee in 1950, the Charity Association of Soraya Pahlavi in 1952 and the Iranian Women's Medical Association and the Association of Iranian Nurses in 1953.⁷⁶

Despite the active participation of women's organizations, opposed by the Islamic religious section, the decade of parliamentary politics (1940-1950) failed in producing positive gender legislation. Since the 1950s, both the government and women's activities had been channeled mainly into social welfare. In 1956, the Ministry of Labor established the Welfare Council for Women and Children to "provide assistance to women workers and act as a general advisory body for women working in the industry"⁷⁷. In the same year, the United Nations became involved in training welfare personnel through government-sponsored and foreign-aid funded

⁷⁵ Sedghi, 2007, "The Pahlavi Dynasty as a Centralizing Patriarchy: World War II, Dynastic Changes, and New Feminisms," pp. 93-4.

⁷⁶ Paidar, 1997, "Women and the Era of Nationalism: The Women's Movement," pp. 126-8.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 136.

projects. Women, accordingly, started to participate in “various urban, rural and tribal projects on health, literacy, midwifery, community development, agriculture, industry, home economics, child-rearing, dressmaking and handicrafts.”⁷⁸

The proliferation of independent women’s organizations during the second decade of Mohammad Reza Shah’s reign, however, occurred with the general consent of the government. The highlight of women’s activities during the late 1950s was the campaign for women’s votes. This campaign was also conducted by the various independent women’s organizations. Among them were the New Path League (*Jamiyat-e Rah-e Now*) led by Mehrangiz Dowlatabadi, the League of Women Supporters of the Declaration of Human Rights (previously established as the Iranian Women’s League), the Association of Women Lawyers and the Women’s Council. In 1956, the campaign was started for an independent Federation of Iranian Women’s Organization for women’s political rights. The issue of women’s political liberation to vote, however, was objected to by the clergy.⁷⁹

Women’s publications during this period were mainly pro-royalist journals to follow the government line on the question of women’s emancipation. Among them were *Ettela’at-e Banouvan* (Women’s Information), *Neda-ye Zanan* (Women’s Call), *Banu-ye Iran* (Iran’s Lady), and *Zanan-e Iran* (Women of Iran) by Touba Khan-Khani.⁸⁰

Between 1960 and 1963, a period of relative political freedom, the state policy on women’s suffrage was motivated by a desire for women’s social and political enfranchisement once again. Women’s emancipation was seen as a pre requisite for the modernism envisaged for the nation by the monarch. In 1961, accordingly, the Federation of Iranian Women’s Organization was dissolved and the High Council of Women’s Organization of Iran (*Shoraye A’aliye Jami’at Zanan Iran*) was established under the presidency of the Shah’s twin sister Ashraf Pahlavi (Fig. 10). Once again the women’s movement was brought under the control of the Royal family and the

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 137.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

shah became the only power in initiating women's rights: "I think the bureaucracy began to think that if they put Her Highness Ashraf, an intelligent and capable person, at the head of women's organizations, they would help these organizations and bring them under their own control, under the control of the system so that things didn't get out of hand."⁸¹

The period 1960-3 was followed by serious economic problems that pushed the country into reformist legislation from above consolidating the monarchical regime and institutionalizing the Pahlavi rule within the framework of what the shah called the White Revolution (Enghelab-e Sefid) or the Revolution of the Shah and People. The White Revolution was a development plan culminating in a six-point reform program with the encouragement of the Kennedy Administration. The secularization of women's statues was a part of this reform, attempting to bestow social, cultural and political empowerment to modern Iranian women:

"Our Revolution was not complete without women's full emancipation, and with this Revolution we have now made a huge leap from terrible backwardness into the ranks of the civilized societies of the twentieth century. By granting women the right to vote, we have washed away the last stigma from our society and smashed the last chain."⁸²

Despite the opposition of Ayatollah Khomeini and the Islamic Ulama, the royal decree was launched by the shah on 26 January. Considered "the starting point of Iran's Modern History", the program, which was later extended to nineteen points from six by additional reform programs over a fifteen-year period, comprised: Land Reforms Program (January 26, 1963), Nationalization of Forests and Pasturelands (January 26, 1963), Privatization of the Government Owned Enterprises (January 26, 1963), Profit Sharing for Industrial Workers (January 26, 1963), Female Suffrage Law and Extending the Right to Vote to Women (January 26, 1963), Formation of the Literacy Corps (January 26, 1964), Formation of the Health Corps (January 21, 1964), Formation of the Reconstruction and Development Corps (September 23, 1964), Formation of the Houses of Equity (October 13, 1965), Nationalization of

⁸¹Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Hazards of Modernity and Morality: Women, State and Ideology in Contemporary Iran: Mohammad Reza Shah: Citizens as Grateful Beneficiaries of the State," in Deniz Kandiyoti (ed.), 1991, *Women, Islam and the state* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), p. 61.

⁸² Bahaeddin Pazargad, 1966, *Chronology of the History of Iran: 2850 B.C. to 1963 A.D.* (Tehran: Eshraghi Bookshops).

Water Resources Program (October 6, 1967), Urban and Rural Modernization and Reconstruction Program (October 6, 1967), Didactic Reforms, Modernization-Decentralization (October 6, 1967), Employee and Public Ownership Extension Scheme in the Industrial Complexes (September 9, 1975), Price Stabilization and Campaign against Profiteering (September 9, 1975), Free and Compulsory Education (mid-December 1975), Free Nutrition for Needy Mothers (mid-December 1975), Introduction of Social Security and National Insurance (late December 1975), Stable and Reasonable Cost of Renting or Buying of Residential properties and Introduction of Measures to Fight Corruption.⁸³

The shah attempted to stamp his authority on gender construction, stating: “I don’t underestimate [women], as shown by the fact that they have derived more advantages than anyone else from my White Revolution”. The inauguration of 1963 was anticipated to provide an appropriate framework for women’s emancipation under state control, and the Women’s Organization of Iran (WOI) was expected to be instrumental in “achieving its progressive aims to prepare women to the fullest extent for Iran’s advancement”. The White Revolution was, thus, an antecedent to the state’s actions in Family Protection Laws (FPL), the Penal Codes and Labor Legislation.

The royal decree of 1963 gave women the right to vote (Fig 11) and participate in political elections of the Parliament and Senate for the first time. Subsequently, six of the total one hundred and ninety seven deputies elected to the twenty-first Parliament were women (Fig 12). These figures were Farrokhrou Parsa, a medical doctor worked for the advancement of women in Iran; Mehrangiz Dowlatshahi, the founder of the New Path Society with a doctorate degree in sociology (Fig 13); Nayereh Ebtehaj-Samii, a graduate of American Missionary School in Tehran and a member of several women’s societies; Hajar Tarbiat, the founder of the Kanun-e Banouvan (Women’s Center), the first organization of its type; Showkat-Malek Jahanbani, a pioneer in girls’ education and the founder of various educational institutions for

⁸³ Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, 1967, *The White Revolution of Iran* (Tehran: Imperial Pahlavi Library).

girls; and Nehzat Nafisi, an active figure in women's affairs.⁸⁴ The two of the members appointed to the Senate by Mohammad Reza Shah were Shams-al Molouk Mosahab who had a PhD in pedagogy and Mehrangiz Manouchehrian, a doctor of law and founder and president of the Iranian Federation of Women Lawyers.⁸⁵ Two years later in 1965, a woman held a cabinet position in Iran for the first time. Farrokhrou Parsa (Fig. 14), an elected member of the twenty-first Parliament, was appointed Minister of Education and Iran took a step in the improvement of women's political status "achieved by arbitrary action of an autocratic ruler".⁸⁶

During the two decades preceding the Islamic Revolution, Iran witnessed the elimination of all independent political powers in the interest of further control from above. By this time, every organization had begun to be controlled by state patronage. As mentioned, in his modernization drive, the shah's state promoted women's suffrage and political participation to encourage a state-gender alliance on both the national and international orbits. Women were now identified as 'active agents' of the Shah's modernization program and the Women's Organization of Iran as the only state-sponsored women's organization in mobilizing women behind the only legal pro-shah political party, Hezb-e Rastakhiz (Resurgent Party) and the White Revolution.

According to Ashraf Pahlavi, the WOI was expected to "integrate Iranian women into every facet of society and to create the conditions of equality that our female ancestors had enjoyed centuries ago [and that had been lost with the Islamic conquest of Iran and the subsequent influence of Islamic Arabs]"⁸⁷. Explaining her actions, she alleged that "the existing, narrowly based women's groups must go through an

⁸⁴ Gholam-Reza Afkhami, 2008, "Women and Rights: Securing the Realm," *The Life and Times of the Shah* (New York: University of California Press), p. 244.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Monique Girgis, 1996, "Women in pre-revolutionary, revolutionary and post-revolutionary Iran," *Iran Chamber Society*, [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: http://www.iranchamber.com/society/articles/women_prepost_revolutionary_iran1.php [Accessed: 20 may 2009].

⁸⁷ Sedghi, 2007, "Women and the State: Women's Organization of Iran," p. 169.

evolutionary process in order to encompass a broader and more extensive program for women's activities."⁸⁸

Established in 1966,⁸⁹ the officers of the WOI included some women from the Pahlavi Court: Ashraf Pahlavi, the founder of the Organization, was the President, and Farideh Diba, the Shahbanu Farah's mother was the Vice-President (Fig. 15). The Board members included Farrokhrou Parsa, the Iranian physician, educator and parliamentarian, who was appointed the first cabinet minister of the Iranian government as the Minister of Education in 1965 and nine men who served at top positions in the senate and the parliament as minister of justice, minister of economy, minister of the interior, minister of health, mayor of Tehran and the chief of police. Mahaz Afkhami, the American-educated Iranian professor and the founder of the Association of University Women, was selected as the Secretary General in 1970⁹⁰.

Active for more than a decade until the Iranian Islamic Revolution, as the propaganda tool for the shah's modernization program, the WOI established itself and grew in size, membership and function in six main areas of "women's welfare, legal reforms, publications, social concerns, international affairs, and organizational

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ After its establishment in 1966, forty-eight societies became under the patronage of the state among them were the Alumni Association of American School by Hour-Asa Shokouh (1889), the Armenian Women's Charity Association by Astghik Shishmanian (1923), Women Society by Ghamar Dowlatabadi (1935), GIN Society by Armick Nersesyan (1939), Society of Employed Women by Kachkineh Kazemi (1941), The Iranian Women Council by Safiyeh Firouz (1943), Association of Iranian Midwives by Mojgan Daghigh (1944), Public Assistance of Tehranian Women by Hajar Tarbiyat (1945), Association of Jewish Women by Shamsi Hekmat (1947), the Society of Artist Women (1950), Iranian Nurses Community (1952), Society of Rah-e Now by Fatemeh Minouie (1945), Women Awakening Society by Sepehr Khadem (1959), Syndicate of Women School Managers by Mahdokht Etamad (1961), the Society of Narmak Women by Zahra Tabatabaie (1962), the Society of Tehran-Pars Women (1962), the Society of Assyrian and Chaldean Women by Malek Yunan (1963), Women's Society for Peace by Tahereh Eskandari (1941), Women's Planning and Budget Organization by Monir Azari (1966), National Association for Poor and the Elderly by Mansoore Malakooti (1966), The Women Community of Ministry of Intelligence and National Security by Tahereh Fakoori (1967), The Women Community of Agriculture Ministry by Mersedeh Azarkhoshi (1967), The Women Community of Post and Telegraph Ministry by Mrs. Tanoomand (1967), The Organization of Administration and Employment Affairs by Homa Mojallal (1967), The Municipality's Women Organization by Bahereh Bahar (1967).

⁹⁰ Paidar, 1997, "Women and the Era of Modernization: State and Society in 'The Great Civilization'," p. 149.

necessities”⁹¹. So it was that “Ashraf Pahlavi’s goal had been achieved. The establishment of a growing organization and the inclusion of all women’s groups under one umbrella, that of the state”⁹².

In parallel with the Resurgence Party, the WOI was influential in directing the political process through high-ranking political appointees over approximately thirteen year of its activities. Mahnaz Afkhami, the General Secretary and later the Minister of State for Women’s Affairs of Iran, was one of these active figures (Fig 16). As the Vice President of the Resurgent Party’s Political Bureau, Afkhami played a pivotal role in effective participation of women in party politics and accordingly in the realization of the goals of the shah’s Revolution: “it was up to WOI and its allies to lobby the government and other loci of political power to produce the conditions in which the convergence could be perceived. Whenever women failed to elicit this perception, they also failed to mobilize the state’s support in favor of their demands”⁹³. The WOI’s activities suited the initiatives of the Pahlavi state since the organization was accepted as a tool for projecting the shah’s image as a champion of women’s rights in Iran and in the Western hemisphere.⁹⁴

During the last decade of the Pahlavi monarchy, the state followed a policy of ideological transformation of Iranian society. In his modernization program, the shah devised the policies of ‘Great Civilization’, an image reconstructed by the state with reference to the ancient Persian Empire claiming that Iran had now achieved compatibility with Western civilization:

By 1977 the ideology of “Great Civilization” was in full swing and dominated every aspect of Iranian life. The history of Iran had been rewritten and the Iranian calendar itself was changed to convey the sense of continuous non-Islamic civilization in Iran. An image of power and military strength was projected through accumulation of the most sophisticated and up-to-date armoury. Like the great ancient kings Cyrus and Daryus, the Shah prided himself on leading a strong and loyal army and on having at

⁹¹ Ashraf Pahlavi, “Salnameh,” *Sazman-e Zanan* (Tehran: Women’s Organization Publication), pp. 100-1.

⁹² Sedghi, 2007, “Women and the State: Women’s Organization of Iran,” p. 169.

⁹³ Mahnaz Afkhami, “The Women’s Organization of Iran: Evolutionary Politics and Revolutionary Change,” in Back & Nashat, p. 110.

⁹⁴ Paidar, 1997, “Women and the Era of Modernization: State and Society in ‘The Great Civilization’,” p. 150.

his disposal a sophisticated spy network known as the ‘Shah’s eyes and ears’. The modern equivalent of the latter was the deadly secret police SAVAK. Like the ancient civilization, modern Iran was politically and ideologically led by a single political party, the Rastakhiz (Resurgence) Party was set up on the ruins of the Iranian Constitution to lead the country into the age of ‘The Great Civilization’.”⁹⁵

The state’s modernization towards the image of the ‘Great Civilization’ had impacts on promoting contemporary arts and culture in Iran which will be discussed in the following chapters. Still, legitimating the state’s ideology included a gender dimension as well. The female members of the royal family were now represented as the ‘ideal’ model of modern Iranian woman.⁹⁶

Court women had unique qualifications in proselytizing the state’s policies on gender issues and women’s emancipation. As the head of the Organization, although Ashraf Pahlavi was a prominent figure in elevating the state’s image on the international scene⁹⁷, it was Shahbanu Farah Pahlavi who embodied the ultimate emancipated modern Iranian woman. As an ideal archetype of emancipated Iranian woman, she supported the shah’s modernization policies. To the shah “she [the shahbanu] was alongside him in the Revolution, occasionally even in the capacity of a soldier of the [White] Revolution”⁹⁸ since, like many of her contemporaries, she represented a “modern-yet-modest” image of the modern Iranian woman and emancipation that the shah granted to his nation. “[While] in the first period [under Reza Shah], women’s status was seen as a symbol of modernity of the new nation and the new state; in the

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 148.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Not only as the president of the WOI, but she served her active role in representing the Iranian monarchical politics abroad: as the delegate to the United Nations, she chaired Iran’s United Nations Human Rights Commission and the Commission on the Status of Women. She was also involved in donating a large amount to American Universities such as John Hopkins University, the University of Michigan and Princeton University. As the most influential figure on the monarch’s governmental issues, Ashraf Pahlavi’s power was identified “as if competing with her brother for the throne”; Sedghi, 2007, “Women and the State: Women’s Organization of Iran,” p. 171.

⁹⁸ R. K. Karanjia, 1977, “Only One Female Influence,” *The Mind of Monarch* (London: George Allen & Unwin LTD.), p. 170.

second period [under Mohammad Reza Shah], it became the symbol of the modernity of the monarch and his progressive benevolence towards women”⁹⁹.

While many pro-Pahlavi publications praised the dynasty for their gender ideologies and the philosophy of reforms for women’s emancipation, their opponents argued that the reformers’ idea for an intensive national program for women’s rights never reached an equal legal position with men’s. As stated by Sansarian, “Feminism as such was neither the desire of the authorities nor the intention of those who championed legal changes”¹⁰⁰. The shah himself rejected feminist ideas, claiming that the Iranian women had “neither a need nor the desire to interest themselves in such nonsense”¹⁰¹. Feminism, however, was a tool in gender legalization that enhanced the image of the shah as a modern monarch that he was to regret later.

Similarly, Afkhami noted that “the shah was not a supporter of feminism. His role as the king of the kings represented the essence and personification of patriarchy. He stood as the archetypal father figure for the family and nation. But he, as well as many other government leaders, was conscious of and fully accepted women’s argument that development was impossible without the full integration of women and a complete change in their status.”¹⁰² Accordingly, although the shahbanu dedicated herself to elevating the image of the Peacock Throne, her activities like those of “other Court women fell within the parameters of authoritarianism and Iran’s class society”¹⁰³.

Whether a member of royal family or not, women in Pahlavi Iran, ironically, were perceived as an ‘instrument’ ideologically promoting the state’s posture and in fact “the various manifestations of feminism in the 1970s provided a concrete form and

⁹⁹ Afsaneh Najmabadi, “Hazards of Modernity and Morality: Women, State and Ideology in Contemporary Iran,” in Albert Hourani, Philip Khoury and Mary C. Wilson (ed.), 1993, *The Modern Middle East* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: I. B. Tauris), p. 677.

¹⁰⁰ Eliz Sanasarian, 1982, *The Women’s Rights Movement in Iran* (New York: Praeger), p. 110.

¹⁰¹ Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, 1960, *Mission for my Country* (London: Hutchinson), p. 235.

¹⁰² Afkhami, “The Women’s Organization of Iran: Evolutionary Politics and Revolutionary Change,” p. 126.

¹⁰³ Sedghi, 2007, “Women and the State: Elite Women,” p. 168.

articulated a very specific ideological agenda that was modernity itself¹⁰⁴. Serving vital positions in various social, educational, cultural and artistic fields, the shahbanu, however, tried to challenge authoritative powers via promoting arts and culture. And, these “feminine’ pursuits”¹⁰⁵ were, on the contrary, very political. The shahbanu questioned the parameters of the patriarchal structure of Iranian modernity through the power of arts and culture, areas the shah dismissed as less vital in state bureaucracy. That is the main subject to be investigated in this dissertation.

2.4. Revolutionizing Modernity: Coronation of the Empress

A woman today in Iran is totally different from what she was a few centuries ago, or even a few decades ago. As all walks of life are open to her, so is the *throne* [...] the Empress has played such an important role among her people during recent years, she has been such a support to me and has *fulfilled her task* with such favor and passion that she has richly *deserved this honor* [...] she has done a great deal for all men and women, unstintingly, and will continue to do so, for *our task is far from complete*.¹⁰⁶

The shahbanu’s power was exemplified by her part in a highly legal event of 1967 coronation ceremony at which she was not only announced as the first officially crowned queen¹⁰⁷ in the history of Persia¹⁰⁸, but also as a woman vested with legal authority (Fig 17). Gender equality was one outcome of Mohammad Reza Shah’s six tenets program that served his twin goals: modernization and Westernization. The

¹⁰⁴ Talinn Grigor, 2005, p. 498.

¹⁰⁵ “She left the serious business of the state in the hands of her husband and took up ‘feminine’ pursuits such as social welfare, education, art and culture”; Paidar, 1997, “Women and the Era of Modernization: State and Society in ‘The Great Civilization’,” p. 149.

¹⁰⁶ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, pp. 149-50 [emphasis mine].

¹⁰⁷ Titled as Malekeh, or the Queen of Iran, after coronation ceremonies in 1967, however, she became the first Shahbanu, or Empress, of modern Iran; the Shah named her as the official Empress-Regent should he die or be incapacitated before the Crown Prince's twenty-first birthday. The naming of a woman as Regent was highly unusual for a Middle-Eastern Monarchy; “The World: Farah: The Working Empress,” 4 November, 1974, *Time*, [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,945049,00.html> [Accessed: 20 may 2009].

¹⁰⁸ “The title borne by H.I.M. Farah, Shahbanu of Iran, is an ancient one, signifying ‘wife of the Shah’. But although throughout the 2,500 or more years of Iranian history there has been a long chain of rulers, a puissant and picturesque succession of Kings, Khans, Caliphs, Atabegs, Emperors, Sophys or Shahs, no one of their wives, whether styled Shahbanu, Malikeh, Queen or Empress, ever shared her lord and master’s kingly responsibilities-much less, was crowned. There have been Sassanian princesses, daughters of Kings, who ruled briefly-but since the advent of Islam, no woman has worn a Queen’s crown”; Lesley Blanch, 1978, *Farah, Shahbanu of Iran* (London: Collins), p. 50.

shah marked “the Pahlavi era [as] a period of renaissance for Iranian civilization”¹⁰⁹ and in modernizing a patriarchal society and culture, nothing fulfilled his tasks better than promoting women’s human rights and emancipation. According to Mahnaz Afkhami, the former Secretary General of the Women's Organization of Iran and the Minister of State for Women’s Affairs, “the shah was conscious of and fully accepted [...] that development was impossible without the full integration of women and a complete change in their status”¹¹⁰. Such a revolutionary modification, consequently, could only be started from the throne.

Assuring the succession with the birth of Reza Pahlavi (31 October, 1960) and a second son, Ali-Reza Pahlavi (28 April, 1966 – 4 January, 2011) after the birth of their daughter Farahnaz Pahlavi (12 March, 1963), Farah Pahlavi would be appointed the shah’s regent designate in the event of the shah’s absence. With the amendment of the constitution which formerly laid down the appointment of the regent to the governmental body, the shahbanu was decreed to assume a regent’s power.¹¹¹ In the presence of the prime minister, members of Parliament, and the chiefs of the armed forces, the shah delivered a political testament which appointed Farah Pahlavi as the one to succeed him in instructing the affairs of state. “I could die at any time” he said. “If this should happen when the crown prince is not of legal age to succeed me, authority will go to the queen and the Regency Council. The armed forces should remain loyal to the queen and later to the young king. Orders can come from a woman or a young man; they should be obeyed. Our security and our lives depend on it.”¹¹²

Farah Pahlavi was the third wife¹¹³ of Mohammad Reza Shah and the only person to hold the office of Empress (shahbanu in Persian) since the advent of Islam in Iran.

¹⁰⁹ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 216.

¹¹⁰ Afkhami, “The Women’s Organization of Iran and the Government,” p. 126.

¹¹¹ Blanch, pp. 121-2.

¹¹² Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 262.

¹¹³ The first wife of Mohammad Reza Shah was Fawzia Bint Fuad. Fawzia was the daughter of Sultan Fuad I of Egypt and Nazli Sabri and unlike her successors, she was a princess in her own right. Married in 1939, she witnessed the abdication of Reza Shah and the ascendance of Mohammad Reza

She was the daughter of Sohrab Diba and Farideh Qotbi. Her father was a landowner from the Azerbaijan province. He was the son of a diplomat who served as Iranian ambassador to the Romanov Court in Moscow during the late nineteenth century. As a child, Sohrab Diba was dispatched to Russia and enrolled at the St. Petersburg Cadet School military training.¹¹⁴

Returning Tehran, the Diba family decided that Sohrab should resume his military studies and it was due to Reza Shah's approval of the French military that he was sent to France as a cadet at Saint-Cyr in 1925. Following his training, he enrolled at the Faculté de Droit of the Université de Paris where he studied law. After graduation as a lieutenant, Sohrab Diba was appointed as one of the several foreign trained instructors at the Staff College of Tehran's Military Academy where the future shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, would to train some years later.¹¹⁵

The Qotbi family was provincial gentry removed to the capital from the Gilan province. As a school girl at the Ecole Jeanne d'Arc which was run by French nuns, Farideh Qotbi encountered Lieutenant Sohrab Diba; and the couple married in 1937. The Dibas shared a large villa with Farideh Qotbi's brother, Mohammad-Ali Qotbi and his family. The Qotbis had a son six months older than Farah Diba. Occupying the place of a brother she never had, Reza Ghotbi would remain among the closest circle of the shahbanu after her marriage with the shah in fulfilling the state's cultural and artistic projects.

Shah to throne in 1941. Following the birth of their daughter Shahnaz Pahlavi in 1940, however, the couple was officially announced their divorce on 17 November, 1948 while Fawzia Fuad had obtained Egyptian divorce three years earlier in Cairo; Niloofar Kasra, 2000, *Influential Women of Pahlavi Dynasty* (Tehran: Namak Publication). The Shah's second marriage was with Soraya (1932-2001), the daughter of Khalil Esfandiary, a Bakhtiari nobleman and Iranian ambassador to West Germany in 1950 and his Russian-born German wife, Eva Karl. Studying in London, Soraya Esfandiary was introduced to the Shah by one of her relatives and a close friend of the queen mother, Forough Zafar Bakhtiari; the couple was married on 12 February, 1951 at the Golestan Palace in Tehran. The Shah's marriage with Soraya Esfandiary, however, had disintegrated as well due to the lack of an heir for the sake of continuity of the monarchy. On 28 March, 1958, he failed to appoint his brother, Ali Reza, as his heir due to his unexpected death in an air crash, and the shah finally announced his divorce for the dynasty's survival. Soraya Esfandiary moved to France. While the marriage was officially ended on the sixth April, the question of succession was postponed once again.

¹¹⁴ Blanch, p. 37.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

In 1944, when Farah Diba started her education at the Tehran Italian School at the age of six, her father, Sohrab Diba was appointed to the Army's Legal Section, a duty which was cut short due to his illness. After Sohrab Diba's unexpected death in 1948, Farah Diba had never visited his grave until she was seventeen since as she writes she had never been informed of his passing officially.¹¹⁶

A few months after Sohrab Diba's death, the Qotbis and Dibas had to leave the large villa for a penthouse since they could no longer support the life they had led. According to Farah Diba: "observing how a nineteenth-century town was being transformed into a large, modern capital city full of tall buildings and wide avenues" the penthouse was where she decided to "choose architecture as a profession" some years later: "My mother's brother, who shared the apartment with us, was himself an architect, and I loved to watch him in the evening as he made his sketches".¹¹⁷

The last years of Farah Diba's studies were spent at Jeanne d'Arc, a French foundation run by the Sisters of the Order of St Vincent de Paul and at Lycée Razi, again a French school in Tehran where she prepared for her baccalaureate and decided on a profession to pursue after her graduation. She said: "my Ghotbi uncle was an architect, and it was something which interested all the family: my Diba cousin Kamran was also planning an architectural career. I knew it was a difficult job – but I was gripped by it. I always have such satisfaction, such pleasure, when I see houses being built – growing up, out of the earth"¹¹⁸.

In 1957, Farah Diba enrolled at the Ecole Special d'Architecture on Boulevard Raspail in Paris (Fig 18). Accommodated in College Neerlandais, she recalled that all her cultural activities were centered around the Latin Quarter and the Cité Internationale Universitaire de Paris where she went to art houses, museums and galleries, opera, concerts, cinemas and theaters. She enjoyed the cafés of the

¹¹⁶ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 29.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 30.

¹¹⁸ Blanch, p. 45.

Boulevard Saint Germain; and attended the annual festival at Cité at which each country represented built its own pavilion.¹¹⁹

The second year of Farah Diba's architectural studies at Ecole Speciale d'Architecture in Paris was to be the turning point in her life with an invitation to a reception at the Iranian Embassy where she was introduced to her future husband, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi for the first time.¹²⁰ The official visit was arranged by Ardeshir Zahedi, the Iranian diplomat and the general at the head of the 1953 coup d'état.¹²¹ Married to Shahnaz Pahlavi, the only daughter of the shah and Fawzia Fuad, Ardeshir Zahedi was in charge of problems relating to the Iranian students in foreign countries. In 1959, during an official visit with General de Gaulle, the Iranian Embassy planned a meeting for the shah and a selection of outstanding students at Paris. Among them Farah Diba was presented at Ardeshir Zahedi's bureau later by her uncle, Esfandiar Diba who worked as the shah's chamberlain at that time.¹²²

After their first interview, it was Shahnaz Pahlavi who organized an initial informal meeting to introduce Farah Diba to the shah at her palace in Tehran. In 1959, wrote Blanch, "Architectural studies were abandoned for more pressing affairs [...] affairs of State"¹²³. The profession that was halted due to her marriage with the shah nevertheless expanded under her authority¹²⁴ as the shahbanu of Iran until the royal family's departure in 1979.

In an interview some years after her coronation, the shahbanu pointed out that: "Architecture is an act of creation – I always wanted to *create* [...] Were I not what I am today, I would wish to be an architect: I know my early choice of a career was the

¹¹⁹ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 65.

¹²⁰ Blanch, p. 47.

¹²¹ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 75.

¹²² Blanch, p. 47.

¹²³ Ibid, p. 50.

¹²⁴ Sedghi, 2007, "Women in the Kingdom of the Peacock Throne: Women and the State," p. 167.

right one for me.”¹²⁵ Further, she emphasized that “*reigning* is also creative” and creating “a new country, new people, new ways of life” was also “creation”. It was, as described by Blanch, “architecture [as well] on very large lines.”¹²⁶

While the shahbanu was prominent in artistic and architectural activities as a means to negotiate the demands of being a queen regent, yet, the creation of an independent authority in the royal court was not without friction: “during the seventies, her court became known, at least to both the friends of the shah and to his conservative critics, as a den of avant-garde liberalism”¹²⁷. In this regard, the shah’s most reliable court minister, Amir Assadollah Alam, declared that although the “amendment to the constitution HMQ¹²⁸” as regent was “entirely HIM’s¹²⁹ doing”, the reformation in the royal succession and the empowerment of the shahbanu was not without contradiction and controversy.¹³⁰ The state was patriarchal at its root, and as Mahnaz Afkhami indicates, “the shah’s role as the king of kings represented the essence and personification of patriarchy”¹³¹. This fact reinforced the shahbanu in constructing the role assigned to her as “the archetypal mother figure for the nation”¹³². The shahbanu wrote,

It took me several years to really get to know my country, to begin to take a more active part in some of the affairs of state, to gain assurance in isolating problems and trying to find solutions to them. From the very beginning, I naturally and automatically became President of many organizations [...] but I used to wait until I was told what to do. I thought that everything at Court happened in a prescribed manner and that all I had to do was to confirm obediently. It did not enter my head that I could already command: ‘Do this, or that!’ Besides, when I sometimes said: ‘It must be like this,’ I would be told [...] ‘it has always be like that and therefore cannot be changed.’ But gradually [...] I could take initiatives and launch myself usefully into action. As time went by, the King gave me greater power and unloaded some of his own responsibilities on to me [...] it should be I

¹²⁵ Blanch, p. 45.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Shawcross, 1988, “The Queen and A King,” p. 98.

¹²⁸ HMQ stands for Her Majesty the Queen.

¹²⁹ HIM stands for His Imperial Majesty.

¹³⁰ Assadollah Alam, 2007, *The Shah & I: the Confidential Diary of Iran’s Royal Court 1969-1977* (London : I. B. Tauris & Company, Ltd.), p. 181.

¹³¹ Afkhami, “The Women’s Organization of Iran and the Government,” p. 126.

¹³² Ibid.

who would assume the regency of the kingdom [...] even if, some retrogressive minds were still prejudge against a woman exercising the supreme power.¹³³

As a woman, Shahbanu Farah was in the midst of challenging the legitimacy of the royal absolutism. Her assumption of authority in sharing the power of the throne was described as “a memorable turning point in [the Iranian] history”¹³⁴. The causes she championed and her role in government sometimes however came into conflict with certain groups, and even with the shah for whom realizing the shahbanu’s power was challenging.¹³⁵ “Since her promotion as prospective regent, there’s been a perceptible upsurge of rivalry between her and HIM,” stated Court Minister Alam rather bluntly. In an attempt to agitate both side he remarked that, “it is simply a question of one country cannot be ruled by two kings”¹³⁶. Similarly, in an interview with Leila Diba, the curator of the Negaretsan Museum,¹³⁷ she declared that “it was no more or less sophisticated than any other atmosphere in Iran [...] Iran was full of ‘courts’. Everybody had their own ‘courts’.”¹³⁸ The shahbanu’s authority was abrasive for the members of the regime’s upper echelon. Court Minister Alam once complained to the shah that the shahbanu established a parallel royal court around her. In a similar

¹³³ Farah Pahlavi, 1978, “What you must give,” *My Thousand and One Days: an Autobiography* (London: A Howard & Wyndham Company), pp. 64-6.

¹³⁴ Alam, 2007, pp. 334-5.

¹³⁵ There are an enormous amount of pro- and anti-Pahlavi opinions on the Shah’s objectives in appointing the queen as prospective regent. While many historians agree that “the regency was a public relations exercise designed to show the shah’s respect for women’s equality”, most believe that the shah had “no intention of relinquishing any real power”; Ansari, 2003, p. 198.

¹³⁶ Alam, 2007, p. 255.

¹³⁷ Born to an Irish-Italian mother and Iranian father, Diba came from a dual background and studied at different schools in different languages in Italy, France, and America where she continued her education in Wellesley and New York University at the Institute of Fine arts. Searching for Qajar paintings for her Ph.D dissertation, Diba however, left unfinished her education for an internship at the Metropolitan Museum for some months in the Department of Islamic Art until she met her husband, a member of the Diba family. It was a coincidence that the man she married was related to the Shahbanu Farah and that this happened when the Queen had been working for a project similar to Diba’s graduate study in New York. Diba was introduced to Karim Pasha Bahadori, the Shahbanu’s Chef du Cabinet by Fereshteh Daftari, the Queen’s close friend who studied modern art in Colombia University and worked for the Private Secretariat for two years onward. Diba started her career as art consultant in Shahbanu’s Bureau in February 1974 where she became the curator/director of Negarestan Museum and an active member in the formation of Tehran Museum of Contemporary Arts, Carpet Museum and Abgineh Museum., Leila Diba August 1984, interview by Tanya Farmanfarmanian, Oral History of Iran: Collection of the Foundation of Iranian Studies, New York, pp. 1-7.

¹³⁸ Leila Diba p. 10.

vein, Amir Abbas Hoveyda, the prime minister of the time, offered his resignation to the shah arguing that since the private secretariat of the shahbanu became a competitive power to the government by intervening in appointing and dismissing the ministers, so he had no desire to fulfill his responsibilities as the future court minister.¹³⁹ In another meeting with Parviz Radji, the ambassador of Iran in London, Hoveyda emphasized that there was no central control for the country¹⁴⁰ referring to the directory of Shahbanu Farah's secretariat, Houshang Nahavandi and the circle of 'French intellectuals' around her. He said that the shah ordered him to reject any letters received from the shahbanu's secretariat except those related to arts and culture.¹⁴¹ According to Azimi, the shahbanu could not build a real coterie of influential protégés in the court. He wrote that "she had her own assistants and advisors who were liked by neither the shah nor Alam"¹⁴². In a similar manner, the American embassy once reported that "her secretariat seemed not fully under her control."¹⁴³ Viewed as a "dangerous development" against the state, the shahbanu's office was under the control by the state: "Karim-Pasha Bahadori, chief of Farah's personal office, led a group of courtiers said to have been placed under Farah by Hoveyda and Ashraf more to keep watch over the Queen and control the flow of information to her than to assist her in her duties."¹⁴⁴

Since the shahbanu took on the state's socio-cultural responsibilities, the challenges to her often manifested in artistic and architectural concerns. For instance, when the prime minister Alam reported "the mayor of Tehran has assembled the architectural plans for the Pahlavi museum" asking "should he submit them to HIM or HMQ?",

¹³⁹ Parviz Radji, 1983, "Saturday, 5th August, 1978," *In The Service of the Peacock Throne, The Diaries of the Shah's Last Ambassador to London* (London: Hamish Hamilton), p. 225.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 85.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 89.

¹⁴² Fakhreddin Azimi, 2009, "Authoritarian Supremacy: Consolidation and Collaps, The Edifice and Emplacements of Rule," *Quest for Democracy in Iran: A Century of Struggle Against Authoritarian Rule* (New York: Harvard University Press), p. 239.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

the shah testily responded “to me, of course”.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, when she asked the shah to participate in the review of drawings for the Pahlavi Museum in 1972, the shah was irritated;¹⁴⁶ for the shah, the shahbanu’s entourage were “not exactly lacking in potential troublemakers.”¹⁴⁷

In an attempt to calm the reactions against her, the shahbanu exploited the manifest power of art and architecture as agency in the workings of the Iranian politics. She said “my part [in creating a new country] gives me a chance to have much to say about our new buildings, city planning, hospitals, schools, housing developments and such. That is *really* where women should have much to say...”¹⁴⁸ (Fig 19). For Shahbanu Farah, it was the power of art and architecture that consolidated her political authority. She believed that: “good architecture could not only avert a popular revolution from below, but also bring about a successful elitist revolution from above [and] such a reform would finally ‘acculturate the nation’”¹⁴⁹

With the participation of an intimate group and royal supporters,¹⁵⁰ the shahbanu commissioned the establishment of the Private Secretariat of Farah Pahlavi in the early 1960s (Fig. 20). As a charitable institution, firstly devoted to social welfare, the secretariat became the main center for investigating social, artistic and cultural organizations and activities in both national and international levels under her patronage:

As the years have gone by, the scope of my activities has widened considerably. That is why my personal office consists today of more than a hundred and fifty people and I receive there nearly sixty thousand letters a year. The staff is now well acquainted with

¹⁴⁵ Alam, 2007, p. 255.

¹⁴⁶ Talinn Grigor, 2009, “Masculinist Myths of Modernism,” p. 183.

¹⁴⁷ Alam, 2007, p. 166.

¹⁴⁸ Blanch, p. 45.

¹⁴⁹ Grigor, 2005, p. 495.

¹⁵⁰ The organization committee of the Farah Pahlavi Secretariat included Amir-Abas Hoveida, the Prime Minister and later Court Minister; Mehrdad Pahlbod, the Minister of Culture and Art; Karim-Paşa Bahadori, the Minister of Tourism and Information; Houshang Nahavandi, the General Manager of Farah’s Secretariat; Farhag Mehr, the Dean of Pahlavi University; Jamshid Behnam, the Dean of Farabi University; seyed-Hasan Nasr, the General Manager of Royal Society of Philosophy; and Reza Ghotbi, General Manager of Foundation of Farah Pahlavi and the Director of National Iranian Radio and Television. In Kasra, 2000, “Farah Pahlavi (Diba),” p. 306.

my manner of dealing with correspondence and hence only come to me for an opinion in special cases. It would be impossible for me to see everything. My Private Secretary brings me only a selection of mail from Iran or abroad, the most significant of the personal cases, the reports of the various organizations over which I preside, messages from international organizations or offices with which we are connected, reports on current projects. I keep what seems to me to merit further thought, dictate my replies or comments on the reminder and tell him what I consider to be the priority of the moment.¹⁵¹

The secretariat was established in collaboration with a European-educated “working elite”¹⁵² group of artists, designers, architects, archeologists, city planners, historians, scientists and doctors each of whom occupied “key posts in those organizations which she considered most vital to the country’s development”¹⁵³. Within the twenty year of her regency, the shahbanu took all cultural responsibilities under her domain gradually but firmly. The group was entrusted with establishing a “new cultural identity for the nation”¹⁵⁴. During this period, Shahbanu Farah became the patron to numerous educational, medical, cultural, and social organizations.¹⁵⁵ In highlighting the nature of her patronage Shahbanu Farah indicated that,

¹⁵¹ Farah Pahlavi, 1978, p. 66.

¹⁵² Blanch, p. 144.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Minou Reeves, 1986, “Shahbanou’s Private Secretariats,” *Behind the Peacock Throne* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd.), p. 188.

¹⁵⁵ To name some the well known institutions under her patronage are Farah Pahlavi Society for Education & Health Improvement, Farah Pahlavi’s Charity Organization (1953), The Organization for Help to the Needy, Foundation for Protection of Women and Babies (1959), National Association for Protection of Children (1952), Iran Medical Congress (1952), National Society for Fighting Cancer (1967), National Society for Protection of the Leprosy Affected People, Society for the Skin Burt Injured (1965), National Organization of Blood Transfusion, Pasteur Institute, Iranian Foundation for World Health, Children Medical Center, Children and Adolescent’s Center for Mental Education, Society for Support of Orphans (1966), The Sport Federation for the Deaf and Dumb (1955), Council of Social Welfare, Supreme Council of Urban Development (1965), Supreme Council of Information and Tourism (1975), Supreme Council of Health, Organization for the Blind, Organization for the Deaf, Tehran Philharmonic Society (1963), National Organization of Iranian Folklore (1967), Center for Intellectual Development of Children and Adolescents (1965), The National Council of Cultural Relations (1966), Iran Cultural Foundation (1964), Shiraz Art Festival Organization (1967), Asian Institute of Pahlavi University (1966), Board of Translation ad Publication (1954), The Dialogue of Cultures (1976), Toos Festival (1975), Imperial Society of Philosophy (1973), Isfahan Folk Arts Festival (1977), Tehran Cinema Festival Supreme Council of Scientific Researches, Farah Pahlavi University (1975), The Training Center (1958), Farabi University (1977), Supreme Council Higher Education (1966), Iranian Academy of Science (1974), Royal Society of Philosophy, Research Institute for Agrarian and Peasant Affairs and Center for Dialogue among Civilizations; “organizations activated under the patronage of the Shahbanou,” 13 October 1976, *Etela’at* Vol. (15135), p. 2.

“I am not content to preside in an honorary capacity over certain institutions, organizations, foundations or senior committees. I take an active part in them. We had to create a certain number of senior committees to coordinate the activities of the public and private sectors so that the budgets spent and the staff engaged should be used to the best advantage and for the benefit of the country as a whole, within the framework of the development plans which had been carefully worked out and were intended to be applied throughout the land.”¹⁵⁶

During the last decade of her regency, the shahbanu’s power reached its peak. The shah detached from the country’s sociopolitical issues due to his serious illness¹⁵⁷ and the shahbanu became the de facto ruler to shape the state’s artistic and cultural agenda. The naming of a woman as regent, however, was highly common for a Middle-Eastern monarchy. According to the shahbanu, the coronation was a remarkable act symbolically affirming the equality of men and women. She said “when he put the crown on my head I felt that he had just honored all the women of Iran” and continued “only four years earlier, we had been in the same legal category as the mentally handicapped. We did not even have the basic right of choosing our representatives.” She emphasized “this crown wiped out centuries of humiliation; more surely than any law, it solemnly affirmed the equality of men and women”¹⁵⁸.

While the shahbanu claimed that the enfranchisement of women “owed its lot” to the shah, in an interview with the American anchorwoman Barbara Walters, the shah derisively commented that “the shahbanu could not reign as well as he”.¹⁵⁹ Actually, the shah himself devalued women. Mohammad Reza Shah dismissed the shahbanu as “well-intentioned, but no one could honestly credit her with much experience or patience”¹⁶⁰. In highlighting the shah’s perspective on women’s rights, the Italian reporter, Oriana Fallaci quoted: “What do these feminists want? ... [women] may be equal in the eyes of the law. But not ... in ability. ... [women have] never produced a

¹⁵⁶ Farah Pahlavi, 1978, p. 68-9.

¹⁵⁷ The first symptoms of the Monarch’s illness appeared in 1973. The doctors diagnosed Waldenstrom’s disease., in Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 262. “Suffering from cancer, [the Shah] relinquished many political responsibilities to her”; Sedghi, 2007, “Women in the Kingdom of the Peacock Throne: Economic Development and the Gender Division of Labor,” p. 104.

¹⁵⁸ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 157.

¹⁵⁹ Sedghi, 2007, “Women in the Kingdom of the Peacock Throne: Elite Women,” p. 168.

¹⁶⁰ Alam, 2007, p. 255.

Michelangelo or a Bach. [women] have produced nothing great!”¹⁶¹ Two years after this interview, ironically, the shah issued the enfranchisement decree to give women formal recognition and political representation. And, handed the reign of Iran, the shahbanu was in a position to implement the shah’s drive toward modernization.

If appointing her empress-regent invested the shahbanu with full authority and made her a responsible queen in all affairs of the Pahlavi state, the revolution from the throne was a revision symbolically deconstructing the essence of the patriarchal self-image of the shah which was sustained for centuries as the symbol of absolute power in the Iranian monarchical system. According to the shah, “the Pahlavi monarchy obtained its legitimacy from [...] the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 with its subsequent amendments of 1925 that proclaimed the Pahlavi rule and of 1967 that established an institution of regency under the Empress in the case of the minority of the heir to the throne”¹⁶² through which the fundamental base for modernizing the traditional monarchical system in Iran was secured.

In spite of the opposition, the shahbanu now became an ultimate model of the Pahlavi woman. According to a U.S report she was “the beneficiary of a carefully orchestrated program of image making”¹⁶³ of a modern monarch and a modern country. And to another embassy report she was “genuinely popular among the Iranian people [and] the only member of the Pahlavi family who could make such a claim.”¹⁶⁴ Shahbanu Farah was “the symbol of modern Iran”¹⁶⁵ in Mohammad Reza

¹⁶¹ Sedghi, 2007, “Women in the Kingdom of the Peacock Throne: Women’s Suffrage and Political Inequality,” p. 158.

¹⁶² Announcing the creation of Rastakhiz Party, the Shah stated that “The Monarchy in Iran obtains its legitimacy from three sources: the historical tradition of kingship, which in its search for the ancient roots of the Achaemenian era emphasized its sacred character; the constitution of Iran of 1906 and 1907 with its subsequent amendments, especially those of 1925, which proclaimed the Pahlavi rule, and of 1967, which established an institution of regency under the Empress in the case of the minority of the heir to the throne; and third, more or less ‘populist’ source, the reforms of the White Revolution aiming at social justice and modernization”. Lenczowski, 1978, “the Second Pahlavi Kingship, the Concept of Tutelage: Modernizing Monarchy,” p. 457.

¹⁶³ Fakhreddin Azimi, 2009, “Authoritarian Supremacy: Consolidation and Collaps, The Edifice and Emplacements of Rule,” *Quest for Democracy in Iran: A Century of Struggle Against Authoritarian Rule* (New York: Harvard University Press), p. 239.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

Shah's words and similarly in Sedghi's observations like her predecessors she was an influential figure in "elevating the international image of the Peacock Throne"¹⁶⁶. Albeit symbolically, assuming regency, however, vested the shahbanu legal authority in consolidating her power in all those fields she was always passionate about, arts and architecture.

¹⁶⁵ Blanch, p. 18.

¹⁶⁶ Sedghi, 2007, "Women in the Kingdom of the Peacock Throne: Economic Development and the Gender Division of Labor," p. 104.



Figure 1 Anis al-Dowla Qajar, Wife of Naser- al-Din Shah, 1890S.

SOURCE: Mohammad Hasan Semsar & Fatemeh Saraian, 2003, *Golestan Palace Photo Archive: Catalogue of Qajar Selected Photography* (Tehran: Golestan Palace Publication).



Figure 2 Esmat al-Molouk and Fakhr al-Taj with their father.

SOURCE: Women Digital Magazine, "Woman in Picture," *The Institute for Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: http://www.iichs.org/index.asp?id=1575&doc_cat=9 [Accessed: 26 March 2013].



Figure 3 Group of women and men in Qajar Iran.

SOURCE: Fahimeh Rastkar & Sohrab Daryabandari, *Women's World in Qajar Iran Digital Archive*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://ids.lib.harvard.edu/ids/view/44576828?buttons=y&printThumbnails=true> [Accessed: 26 March 2013].



Figure 4 A portrait of Naser al-Din Shah's daughter, Taj al-Saltaneh, 1890S.

SOURCE: Bahram Sheikholeslami, *Women's World in Qajar Iran Digital Archive*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://ids.lib.harvard.edu/ids/view/42570484?buttons=y&printThumbnails=true> [Accessed: 26 March 2013].



Figure 5 Members of Kanoun-e Banuvan (Ladies' Center) and their families, 1954.

SOURCE: Qamar Taj Dawlatabadi, *Women's World in Qajar Iran Digital Archive*, [Internet, WWW],
ADDRESS: <http://ids.lib.harvard.edu/ids/view/33281109?buttons=y&printThumbnails=true>
[Accessed: 26 March 2013].



Figure 6 Sedigheh Dawlatabadi (left) and two women.

SOURCE: Sadiqah Dawlatabadi, *Women's World in Qajar Iran Digital Archive*, [Internet, WWW],
ADDRESS: <http://ids.lib.harvard.edu/ids/view/42570567?buttons=y&printThumbnails=true>
[Accessed: 26 March 2013].



Figure 7 The queen mother, Taj al- Molouk and her two daughters, Shams Pahlavi and Ashraf Pahlavi in Women Emancipation Day, 1937.

SOURCE: Farah Pahlavi, 2004, *An Enduring Love: My Life with the Shah A Memoir* (New York: Miramax Books).



Figure 8 Military commanders of the Iranian armed forces, government officials and their wives commemorating the abolition of the veil, 1930S.

SOURCE: Author's personal archive.



Figure 9 The first women students at the University of Tehran, among which Shams al-Molouk Mosahep and Mehrangiz Manouchehrian became the first women senators in Iran, 1940.

SOURCE: Badr al-Molouk Bamdad, 1968, *Iranian Woman from the Constitutional Revolution to the White Revolution* (Tehran: Ibn-I Sina), p. 99.



Figure 10 Ashraf chairs a meeting of the governors of the provinces and representatives of the WOI, 1960s.

SOURCE: *Foundation of Iranian Studies Digital Archive*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://fis-iran.org/en/galleries/women> [Accessed: 02 April 2013].

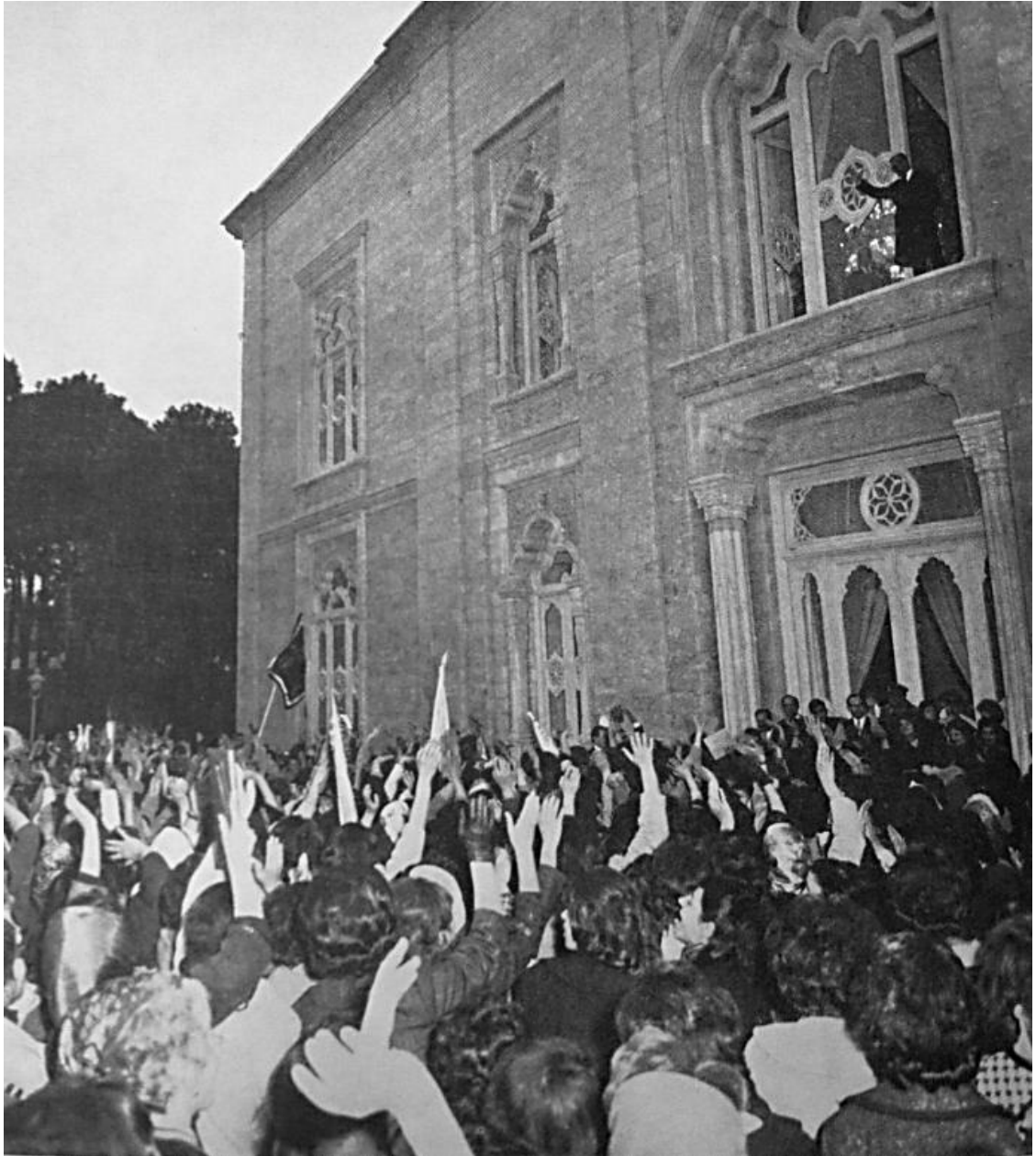


Figure 11 Celebration of women liberation in the Marmar Palace Complex with Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, 1963.

SOURCE: "The Revolution of the Shah and the People," 1969, *Shahanshah: A Pictorial Biography of His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Aryamehr* (Edinburgh: Transorient Books).



Figure 12 Women Parliamentarians at the gate of the Majlis, 1965.

SOURCE: *Foundation of Iranian Studies Digital Archive*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://fis-iran.org/en/galleries/women> [Accessed: 02 April 2013].



Figure 13 Farrokhrou Parsa (left), Minister of Education and Mehrangiz Dowlatshahi (right) with officers of the International Council of Women, 1960S.

SOURCE: *Foundation of Iranian Studies Digital Archive*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://fis-iran.org/en/galleries/women> [Accessed: 02 April 2013].



Figure 14 Farrokhroo Parsa in her formal attire as cabinet officer, 1965.

SOURCE: *Foundation of Iranian Studies Digital Archive*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://fis-iran.org/en/galleries/women> [Accessed: 02 April 2013].



Figure 15 Farideh Diba, the mother of Farah Pahlavi, on a Visit to WOI, 1960s.

SOURCE: *Foundation of Iranian Studies Digital Archive*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://fis-iran.org/en/galleries/women> [Accessed: 02 April 2013].



Figure 16 Mahnaz Afkhami, Minister of Women's Affairs, 1960s.

SOURCE: *Foundation of Iranian Studies Digital Archive*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://fis-iran.org/en/galleries/women> [Accessed: 02 April 2013].



Figure 17 An official photograph of the Royal couple, 1967.

SOURCE: Farah Pahlavi, 1978, *My Thousand and One Days* (London: A Howard & Wyndham Company).

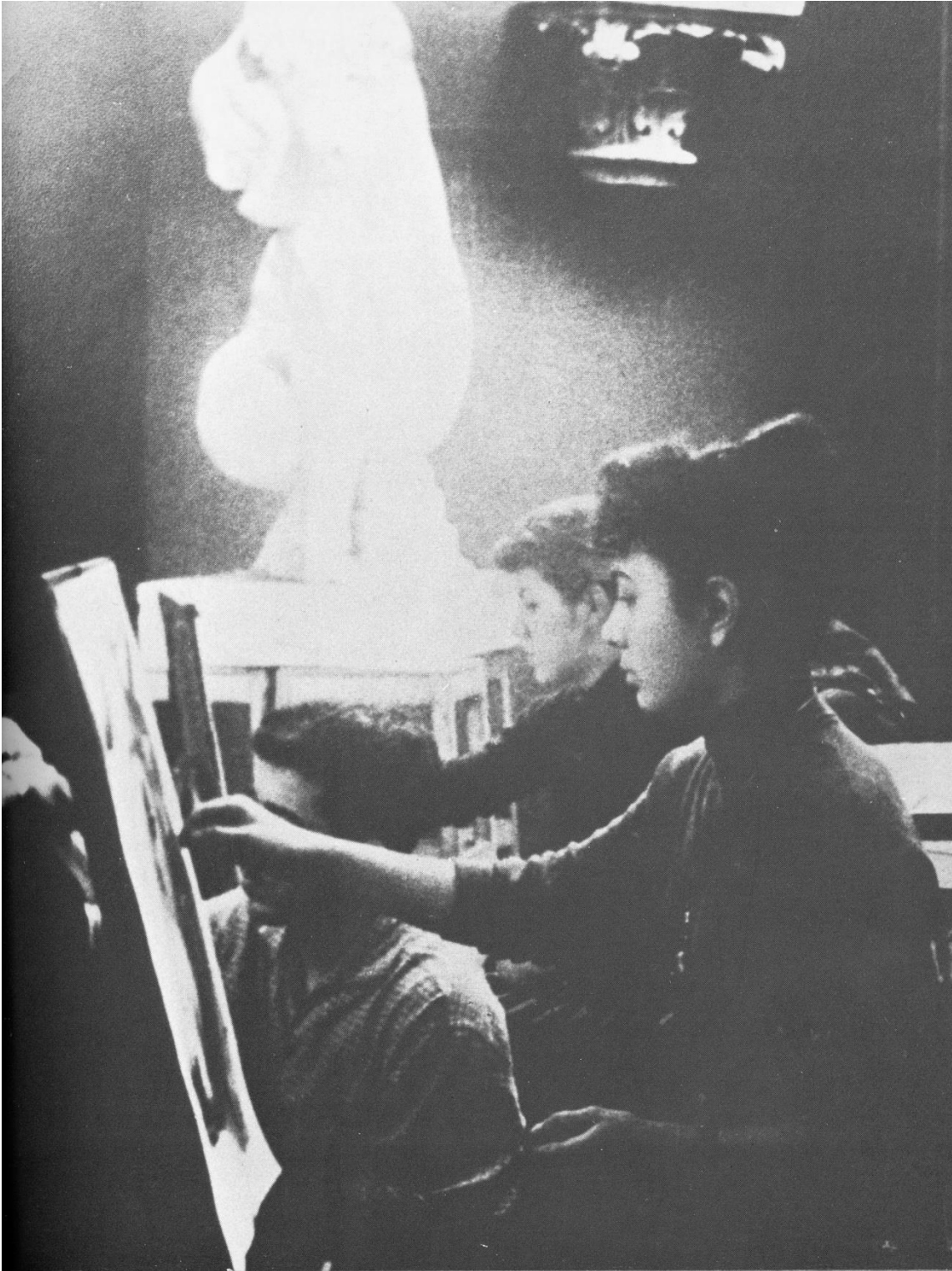


Figure 18 Farah Diba, the architectural student, a life-class at the Beaux Arts, 1958.

SOURCE: Lesley Blanch, 1978, *Farah, Shahbanu of Iran* (London: Collins), p.35.



Figure 19 'The working Empress' inspecting the site of a project, 1970s.
SOURCE: Lesley Blanch, 1978, *Farah, Shahbanu of Iran* (London: Collins), p.132.



Figure 20 Shahbanu Farah in her private Secretariat, 1967.

SOURCE : "Farah: dans trois semaines le grand jour," 07 October 1967, *Paris Match* 965, p. 60.

CHAPTER 3

CULTURE

During the last decade of the Pahlavi monarchy, in parallel with the international cultural politics of the 1970s, Iran had experienced a great social transformation in arts and culture¹⁶⁷ via a series of national and international festivals. Among those the Shiraz Arts Festival was the most significant artistic event as it stretched the horizons of traditional culture to new territories. Annually convened under the patronage of Shahbanu Farah for more than a decade, both the festival and the planned Arts Center in Persepolis are accepted as influential in shaping the history of avant-garde arts and culture in Pahlavi Iran. Although the festival aimed to contribute to the attempted acculturation of the nation, it is criticized as an ultimately untenable effort within the Iranian political, social and cultural context. This chapter traces the interaction of arts and politics in the case of the Shiraz Arts Festival in order to highlight the influence of contemporary culture as a vital instrument of the political system of modern Iran under the shahbanu's patronage.

3.1 (Inter) Nationalizing Modernity: Shiraz Arts Festival

The idea of organizing an international event of arts and culture was first mooted by the shahbanu as a part of the state's cultural politics in 1967 and it was initially viewed as a "capital idea"¹⁶⁸ in propagating Iran as a "center of [arts] and culture"¹⁶⁹. Modernization was a central goal of Mohammad Reza Shah's political rule, and the festival would be its cultural expression.

¹⁶⁷ Kasra, 2000, "Farah Pahlavi (Diba)," pp. 328-330.

¹⁶⁸ Gholam-Reza Afkhami, 2009, "Revolution and Irony: A Celebration and a Festival," p. 415.

¹⁶⁹ Negin Nabavi, 2003, "The Discourse of "Authentic Culture" in Iran in the 1960s and 1970s," *Intellectual Trends in Twentieth-Century Iran: A Critical Survey* (New York: University Press of Florida), p. 96.

According to the shah, the evolution of a society was embedded in a nation's cultural progress. He stated that: "Iran's internal situation and [...] international position [dictated] an empirical need for a revolution [...] that would change the framework of society and make it comparable to that of the most developed countries in the world"¹⁷⁰. This could not be materialized "without making major strides toward a general raising of social and cultural standards"¹⁷¹ of the nation.

The establishment of a modern state and a modern nation necessitated a wide range of innovative reforms affecting the whole spectrum of the socio-cultural context of the Iranian nation. The shah claimed that the ideological philosophy of his White Revolution was the liberalization of the Iranian political system, however, implementing social, political and economic democracy, asserted Mohammad Reza Shah, required an "adequate level of education" and in this context, artistic festivals could act to provide a "proper educational infrastructure" for the Iranian nation.¹⁷²

Whether the shah's political ideology was supported by the proclamation of liberal democracy for the country or whether it was a search for a secular base to rationalize the continuation of the monarchy is not within the scope of this study. However, it is inevitable that the search for modernization needs a cultural enlightenment for the society and the festival would provide a showcase to introduce Pahlavi Iran as modern in both national and international circles.

The rapid development in Iranian cultural politics under the aegis of Mohammad Reza Shah's dynasty, however, cannot be examined without considering the substantial role assigned to Shahbanu Farah. According to Zonis, the shahbanu's contribution to the state social affairs made her seen as ever "more patronizing"¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Amin Saikal, 2009, "The White Revolution: The Nature of the White Revolution," *The Rise and the Fall of the Shah* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 79.

¹⁷¹ Lenczowski, 1978, "Political Process and Institutions in Iran: The Second Pahlavi Kingship," p. 454.

¹⁷² Ibid, p. 464.

¹⁷³ Marvin Zonis, 1991, "Imperial Grandeur: Pahlavi Grandiosity," *Majestic Failure: The Fall of the Shah* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), p. 72.

than the shah in guiding public activities, mostly those related to the cultural dynamics of the nation.

As an initiator of the state's cultural reformation program, the shahbanu was the principal architect to organize each year's event. When she was invited by the Asian Society to take part in a symposium to review the festival outcomes some decades later, the shahbanu explained the reason for organizing such a cultural event:

“[...] our country was on the move. By the middle of 1960s much would change in our social and economic life: the White Revolution would open new vistas for our future, our economy would be on the verge of takeoff, our women would gain the right to vote and would be elected to the parliament, our farm workers would become landowners, our factory workers would be on the road to become part owners of the factories. A feeling was in the air, affecting a wide range of people. Including our artists [...] I began with this brief prelude to point out that the Shiraz Arts Festival was the child of its time. It could not have existed had our nation not made the progress it had or generated the desire and the know-how that made it possible. It was part of a mosaic, a testimony that our nation had achieved, or was on the verge of achieving, a critical mass in various fields of cultural creativity”¹⁷⁴

The festival, she noted, was a cultural product of the Pahlavis' revolutionary program to “nurture the arts, pay tribute to the nation's traditional arts and raise cultural standards in Iran [so as] to ensure wider appreciation of the work of Iranian artists, introduce foreign artists to Iran, [and furthermore] acquaint the Iranian public with the latest creative developments of other countries”¹⁷⁵. The festival was to fulfill the “demands for and the production of art forms.”¹⁷⁶

The shahbanu wrote that the festival would resemble the Nancy, Aix-en Provence and Royan that she experienced during her studies in Paris. In April 1967, Shahbanu Farah formed an organization committee with the contribution of the thirty one board trustee members¹⁷⁷ among whom were cabinet members, university chancellors,

¹⁷⁴ Farah Pahlavi, 2013, “Her Majesty Shahbanu Farah Pahlavi's Adress at the Symposium for the Festival of Arts, Shiraz, Persepolis Held at the Asian Society-New York on October 5, 2013,” *Symposium: the Shiraz Arts Festival*, [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: http://asiasociety.org/files/uploads/126files/Oct_5-13%20HMFP%20Remarks%20Asia%20Society.pdf [Accessed: 10 February 2014].

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ The member list included the Prime Minister, Minister of the Imperial Court, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Culture and Arts, Minister of Information, Minister of Economy, Chairman and

provincial authorities, and other officials, individual scholars and cultural figures. She assigned Reza Qotbi, her cousin and the head of the National Iranian Radio and Television (NIRT), as the General Director of the organization.¹⁷⁸

The mission of the Festival of Arts as cited by Shahbanu Farah was to start “a vigorous [...] cultural and artistic movement in Iran”¹⁷⁹ by introducing the latest artistic developments in contemporary performing arts to the Iranian public and professionals so as to make the national culture and traditional performing arts known worldwide. To organize the event, the shahbanu said, the committee “would start its activities by studying traditional arts from around the world, the related cultures of the East, the rest of Asia, Africa, and the West”¹⁸⁰ but that should be motivated by a clear sense of purpose which was the cultural intercourse between “the most avant-garde and the most traditional”¹⁸¹ while “avoiding the popular, touristy, and folklore side of the genre”¹⁸². Encouraging the encounter of Eastern and Western civilizations, the festival would attract “cultural pilgrims” to stage an

Managing Director of the National Iranian Oil Company, Director of the Plan Organization, Head of the National Security and Information Organization, the Governor General of Fars, Director of Iran National Tourist Organization, Chancellor of Pahlavi University, Director of Pahlavi Library, Commander of the Third Army, Secretary General of the International Cultural Relations, Director of the National Iranian Television, Shahram Pahlavi Nia, Lt. Gen. F. Minbashian, Mehdi Bushehri, Madame Alam, Fereidoun Hoveyda, Fuad Ruhani, Monir Vakili, Prof. Arthur Agham Pope, Farrokh Ghaffary, Mohammad Taghi Mostafavi, Bijan Saffari, Lt. Gen. Khademi, the president Karim-Pasha Bahadori, and the director general Reza Ghotbi; “Third Festival of Arts Shiraz 1969,” *Festival of Arts Shiraz Persepolis 1967-1968-1969*.

¹⁷⁸ The Festival Board of Trustees is presented to Shahbanu Farah pahlavi. In Archive of the Ministry of Information, Center of Historical Documents 2/84; April 19, 1967.; The approval of the Statute of Shiraz Arts Festival Organization and the selection of the Chairman of the Board, General Director, and the Organization Supervisor by Shahbanu Farah; Archive of the Ministry of Information, Center of Historical Documents 693; April 22, 1967.; The Shahbanu ordered to arrange a meeting with the Board Trustees of the festival at Sahepqaranyeh Palace, the Private Secretariat of Her Majesty Shahbanu of Iran; Archive of the Ministry of Information, Center of Historical Documents 1001; May 07, 1967.

¹⁷⁹ “Festivals International Status Cited by Shahbanu,” September 1976, *Festival of Arts Bulletin*.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ “5th Festival of Arts Shiraz Persepolis,” August 1971, *Tamasha*.

¹⁸² Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 227.

assemblage of “the most avant-garde” and “the most traditional”¹⁸³ performing arts from all over the world in Shiraz:

“True to its mission, the festival’s ecosystem cut across time and other boundaries, refreshing the traditional, celebrating the classical, nurturing the experimental, and stimulating a dialog across generations, cultures and languages, East and West, North and South.”¹⁸⁴

The Shiraz Arts Festival was radically different from the Festival of Culture and Art¹⁸⁵, the Festival of Tus¹⁸⁶, and the Festival of Popular Traditions¹⁸⁷ which were basically oriented toward Iranian Culture (and organized under the patronage of the

¹⁸³ “5th Festival of Arts Shiraz Persepolis.”

¹⁸⁴ Mahasti Afshar, 2013, “Festival of Arts: Shiraz, Persepolis: Overview,” *Symposium: the Shiraz Arts Festival* [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: http://asiasociety.org/files/uploads/126files/Shiraz-Persepolis_FINAL2_Print_1117-2013.pdf [Accessed: 10 February 2014].

¹⁸⁵ One year later in 1968, Iran initiated the convocation of the first national artistic festival under the supervision of the shah and the shahbanu in order to bring a national cultural co-operation and interchange within the Iranian context. The main target of the Festival of Culture and Arts was the integration of the most remote areas into the state’s extensive artistic and cultural program in order to subvert the unequal distribution of cultural resources between the urban and rural areas; Kasra, 2000, “Farah Pahlavi (Diba),” p. 329.; Operating a month-long for a decade in various fields of archeology, fine arts (from architecture to painting and literature), performing arts (extending over music, opera, drama, dance, theater, and cinema), decorative arts and crafts, the Festival of Culture and Arts was a national celebration held in the capital Tehran and in about 181 provinces simultaneously to provide a cultural dialogue within the Iranian nation; Farah Pahlavi, 1978, “The Preservation of our Culture An Address by Farah Pahlavi Empress of Iran delivered at the Annual Dinner of the Asia Society, New York,” [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://www.farahpahlavi.org> [Accessed: 15 January 2010].

¹⁸⁶ Held under the patronage of Shahbanu Farah, Tus Festival was a national celebration commemorating the Persian poet, Hakim Abui-Ghasem Ferdowsi Tousi and his masterpiece *Shahnameh*. The mission of the event as stated by the shahbanu was to initiate a cultural and artistic movement; commemorating and reviving Iranian national and traditional culture and Persian epic and procuring dispersed Iranian artifacts and literal calligraphy. Within four years, the Festival brought together the national and international *Shahnameh* scholars of Iranian culture from both the West and the East and the experts of Persian arts and literature in various fields of traditional wrestling and gymnasium, epic films, traditional Iranian music, national Persian epic and literary, minstrelsy, Persian Miniature, traditional theater and Persian Tea-House style painting to perform in Tus and about twenty provinces simultaneously over a ten-day period. The Festival of Tus was the only cultural celebration that continued to perform for several years after the Islamic Revolution letting the Iranian intellectuals to appreciate their national historic culture and tradition.

¹⁸⁷ The Festival of Popular Traditions was another attempt in legitimating the Pahlavi cultural politics of encouraging cultural homogenization and public enlightenment in Iran via providing cultural communication and public education on various fields of local music and dance, oral literature, poetry, ethnographic films and folk theater film, and religious theater; Ninoush Merrikkh (ed.), 1970, “Her Majesty’s orders during meeting the director general of the Festival of Folk Culture,” *Her Majesty Farah Pahlavi, Shahbanou of Iran from 2518-2535* (Tehran: the Center of Public Information), p. 314., and “the Empress’ speeches in the first Festival of Folk Culture in Isfahan,” September 1978, *Bulletin of the Ministry of Culture and Arts*, pp. 2-3. Annually activated for a week under the patronage of the shahbanu, the Festival was performed in Isfahan with the participation of both Iranian and foreign researchers to create a cultural dialogue among various civilizations interested in Iranian culture.

shahbanu as well). The international Shiraz Arts Festival sought a universal Art by fostering “cultural intercourse between the old-world of the Orient and the Occident”¹⁸⁸.

Accepted as a unique transformative inter-cultural experiment of any commissioning festival in the Middle East, the festival undertook multi-disciplinary research in the creative domain, seeking the rising generation of Iranian artists and composers to commission for the events. The festival was a major resource to inform both public and professionals about what was happening in performing art outside and inside Iran.

3.1.1 (Re) Discovering the Past: Nationalizing Modernity

The narrative frame of the Iranian nationalism has been discussed in the introduction of this study. Attention has been drawn to attempts to provide a narrative arc for nationalism, located firmly within the historical discoveries of the mythical and legendary Iranian past. As made explicit, the growing interest in the pre-Islamic history of Persia and its traditional precursors provided an appropriate model for the Pahlavis to emulate and identify with.

The festival would be held in the cultural center of old Persia, Persepolis, the site to Iranian nationalists, not only of the grandeur of the first Persian Empire but also of the beginning of Iranian history and the birth of the Iranian nation.¹⁸⁹ While Iranian historians of the nineteenth century had traced the nation’s origin to the ancient Achaemenid and Sassanian periods, they deliberately ignored the Hellenized and, in their perspective, culturally ‘unproductive’ Parthians; a view that continued to shape the political agenda of twentieth century Iran under the Pahlavis as well.¹⁹⁰ While the task of a new generation of government sponsored nationalists was to populate the Achaemenid landscape and to focus on the role of monarchy as symbolized by Cyrus

¹⁸⁸ “5th Festival of Arts Shiraz Persepolis.”

¹⁸⁹ Ansari, 2012, “The Age of Extremes: The Cult of Cyrus the Great,” p. 167.

¹⁹⁰ Talinn Grigor, 2007, ““Orient Oder Rom?” Qajar “Aryan” Architecture and Strzygowski’s Art History,” *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 89 (3), p. 12, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/25067341?uid=3739192&uid=2129&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&id=21103819268331> [Accessed: 02 April 2014].

the Great, the ideology of nationalism, thus, was identified in the person of the shah and reflected the realities of rigorous centralization under his White Revolution.¹⁹¹

During the late 1960s, the increase in oil revenue and economic growth allowed the Pahlavis a degree of cultural patronage which had never been achieved before this period.¹⁹² In 1967, when the idea of the Shiraz Arts Festival was first emerged from the shahbanu, an attempt to root Iranian identity in the distant past, perhaps unconsciously resulted in the decision to organize such a cultural event in the ruins of Persepolis. While the arguments for the superiority of the Zoroastrian roots of Iranian moral identity was exaggerated with the praise of the Achaemenids as the foundation of Iranian arts and culture,¹⁹³ the idea for an art festival in the cultural center of Persia framed this ideological development: “it [the ceremonies at the Persepolis] was initially envisaged as a cultural event in which the historical record would be put straight and the cultural contribution of Iran to world civilization be truly recognized.”¹⁹⁴

The idea of Zoroastrian superiority first emerged in the nineteenth century. When religious studies as a scientific discipline was taken on by a group of Western scholars, the discourse of modern Zoroastrianism was directly influenced by the field. Those Parsi scholars of Zoroastrianism who were much less dogmatic about privileging Christianity showed evidence of notions of nationalism and racism, the dominance of Aryan race of Iranians, in the works of Zoroastrianism.¹⁹⁵ While these scholars identified the origin of the Aryan nation in the ancient Persianate world, they situated Irano-Aryans among the privileged nations. Classified under the rubric of Aryan nations, this process culminated in the rediscovery of Iran and “the very revival of what was perceived as the national taste or spirit”. Modern Iran’s

¹⁹¹ Ansari, 2012, “The Age of Extremes: The Cult of Cyrus the Great,” p. 168.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid, p. 170.

¹⁹⁴ Ansari, 2003, “Towards the Great Civilization: The Crest of the Wave,” p. 171.

¹⁹⁵ Monica M. Ringer, “Western Religious Studies Scholarship, Williams Jackson: The Scholarly World of Zoroastrian Studies,” *Pious Citizens: Reforming Zoroastrianism in India and Iran* (? : Syracuse University Press), pp: 107-8.

architectural ruins, accordingly, became a site for rediscovery of the origin for the Western scholars. In a similar vein, Western discourses of Aryanism opened a space for Iran's expression of pre-Islamic civilizational grandeur and Persian racial valor over a deteriorating empire under the Qajars to demonstrate Iran's prominent space on the world stage,¹⁹⁶ a view that had a direct impact on materializing the nationalist political agenda of the Pahlavis in the subsequent decades as well.

In 1971, during the extensive ceremonies to commemorate the foundation of the Achaemenid monarchy by Cyrus the Great and the establishment of the Iranian monarchy, the shah delivered an eulogy at the tomb of his long dead predecessor at Pasargadae, portrayed as the repository of the nation's myths and legendary past. And, when some decades later, the shahbanu inaugurated the Shiraz Arts Festival, she said "as Iranians, we were heirs to an ancient civilization with a glorious past, and a culture with a vast reach that had greatly influenced its geographic environment both before and after the advent of Islam."¹⁹⁷ Furthermore she added, "we were also a young people with a not so glorious near past in need of designing a present that could become a bridge to connect our past history and culture, of which we were very proud, with a future that our people desired and deserved."¹⁹⁸ The connecting mechanism referred to as modernization, accordingly, was the admiration of ancient past. She emphasized that "we approached Iranian art as a living, growing and expanding exercise in creativity, rooted in the magnificence of our ancient and Islamic past, but free to look to the future and to breathe and to develop openly in contact with the best that the world offered. The Shiraz Art Festival became the most famous example of this approach."¹⁹⁹

Recalling conversations the royal couple had with the poet-statesman, Léopold Sédar Senghor, about the meaning of being Iranian in historical terms, in which he described the term "Iranité" as "a bridge connecting not only Iran's past and future,

¹⁹⁶ Grigor, 2007, p. 8.

¹⁹⁷ Farah Pahlavi, 2013.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

but also the east and the west.”²⁰⁰ The shahbanu said: “to us [the Pahlavis], this meant a cultural synthesis, a striving to bring together the best that humanity had offered in the past and would offer in the future with our own past and future.”²⁰¹

3.1.2 Persepolis: A Metamorphosis of the Space

During the Pahlavi era, the pre-Islamic Achaemenid and Sassanid dynasties and their production became the most legitimate of Iranian history. The formulation and articulation of Iran’s cultural heritage became an integrated part of the political agenda and one of the foremost national priorities of Pahlavi Iran.²⁰² The protection of Iran’s national heritage had a parallel expression in the evolution of Iranian modernity. The shah wrote in 1961:

“Today my country is a blend of ancient and modern. When about 330 B.C., our splendid capital at Persepolis was buried while Alexander the Great and his troops were there, the first Persian Empire had already existed for centuries. When, in A.D. 476, the Roman Empire fell, we could already point to the antiquity of our civilization, and those who knew both frequently speak of the grandeur of the ruins of Persepolis when compared with those of Rome. But, side by side, with these ruins, and with other fascinating reminders of our antiquity, are seen countless instances of modern progress.”²⁰³

Iran’s modern history under the Pahlavis, therefore, is conditioned by a close look at how high culture was conceived and operated in politics.²⁰⁴ The reformists who urged for a return to Iran’s past grandeur could only support their claims by excavating, representing and museumizing the architectural fragments of these pre-Islamic archeological sites such as Persepolis.²⁰⁵

Founded by Darius I in 518 BC, Persepolis was conceived as the capital of the Achaemenid Empire (Fig 21). It was the seat of government and a center for receptions and ceremonial festivities. Raised over a large platform, the splendid palatial complex of Persepolis was the work of Achaemenid kings, Darius (522-486

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Grigor, 2005, “Politicized Ruins,” p. 28.

²⁰³ Ibid, p. 29.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

BC), his son Xerxes (486-65 BC) and his grandson Artaxerxes (465-24 BC)²⁰⁶. The complex includes military quarters, the treasury, and the reception halls and occasional houses for the King including the Great Stairway, the Gate of Nations, the Apadana Palace of Darius, the Hall of a Hundred Columns, the Tripylon Hall and Tachara Palace of Darius, the Hadish Palace of Xerxes, the palace of Artaxerxes III, the Imperial Treasury, the Royal Stables, and the Chariot House. The splendor of Persepolis, however, lasted only two centuries: the complex was conquered by the Alexander the Great in 330 BC. Until 1931, the site lay buried under its own ruins.²⁰⁷

The discourse of Iranian national heritage dates back to 1895. Under Naser al-Din Shah, an official arrangement between the French Republic and the Qajar monarchy was a result of the intimate relationship between Iran and the West.²⁰⁸ In 1900, a treaty including eleven articles, “conceding the French Republic the exclusive and perpetual right to excavate in the entire expanse of the Empire” was signed by Mozaffar al-Din Shah, a decree that permitted the French authorities absolute control over Iranian archeological activities during the first two decades of the twentieth century.²⁰⁹ The Achaemenid capital of Susa was selected as it was considered as the first Persian Empire where, in their view, Iranian history had begun; a symbolic source for those who attempt to revive Iranian national heritage as a political propaganda.

Under the reign of Reza Shah, the French hegemony over all domains of Iranian high culture was limited. The new name was the German Iranologist and the head of the Institute of Eastern Ancient Heritage of Berlin, Ernest Emil Herzfeld, whose presence in the capital was a challenge to French cultural dominance.²¹⁰ Taking a

²⁰⁶ “United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: Persepolis,” [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/114> [Accessed: 10 February 2014].

²⁰⁷ “Persepolis Terrace: Architecture, Reliefs, And Finds,” *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: Museums and Public Education*, [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://oi.uchicago.edu/museum/collections/pa/persepolis/persepolis.html> [Accessed: 10 February 2014].

²⁰⁸ Grigor, 2005, “Archeology Entangled,” p. 57.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid, p. 61.

librarian position for the Antiquities Museum of Tehran, Herzfeld started his archeological career in Iran at the ruins of Persepolis.²¹¹ Herzfeld became the first director of the Oriental Institute's Persepolis Expeditions to explore, excavate, document and index the palatial and funerary complex of Persepolis.

During the excavation process, Reza Shah made four trips to the capital of the Achaemenids, the last one with the Crown Prince Mohammad Reza Pahlavi in 1937. Funded in part by the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute and in part by John D. Rockefeller, the activities began in 1931. While by 1934, the Terrace, the Eastern stairway of the Apadana, the Council Hall and Xerxes' Harem were discovered, the subsequent activities were carried out by the German archeologist Erich F. Schmidt until the World War II and later by scholars from the Iranian Antiquities Service and the Italian Institute of the Middle and Far East in 1964. By 1967, when the idea of an international arts festival emerged from the shahbanu, the buried fragments of the ruins of Persepolis had emerged to the surface. The ancient capital of the Achaemenids with royal palaces, throne halls, residential quarters and harems were now selected to house an avant-garde event in an international platform. The festival was one of the biggest interventions on the site. Radical architectural and technical measures were undertaken to transform the authentic features of Persepolis into modern; the result was a synthesis of modern and traditional. While signifying the beginning of Iranian canonical history, Persepolis now symbolized the beginning of the history of contemporary and electronic art in Iran. And the festival served its purpose in legitimizing Iranian modernity.

In 1971, when the oil-boom fed the Pahlavis' ambition to raise Iran's profile in the Middle East, the late shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, decided to celebrate the two thousand five hundredth anniversary of the Persian Empire at the ruins of Persepolis (Fig 22). The event was contemplated to present to the world the meaning and contribution of Iranian pre-Islamic culture and civilization as reflected in its imperial heritage.²¹²

²¹¹ Ibid, p. 70.

²¹² Gholam-Reza Afkhami, "A Celebration and a Festival," p. 405.

The shah claimed to be the heir to the throne of Cyrus the Great (Fig 23). That October, Grigor emphasized that “archeology had fully served its political function.”²¹³ Standing before the empty tomb of Cyrus, the shah proclaimed “Greetings to thee, O’ Cyrus, the great King, the King of kings, the Achaemenian King, King of the Land of Iran, on behalf of myself, the Shahanshah of Iran, and my nation. Cyrus! We have today gathered at thy eternal resting place to say to thee: rest in peace, for We are awake, and forever stay awake to guard thy proud heritage.”²¹⁴

The preservation of Persepolis, according to Grigor, “enabled their physical reuse as stage of political theatrics and, more importantly, provided the space for a temporal leap from antiquity to modernity”²¹⁵. She said “the integration of state of the art technology into the ruins helped validate the king’s claims to both authenticity and modernity.” Further she wrote that “in Iranian politics and historiography, preservation as such would also help to concoct a linear national and artistic canon, thereby formulating a specific genre of Iranian identity formation that was intrinsically ancient and modern.”²¹⁶

The Pahlavis’ idolization of Iran’s pre-Islamic roots and its simultaneous purport of modernity gave the shahbanu inspiration to organize an international arts event at Persepolis in 1967. Just as the Persepolis ceremonies of 1971, the Shiraz Arts festival was the product of the Pahlavis’ cultural politics. Persepolis fostered the Pahlavis’ political legitimacy and had a parallel expression in searching for the Iranian identity. In a similar vein, the choice of site for the shahbanu’s international art event not only put the superiority of Iranian heritage on the map but also promoted the site as the center of universal culture and civilization through transcending its “Orientalist traditions”²¹⁷.

²¹³ Grigor, 2005, “Archeology Entangled,” p. 74.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Talinn Grigor, 2005, “Preserving the Antique Modern: Persepolis’71,” *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* Vol. 2 (5), p. 23.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

3.1.3 Performing Modernity: Programing the Festival

The festival programming, said Gluck, “reflected Empress Farah’s Western leaning, contemporary tastes”.²¹⁸ Throughout the eleven years of its activities (Fig 24 to 31), between 1967 and 1977, the festival performed in four main fields of music, dance, theater, and cinema under the sponsorship of the National Iranian Radio and Television²¹⁹ to promote the ideological leanings as “the most forward-looking international efforts, presenting Iran to the world as pioneering”²²⁰. Through a wide range of arts and culture, “a whole world of international arts concentrated”²²¹ in the annual Shiraz Arts Festival to commission the artists, musicologists and performers for about two weeks every year.

The planning and selection process was a collaborative work between Reza Qotbi, the festival director; Shahrzad Afshar, artistic director in the field of music and dance; Bijan Saffari, artistic director in the field of theater; and Farrokh Ghaffari, artistic director in the field of film.

In its annual programming, the festival concentrated on a central sub-theme on one of its main fields of music, dance, theater or cinema. The program included international traditional music by avant-garde composers (Fig 32) from around the world to be performed alongside Persian Classical musicians and playwrights. Selected in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and Arts, Radio Iran and NIRT, the most renowned instrumentalists besides numerous recognized masters of authentic music were staged in an international platform. Iranian music, accordingly,

²¹⁸ Robert Gluck, 2007, “The International Arts Festival: Western Avant-Garde Arts in 1970s Iran: Programming,” in *Leonardo*, Vol. 40 (1). P. 22.

²¹⁹ Founded in 1967, the National Iranian Radio and Television under the directorship of Reza Ghotbi served as the Festival sponsor. The festival offered a remarkable cultural experience for both Iranian and foreign performers, composers, dancers and directors, so while media was an instructive and informative tool for the spectators during the time of festivals, at the instance of Shahbanou, a copy of each program in a form of stereotype was recorded and preserved in the libraries’ cultural centers for the future scholars and students; “Festivals International Status Cited by Shahbanu,”.

²²⁰ Gluck, 2007, p. 21.

²²¹ Blanch, p. 117.

would be reviewed in the same level of esteem accorded classical Indian, Chinese and Japanese music. Within a few years, in 1969, a group of young masters at the festival contributed in the establishment of the “Center for the Preservation and Propagation of Music” under the direction of Dariush Safvat. The festival also provided new research, training and programming to broaden the horizons of traditional and regional music in Iran. With the foundation of the “Group for the Collection and Research of Regional Music” under the direction of Fouziyeh Majd in 1973, Iranian regional music contributed more varieties of programs to the festival.

In the field of Western music, the festival offered a wide range and variety of programs and instruments, from solo recitals (Fig 34) to orchestral (Fig 33) and choral as well as electroacoustic music and *musique concrete*. A select repertoire from pioneers of both classical and contemporary music was staged in performances in the events. In the field of contemporary music, works that embodied a transcendent blend of East and West were performed by well-known composers such as Iannis Xenakis (*Persephassa* in 1969 and *Persepolis* in 1971) (Fig 35 and 36) and Bruno Maderna (*Ausstrahlung* in 1971).

Mostly inspired by international traditional music, Western dance companies subsequently participated in the festival with ritual performances while a synthesis with ancient cultures led to staging performances of traditional dance groups. In the field of Western modern dance, the festival introduced several choreographers and dancers from the forefront of avant-garde. Maurice Bejart (*Golestan*, a choreography on Iranian music, in 1973) was among them (Fig 37). In Iran, the National Iranian Radio Television Chamber Orchestra committed itself by accompanying music, opera and ballet although there was no indigenous tradition of formal dance but folkloric in Iran. A dazzling array of Indian, Indonesian, Buddhist and African dance and music-theater also radiated throughout the festival programs among which *Kathakali* (Fig 38), and *Balinese Gamelan and Legong Dance* can be mentioned.

In the field of theater, the festival had a twofold goal; one to revitalize Persian art and the other to propel Iranian theater to international standards. The revitalization of indigenous Iranian dramatic arts, *naggali*, *ta'ziyeh* (a Shi'ite mourning ritual

commemorating the martyrdom of Imam Hossein at the battle of Karbala) or *shabih-khani*, and *ruhowzi* (popular performances imbued with social satire), besides a numerous examples of non-Iranian traditional theater, was to elevate local productions to global standards. The festival provided an appropriate stage for playwrights, directors, set designers and actors to introduce their innovative works to the West. Among some groundbreaking works by Iranian dramatists were Arby Ovanessian's productions (*Pazhouheshi* in 1968) that were said to modernize Iranian theater. In addition, the playwriting competitions held in 1967 and 1969 in the festival led to the establishment of NIRT's Theater Workshop, Kargah-e Namayesh, by Bijan Saffari to "help writers, actors, directors and designers exercise and experiment independent of commonly accepted professional restrictions". This resulted in the emergence of a new generation such as Abbas Nalbandian and Mahin Jahanbegloo.

A distinguished feature of the festival was the variety of avant-garde theatrical performances (Fig 39) it commissioned in the field of contemporary and experimental international theater; among them were Peter Brook (*Orghast* with the participation of Iranians, Avestan, Greek, and Latin actors in 1970) and Bob Wilson (*KA MOUNTAIN* ran non-stop for seven days and nights with the participation of Iranian and American artists in 1972). The festival was also the subject of feature-length, documentary and short films (Fig 40) covering international masterpieces and contemporary projects.

Following the twelfth festival, when performances were suddenly interrupted by the approaching Iranian Revolution of 1979, art had already been "cultivated, practiced promoted by public and private institutions". After more than a decade of its activities "native and foreign forms of music, theater, dance and film were part and parcel of public life in Iran"; the festival was a kind of "cultural awakening" for the Iranian nation:

"Interrupting the flow of the festival was like tearing a page out of an unread book. But, memories linger, experiences are handed down, and historic paradigms are recalled and activated. The knowledge that it was possible to build and experience a free, tolerant,

creative, and diverse society in Iran-which is what the festival was all about-and the footprint of the cultural awakening that it elicited cannot be erased.”²²²

3.2 Building for Modernity: Arts Center, Persepolis

During the second festival in 1968, the Iranian daily press, *Kayhan International*, announced the planning of a cultural center in Persepolis in these words: “Empress Farah has ordered that modern cultural centers be created in Tehran and a number of provincial towns [accordingly] the widest possible public can enjoy modern music, theater, and other arts”²²³.

The idea for the establishment of the Eurasian Arts Center in Iran was firstly introduced by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1968.²²⁴ The proposed design center for the Arts would be developed with the engagement of Iannis Xenakis²²⁵, the Western composer, music theorist and architect.

²²² Mahasti Afshar, 2013, “Festival of Arts Shiraz-Persepolis,” *Symposium: the Shiraz Arts Festival* [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: http://asiasociety.org/files/uploads/126files/Shiraz-Persepolis_FINAL2_Print_1117-2013.pdf [Accessed: April 2014], p. 33.

²²³ Parsa Parsi, “Culture Centers Planned,” December 1968, *Kayhan International Edition*, p. 3.

²²⁴ “Interview with the Head of Art Festival Foundation Dr. Mehdi Bushehri: Shiraz Art Festival achieved an international identity today,” June 1966, *Tamasha.*, p. 3.

²²⁵ Iannis Xenakis (1922-2001) was an architect, civil engineer, composer and music theorist. Born in Romania as a member of Greek diaspora,²²⁵ Xenakis sent to a boarding school on the Aegean island of Spetsai in Greece where he started to learn about miscellaneous fields on music and philosophy. After graduating from the Spetsai School, in 1938, Xenakis enrolled the Athens Polytechnic Institute in 1940 and graduated as Civil Engineer in 1947. Xenakis’s early career started at Le Corbusier’s architectural studio, Atelier des Bâisseurs in Paris. Working as an engineering assistant, Xenakis, however, started to collaborate as project manager in major architectural projects with Le Corbusier. Starting as a technical advisor at Le Corbusier’s studio where he assigned for la Cité radieuse (known as the Marseille Housing Project), in 1951, the next assignment for Unité d’habitation, Rezé-lès-Nantes project, however, marked Xenakis’s first architectural collaboration with a design of the kindergarten of the housing project, followed by the ‘Plug’ form he designed on the Assembly Building’s interior and the ‘undulating glass panes’ he applied on the Secretariat’s façade of the Chandigarh project. Since 1956, Xenakis had been involved in many projects as principal architect upon Le Corbusier’s approval including the Dominican convent of La Tourette, the Youth and Cultural Center at Firminy in 1956, the Olympic Stadium in Bagdad in 1957, and the Philips Pavilion project for the World’s Fair in Brussels in 1958 which resulted in an authorship problem between Le Corbusier and Iannis Xenakis. Xenakis left the studio in 1959; Sharon Kanach, 2001, “Xenakis in Le Corbusier’s Studio 1947-59 (SK),” *Music and Architecture: architectural projects, texts, and realizations* (New York: Pendragon Press), pp. 3-9. As an independent architect, Xenakis involved in a project for an Auditorium for Hermann Scherchen in 1961, a summer home for François -Bernard Mâche in 1966, Arts Centers in Chaux-de-Fonds and in Persepolis in 1970-1, Cité de la Musique project in 1984, the project for the home of Roger and Karen Reynolds and Corsica; Kanach, 2001, “Xenakis as Independent Architect 1961-96 (SK),” pp. 160-3.

Xenakis had participated in the festival three times; in 1968, *Nuits* was performed by soloists of the ORTF and conducted by Marcel Couraud; in 1969, *Persephassa* was premiered by Percussions de Strasbourg ensemble and finally *Polytope de Persepolis* was a new electronic work premiered as the opening ceremony of the two thousand five hundredth anniversary the founding of the Persian Empire by Cyrus the Great in 1971.²²⁶ Xenakis's accomplishment in *Polytope de Persepolis* according to the shahbanu led her offer him²²⁷ the post of "Engineering consultant in charge of the architecture of a Cite des Arts in Shiraz Persepolis"²²⁸. The building would be an interdisciplinary "scientific research center" for permanent and visiting artists on music, visual arts, cinema, theater, ballet, poetry, and literature: "the Persepolis Center, together with its 'workshops' for artistic creation" indicated Xenakis "will be unique in the world in so far as it would provide the only focal point for 'truly revolutionary artistic endeavor'"²²⁹.

In 1970, Xenakis had been contacted for two similar projects; the one by the International Association of the Friends of Le Corbusier in Chaux de Fonds in Switzerland and the other by Shahbanu Farah in Persepolis in Iran to propose an entire program for permanent Arts Centers.²³⁰ Although there is no actual architectural project or sketches for any of these centers, as stated by Sharon Kanach, the draft project for Art Centers would resemble something between the architect's utopian Cosmic City²³¹ (Fig 41), the Philips Pavilion²³² (Fig 42) and Scherchen

²²⁶ Kanach, "Arts Center Projects 1968-73 (SK)," p. 171.

²²⁷ Gluck, 2007, P. 22.

²²⁸ "This document is an unsigned, undated draft of the contract in French in which the role of the architect is defined as "study and creation of the plans and descriptive estimates of the general conception" to be prepared in collaboration with Architect of Iranian Nationality"; Kanach, "Arts Center Projects 1968-73," p. 171.

²²⁹ Parsi, 1968, p. 3.

²³⁰ Kanach, "Xenakis as Independent Architect 1961-96 (SK)," p. 161.

²³¹ The project was a proposal for a city with five million inhabitants. Comprising parabolic towers in comparison to the skyscrapers located next to them, the Cosmic City was a Utopian project proposed for Françoise Choay's book, *L'Urbanisme, Utopies et Realites*; Kanach, "Writings on Architecture: The Cosmic City," pp. 136-41.

Auditorium²³³ in terms of plan arrangement.²³⁴ Although it never went beyond the conceptual stage, the main goals of the Arts Center project in Persepolis, according to an undated draft from the Xenakis archive as stated by Shsaron Kanach, were introduced as following:

- “1. To continue all the activities year round of the Annual Festival of Shiraz-Persepolis.
2. To create a Fundamental and Scientific Research Center for the visual and sound arts, with the most advanced technology.
3. To draw the local public of Shiraz and its University to the artistic events, concerts, exhibits, theater ... as well as to the most diversified types of education.
4. To enable artists, professors, masters, guests ... to reside at the Center.”²³⁵

The flowcharts and archival documents draw a general guideline of the conceptual framework of the Xenakis Arts Center:

- “1. The spirit and guiding principles behind the Arts Center will be essentially based on the most advanced research and technological events, leading us towards the future of Art. Traditional art from Iran and other countries will also be cultivated in their most significant aspects. They will be observed through the light of the most advanced research and experimentation not through the normal musicological, theatrical choreographic... academic traditions.
2. Interdisciplinary studies and exchanges will be the rule. The Center’s unique strategy will be to systematically combat any closeting of activities by spreading and sharing the results of the Center and its events.
3. The Arts Center, both its buildings and equipment, shall be open to all, young or old, artist or not, scientists, certified or not. Certain criteria of selection may be established, but in accordance to the principles stated above.
4. Avoid, at all costs, creating an intellectual ghetto which most university campuses tend to become. A vital change between the city, its University and the Arts Center must be promoted with care.
5. The Arts Center will certainly find a complementary partner both on the scientific level and in terms of sharing equipment with various departments of the University.
6. The Arts Center population will be partly permanent, partly temporary.”²³⁶

²³² The Project was a temporary pavilion for the Philips Company at the Brussels World’s Fair which was delegated by Le Corbusier to Xenakis for the architectural conception and drawing in 1956. Using Le Corbusier’s primary sketch, Xenakis’s project was an experimental construction comprising nine self-supporting shells and the two others overhanging the entrance and exists ways; the Pavilion was a hyperbolic parabolic self-bearing structure. Built by the Belgian construction firm, Strabed, the structure was demolished in 1959; Kanach, 2001, “The Le Corbusier Years: The Philips Pavilion,” pp. 93-103.

²³³ The Auditorium was an experimental studio and concert hall for Hermann Scherechen. Designed in parabolic hyperbolic structure, the building was very similar but more complex than the Philip Pavilion with hyperbolic surfaces emerged from the ground level offering the public to walk on the roof. The project was abandoned after the conductor’s death in 1964; Kanach, “Independent Architectural Projects: Project for an Auditorium for Hermann Scherchen,” pp. 164-6.

²³⁴ Kanach, “Arts Center Projects 1968-73,” p. 171.

²³⁵ Kanach, “Project for an Arts Center in Shiraz Persepolis (IX): Goals,” p. 173.

Envisaged to be prepared in collaboration with Iranian architects, the Center, according to Xenakis's general conception, consisted of buildings for public events and administration, fundamental research, teaching, offices, and miscellaneous, lodgings, hall of nothingness and parking facilities:

“A: Public Events and Administration

- A common office building for administrations of both the Festival and the Arts Center.
- An enclosed performance space with seating capacity of 2000.
- An enclosed performance space with seating capacity of 800.
- An enclosed performance space with seating capacity of 500.

One architectural complex could, as an alternative, replace these three performance spaces where 2000, 1200, 600 and 150 spectators could simultaneously be accommodated.

- Annexes: offices, rehearsal spaces, film editing room, ballet rooms, locker rooms, toilets, foyers, maintenance, workshops, dressing room, etc...
- Two open-air theaters with seating capacity of 2000, one in Shiraz, the other in Persepolis.

As an alternative, these theaters could be conceived for smaller events with smaller publics.

- Two conference rooms with seating capacity of 150, equipped for simultaneous translations, projections, sound amplification.

These rooms could also serve as classrooms.

- Five rehearsal halls: one for full orchestra, two for chamber orchestra and two for traditional music.
- Two movie theaters with seating capacity of 150.
- Four foyers or meeting spaces
- An exhibition space

B: Fundamental Research

a- Sound

- An air-conditioned laboratory for automated digital music
- An air-conditioned laboratory of automated analogical music
- Four laboratories for cinematic sound editing
- Two laboratories for sound editing with equipment for cinematic listening several tracks and at a sufficient volume
- Two recording studios with control booths

b- Light

- An air-conditioned laboratory for automated digital cinematic visuals
- An air-conditioned laboratory for automated analogical cinematic visuals
- Four laboratories for film editing and workshops for creating models of luminous structures, etc...
- Two laboratories for video editing and mixing for cathodic tubes, etc...
- A workshop for maintaining and repairing the electronic sound and lightening equipment as well as building new systems.
- A library of sound and light, books, and reviews.

C: Teaching, Offices, Miscellaneous

- 50 offices for the various members of the personnel: teachers, researchers, head of the laboratories, technical teams, secretaries.
- 10 classrooms for 25 students each

²³⁶ Ibid.

- 20 studios for temporary guest musicians
- 20 painting studios for temporary guest visual artists
- Bathroom facilities for 'B'
- Child care center

D: Lodgings

- Accommodations for permanent residents
50 apartments with bathroom facilities and a kitchenette
- Accommodations for Festival residents
200 rooms with bathroom facilities, but without kitchen facilities
- Cafeteria, restaurant, bar for 500 people

E: Hall of Nothingness

F: Parking facilities²³⁷

Despite the shahbanu's force behind the establishment of the Arts Center, the project never materialized and Xenakis's commission of the project was impeded by Iranian critics' oppositions to "Western hegemony" in the country. While some Iranian critics associated Xenakis's spectacle of the *Polytope de Persepolis* with the burning of Persepolis by Alexander the Great, to Xenakis the performance symbolized Zoroastrian civilization and fire and light which represented goodness and eternal life in essence.²³⁸ In response to all these reactions, Xenakis said, "All I am here for is to give advice and explain the philosophy of modern arts".²³⁹

Like many artists, Xenakis complained about the rigid mentality of SAVAK agents, the National Intelligence and Security Organization of Iran that served for domestic surveillance during the festival events. Expressing their support for the liberalization of the Pahlavi regime, many foreign and Iranian artists denounced SAVAK as an organization that portrayed the authority of the shah's government and the monarchy symbolically. In this respect, Setterfield wrote: "Persepolis was absolutely filled with soldiers with rifles. They seemed to appear out of the woodwork at every corner. There was a real sense of wariness and danger. You looked at something extraordinary, old and beautiful, and suddenly you would see the soldiers".²⁴⁰ Xenakis's "displeasure with the Pahlavi government"²⁴¹ was expressed in an open

²³⁷ Ibid, p. 174.

²³⁸ Gluck, 2007, p. 22.

²³⁹ Parsi, p. 3.

²⁴⁰ Gluck, 2007, p. 26.

²⁴¹ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, pp. 235-238.

letter in *Le Monde* through which he criticized negative reactions against the artist's right for free expression. Xenakis wrote:

"I have been invited three times¹ to the contemporary arts festival in Shiraz-Persepolis: In 1968, my work *Nuits* was performed there with the following dedication: "For your uncelebrated political prisoners, Narcisso Julian since 1946, Costas Philinis since 1947, Eli Erythriadou since 1950, Joachim Amaro since 1952 ... and for all the others, even the thousands of forgotten prisoners whose names have been erased." I read this dedication and explained its meaning to the audience before the performance. In 1969, the six musicians of Percussions de Strasburg ensemble premiered my work *Persephassa* in this Festival. In 1971, my open-air spectacle, *Persepolis*, for tape and performance was premiered as the Festival's inaugural event. It is a tribute to Iran's past and her great Zoroastrian and Manichean revolutionaries, and their ramifications to the Paulicians, Bogomiles and Cathars of Byzantium, Italy, Germany and France. The performance took place at night, and it was a spectacle of sound, light, lasers and fire among the ruins and surrounding mountains. "Democracy" is a lie. What motivated me to go to Iran is this: a deep interest in this magnificent country, so rich with its superposed civilizations and such a hospitable population; the daring adventure of a few friends who found the Shiraz-Persepolis Festival where all the various tendencies of contemporary, avant-garde art intermingle with the traditional arts of Asia and Africa; plus the warm reception of my musical and visual propositions have encountered there by the young members of the general audience. Such a Festival, by the way, partners with our own Festival of Royan, represents a breath of fresh air, don't you think? A good way to spend petrol-dollars, don't you agree? My philosophy [...] consists of freedom of speeches, the right of total criticism. I am not an isolationist [nor] do I preacher for an engaged art, meaning a sort of updated "social realism"? Meaning a sort of "jdanovian" socialist realism. Obviously not; I am against such an approach. It is imperative to uphold this ultimate right of the individual, especially today when it is impossible to name one single country that is truly free and without multifaceted compromises, without any surrender of principles. "Democracy" is a fallacy, an artificially sweetened mythology in the mouths of all regimes, be they under the influence of overt dictators or camouflaged ones throughout the world. Must I couple every country with its own cancer? The United States, with their Vietnam and their treatment of blacks. England, with its treatment of foreigners and the abominable torture of their Irish patriots. Germany and its permanent Nazism. The USSR and its degradation of the freedom to create and think. China and its Maoist religion and its pact with the USA, "the paper spear-head of worldwide capitalistic imperialism." ... All interchangeable cancers, by the way, between all countries, nations, etc. where to go in despair, what path may one follow? I am a wondering man, an 'alien citizen' of every country (in art as well) and my hardened conscience-nourished either by the flames of Greek resistance (which was betrayed from its conception and over the years by Soviets, the Allies and Greeks themselves) or by the desperate efforts of my music-alone, my guide me towards light or towards death. For me, the worst and most shameful injustice is the torture and execution (either secretly or overtly) of men and women, even if they are "terrorists." This is why I have always been involved and will continue to be, in protest and actions against dynasties and tyrants, be they military, head of State, presidents, shahs or kings. It is in my nature.²⁴²

²⁴² Kanach, "Open letter by Xenakis to *Le Monde* December 14, 1971," pp. 223-224.

It was such growing impatience and discontentment with the Pahlavi regime that probably made the artist shelve the project in Persepolis. In a letter to Farrokh Ghaffari, the deputy director of the festival, Xenakis wrote:

“You know how attached I am to Iran, her history, her people. You know my joy when I realized projects in your festival. Open to everyone. You also know of my friendship and loyalty to those who, like yourself, had made the Shiraz Persepolis Festival unique in the world. But, faced with inhuman and unnecessary police repression that the shah and his government are inflicting on Iran’s youth, I am incapable of lending any moral guarantee, regardless of how fragile that may be, since it is a matter of artist creation. Therefore, I refuse to participate in the festival”²⁴³.

3.3. Over Modernity

“The philosopher, as a necessary man of tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, has always found himself [...] in opposition to his today.”²⁴⁴

The annual Shiraz Arts Festival represents the most controversial trajectory of cultural attitude, policy, and intercultural contact in modern Iranian history. It was a strain on the dynamics of art and politics in Pahlavi Iran. Apart from Iran’s cultural and political sensitivities, the festival is recognized as one of the most transformative inter-cultural experience that juxtaposed the East and its cultural discourse alongside Western neo-avant-garde expressions.

According to Vali Mahluji, “the festival adopted a Faustian motto to embrace and contain developmentally necessary cultural controversy, despite and even in opposition to, popular tastes and consumptions”²⁴⁵ as it aimed at “broadening parameters of theory, practice, discourse and criticality.”²⁴⁶

²⁴³ Kanach, 2001, “Project for an Arts Center in Shiraz Persepolis (IX): Facilities,” p. 174.

²⁴⁴ Vali Mahlouji, 2013, “Perspectives on the Shiraz Arts Festival: A Radical Third World Rewriting,” *Review on Shiraz Arts Festival*. In [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://asiasociety.org/arts/creative-voices-muslim-asia/perspectives-shiraz-arts-festival-radical-third-world-rewriting#node-35433> [Accessed: 10 February 2014].

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

As the shahbanu says, not only was the festival an opportunity for expressing political reactions against the Pahlavi regime²⁴⁷ but also it was an occasion to expose objections to her cultural approaches and artistic taste. She wrote: “It is likely that the festival was an opportunity for political trends to find expression [...] as they knew about my commitment to culture”²⁴⁸.

According to the regime’s upper echelon, the festival was no more than “misplaced liberal ideas”²⁴⁹ of the shahbanu and her close circle. Even the Director of the Art Institute she much admired, Richard Frye, expressed opposition to the shahbanu’s artistic taste. Attacking “the Tehrani avant-gardists” in a proposal to the Art Festival organization committee, Frye recommended Iran to get folk artists from Kurdistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, a comment that was received badly by committee members: “Aghai [Mr] Frye, we are avant-gardists, not folklorists.”²⁵⁰

Within a decade of performances, the event inspired sustained counter-argument debates in both national and international media.²⁵¹ In *Le Figaro*, it was stated that no artistic festival in the world could approach such a cultural interaction between the East and the West better than Festival of Arts in Persepolis. The newspaper emphasized that the event attained its aims and objectives as it had been expected²⁵² which was, as highlighted in *Le Novel*, to provide an international platform to inspire cultures and traditions.²⁵³ The *Observer* said that gathering a society of prominent global artists in an outlying city of the Middle East was an avant-gardist approach;

²⁴⁷ “[...] an American troupe, Bread and Puppet, put on its play under the walls of a fortress in Shiraz, representing a prison”; Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 233.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 234.

²⁵⁰ Richard Frye, October 3, 1984, interview by Shahla Haeri, tape recording, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

²⁵¹ Michel Hedley, “International reflections of Shiraz Arts Festival,” *Festival of Arts* (? : Pars reporter artistic group publication), p. 4.

²⁵² “in Shiraz Gardens, in the Ruins of Persepolis,” *Figaro*, quoted in *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication), p. 40.

²⁵³ O. Alen, “International reflections of Shiraz Arts Festival,” *Le Novel*, quoted in *Festival of Arts* (Pars reporter artistic group publication), p.7.

no generation has observed such an experiment variety of cultures.²⁵⁴ Similarly in an article in *Tamasha* journal, the central aim of the Festival was denoted as introducing innovative artistic experiments;²⁵⁵ and in fact, what the Festival appropriated was a radical and revolutionary struggle in performing arts that changed the norms and located the event at the center of endless antithetic criticism and artistic conflicts.

As the first international artistic event in bridging Eastern and Western cultures²⁵⁶, the Festival raised the tension between tradition and revolution. According to William Shawcross, the festival became “the most controversial event in the country [during the last years of monarchy], sometimes the shahbanu’s enthusiasm seemed to jar. Although she was determined to preserve Iran’s past, her contemporary tastes were often too avant-garde, too cosmopolitan for the most of her countrymen”²⁵⁷. In the same vein, Mahasti Afshar in the 12th Festival of Arts mentioned that “To be sure, the festival’s fans, artists and organizers represented a minority of the general population in Iran; the majority had little or no awareness of, interest in, or access to the likes of Balachander, Bejart, and Bijan Mofid. But that was precisely the point, to bring down the wall between the culturally privileged and underprivileged, to celebrate and share humanity’s artistic wealth as widely as possible for the benefit of larger publics, especially the younger generation.”²⁵⁸ Similarly, Gholam Reza Afkhami introduced the Festival program as “too modern and cutting-edge even for the arts aficionado in Iran or elsewhere”²⁵⁹. Transgressive creativity was not always easily recognized, as a festival catalogue noted: “The Sixth Festival was considered by many to be the most ‘difficult’ to date. [...] There was little appeal to ‘popular’ taste, a sure sign that festival organizers now knew what they wanted and were prepared to present it regardless of critical comment, which was not slow in coming.

²⁵⁴ “Shiraz, hangout of the Nations’ Music” *Observer*, quoted in *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication), p. 41.

²⁵⁵ “The World gazing the 5th Shiraz-Persepolis Arts Festival” *Tamasha*, quoted in *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973*, p. 153.

²⁵⁶ “Seven brilliant years to leave behind,” August 1975, *Tamasha 8th Shiraz Art Festival*.

²⁵⁷ Showcross, 1988, pp. 58-72., quoted in Robert Gluck, 2006, *Electronic Music in a Broader International Context*,” *Musicworks*, pp. 7-8.

²⁵⁸ Afshar, 2013, p. 3.

²⁵⁹ Afkhami, 2009, “Revolution and Irony: A Celebration and a Festival,” p. 418.

The controversy that boiled over in normally placid Shiraz was rightly considered part of what festival is all about, and as a welcome stimulus to artistic creativity and art criticism in Iran.”²⁶⁰

Drawing reactions from the Bazaar merchants and Shiite clerics²⁶¹ that the “wanton modernism of the festival senselessly antagonized the people [their culture and tradition] and provided ammunition to the opposition”²⁶², the event was accused of “cultural decadence”²⁶³ and of causing the failure of Iranian modernity. In this regard, Shawcross wrote “But there was another side to Farah, one that was [very] problematic for the shah. [...] as a symbol of social reform, she represented a strong Western influence [...] which was anathema to the Shiite clergy and to many ordinary, conservative Iranians. This was particularly true in her patronage of the arts.”²⁶⁴

During the two pre-revolutionary decades, the country witnessed an acceleration in the penetration and domination of “the West”. A trauma in the Iranian cultural transition, thus raised up a reactionary anti-Western nostalgia against the imposition of Western-oriented culture that was conceptualized as *Gharbzadegi* (Westoxication) by the Iranian critic Jalal Al-e Ahmad in 1962. Highlighting the “resistance” to the Western hegemony in Iran’s “culture wars”, the notion of “Westoxication”²⁶⁵ was propagated as the concept of an “Iranian version of mid-twentieth century Third

²⁶⁰ The 6th *Festival of Arts* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).

²⁶¹ Some believes that loud criticism against the festival and the Pahlavi regime emerged during the eleventh activities of Shiraz Arts Festival when a naked man and woman copulated in the middle of the traditional bazaar, known as *Bazaar Vakil*. Some others argued for a naked chorus to perform a Gregorian chant and Nationalists reactions focused on the permission to perform in the twenty-five-hundred-year-old Persian architectural heritage which “compromised the sanctity of Persepolis”; Abbas Milani, 2008, “Arby Ovanessian,” *Eminent Persians the Men and Women who Made Modern Iran 1941-1979* (New York: Syracuse University Press & Persian World Press), p. 1012.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Shawcross, 1988, “The Queen and A King,” p. 97.

²⁶⁵ Jalal Al-e Ahmad is the Iranian writer and critic who coined the term *Gharbzadegi* translated as Westoxication, westernstruck, weststruckness or occidentosis in his famous work *Occidentosis: A Plague from the West* published in 1962; in Milani, 2008, “Caliban’s Curse: Culture Wars in Iran, 1941-1979,” pp. 812-813.

Worldist ideologies”²⁶⁶ to convey the country’s economic, political and cultural dependence on “the West”. According to Robert Graham, Iran’s accelerated absorption of the West culminated in fostering a “latent chauvinism and at times xenophobia”²⁶⁷ which was exacerbated by the Pahlavis’ “emulation” of Western arts and culture particularly during the waning years of the Iranian monarchical system.

While Iranian culture and identity was criticized as on the verge of destruction by the invading Western culture, celebrated as the determinant characteristic of the ethos of modernization, an eventful age of “return”²⁶⁸ to national culture²⁶⁹ emerged. The opposition to the propagation of the Western hegemony by the defenders of “nativism”²⁷⁰ sought to remove the “abnormality”, “distortion” and “sickness”²⁷¹ of the infection by the unfamiliar West.

With growing opposition to the cultural sensibilities of the shahbanu, in 1978, the shahbanu cautiously stressed a balance between the national traditional culture and contemporary Western developments by indicating “we in Iran [...] are faced with the tension between our traditional values and the demands of the Western science and technology and all that it brings along in its wake, including nihilism and despair on the one hand and paradoxically enough blind faith in senseless growth on the other [...] we wish to adapt modern technology [...] from the West without emulating it blindly”. She further emphasized, “it is precisely our rich [culture] heritage [...] that makes the encounter with modernism in its many facets such a

²⁶⁶ Afshin matin Asgari, “The Iranian Left’s Twentieth-Century Odyssey,” in Stephanie Cronin, 2004, *Reformers and Revolutionaries in Modern Iran: New Perspective on the Iranian Left* (New York: Routledge), pp. 44-45.

²⁶⁷ Robert Graham, 1978, “Problems of Culture,” *The Illusion of Power* (London: Croom Helm), p. 192.

²⁶⁸ Other ideologues who shared similar political tone with the Al-e Ahmad were Motahhari and Shari’ati who propagated the notion of “return” to an “authentic self”; Milani, 2008, “Caliban’s Curse: Culture Wars in Iran, 1941-1979,” p. 813.

²⁶⁹ Used by many Iranian scholars, the phrase “cultural turn” was firstly introduced by Frantz Fanon and Jean-Paul Sartre; Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Hamid Dabashi, 2009, “Post-Orientalism,” *Post-Orientalism: Knowledge and Power in Time of Terror* (the State University of New Jersey: Rutgers), p. 260.

²⁷¹ Hamid Dabashi, 2006, “Jalal Al-e Ahmad: Westoxication,” *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran* (New Jersey: Transaction), p. 78.

great challenge to us”. Referring to government-sponsored cultural and artistic festivals, the shahbanu continued, the regime was “the major force in the cultivation of the [Iranian] arts” and devoted primary attention to “revive our national culture” while “seeking to increase cultural rotations between us and other civilizations of the world”.²⁷²

According to Robert Graham, despite the regime’s attempt to extinguish the reactions, perceived as “alien” to Iranian culture, the Pahlavis’ contemporary avant-garde tendencies in Western arts and culture, however, recoiled negatively. The cultural dynamism in International Shiraz Arts Festival could not fulfill the state’s mission for regenerating the nation commenced one decade earlier. Graham believes that “modern Iran was culturally bankrupt” in its association with the international culture since the domestic impacts of these imported nation-wide cultural activities remained insufficient to transform the Iranian national culture: “culture, at this level [as highlighted by Graham] was [perceived as] a plaything of elite, in particular those surrounding Shahbanu Farah, and existed in a complete vacuum”²⁷³.

Attacked for “elitist exclusivity”²⁷⁴, in the words of Gholam Reza Afkhami, the shahbanu’s contemporary taste was evermore criticized as too radical even for the supporters of Westernization in Iran: “we were just listening to Bach. Stockhausen was impossible.”²⁷⁵ Condemned for its “estrangement from the masses”²⁷⁶ in Abbas Milani’s article, the Festival was criticized as disregarding “public accountability [...] for the views and voices of the public”²⁷⁷. While the shahbanu was unaware of all detail of the festival performances, in response to these arguments she said “In

²⁷² Farah Pahlavi, 1978, *The Preservation of Our Culture* [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.farahpahlavi.org/asiasoc.html> [Accessed: November 2010].

²⁷³ Graham, 1978, “Problems of Culture,” p. 202.

²⁷⁴ Gholam Reza Afkhami, 2009, “Revolution and Irony: A Celebration and a Festival,” p. 418.

²⁷⁵ A quotation from an Iranian reformer against the festival program, in Gluck, 2007, pp. 20-28.

²⁷⁶ Milani, 2008, “Arby Ovanessian,” p. 1012.

²⁷⁷ Milani, 2008, “Caliban’s Curse: Culture Wars in Iran, 1941-1979,” p. 813.

any art festival, it is difficult to have free expression by the artists and expect it to appeal to all the different social groups.”²⁷⁸

For the liberally minded technocrats, however, it was the natural function of art to challenge conceptions and it was entirely acceptable to achieve this end by shocking the observer. In his memoir, the British Ambassador Sir Anthony Parsons criticized the Pahlavis’ ambivalent attitude to the consequences of the festival. Paradoxically, and apart from Iranian political and cultural sensitivities the event was, he wrote:

The Shiraz Festival of 1977 excelled itself in its insults to Iranian moral values. For example according to an eye-witness, a play was enacted which represented, as I was told, the evils of military rule and occupation. The theater company had booked a shop in the main shopping street of Shiraz for the performance, which was played half inside the shop and half on the pavement outside. One scene, played on the pavement, involved a rape which was performed in full (no pretence) by a man (either naked or without any trousers, I forget which) on a woman who had her dress ripped off her by her attacker. The denouement of the play, also acted on the pavement, included a scene where one of the characters dropped his trousers and inserted a stage pistol up his backside, presumably in order to add verisimilitude to his suicide. The effect of this bizarre and disgusting extravaganza on the good citizens of Shiraz, going about their evening shopping, can hardly be imagined. This grotesquerie aroused a storm of protest which reached the press and television. I remembering mentioning it to the shah, adding that, if the same play had put on, say, in the main street of Winchester (Shiraz is the Iranian equivalent of a cathedral city), the actors and sponsors would have found themselves in trouble. The shah laughed indulgently.²⁷⁹

In another article by Ninoush Merrikh wrote that the event introduced as an artistic and cultural awakening for the Iranian nation by promoting the level of Iranian cultural involvement, actually fell short of fulfilling the shahbanu’s paramount revolutionary project in achieving the higher cultural levels and elevating the cultural standards of the society which commenced one decade earlier.²⁸⁰ It is more in the form of question than an appropriate answer to how can a traditional society evolve without compromising its historical heritage, cultural values and national identity while associating with the new international culture which was the major challenge

²⁷⁸ Shawcross, 1988, “The Queen and A King,” p. 98.

²⁷⁹ Ansari, 2003, “Revolution, War and ‘Islamic Republic,” p. 198.

²⁸⁰ Ninoush Merrikh (ed.), 1967, “Shahbanou’s orders in the ending session of the tenth Shiraz Festival of Arts,” *Her Majesty Farah Pahlavi, Shahbanou of Iran from 2518-2535* (Tehran: the Center of Public Information), p. 490.

for the inventor of the event. Accused of “political naïveté”²⁸¹, wrote Milani, the shahbanu’s contemporary cultural attempts to make the event “the greatest festival on experimental arts in the history”²⁸² proved abortive with approaching of the Islamic Revolution in 1979.

While many historians and critics claimed that the idea to bring a “cultural revolution”²⁸³ had never been materialized, however, it can be said that as a reformist in cultivating contemporary art and culture, Shahbanu Farah had taken her position in constructing the history of modern arts before the Iranian Revolution since as highlighted in Robert Gluck’s terms:

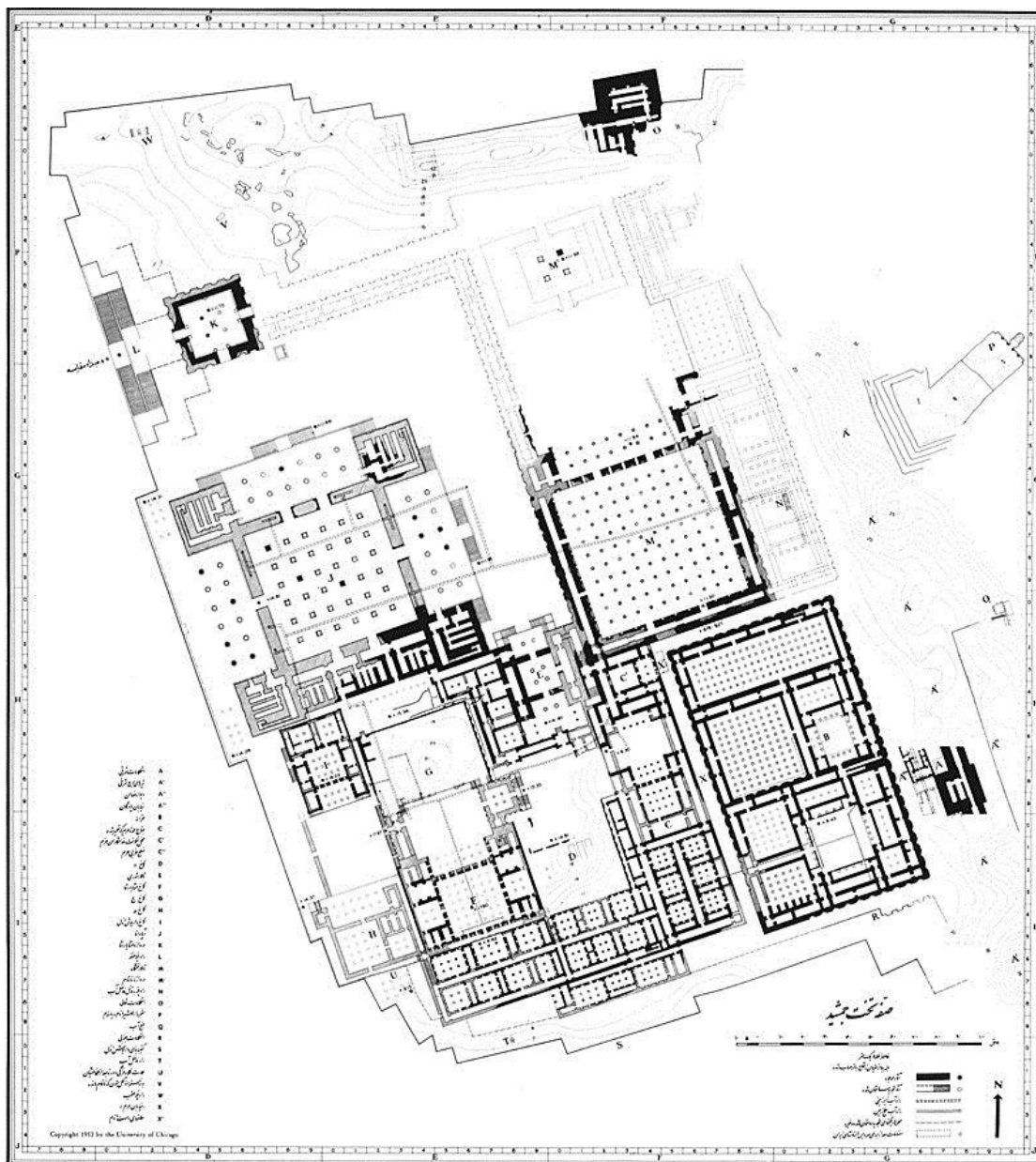
“[...] while the proposed art center never came to fruition, its development represents a story that deserves to be more widely known. This story of cross-cultural exchange is one among many rarely reported narratives without which the international history of contemporary and electronic arts cannot be fully told.”²⁸⁴

²⁸¹ Milani, 2008, “Arby Ovanessian,” p. 1012.

²⁸² Merrikh, 1967, p.139.

²⁸³ Farah Pahlavi, from the speeches of Her Majesty in the opening ceremony of the first Festival of People’s Culture in Isfahan, September 1978, “Popular Culture cannot be disappeared,” *Art Bulletin: 12th Festival of Arts Shiraz Persepolis*.

²⁸⁴ Gluck, 2006, *Electronic Music in a Broader International Context*,” pp. 7-8.



نقش و سازه‌های بنا شده در این مکان در زمان داریوش و خشایارشا. نقشه‌های این بنا توسط دکتر حسن پورابراهیمیان و دکتر علی‌اکبر حسینی در سال ۱۳۸۰ خ. تهیه شده است.
 A. R. Hosseini

Figure 21 Persepolis, Site plan, 2009.

SOURCE: A. Shapur Shahbazi, 2009, "[Persepolis](#)," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, [Internet, WWW],
 ADDRESS: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/persepolis> [Accessed: 23 June 2014].



Figure 22 2500-year celebration of the Persian Empire, 1976.

SOURCE: *Islamic Revolution Document Center*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.irdc.ir/en/content/21908/28503/default.aspx> [Accessed: 25 August 2013].

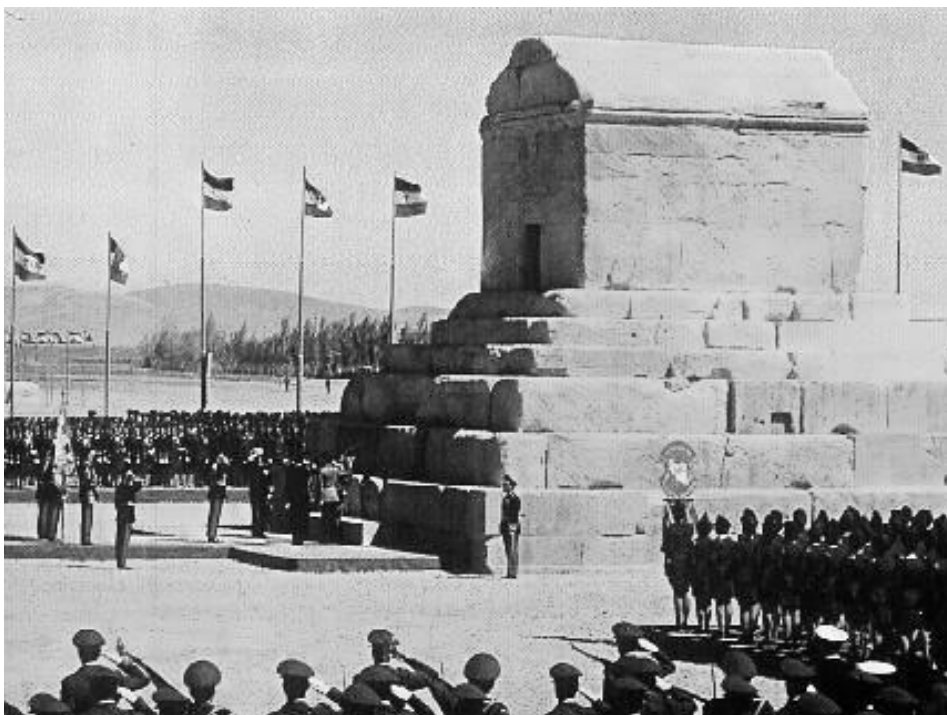


Figure 23 Mohammad Reza Shah stands before the tomb of Cyrus, 2500-year celebration of the Persian Empire, 1976.

SOURCE: Abdi, Kamyar, 2001, "[Nationalism, Politics, and the Development of Archaeology in Iran](#)," *American Journal of Archaeology* Vol. (105), pp. 51-76.

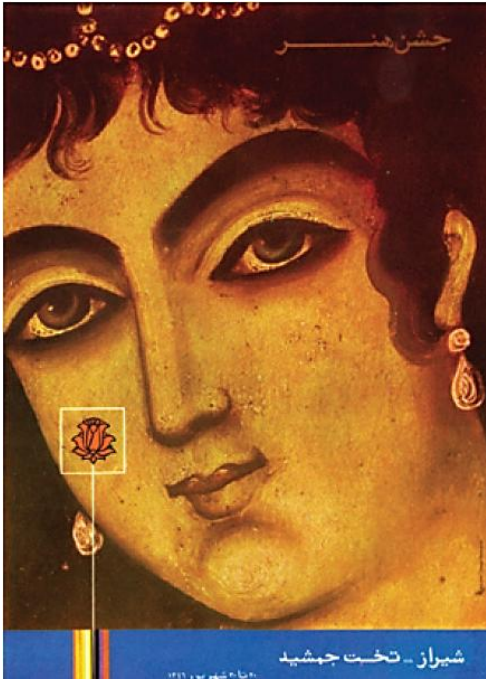


Figure 24 The poster of the first International Shiraz Arts Festival, 1967.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).

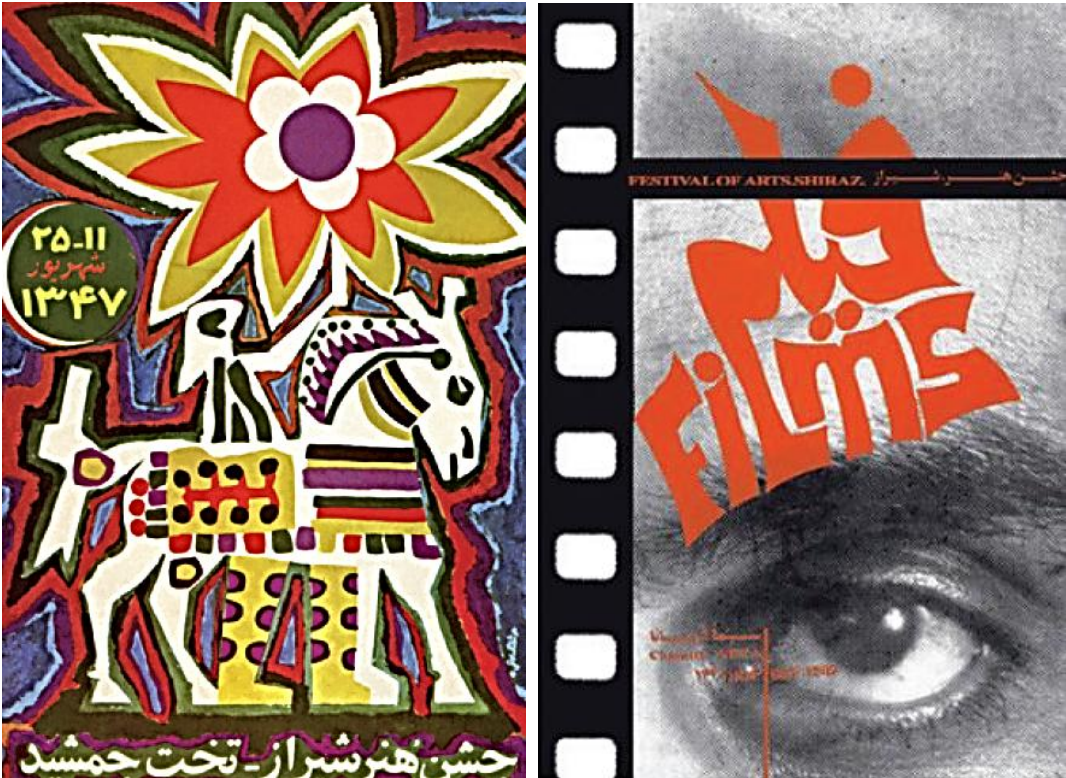


Figure 25 The posters of the second International Shiraz Arts Festival, 1968.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).



Figure 26 The poster of the third International Shiraz Arts Festival, 1969.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).



Figure 27 The posters of the fourth International Shiraz Arts Festival, 1970.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).

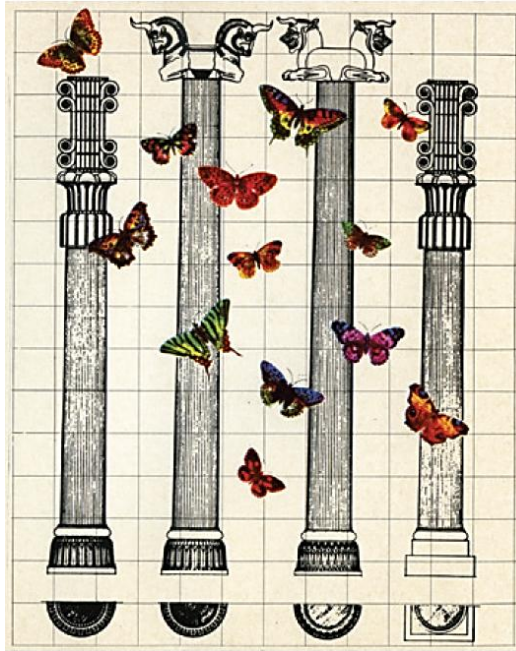
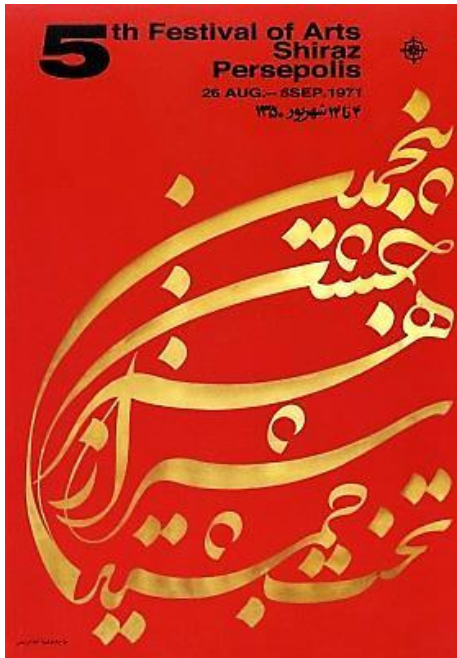


Figure 28 The poster of the fifth International Shiraz Arts Festival, 1971.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).

Figure 29 The poster of the seventh International Shiraz Arts Festival, 1973.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).



Figure 30 The poster of the fifth International Shiraz Arts Festival, 1971.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).

Figure 31 The poster of the seventh International Shiraz Arts Festival, 1973.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).



Figure 32 Group of Harpist from Soviet Union, the 1st Festival of Arts, 1967.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).

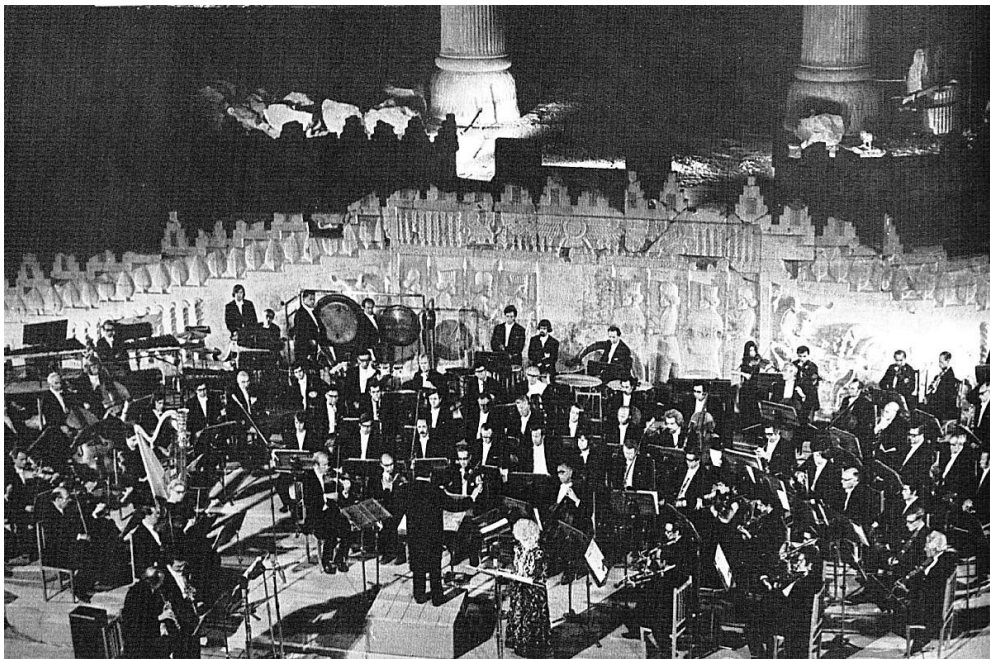


Figure 33 The Office de Radio diffusion-Télévision Française (ORTF) under the directorship of Bruno Maderna the 5th Festival of Arts, 1971.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).



Figure 34 Arthur Rubinstein, the second Festival of Arts, 1968.

SOURCE: *Festival of Arts Shiraz/Persepolis: the First 10 Years 1967-1976* (Tehran: Dad Printing House).



Figure 35 Iannis Xenakis in Persepolis, the 5th Festival of Arts, 1971.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).

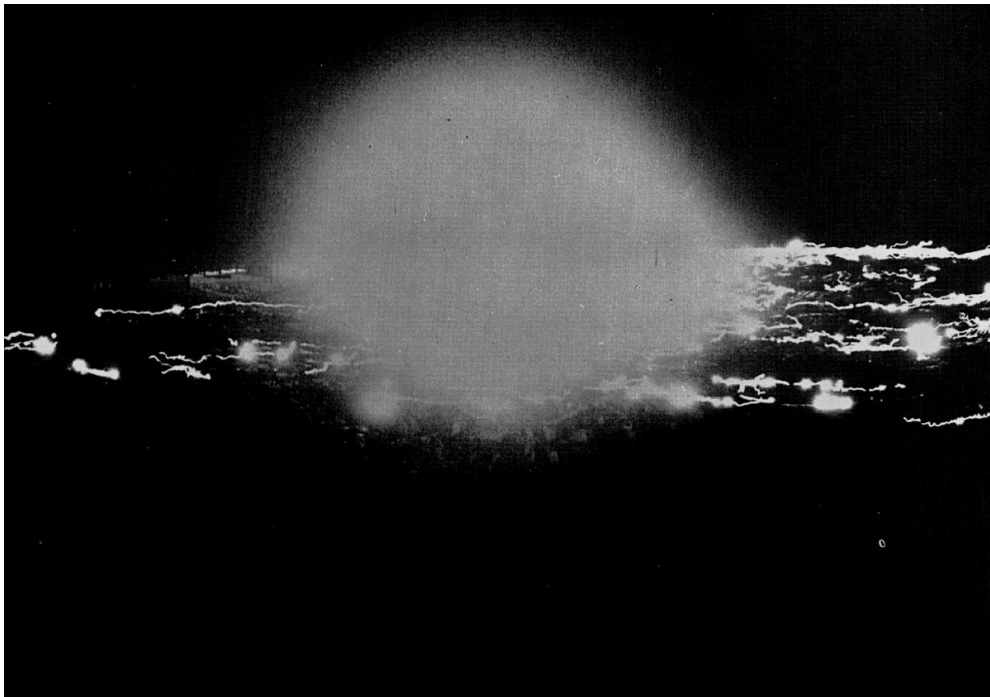


Figure 36 Iannis Xenakis in Persepolis, the 5th Festival of Arts, 1971.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).



Figure 37 Maurice Bejart in *Persepolis*, the 9th Festival of Arts, 1975.

SOURCE: *Shiraz Arts Festival* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).



Figure 38 Kathakali, *Persepolis*

SOURCE: *Shiraz Arts Festival* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).



Figure 39 Bread and Puppet theater group, Peter Schumann, 1970.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication).



Figure 40 Origin of Blood, Terayama, 1973.

SOURCE: *Arts Festival Book 1967-1973* (Tehran: National Iranian Radio Television Publication)

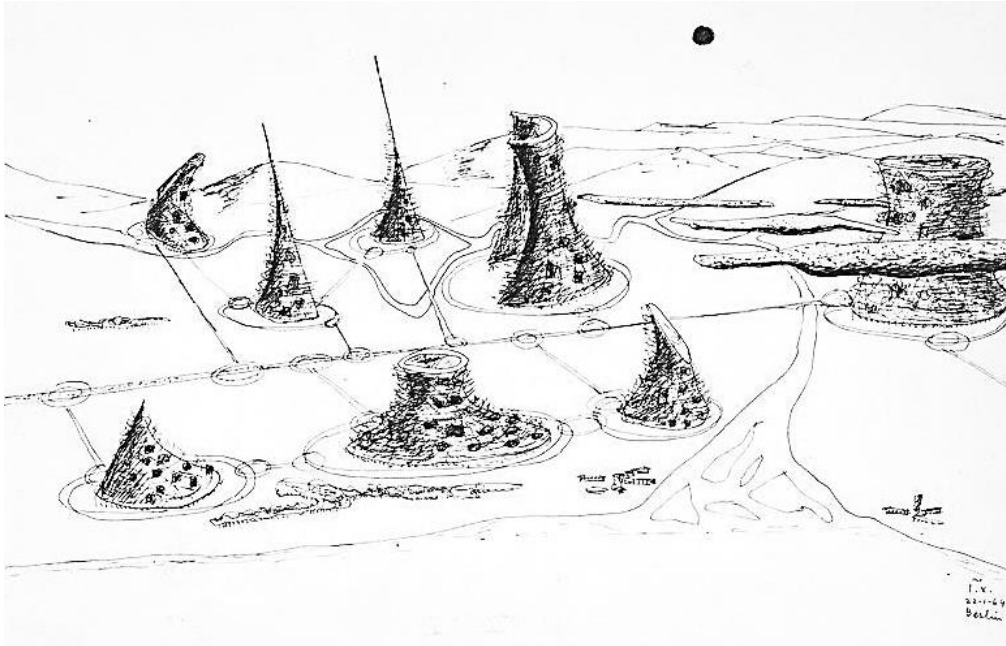


Figure 41 Cosmic City, Sketch by Iannis Xenakis, 1963.

SOURCE: Sharon Kanach, 2001, "Writings on Architecture: The Cosmic City," *Music and Architecture: architectural projects, texts, and realizations* (New York: Pendragon Press), p. 141.

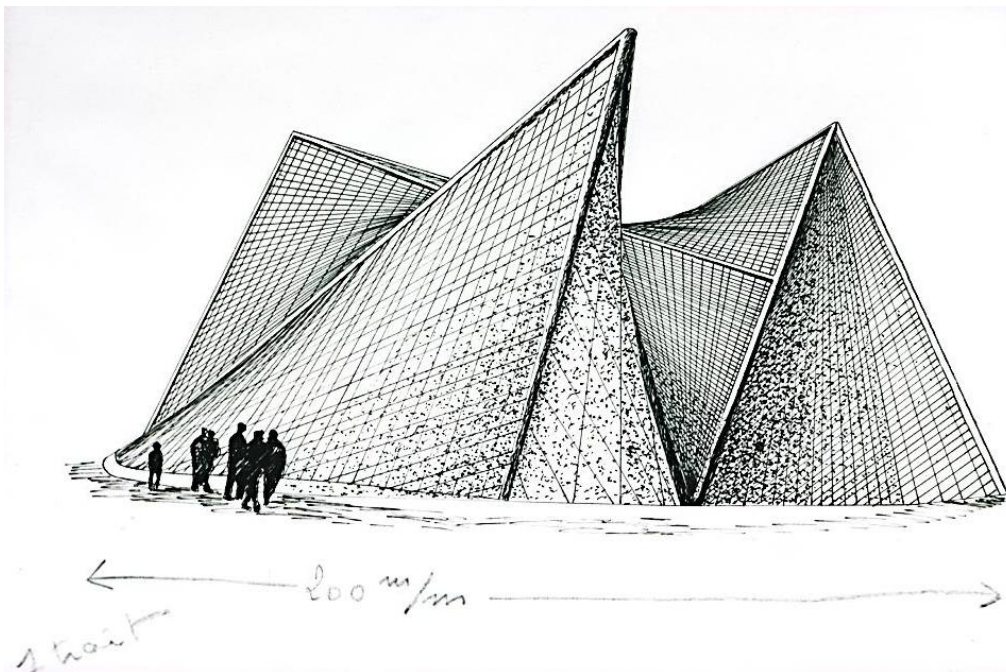


Figure 42 Philips Pavilion, Sketch by Iannis Xenakis, 1956.

SOURCE: *Iannis Xenakis Projects* [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.iannis-xenakis.org/xen/archi/real.html> [Accessed: 23 June 2014].

CHAPTER 4

IDENTITY

“Museums as bastions of national heritage and mores would comprise an important arm of the government’s realignment of values, aesthetic and identities. Their production, maintenance and exhibition in the State’s museums would remain an integral vehicle of nation and identity building.”²⁸⁵

During the last decade of the Pahlavi monarchy, the preservation of hitherto ignored Iranian traditional heritage became one of the dominant cultural paradigms of modern Iran.²⁸⁶ The Iranian modern age benefited from constructions of identity based on the deep past. Attempts were made to find, renovate, and muzeumize Iran’s artistic and architectural heritage under the purview of the shahbanu’s cultural policy.²⁸⁷ Through the repatriation of large quantities of Iranian antiquities, Shahbanu Farah launched a kind of ‘cultural movement’²⁸⁸ in Tehran. Between the years 1975 and 1979, she was actively involved in creating and collecting a visual historical account of Iran’s cultural history. Her major act of patronage in architecture was the foundation and donation of national museums throughout the capital.

While the preservation of Iran’s artistic and architectural patrimony was a part of the Pahlavis’ modernization project in fostering Iranian national identity, the context of the contemporary and its presentation was criticized as rejecting the very notion of authenticity as the process was equated with Europeanization by radical Islamic nationalists. This chapter explores two different notions of ‘traditional’ and

²⁸⁵ Alisa Eimen, 2013, “The Pahlavi Dynasty and the Transitional Period after the Iranian Revolution: Shaping and Portraying Identity at the Tehran Museum of Contemporary art,” in Staci Gem Scheiwiller (ed.), *Performing the Iranian State: Visual Culture and Representations of Iranian Identity* (London: Anthem Press), p. 90.

²⁸⁶ Milani, 2008, “Caliban’s Curse: Culture Wars in Iran, 1941-1979,” p. 813.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ehsan Naraghi, 1994, “Between Wife and Sister,” *From Palace to Prison: Inside the Iranian Revolution* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd.), p. 59.

‘contemporary’ in the case of national museums that respectively have a direct bearing on the contours of modernity in Pahlavi Iran. While contemporary was situated at the opposite pole from tradition in terms of attitudes towards convention, they respectively take a similar path on identity-making of modern Iran under the Pahlavis.

4. 1. Nativising Modernity: The Discourse of ‘Authentic Culture’ & Foundation of The Negarestan Museum

“Like other developing countries, we had an inferiority complex about the advanced world, and everything outside Iran was admired [...] in the last years of the monarchy, we have passed through this period of emulation, but our identity was secure.”²⁸⁹

Tracing the history of Iranian culture during the last two decades of the Pahlavi era provides a point of departure for looking at modern Iranian art. While a paragon of universalistic modernization, after the 1960s, however, Iran returned to its heritage for inspiration. Modernism in Iran during the two decades of the 1960s and 1970s was, accordingly, an alternative movement with its own definition.

During these two critical decades, those who embraced nationalist tropes had grown disgruntled with the Pahlavis’ propagation and emulation of Western values; the idea of a “return” to native roots, accordingly, became the populist movement that constituted the modern Iranian cultural and artistic scene of the 1960s and 1970s. A period of soul-searching and cultural self-assertiveness thus began.²⁹⁰

While official statements articulated as an irrefutable fact that as part of the third-worldist notion of “onslaught of cultures” from the outside, Iranian traditional culture was under threat, efforts were made to maintain the country’s traditions and national heritage in order to give a sense of identity. The concept of promoting authentic culture, accordingly, became central to Iran’s national cultural policy by the mid-

²⁸⁹ Donna Stein, 2013, “The Pahlavi Dynasty and the Transitional Period after the Iranian Revolution: For the Love of her People: An Interview with Farah Diba about the Pahlavi Programs for the Arts in Iran,” in Scheiwiller, p. 76.

²⁹⁰ Milani, 2008, “Caliban’s Curse: Culture Wars in Iran, 1941-1979,” p. 815.

1970s.²⁹¹ It was in this context that, as seen in the earlier chapter, the government began organizing a number of national cultural festivals throughout the country. The celebration of the two thousand five hundredth anniversary of the Iranian monarchy was similarly central to the definition of a “return to authentic culture” that would underlie the propagation of past traditions and define an identity for the state and the nation. And, as a part of the same effort, during the 1970s the Pahlavis encouraged the foundation of national museums as they would provide “an opportunity for cultural artifacts [as manifestations of authentic culture] to be collected, put on display, and made accessible to all, in an attempt to work toward a recognition of Iranian civilization and culture, which would then serve as protection against outside civilization.”²⁹²

A historical overview of the establishment of museums in Iran demonstrates that the first royal museum was created by the order of Naser-al Din Shah Qajar in Golestan Palace in 1876.²⁹³ The museum was a product of the shah’s fascination with Western museums. After several trips to Europe, the shah charged Mirza Yahya Khan Mo’tamed al-Molk, the Minister of Construction, to renovate his Royal Museum for formal audiences in its former place.²⁹⁴ The idea for the creation of a National Archeological Museum in Iran first emerged from Mozaffar al-Din Shah Qajar who believed in preserving and preventing Persian antiquities from being removed to the West; a project which was postponed due to the lack of a legal basis and funding until 1917, when the Minister of Education, Momtaz al-Molk, inaugurated the first National Museum in the building of the ministry including a collection of three hundred antique objects.²⁹⁵ While the creation of a National Museum threatened the French monopoly through which Iran was deprived of a part of its heritage for the

²⁹¹ Negin Nabavi, 2003, “The Discourse of ‘Authentic Culture’ in Iran in 1960s and 1970s,” *Intellectual trends in Twentieth Century Iran: A Critical Survey* (University Press of Florida), p. 96.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 97.

²⁹³ Bianca Devos & Cristoph Werner (ed.), “Archeology and the Iranian National Museum: A Quick Glance at the History of Archeology and Archeological Institutions in Iran before the Rise of Reza Shah, The Archeological Museum,” *Culture and Cultural Politics under Reza Shah: The Pahlavi State, New Bourgeoisie and the Creation of a Modern Society in Iran* (London: Routledge), p. 127.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

benefit of French national museums, it was not until the abolition of the French monopoly in 1927 and the ratification of the Antiquities Law in 1930 that the preservation of Iran's patrimony came to the fore.²⁹⁶ With the establishment of the Society for National Heritage in 1922, the idea to create archeological organizations such as Iran Archeological Museum²⁹⁷ and the antiquities service in Iran was brought on to agenda in 1934. These foundations represented the main establishments of the Ministry of Culture and Arts until the mid-1970s and it was clear that "there was a vacuum to be filled, museums needed"²⁹⁸.

Following the economic boom in 1974, the shahbanu found an opportunity to pursue the artistic vision she had for her nation. She said: "I asked my husband and the government to fulfill our cultural ambition."²⁹⁹ Intent on furthering the nation's cultural education and on exposing Iran's artistic treasures to the wider world, the shahbanu set out to retrieve some of the nation's artifacts that had previously found their way abroad and as a part of this process of 'buying back' such emblems of Iran's cultural history, she became involved in the establishment of several national museums throughout the capital and donated to them a wide collection of national artistic treasures she secured and funded from domestic and foreign collectors.³⁰⁰ Among the projects was the Negarestan Museum of Qajar arts by Jaroslav Fritsch in 1975 (Fig 43 and 44).

Negarestan Museum, decided the shahbanu, would be located in the former nineteenth century palace of the queen mother in the area of Marmar Palace Complex which was brought under the direct jurisdiction of the shahbanu's private secretariat in 1973. The renovation project would last more than two years and the facility

²⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 129.

²⁹⁷ Inspired by Sassanid Architecture, the project was a collaborating work of the French archeologist and the director of Iranian Archeological Service (IAS) Andre Godard and the French architect Maxime Siroux.

²⁹⁸ L. Diba August 1984, p. 14.

²⁹⁹ Myrna Ayad, "The queen of Culture Her Majesty Farah Pahlavi," *Canvas*, p. 42, [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://www.farahpahlavi.org> [Accessed: 27 May 2011].

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

would be allocated rare art objects of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Qajar Iran.³⁰¹

It was in St. Moritz that the shahbanu's endeavors to procure a wide-ranging collection of historic Iranian artifacts led to the purchase the sale of the Amery Collection of sixty-four items of eighteenth and nineteenth century Qajar paintings. Purchased by an English M.P. Colonel Harold Amery and Leopold Amery, the collection was transferred to England.³⁰² The shahbanu's intervention rescued Iranian artistic treasure from dispersal via retrieving the entire collection for Iran. Put up for auction by Julian Amery at Sotheby's, the collection was bought under the patronage of Shahbanu Farah.³⁰³ She purchased and brought them to Iran, ordering her aides "you must get them for us at all costs. They must not be dispersed. They must come back to Iran."³⁰⁴ With the cultivation of an arts collection, the idea for preservation of these objects was first emerged in 1970.

The museum was opened in 1975 under the directorship of Leila Sudavar Diba, an Iranian-American scholar of Iranian Islamic art who had worked as an art consultant in the cultural section of the private secretariat of Shahbanu Farah since 1974. "The first thing that I was involved with was what has been called the I.C.O.M. symposium," said Diba. "I.C.O.M. is the International Council of Museums [where] the Daftar-e Makhsus [the private secretariat], the only official representative of Shahbanu Farah [...] got advice and information from [in order to] formulate some sort of modern museum policy".³⁰⁵ The Islamic Department of the Metropolitan Museum was another institution from which some experts were invited to advice on setting up the museums throughout the country.

³⁰¹ Mustafa Jaferi, April 1975, "96m-rial Negarestan Museum Inagurated," *The Tehran Journal*, Vol. XXII (6264), p. 1.

³⁰² "Negarestan doors are opened to the nation," 1976, *Ettela'at*, Vol. XXII (14688), p. 5; Blanch, p. 103.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁴ Blanch, p. 103.

³⁰⁵ L. Diba, p. 40.

The aim of the I.C.O.M. symposium, as stated by Diba, was to gather a ten-strong advisory board committee from Asia and Europe to install the museum. This provided a conflict for the architect in terms of preservation, conservation and curatorial problems since the architect was not a museum expert. Jaroslav Fritsch was the Czechoslovakian architect who had participated in construction of the Iranian pavilions at world fairs. Fritsch worked with Manouchehr Iranpour, the Iranian collaborator in charge of the project and under the supervision of Karim Pasha Bahadori, head of the private secretariat.

According to Diba, “Daftar-e Makhsus [the private secretariat] was sort of the major center for all kinds of collecting” and in the case of Negarestan Museum, there were two influential figures: the resident art consultant Yahya Zoka and the advisor Mohsen Foroughi. Zoka was an Iranian-trained art consultant in the private secretariat of Shahbanu Farah and was extremely knowledgeable about the art of eighteenth and nineteenth century Iran. Foroughi was a French-trained Iranian architect and advisor to Shahbanu Farah who was also influential in purchasing the Amery Collection of nineteenth century Qajar paintings as the permanent collection of the “court art” which is now displayed on the lowest level of the museum.³⁰⁶ The seventy-one rare artistic objects and lacquer works which had been donated to the shahbanu by the Iranian art collector Gholam Ali Seif Nasserri made up a part of the four hundred antique objects transferred to Negaretsan at the order of Shahbanu Farah.³⁰⁷ A treasury room holds jewelry pieces and enameled swords collected by industrialist Ali Reza’i from Paris.³⁰⁸ A collection of Bohemian glass and English ceramics purchased by Zoka was also a part of the museum’s permanent collection.³⁰⁹ On this floor, besides a permanent exhibition area which is allocated to the Qajar paintings, there are a four-hundred seat amphitheater, offices for installation, cataloging, and labeling the publications, storage facilities, salerooms and stores, a large library, art education classes, a café-restaurant and a room for

³⁰⁶ Ibid, pp. 54-5.

³⁰⁷ “Negarestan doors are opened to the nation,” 1976, *Ettela’at*, Vol. XXII (14688), p. 5.

³⁰⁸ L. Diba, p. 58.

³⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 65.

children.³¹⁰ In the upper level, a Central Hall for music and theater performances is placed besides two galleries for temporary exhibitions, the first of which was a historical collection of calligraphy and miniatures of the Iranian art critic and collector, Aydin Aghdashlou.³¹¹ Aghdashlou's collection was sold to the private secretariat of Shahbanu Farah by Bahadori, head of the secretariat of the time.

Mehdi Mahbubiyani was another dealer whose collection of paintings, lithographs, manuscripts and textiles ranging from the ancient to the nineteenth century was purchased for a couple of million dollars by the secretariat as a part of new acquisitions at the Negarestan.³¹² The later collection bought by the secretariat was a legendary Rothschild collection exhibited at the Festival of Islam in London in 1976. While these collections were stored as the Shahbanu Farah's art collection in the secretariat, only those corresponding to eighteenth and nineteenth century Iranian art were brought to Negarestan as a part of the permanent or temporary collection by the curator, Leila Diba. During the period between 1975 until the Revolution, the collection was increased in volume tremendously from a few hundred to three thousand pieces.

Within some years the secretariat itself set up a museum, a project in which Mina Sadegh was in charge along with with Aydin Aghdashlou. The daughter of prominent Iranian architect and collector, Ali Sadegh,³¹³ Mina Sadegh was a western-educated scholar in the field of pre-Islamic art at Pennsylvania University. As the cousin of Shahbanu Farah, Sadegh was very influential in curatorial works, cataloging and installation of the secretariat's art objects. She was the one who built the collections of Shahbanu Farah in the secretariat. The secretariat, accordingly,

³¹⁰ Janet Lazarian Shaghghi, 1976, "A sampling of the Empress' collection," *Tehran Journal*, Vol. XXII (14688), p. 5.

³¹¹ L. Diba, p. 59.

³¹² *Ibid*, pp. 74-5.

³¹³ Educated in Belgium, Ali Sadegh was tasked with the board trustee of the Tehran Council of City Planning in 1939. As the vice chairman of the first society devoted to Iranian architects, the Iranian Graduate Architects Society in 1944, Sadegh involved in establishment of various projects such as the building of Bank-e Rahni, the Tabriz Museum and the four-hundred housing project in Tehran., in "To know our architects: Ali Sadegh," 1947, *Architect*, Vol 1 (4), pp. 149-51.

became a temporary cultural center for the artistic works until they transferred to the museums.³¹⁴

4. 2. (Re) Framing Modernity: Preserving the Iranian Architectural Heritage & Restoration of Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics

While much of the discourse of the intellectual dissidents of the 1960s included a degree of anti-Westernism, nonetheless, for the establishment, promoting authentic culture did not necessarily equate with confrontation with the West. In response to Jalal Al-e Ahmad and Ali Shari'ati's [Islamic] modernization ideologies of *Westoxication* in criticizing the government for purposefully "indiscriminate borrowing from the West", the shahbanu, however, attempted to preserve, renovate and subsidize Iranian traditional art and culture, as its authentic identity. It was a task which was attacked as "nonsensical" by the state upper echelon and even by the shah himself as it challenged the Pahlavis' determination of modernity.³¹⁵ The concern for the modernization under Reza Shah found expression in a reconstruction program which transformed the Islamic character of the city through the destruction of the nineteenth century traditional fabric of the capital to make way for modern constructions.³¹⁶ Under the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah, similarly, with the expansion of urban renewal, the Islamic architectural legacy erected during the Qajar and Safavid periods came under "the pick-axes of demolition"³¹⁷ although some very selected "high points of Islamic architectural [monuments]"³¹⁸ were preserved under the governmental patronage. Accordingly, while pre-Islamic Iranian national edifices were preserved, the traditional Islamic treasures were eliminated or neglected totally³¹⁹ by the public and private authorities. During the last decade of the Pahlavi

³¹⁴ L. Diba, p. 78.

³¹⁵ Grigor, 2005, "A Modern Aesthetics: SNH's Politics," p. 130.

³¹⁶ Mina Marefat, 1988, *Building to Power Architecture of Tehran 1921-1941* (Ph.D. diss., Massachusset Institute of Technology).; and in D. N. Wilber, 1986, "Architecture, VII. Pahlavi, before World War II," in Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. II (4), p. 350.

³¹⁷ Blanch, p. 114.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Grigor, 2005, "A Modern Aesthetics: SNH's Politics," p. 127.

monarchy, active cultivated royal patronage was required to preserve these ignored architectural treasures and historic sites.

The restoration and preservation of ignored artistic and architectural heritage was one of the shahbanu's major strides towards modernization. She said that: "architecture interested me not only from the aspect of design but also in social and cultural context. I strongly believed in the preservation of our architectural and urban heritage by incorporating influences and inspirations from the past, taking everything else such as climate, geography, and sociological aspects into consideration"³²⁰.

While her efforts were perceived as "mere art", the shahbanu, however, focused her political power on Iran's artistic and cultural affairs. When the shahbanu "flew out to Isfahan to inspect various ancient monuments which have been badly neglected", Prime Minister Alam wrote with a hint of irony: "I suppose we should be thankful that she takes an interest in such matters".³²¹ In the same vein, when the Soviet ambassador asked the court minister "the motive for HMQ's forthcoming trip to Russia", he replied that it was "merely for cultural purposes".³²² Yet for Shahbanu Farah it was the power of art and architecture that consolidated her political authority. She believed that "'good architecture' could not only avert a popular revolution from below, but also bring about a successful elitist revolution from above [and] such a reform would finally 'acculturate the nation'".³²³

As one of her central goals for Iranian culture, the shahbanu defied hasty urban development through insisting on the necessity for the preservation of Iran's national architectural heritage. She said "I had such high hopes for the preservation of my country's heritage and Iran's emergence as a contemporary cultural force."³²⁴ It was as a part of the same effort that her circle blocked a hotel building at Isfahan,

³²⁰ Farah Pahlavi, 23 July 2008. From Farah Pahlavi. [Internet, e-mail to the author].

³²¹ Alam, p. 57.

³²² Ibid, p. 175.

³²³ Grigor, 2005, "Modernity Feminized." p. 495.

³²⁴ Stein, 2013, p. 76.

complaining that the construction obstructed the view of the Safavid bridge of Si-o-Seh Pol; it was an act which was immediately rejected by Prime Minister Alam as “nonsense”³²⁵. While “forming a kind of rampart against the excesses of a husband whose ignorance of Iran’s culture almost bordered on contempt,” said Naraghi, the shahbanu acted vigorously to avert the negative consequences of the shah’s modernization policies. He wrote “the shahbanu became a refuge and patron to a small group of artists and intellectuals who wanted to protect our identity from the ill effect of an increasingly oppressive and intrusive cosmopolitanism”³²⁶.

Up to 1973, the shahbanu’s early intervention and incorporation with Iran’s Department of Antiques protected about six hundred building sites from demolition while three hundred of them were put under restoration³²⁷. Shahbanu Farah’s contribution was not limited to preserving these monuments. She also sought to put them to some practical use such as “headquarters for seminars, libraries, lecture or concert halls” and in lieu of becoming “museums”³²⁸. One of these was the Abguineh Museum of Glass and Ceramics.

Housed in a historical building of the Qajar period about a hundred and twenty years old, the building was associated with the aristocrat Ahmad Qavam, the Prime Minister of the Qajar period who lived in the house between 1921 and 1952 and was an instrumental figure in the Iranian Constitutional Revolution until 1953. Used as the Egyptian Embassy until 1960, it later remained in the possession of Commercial Bank.³²⁹ The residence and the office of Ahmad Qavam was purchased by the

³²⁵ Alam, pp. 153-4.

³²⁶ Naraghi, 1994, “Between Wife and Sister,” p. 59.

³²⁷ Nader Ardalan, 1986 “Architecture, VIII. Pahlavi, after World War II,” in Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. II (4), p. 354.

³²⁸ Blanch, p. 114.

³²⁹ Shahryar Khanizad, 2012, “Museum of Abgineh,” *Museum Design in Iran and in the World* (Tehran: Honar-e Memari), p. 68.

shahbanu's private secretariat in 1976 to house pre- and post-Islamic glassware and ceramics³³⁰ under the curatorship of Nasrin Schlemminger.³³¹

The entire layout of the project was planned by the German architect, Hans Hollein. It was at the Persepolis conference that Hollein was introduced to the chief of the private secretariat of Shahbanu Farah and discussed converting the existing building to a museum. He said "we decided to keep it as much as possible as it was, because we thought its use as a public building offered a very good possibility for its preservation and for its being made known to people as a cultural monument."³³² The renovation project would be constructive via all-embracing policies of preservation: "the concept behind the Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics was a harmonious relationship between the old which was to be preserved, and the new which was being introduced. The new, while having an identity and character of its own, would embody the presence of tradition in its contents and in their Qajar setting."³³³

Located at the north of the Golestan Palace, within a vast garden of seven thousand square meters, the edifice is approached from a central gate from the east (Fig 45). Here, an elevated pool is positioned midway on the main axis between the gate and the entrance recalling the French palatial form in concept. An elevated grand entrance is a wooden door framed by two engaged columns on each side. The western façade consists of a central body, punctuated by four symmetrical windows, the entrance and a balcony window flanked by semi-hexagonal protruding form stressed by six sets of arched windows on each side.³³⁴ The northern and the southern façades of the building are designed symmetrically by two rows of five windows.³³⁵

³³⁰ "History of Glassware and Ceramic Museum of Iran," *Glassware and Ceramic Museum of Iran*, in [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.glasswaremuseum.ir/history/history.htm> [Accessed: 18 March 2014].

³³¹ L. Diba, p. 79.

³³² Hans Hollein, "Case Study: Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics," in Linda Safran (ed.), 1980, *Places of Public Gathering in Islam* (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture), p. 93.

³³³ *Ibid*, p. 99.

³³⁴ Grigor, 2007, p. 16.

³³⁵ *Ibid*.

The exterior of the building is decorated with fine brickwork of geometric and floral motifs recalling Seljuk monuments in detail (Fig 46).³³⁶

In the evaluation process, the content was restricted to an existing collection of glass and ceramic purchased by or donated to the shahbanu's secretariat: "there were existing collections of glass, ceramics and calligraphy, and private owners and private donors who were willing to give groups of objects to this museum" said the architect and continued "there was a policy of buying back objects, because many very fine pieces had been brought out of the country in recent decades, and there were also finding from recent excavation."³³⁷

According to Leila Diba, the curator of the Negarestan Museum, the great majority of the collection of the Abguineh Museum came from Iraj Hedayat³³⁸ and a variety of art objects dating back from prehistory to the twentieth century were now kept in the private secretariat: "when I arrived [said the architect], all these beautiful glass and ceramic pieces were in shoe boxes, and we looked at them with the help of advisors because there was no real staff yet. We started to make the first sort of survey of the objects, photographing and measuring them. The pieces of glassware and ceramics dated from prehistory through Achaemenid times, up to the main bulk of the Islamic period and on to the early twentieth century."³³⁹

Since the building had to be kept in its original state, the showcases carried an important role. The architect wrote: "the interior of the building is completely covered with decoration, which of course we could not touch [...] so we followed two strategies [to] keep the space as it was and install independent showcases. In areas which were not in their original state or were damaged, we introduced a second inner shell to create a new space, partly integrated display provisions."³⁴⁰ The

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Hollein, p. 94.

³³⁸ L. Diba, p. 79.

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

showcases should be complementary objects not only to provide housing for art objects and the necessary services and equipment to maintain it, but also to offer a certain counter-play to the existing architecture.³⁴¹ The design envisaged for the containers was that these elements have to reflect the main characteristics of the artistic objects they contained.³⁴² In the hall devoted to pre-historic glass and ceramics (Fig 47 and 48), for example, the showcases represent the tomb of Cyrus the Great (Fig 49). In the hall for the examples of the Achaemenid and the Sassanid art (Fig 50 and 51), the containers symbolize the colonnaded palaces in Pasargadae (Fig 52) and in the hall of Gurgan glass and turquoise ceramics (Fig 53 and 54), the showcases symbolize Turkish tents. While the interior of the building was kept in its original state, the interior of the damaged rooms were covered by an inner shell to provide a new space such as the hall of luster ware, polychromed and painted ceramics (Fig 55 and 56).

The architect developed a basic design using an investigatory model for restoration known as CPM or RNT. Hollein wrote: “[CPM] model method is one I developed when I designed a much larger project, the Museum of Art at Monchengladbach in Germany. We made great use of models and model simulations, not only to study or present things, but also to evaluate such factors as light conditions.”³⁴³

The building comprises in two floors and a basement (Fig 57 to 59) connected with a grand wooden circular stairway (Fig 60 and 61). The rectangular plan is divided into seven irregular rooms surrounding the main circular area two stories tall. Since the building itself was of the Qajar period, the artifacts of the nineteenth century are located in the central space in contradiction with the chronological sequence.³⁴⁴ The objects in the museum are preserved through the centuries and millennia and that is why the architect considered that this chronological structuring should be reflected in their containers as well. A new architectural space was therefore created in

³⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 94-5.

³⁴² Ibid, p. 96.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 97.

showcases.³⁴⁵ Because of the variety of art objects, the result was several different types of showcases, about a hundred and twenty of them in all.³⁴⁶

The pre-historic art objects are part of the collection that date back to the first and second millennium B.C and are housed on the ground floor of the museum.³⁴⁷ The examples of the Achaemenid, Sassanid and early Islamic period are put on display in another hall of the main floor that exhibits the process of evolution and completion of glasswork industry with different types of decorative style.³⁴⁸ Here, the cloakroom and sale-desk and an audio-visual (Fig 62) introduction to the collection are located as well.³⁴⁹ On the gallery floor, works dating back to the fourth to seventh century allocated in one hall.³⁵⁰ In another hall, art of early days of the Islamic era are on display.³⁵¹ The glassworks dating back to the sixth to thirteenth century Safavid era are represented in the two interconnecting halls beside the curator's working room.³⁵²

As observed in the cases of the Negarestan and the Abguineh Museums, not only did the shahbanu encourage the politics of preservation which had been characterized by “exclusion” or “destruction” in the context of Reza Shah and his son Mohammad Reza Shah's Iran, but also, she usurped and subsidized the co-option of various forms of high art via expanding institutions on contemporary Western culture. In this regard, the establishment of Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art was an outcome of avant-garde period in Iranian artistic production; a project that would help to realize how high art was practiced and metamorphosed by royal hands to legitimate the Pahlavis' modernization ideology.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ “Mina Hall,” *Glassware and Ceramic Museum of Iran*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.glasswaremuseum.ir/object/mina.htm> [Accessed: 18 March 2014].

³⁴⁸ “Bolour Hall,” *Glassware and Ceramic Museum of Iran*.

³⁴⁹ Hollein, p. 97.

³⁵⁰ “Zarin Hall,” *Glassware and Ceramic Museum of Iran*.

³⁵¹ “Sadaf Hall,” *Glassware and Ceramic Museum of Iran*.

³⁵² “Lajvard Hall I, II,” *Glassware and Ceramic Museum of Iran*.

4.3. Importing Modernity: The Question of the Avant-Garde & the Establishment of Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art

According to Leila Diba, the idea for the establishment of the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art (TMOCA) had its origins in the imagination of the shahbanu when she first started her own collection³⁵³ as an architectural student in Paris. The idea which was postponed in the mid-1960s took a decade of planning before it was brought into fruition under her patronage in 1977: “why couldn’t Iran have a museum for [modern] art?” the shahbanu once indicated and continued, “I thought we should, and include it with Western art. We couldn’t afford to go back to art from centuries before, so we focused more on the contemporary.”³⁵⁴

The museum was without precedent in Iran for containing the largest collection of valuable Western modern art outside Europe and the United States. Actively involved in the acquisitions for TMOCA, the collection of modern art that the shahbanu obtained is reportedly worth three billion dollars for four hundred artworks. She said: “we chose the best”³⁵⁵. Among the collection Shahbanu Farah acquired for the museum were the contemporary art works by painters, sculptors and photographers from the late nineteenth century up to the first half of the twentieth century. In choosing the collection the shahbanu said that “I did not have an advisor in the field of modern art [yet] I visited galleries, cultural foundations, museums, and artist’s studios when I travelled abroad and inside Iran. I didn’t formally study art but I love it and was in a position to make some dreams come true.”³⁵⁶

Founded by a small avant-garde, the museum was intended to be a center for this activity, fostering ongoing engagement through housing valuable international and national collections including “post-impressionist, modern and contemporary

³⁵³ L. Diba, p. 106.

³⁵⁴ Ayad, p. 47.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Stein, p. 78.

paintings and sculptures, as well as a collection of twentieth century photography, prints and a collection of contemporary architectural drawings.”³⁵⁷

The main source for this collection was purchased from the Gallery Maeght.³⁵⁸ International art fairs were also the medium for bringing Western artifacts to Iran. A major collection had been purchased a few years before the museum was established, in 1974 by way of French dealer, Pascal Sernet; Professor of American literature, David Galloway; and Donna Stein, the American consultant at the MoMA and the advisor in the Private Secretariat of Shahbanu Farah who was responsible for graphics collection and modern painting at the TMOCA.³⁵⁹ The shahbanu’s cousin and the architect of TMOCA, Kamran Diba, was also involved in purchasing contemporary art collections from America via the gallerist, Tony Shafrazi.

Unlike its predecessors, TMOCA was the first and the only institution established as a part of the Shahbanu Farah’s Foundation in 1976 when “the museum policy and the arts policy got dragged out of court politics and put on a national level”³⁶⁰ as a modern institution. The transition to a foundation that would to cooperate with all museums was a major change for these institutions on the governmental level under the patronage of Reza Qotbi, the shahbanu’s cousin and the Head of Iranian National Radio and Television.

The foundation was involved with various cultural centers and activities established and performed by the shahbanu’s private secretariat. In fact, the implementation of the shahbanu’s foundation provided a kind of network for all sorts of governmental projects in an artistic scene that shifted with the Iranian political context. Accordingly, although the foundation was a part of political project and political entity, it was apolitical. Before the establishment of the foundation, the private

³⁵⁷ Kamran Diba, 1979, “Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art,” *Buildings and Projects* (Stuttgart: Hatje), p. 32.

³⁵⁸ L. Diba, p. 108.

³⁵⁹ Ibid, pp. 50-2.

³⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 20.

secretariat had been the only institution to provide budget;³⁶¹ the Ministry of Culture and Arts had supported traditional Iranian arts and crafts since the Reza Shah's reign and "there was certainly no non-royal patronage"³⁶².

The management of the museum was assumed by the Shahbanu Farah's Foundation for the Arts and Sciences. And it was the shahbanu's cousin, Kamran Diba, the Iranian American-trained architect and painter, who was put in charge of the project as interim director by the shahbanu herself:

"As a painter during the sixties, [said Diba] I became interested in contemporary art and my dream was to promote the idea of a Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art [...] some Western and Iranian critics thought it was irrelevant to collect or exhibit modern or contemporary art in Iran. I would often ask them how relevant it seemed to them that Europeans, at great cost and effort, pile up so much of Eastern art and cultural products in their museums. As we imported Western technology and science, why not the least harmful of all, making an introduction to Western art available to Iranians."³⁶³

The project had been developed in corporation with the Iranian architect Nader Ardalan, Anthony J. Major and P. Guptan in its different processes of implementation over a four-year period.³⁶⁴ The building was the first museum conceived, initiated, programmed and promoted as a whole museum concept in the capital. Occupying eight thousand and five hundred square meters, the project was considered as an example of modern style cross-pollinated by Iranian architecture. Accordingly, it reflected a national contemporary architecture that dominated Iranian modern architecture during the second half of the twentieth century.

Located in a vast garden adjacent to Farah Park (Fig 63), the building shares its location with the Tehran Carpet Museum, a representation of Iranian national and traditional culture, while TMOCA stands as a testament to Iran's modernity. TMOCA created a green context within which the building is incorporated with the sculpture garden and integrated architecture with the artistic works of Max Ernest,

³⁶¹ Ibid, p. 85.

³⁶² Ibid, p. 120.

³⁶³ K. Diba, p. 32.

³⁶⁴ "Iran's Contemporary Arts Museum: A Synthesis of the Contemporary Art with Modernity," October 1977, *Tehran Journal* Vol. (15438), p. 9.

Henry Moore, Pablo Picasso, Alberto Giacometti and Rene Magritte as well as works by Iranian sculptors Jazeh Tabatabai and Parviz Tanavoli.³⁶⁵ Cut apart by a water channel disconnecting the building from the garden from inside the museum: “the sculpture garden is an abridged green space that disapproves of people entering it. It only calls to be ‘watched’, and its sculptures to be observed from ‘the distance’ as if it were a house to sculptures and not to people.”³⁶⁶

The external volume of the building is mainly composed of a plain, massive base upon which sit a multitude of skylights in different sizes, arrangements and orientations. Based on orange sawn stone blocks and creamish concrete, the cylindrical copper-clad skylight elements provide natural light inside through dark-colored glasses. These elements were inspired by the traditional cooling vents of Iranian architecture (Fig 64):³⁶⁷ “one of our fascinations during the design process was the rich, playful quality of the undulating and volumetric vernacular roofscapes of Yazd, Kashan and other desert towns. Not only did we succeed in opening such a roofscape to the entrance level, but we made it accessible to pedestrian use, conveying a sense of conquering the building and making it submit to the users” said the architect and the initiator of the project, Kamran Diba. The project, accordingly, was an integration of modern architecture and traditional Iranian architecture in concept: “the architecture of the museum is taken from Iranian imagery without forcing it to be Iranian. We have used traditional Iranian cooling vents and all the latest techniques from European and American museums”³⁶⁸ said Diba.

The building is closed off by massive walls without openings that avert penetration inside the building except through the main entrance.³⁶⁹ Inside, the building is composed of several low structures with forty-five degree turn from the axis of the

³⁶⁵ Janet Lazarian Shaghghi, October 1977, “Tehran’s Contemporary Arts Museum,” *Tehran Journal*, p. 7.

³⁶⁶ Kambiz Navai, March 2010, “An Architectural Analysis: The Museum of Contemporary Art, Tehran, Iran: Exterior Appearance,” *ArchNet, International Journal of Architectural Research* Vol. 4 (1), p. 200.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 195-6.

³⁶⁸ Shaghghi, “Tehran’s Contemporary Arts Museum,” p. 7.

³⁶⁹ Navai, p. 200.

main entrance(Fig 65), including all support facilities such as bookshop, snack bar, library, offices, lecture hall or cinematheque and storage and an open courtyard surrounded by a chain of interconnected exhibition galleries.³⁷⁰ The nine interior galleries radiate out around the exterior gardens that provide natural light inside the structure. Divided into large and small exhibition areas, the galleries are organized in a three-storey (Fig 66 and 67) labyrinth around the inner outdoor sculpture court via an interplay of corridor encouraging intervals of movement, rest, engagement and contemplation for the spectators after a full circle visit. On the entrance level is the roof of the last gallery opening for outdoor use. Here, the snackbar and outdoor seating area overlooks the greenery of Farah Park.

The internal fittings and decoration of the museum were the work of Diba himself and it took about six months to complete, along with the placement of art objects. The architect said that “we are hoping that the opening of the Museum of Contemporary Art will act as a bulldozer in this area to pave the way for gallery owners to easily obtain valuable works of art from abroad.”³⁷¹

Providing a diversified range of programs on Iranian and international art, architecture and design, the museum offered nine opening exhibitions with the contribution of forty American, European and Iranian staff on Contemporary Iranian Painting, the Saqqakhaneh School, the Origins of Modernism, Abstractionism, Creative Photography, Graphic Art, Early Iranian Industrial Architecture, Poster Art in Iran, and Sharp Focus Realism.³⁷²

As her subsequent plan, the shahbanu intended to build a similar institution in concept in Shiraz, the first sketches for which were prepared by Finnish architect, Alvar Aalto (Fig 68): “We chose Alvar Aalto as the architect, because he was such a famous international figure. We thought his building would be a work of art. He

³⁷⁰ K. Diba, p. 34.

³⁷¹ Shaghghi, “Tehran’s Contemporary Arts Museum,” p. 7.

³⁷² Ibid.

came to Iran and loved Shiraz where he chose a special site for the museum”³⁷³ said the shahbanu:

It was Iran's queen Farah Diba, once a student of architecture, who suggested that Aalto should design this hilltop museum near the new university campus just outside the ancient south Persian city of Shiraz. Aalto visited the site in October 1969, and after a few days was ready to present the main characteristics of his plan, which he based on the local landscape and cultural milieu.³⁷⁴

Integrated with its site, the project is an example of organic architecture. In his design approach, Aalto directed his attention to the long, stepped terraces of the surrounding agricultural landscape (Fig 69), which he took as his model for the museum's external form, thus the building seems as a unified organism.³⁷⁵ The project consists of a cluster of longitudinal building volumes slightly angled in relation to one another (Fig 70), lined up irregularly and flanked by a partially covered, walled sculpture garden.³⁷⁶ The interior is a columned hall with no clear wall plan. Functionally, the plan consists of two levels: “the basement contains parking, service space, and a restaurant, the main floor an auditorium and - as its dominant feature - an extensive, low anteroom from which the full breadth of the large, column-borne main hall - divisible into a variety of exhibition spaces - opens up.”³⁷⁷ While the decision to start construction had been taken and the working drawings were being prepared the upcoming revolution, yet, put an end to the project.

It can be seen from the above that the museum establishment was a part of Pahlavi propaganda, supporting a national identity directed at legitimizing the existence of the ruling dynasty. As Iran’s cultural history demonstrates, the Pahlavi dynasty emerged from a long line of ancient monarchies and this legitimized the institution of state museums throughout the country. The museums are the containers of national

³⁷³ Stein, p. 80.

³⁷⁴ “Shiraz Art Museum,” *Alvar Aalto's Architecture*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://file.alvaraalto.fi/search.php?id=269> [Accessed: 25 August 2014].

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

treasures and relate those art objects to the national narrative through their collections, exhibitions and publications.

After the 1953 coup d'état, the Pahlavis co-opted all the forms of high culture in order to serve their need to maintain political power. The evolution of state museums, as public spaces reserved for the display and consumption of high culture, was buttressed by the institution of monarchy as the leading patron of that culture. In contrast to Reza Shah who had been adamant to eliminate all the traces of tradition, during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah, and under the patronage of Shahbanu Farah, tradition operated as a sign of modernity to be practiced and promoted in the museums and on public display.

On the other hand, these institutions symbolized the Pahlavis' model of progress and development. The government's efforts in protecting national heritage would bolster the shah's re-establishment of the country as the "Great Civilization". These institutions had been important components in shaping of Iran's national identity, its modernity, political stability and international viability"³⁷⁸

While the museums' collections could be reinstalled to uphold a particular historical reading, the same strategy, however, could not work in the case of a contemporary Western art museum in Iran. TMOCA, in its very nature avant-garde, must have posed a decided challenge to the nation's traditionalist ideology. Whereas disenchanted intellectuals included a degree of anti-Westernism as a manifestation of their third-worldism in providing a sense of identity vis-à-vis the outside world, the state's cultural policies were perceived as a threat for Iranian civilization and culture. The way in which the establishment proposed to preserve national culture was not always acceptable to many intellectuals inside or outside Iran. According to Prime Minister Hoveyda, "as for cultural activities of the Empress, despite the good will she invested in them, they did not affect the masses"³⁷⁹. Similarly, referring to Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, the critic Andre Fermigier wrote: "Rather than chasing after a West which itself is desperately in pursuit of its own folklore and

³⁷⁸ Eimen, p. 89.

³⁷⁹ Fereydoun Hoveyda, 1980, *The Fall of The Shah* (? : Simon & Schuster), p. 104.

in a picture post card, primitivism, some countries would do better to integrate their own past, [...] they should synthesize what they already have [...]" and referring to the shahbanu's cultural policies he notes that while "the oil-producing countries are becoming big importers of work of art is undoubtedly a boom [...] Iranian painting will be none the better for it."³⁸⁰

While the existence of TMOCA was attacked as evidence of Western imperialism in Iran, it was, however, a vehicle to clarify how the nation was redefined as 'modern' under the Pahlavis. From the early twentieth century onward, Iran's political leaders were focused on a modernization program to restructure the state and society. Cultural policies were a necessary part of the program. By the mid-century, while capital boosted a secular government center, the idea of an institution for avant-garde art was forged in Tehran's cultural sphere. This idea was countered not only by religious leaders but also by many intellectuals who criticized the government's Western-imported modernity as a tension bearing directly on the question of identity. While the particular construction of identity was built into the Pahlavi state over the course of more than fifty years through its assumed secular rule, the official emphasis on a hegemonic national identity had indirectly aided the rejection of other identities, often opposing ones. Whether promoting 'traditional' or importing 'contemporary', the national museums, however, served as a rhetorical symbol of modernity and metaphor for the Pahlavis' fostered national identity. In this regard, while the idea of national identity was based entirely on the notion of a 'return' to authenticity; the 'contemporary' was also authentic in the perception of Iranian identity for which it drew an image of Iran as 'modern' to the Western world.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.



Figure 43 The royal couple inaugurating the Negarestan Museum with the accompanying of Prince Don Juan Carlos and Princess Sophie of Spain, 1975.

SOURCE: Mustafa Jaferi, April 1975, "96m-rial Negarestan Museum Inagurated," *The Tehran Journal* Vol. XXII (6264), p. 1.



Figure 44 The royal couple inaugurating the Negarestan Museum with the accompanying of Prince Don Juan Carlos and Princess Sophie of Spain, 1975.

SOURCE: Mustafa Jaferi, April 1975, "96m-rial Negarestan Museum Inagurated," *The Tehran Journal* Vol. XXII (6264), p. 1.



Figure 45 Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, 1976.

SOURCE: [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS:

<http://www.hollein.com/index.php/eng/Architecture/Nations/Iran/Museum-fuer-Glas-und-Keramik>
[Accessed: 13 April 2012].



Figure 46 Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, 1976.

SOURCE: Author, 2011.



Figure 47 Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, room 106, pre-historic glass and ceramics, 1976.

SOURCE: Hans Hollein "Case Study: Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics," in Linda Safran (ed.), 1980, *Places of Public Gathering in Islam* (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture), p. 94.

Figure 48 Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, room 106, pre-historic glass and ceramics, 1976. SOURCE: [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS:

<http://www.hollein.com/index.php/eng/Architecture/Nations/Iran/Museum-fuer-Glas-und-Keramik> [Accessed: 13 April 2012].

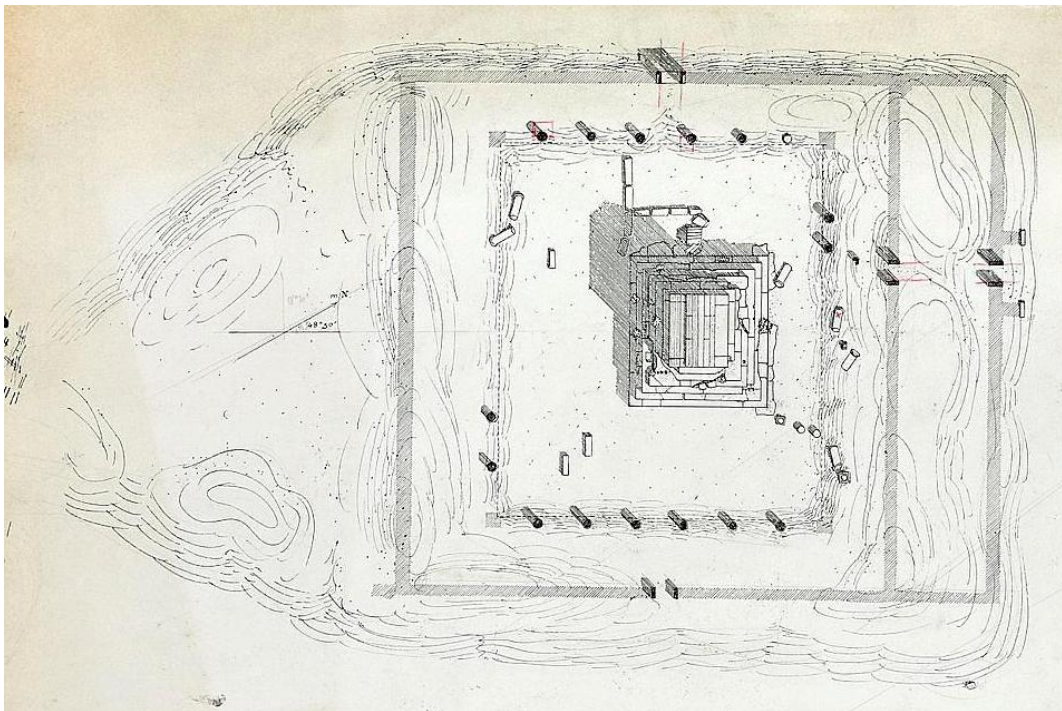


Figure 49 Tomb of Cyrus the Great in Pasargadae, sketch by Ernest Herzfeld.

SOURCE: [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://bento.si.edu/from-the-collections/ancient-near-east/stars-above-pasargadae-ernst-herzfeld-and-the-legacies-of-cyrus/attachment/herzfeld-cyrus-drawing/>

[Accessed: 11 August 2014].

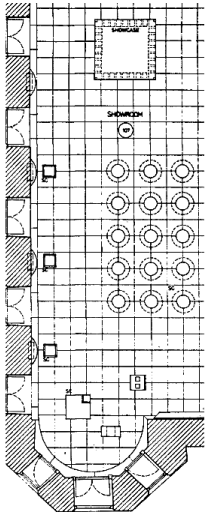


Figure 50 Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, room 107, Achaemenid, Parthian and Sasanian glass, 1976.

SOURCE: Hans Hollein, "Case Study: Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics," in Linda Safran (ed.), 1980, *Places of Public Gathering in Islam* (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture), p. 96.

Figure 51 Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, room 107, Achaemenid, Parthian and Sasanian glass, 1976.

SOURCE: [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS:

<http://www.hollein.com/index.php/eng/Architecture/Nations/Iran/Museum-fuer-Glas-und-Keramik>

[Accessed: 13 April 2012].

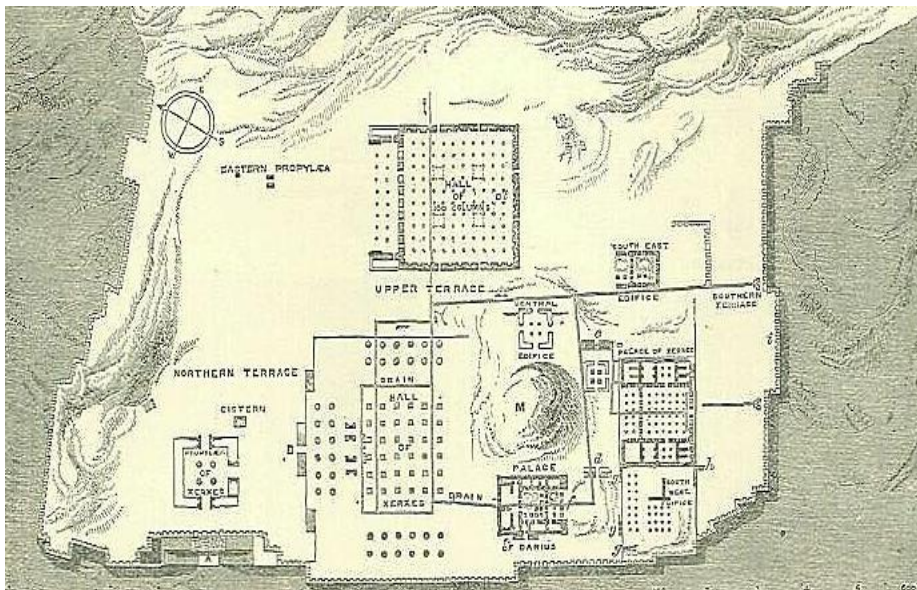


Figure 52 Royal Residence, Persepolis site plan.

SOURCE: [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS:

<http://www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/rawlinson/5persia/raw5b.htm>

[Accessed: 13 April 2012].

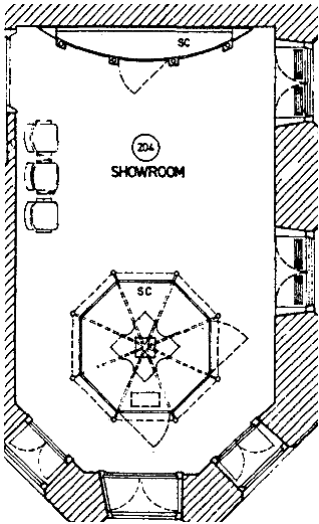


Figure 53 Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, room 204, Gurgan glass and turquoise ceramics, 1976.

SOURCE: Hans Hollein, "Case Study: Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics," in Linda Safran (ed.), 1980, *Places of Public Gathering in Islam* (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture), p. 95.

Figure 54 Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, room 204, Gurgan glass and turquoise ceramics, 1976.

SOURCE: Author, 2011.

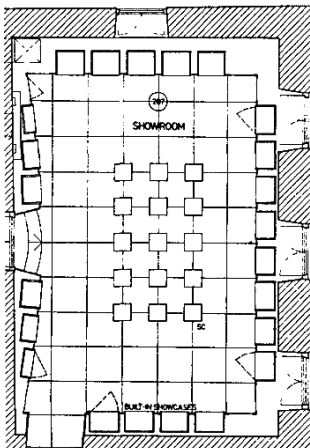


Figure 55 Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, room 207, a collection of luster ware "polychromed" and "painted" ceramics, 1976.

SOURCE: Hans Hollein, "Case Study: Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics," in Linda Safran (ed.), 1980, *Places of Public Gathering in Islam* (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture), p. 96.

Figure 56 Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, room 207, a collection of luster ware "polychromed" and "painted" ceramics, 1976.

SOURCE: [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS:

<http://www.hollein.com/index.php/eng/Architecture/Nations/Iran/Museum-fuer-Glas-und-Keramik>

[Accessed: 13 April 2012].

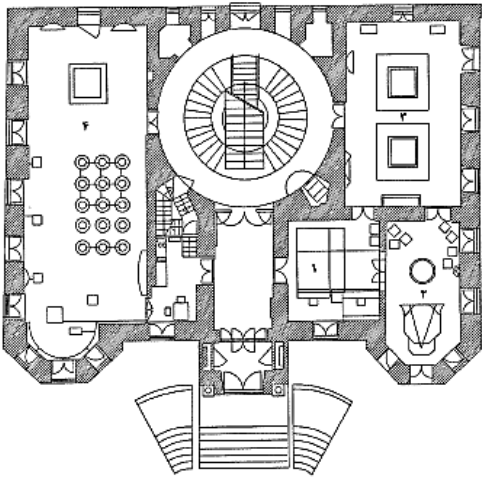


Figure 57 The Ground Floor of the Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, 1976.

SOURCE: Shahryar Khanizad, "Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics," *Museum Design in Iran and in the World* (Tehran: Honar-e Me'mari-e Qarn Publication), p. 71.

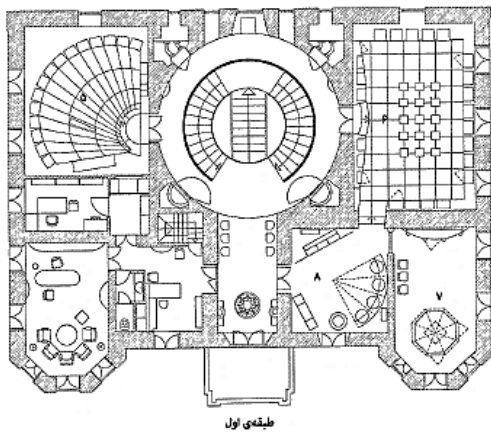


Figure 58 The First Floor of the Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, 1976.

SOURCE: Shahryar Khanizad, "Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics," *Museum Design in Iran and in the World* (Tehran: Honar-e Me'mari-e Qarn Publication), p. 71.



Figure 59 The Section of the Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, 1976.

SOURCE: Shahryar Khanizad, "Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics," *Museum Design in Iran and in the World* (Tehran: Honar-e Me'mari-e Qarn Publication), p. 70.

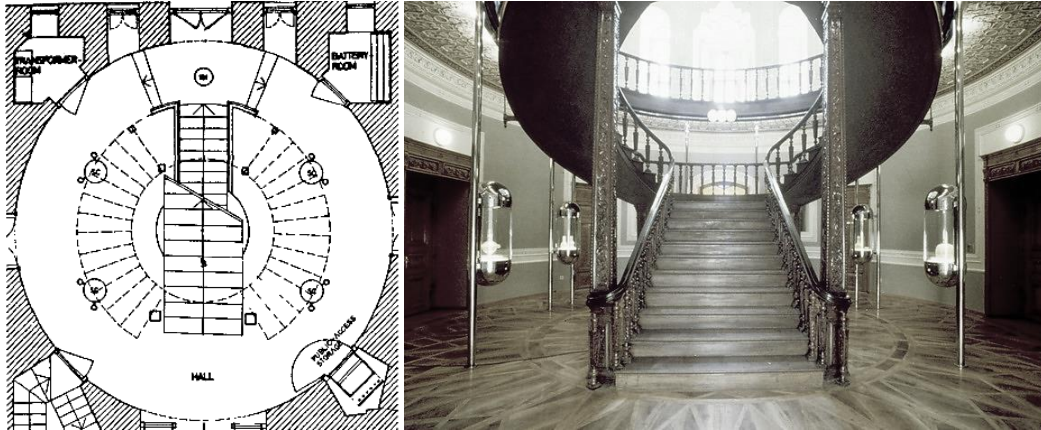


Figure 60 Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, room 101 central staircase, detail of suspended showcase, Qajar and “Bohemian” glass, 1976.

SOURCE: Hans Hollein, “Case Study: Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics,” in Linda Safran (ed.), 1980, *Places of Public Gathering in Islam* (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture), p. 97.

Figure 61 Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, room 101 central staircase, detail of suspended showcase, Qajar and “Bohemian” glass, 1976.

SOURCE: [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS:

<http://www.hollein.com/index.php/eng/Architecture/Nations/Iran/Museum-fuer-Glas-und-Keramik>

[Accessed: 13 April 2012].

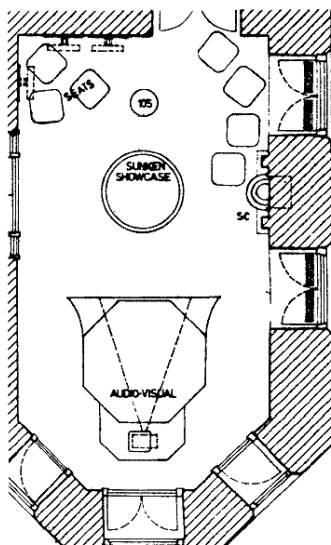


Figure 62 Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics, room 105, detail from audio-visual room, 1976.

SOURCE: Hans Hollein, “Case Study: Tehran Museum of Glass and Ceramics,” in Linda Safran (ed.), 1980, *Places of Public Gathering in Islam* (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture), p. 98.



Figure 63 Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, 1977.

SOURCE: Kamran Diba, "Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art," Kamran Diba: Buildings and Projects (Stuttgart: Hatje), p. 37.



Figure 64 Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, 1977.

SOURCE: Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.artribune.com/2013/10/lossessione-per-la-storia-fra-teheran-e-barcellona/teheran-museum-of-contemporary-art-2-inedita-sul-web/> [Accessed: 24 August 2014].



Figure 65 Inside of the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, 1977.

SOURCE: Kamran Diba, "Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art," Kamran Diba: Buildings and Projects (Stuttgart: Hatje), p. 39.

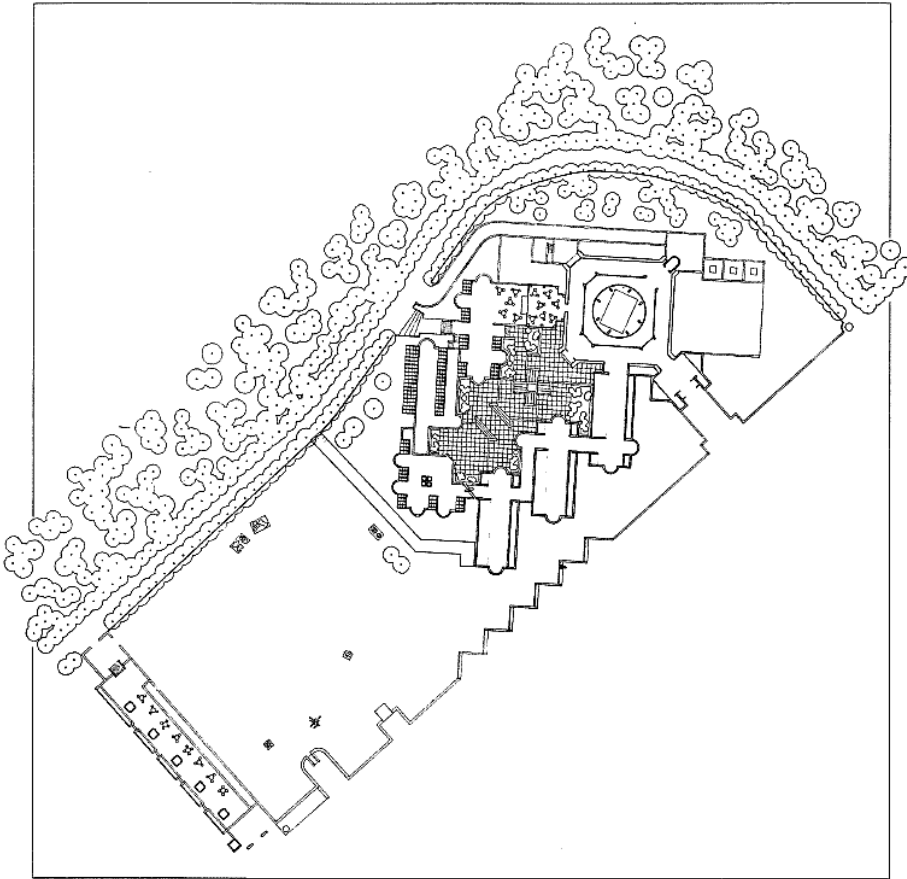


Figure 66 The Ground Floor of the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, 1977.

SOURCE: Kamran Diba, "Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art," Kamran Diba: Buildings and Projects (Stuttgart: Hatje), p. 36.

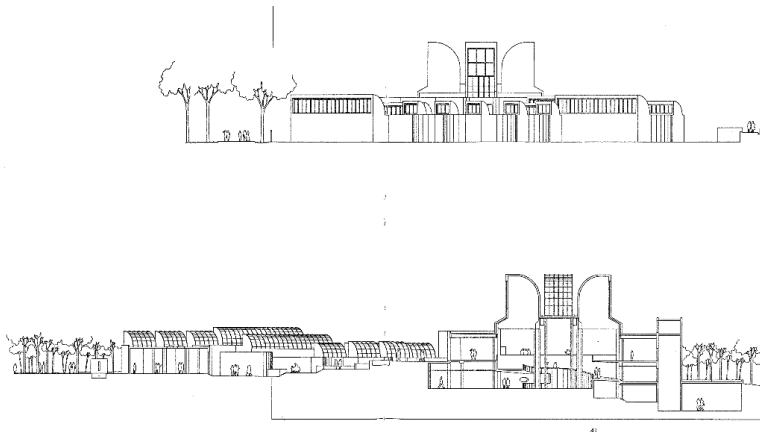


Figure 67 The Sections of the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, 1977.

SOURCE: Kamran Diba, "Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art," Kamran Diba: Buildings and Projects (Stuttgart: Hatje), pp. 40-1.

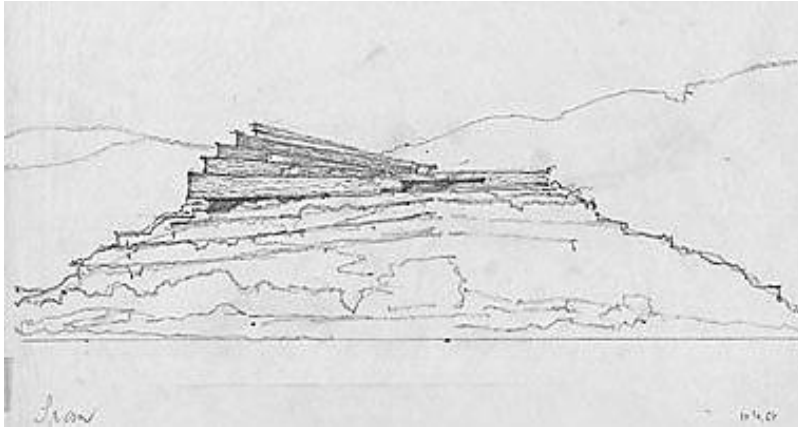


Figure 68 Sketch by Alvar Aalto, Shiraz Art Museum, 1969.

SOURCE: [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: http://www.alvaraalto.fi/info/press/05eng_studio1001.htm
[Accessed: 15 August 2014].

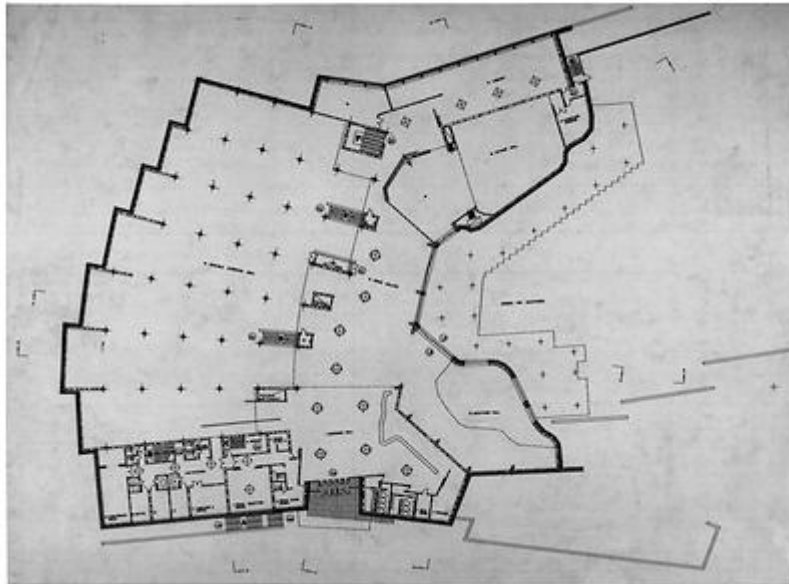


Figure 69 Ground Floor Plan, Shiraz Art Museum, 1969.

SOURCE: [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://file.alvaraalto.fi/search.php?id=269>
[Accessed: 15 August 2014].

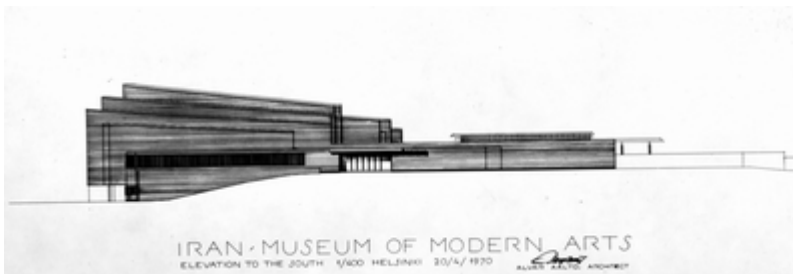


Figure 70 Main Elevation, Shiraz Art Museum, 1969.

SOURCE: [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://file.alvaraalto.fi/search.php?id=269>
[Accessed: 15 August 2014].

CHAPTER 5

DISCIPLINE

This chapter is a critical overview of the role of Shahbanu Farah and her architectural patronage on gendered issues. Patronizing various national and international architectural events, in 1967 the shahbanu became involved in organizing a congress devoted to female architects. As the “ultimate model of Pahlavi woman”, she stressed that “the social transformation of my country cannot be understood without consideration of the change which the role of women in our society has undergone”³⁸¹. In this regard, the Congress of Women Architects can be seen as an attempt at legitimating gender reforms and women’s integration in constructing modern Iran and its architecture.

5.1. Marginalizing Woman and Architecture in Pahlavi Iran

“Were I not what I am today, I would wish to be an architect, that is really where women should have much to say.”³⁸²

The establishment of the first architectural school in Iran dates back to 1927. Founded in Daralfonoun³⁸³ by the Iranian architect Karim Taherzadeh Behzad³⁸⁴ to

³⁸¹ Farah Pahlavi, 1978, *The Preservation of our Culture An Address by Farah Pahlavi Empress of Iran delivered at the Annual Dinner of the Asia Society, New York*, [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://www.farahpahlavi.org> [Accessed: 15 January 2010].

³⁸² Blanch, p. 45.

³⁸³ Founded in 1850, Daralfonoun was the first higher educational institution in the Western sense in Iran. It was established by the Mirza Taghi Khan Amir Kabir, the Chancellor of Naser al-Din Shah Qajar. After 1986, during the reign of Mozafar al-Din Shah Qajar, the institution was transformed to a high school.

³⁸⁴ Born in Tabriz in 1888, he was influenced by his elder brother, Hossein Taherzadeh Bahzad who was the founder and director of the Iranian Fine Arts Department. With his brother, Karim Taherzadeh Behzad started to study at the University of Fine Arts in Istanbul. After graduating in 1917, Behzad was employed in Owgaf Ministry of Istanbul. After nine years he received a scholarship from the German Embassy and continued his education at Berlin Academy of Architecture. As a member of the Association of the Engineers and Architects and the Academy of Arts in Berlin, Behzad was invited to the Keiser Friedrich Museum for as a researcher in the Iranian section. In 1926, Behzad received the Doctorate of the Berlin Higher School of Techniques. During his education in Berlin, in collaboration

provide training for male students, the school, however, was closed down during the second year of its education due to lack of budget. In his book, Taherzadeh wrote:

“Etemad-al-douleh, the minister of education of the time, closed down the new born School of Architecture and Engineering, and in response to my strong protests, he said the school needed an annual ten thousand tomans of budget, which the government could not afford!, and added: we don't need educated architects and engineers, the same uneducated ones are enough, and if a gap appears in the wall they will fill it with mud and straw.”³⁸⁵

Within a decade, the School of Arts and Crafts (*Madreseh-ye Sanayeh-e Kar va Pisheh*) was re-established as one of the branches of Fine Art School of Tehran at Darolfonoun once again:

“After I came back from Meshed and studied the school program, I noted that not very much attention was paid to construction techniques. On the other hand, my brother Hussein Taherzadeh Behzad was at that time the head of the Fine Arts School of Tehran. I thought that there was much harmony and affinity between architecture and painting or other branches of fine arts, and opening a branch of architecture department would draw the attention of many students and bring new life to the school.”³⁸⁶

The fundamental schedule for the architectural program in the School of Arts and Crafts was based on a proposal prepared by Karim Taherzadeh Behzad and in collaboration with Mohsen Foroughi³⁸⁷, Ali Sadegh³⁸⁸ and the French architect,

with Kazemzadeh Iranshahr and Mohammad Ali Khan-e Tarbiat and published Iranshahr Magazine as well as the book *Saramadan-e Honar* (Pioneers of Art). Marroed with German Reise Nach, Behzad founded his architectural office in Berlin. After returned to Iran, in 1926, he published *The History of Water Supply System in Tehran*, a book mainly reflected Behzad's critiques on the Municipality of Tehran. His intervention with the Tehran Municipality resulted in the writing of construction codes and regulations for Tehran. Parallel with his works at the Municipality, Behzad was assigned as the head of the Building Department of the Army in 1927. Among his works in Mashhad a mausoleum for Ferdowsi, Reza Shah's Hospital, design of Falakeh Street in 1923, Shir Khorshid Theater in 1934, and the mausoleum of Omar Khayam in 1943. The Parliament façade, University of the Army, the Cotton Factory, the Railway Company hospital, colleges, administration buildings and the guard building are among Behzad's works in Tehran. Worked as the head of Darolfonoun School and the Cultural Department of Azerbaijan in 1949 he retired and involved in writing books among them was *The Artistic Movement during the Reign of Reza Shah Pahlav*. As the first Iranian architect in practice educated abroad Behzad died in 1963; Bijan Shafei, Sohrab Soroushian Victor Daniel, “Biography,” *Karim Taherzadeh Behzad Architecture: Architecture of Changing Times in Iran* (Tehran: Did Publication), pp. 11-20.

³⁸⁵ Karim Taherzadeh Behzad, 1962, *The History of Water Supply System in Tehran* (Tehran: Enghelab Publication).

³⁸⁶ Karim Taherzadeh Behzad, *The Artistic Movement during the Reign of Reza Shah* (unpublished book).

³⁸⁷ Mohsen Foroughi was the son of the Prime Minister Mohammad-Ali Foroughi. After his father's resignation for a new post as ambassador of Iran in Turkey in 1927, Foroughi left Tehran for Paris where he had stayed for twelve years. During this period, Foroughi participated in Allame Mohammad Qazvini's literary salon once a week due to his father's order where he learned what he described as

Roland Marcel Dubrulle³⁸⁹ to submit and approve the draft.³⁹⁰ Within a short period, in 1938, the school was transferred to the Higher School of Arts (Honarsara-ye A'ali) in the Ministry of Arts and Crafts by the order of the Engineering Department and Karim Taherzadeh Behzad was appointed as the head of the school.

The newly established School of Fine Arts and Architecture merged with *Honarkadeh*, in the basement of Marvi School, a religious institution located in one of the oldest quarters of Tehran, before moving to the main campus in 1940. It was, accordingly, accepted as the first Iranian school of contemporary architectural education at Tehran University under the tutelage of the French archeologist and architect Andre Godard³⁹¹ and the Iranian Beaux Arts educated architects, Mohsen

“much about Iranian literature, history, philosophy and even architecture from his mentor”. In 1939, when he returned to Iran he studied mathematics for three years and he had a PhD degree from Beaux-Arts School of Architecture. Foroughi was one of the first Western educated Iranian architects to participate in Reza Shah's Modernization Program (Building Program). He cooperated with Andre Godard and Maxime Siroux for the establishment of the Tehran School of Fine Arts where he stayed as dean of Faculty of Architecture for the next fifteen years. During this period, he was also the deputy director of Society for National Heritage and became one of the founding members of the first association of architects, the *Iranian Graduate Architects Society* and the founder of the first journal dedicated to architectural discourse, *Architecte*; Milani, 2008, “Architecture and Engineering: Mohsen Foroughi,” pp. 777-9. Foroughi was an architect of many public and private buildings and an official architect who worked with the Technical Office of the Ministries of Education and Finance. Foroughi's most notable works are the Ministry of Finance, hospital of Bank-e Melli, the Ta'avon va Masraf (a government sponsored co-op), and many bank offices in Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz and Tabriz; Marefat, 1980, “Public Architecture: Architecture of State, The New Architect: from Statecraft to Profession,” p. 130.

³⁸⁸ Educated in Brussels at Can University and the Academy of Fine Arts, Ali Sadegh was involved in the formation of the first architectural society and the Tehran University after returning Iran in 1937. He set up his private architectural office and Sadegh most influential contribution was the establishment of low-cost housing in Tehran. The Chaharsad Dastgah (four-hundred building), the monument to Reza Shah, the Bank Rahni and Tabriz Museum were among his famous projects; Ibid, p. 139-41.

³⁸⁹ Born in Armentieres in 1907, Ronald Marcel Dubrulle was educated at Fine Arts School in France. Starting his career in Iran with a project for courthouse, Dubrulle established his office in 1938. Among many others, his more prominent works are Bank Melli in Sari, Faculty of Fine Arts for Tehran University in 1940, Tehran University Master Plan and sport centers of Amjadiyeh, Tenran University and Manzariyeh; Eskandar Mokhtari Taleghani, “European Architects: Ronald Marcel Dubrulle,” *The Heritage of Modern Architecture of Iran* (Tehran: Cultural Research Office), pp. 98-9.

³⁹⁰ Behzad, *The Artistic Movement during the Reign of Reza Shah*.

³⁹¹ The Beaux-Arts graduated French architect and archeologist, Andre Godard was a French appointee sent to Iran after Reza Shah repealed the French excavation monopoly. During this period, Godard became the Director of Antiquities and set the policies for archeological excavations and historic restorations. As the first Dean of the School of Fine Arts at Tehran University for more than thirty years, Godard influenced architectural education in Iran. He was also involved in the

Foroughi and Houshang Seyhoun as the first two directors.³⁹² Until its administration changed hands in the early 1960s, the school trained an entire generation of Franco Iranian architects in the classic pedagogic programs of the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts as transferred to the Iranian setting.

The third issue of *Architecte* reviewed the status of architectural students enrolled in the School of Fine Arts and Architecture at Tehran University. In this regard, while the annual average of enrollment in 1940 was sixty-five, this number grew to seventy six by 1943 and then tapered off to fifty members in 1945. Although the architecture curriculum attracted a significant number of students during the first five year period of its establishment, the number of practicing architects³⁹³ according to the documents of the Iranian Graduate Architects Society was no more than thirty five in 1944³⁹⁴, no women among them.

In practice, it took a short period after the establishment of the first architectural institution in Iran for women to be accepted in the profession. In 1943, three years after the establishment of the School of Fine Arts and Architecture, the first woman gained entrance to the department; and in 1945, Nectar Papazian Andref became the first Iranian woman with graduate diploma in architecture.³⁹⁵

During the following two decades, women were still not numerous in the profession. In 1967, while the number of registered architects with the Iranian Society of Architects increased to a hundred and twenty one, only eight of these practicing

construction of Archeological Museum (Muze-ye Iran-e Bastan) and the campus plan for Tehran University; Marefat, 1980, "Public Architecture: Foreign Architects: Andre Godard," p. 119.

³⁹² "Architecture VIII. Pahlavi, after World War II," *Encyclopedia Iranica* Vol II (FASC.4), PP. 351-55.

³⁹³ The List of the members of the society in 1946 included M. Foroughi, K. Zafer, A. Sadegh, M. Khorsand, A. Ajdari, I. Moshiri, V. Hovanesian, N. Badi, Kianouri, N. Zanganeh, J. Soheyli, P. Abkar, B. Oghyan, A. Tus, S. Mohamadzadeh, H. Ghafari, A. Said-Khanian, A. Afkhami, S. Hashemi, G. Khajouy, R. Kiari, K. Khosravi, A. Moinpour, H. Seyhoun, H. Saneie, H. Ashraf, A. Monfared, Banayi, Kouhang, M. Karimian, F. Sheydani, M. Shrafif, H. Baheri, M. Jafarian, N. Jamei, R. Sayadi, and M. Modabber; "the society news," 1946, *Architect*, Vol. 1 (1), p. 39.

³⁹⁴ Gholam Reza Khajouy, 1946, "The History of the Faculty of Fine Arts," *Architect*, Vol. (3), p. 111.

³⁹⁵ Nectar Papazian Andref, 1977, *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), p. 11.

members were women. Among them were Nectar Papazian Andref, Victoria Ohanjanian-Fard, Leila Farhad Motamed, Guiti Afrouz Kardan, Moloud Nejat, Roza Mirzaian, Aghdas Vafa and Azar Safi-Pour.³⁹⁶

There are limited sources of information about this first generation of women architects; either they are known by names or they are linked to buildings, but their involvement remains uncertain. An issue of *Art and Architecture* devoted to female architects and published during the events of the congress enables us to identify three of these figures among some others whose works and contributions to the development of Iranian architecture during the Pahlavi period can be documented.

According to Nader Ardalan, a foreign-educated Iranian architect, the first two decades of Mohammad Reza Shah's reign (1941-1963) had yielded no outstanding public structure nor any significant town planning as it had to establish a sense of stability to escape the impact of the war and foreign occupation, leading to a series of National Development Plans beginning as early as 1947.³⁹⁷ Ardalan wrote that while the initial seven year plan was aborted by the economic and political crisis following the nationalization of the oil industry in 1954, a second seven year development plan directly affected the scale and character of architectural activity in the country until 1963. At the time, with the U.S. Marshall Plan and Point Four Programs, along with other financial, technical, and military aid programs, the monarchy consolidated its economic and political power.³⁹⁸ During the 1970s the country entered a period of new prosperity. The third development plan (1963-68) began to provide adequate support for the building of educational institutions and health services constructed in the major cities.³⁹⁹ Foreign educated architects and newly trained practitioners in Iran were jointly commissioned in developing designs for several major projects. By the same token, women architects put their direct impact on national planning and local

³⁹⁶ "Members of the Society," 1976, *Iranian Society of Architects*, Vol. (1), p. 31.

³⁹⁷ Nader Ardalan, "Architecture VIII. Pahlavi, after World War II," pp. 351-55.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

construction capability, among them Nectar Papazian Andref was the first woman to be involved in planning massive educational institutions (Fig 71).

A graduate of Tehran University, Faculty of Fine Arts and Architecture, Andref attended the Atelier of Perret Remondet Herbe where she gained an equivalent PhD degree from L'Ecole Des Beaux Arts in 1956. Returning to Iran with ten years of experience at private architectural firms in Paris, Andref became involved in the establishment of Moghtader-Andref Consulting Architects and worked in partnership with the Iranian architect Mohammad-Reza Moghtader in 1960.⁴⁰⁰ Andref's most influential contribution was educational buildings. Among her recorded projects were the Faculty of Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine for University of Azerbaijan, student residences for Jondi Shahpour and Pahlavi Universities (Fig 78), several centers for technical training and the Master Plan of Tabriz (Fig 81). She formed Modam Consulting Architects later in 1967 and Andref's key projects included the Master Plan for Pahlavi University (Fig 80) and Jondi Shahpour University (Fig 82), Faculty of Agriculture and Central Library for Pahlavi University (Fig 76), Faculty of Science and Technology of University of Azerbaijan (Fig 79) and some more centers for technical training. In 1972, Andref participated in the establishment of Artek Consulting Architects in collaboration with her husband, a French engineer, and the Iranian architect Victoria Ohanjanian-Fard. Graduated from Tehran University, Victoria Ohanjanian-Fard had worked as the head of the Technical Office of the Ministry of Development and Housing before her private practice at Artek. During a three-year period, the architects were involved in the construction of the Main Office for the Farah Pahlavi Foundation (Fig 74 and 75), The Ford Training Institute in Tehran, the Customs Buildings in Astara, Nursing School for the University of Tabriz (Fig 72 and 73) and a two-hundred-and-fifty bed hospital for the Red Lion and Sun Society in Tabriz.⁴⁰¹

Like many women architects in Iran, Nectar Papazian Andref carried out her professional work with male colleagues and later with her husband in Artek. Team-

⁴⁰⁰ "Nectar Papazian Andref," 1977, *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), p. 11.

⁴⁰¹ Nectar Papazian Andref, August-November 1976, "Women Architects," *Art and Architecture*, Vol 4 (35-36), pp. 26-31.

working was not an obstacle to women architects making their contributions. Andref worked as head of an office shared with a male architect collaborator. In the same vein, Nasrin Faghih built her solo career in their firm (Fig 83) through working in partnership. Graduated from Istituto Universitario di Architettura with a PhD degree in 1969, Nasrin Faghih attended Yale School of Arts and Architecture where she received a master degree in the Department of Environmental Design in 1974.⁴⁰² Returning to Iran, Faghih formed a partnership with Amir-Ali Sardar Afkhami in Sardar Afkhami and Associates where she participated in the Elahiyeh residential complex in Shemiran and in the Bab-e Homayoun Renewal Auditoria for Aryamehr University in Isfahan (Fig 87 and 90). In 1975, while working as a project manager at Organic Consultant, Faghih was attributed to the Isfahan Detailed Master Plan, a project for the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning (Fig 84 to 86).⁴⁰³ Similarly, a graduate of Bartlett School of Architecture with a master degree, Leila Farhad Motamed's joint work (Fig 91) with her husband Amir-Ali Sardar Afkhami won her attribution to many residential projects for Aryamehr University in Isfahan (Fig 92 to 96).⁴⁰⁴

It was not only Western-educated women architects, but also foreign women practitioners who were extensively involved in many architectural projects in their private firms. As much is known about these figures as about the Iranian women architects. Their mostly joint work with their male partners enables this research to identify some of these architects and their contributions.

The co-founder of HABITAT, Franca de Gregorio Hessamian, (Fig 100) was a graduate of the Universita di Roma with a PhD degree. After returning to Iran, she was involved in the establishment of the architectural firm shared with her husband and architectural partner. During this partnership, Hessamian participated in the Bank Sepah project in Babol in collaboration with Sylvania Mango (Fig 105 to 108). Later she worked as an associate member in DAZ Consulting Firm with Kamran

⁴⁰² "Nasrin Faghih," 1977, *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), p. 179.

⁴⁰³ Nasrin Faghih, August-November 1976, "Women Architects," pp. 86-95.

⁴⁰⁴ Leila Farhad Motamed, August-November 1976, "Women Architects," pp. 69-74.

Diba. Franca de Gregorio Hessamian was also involved in a shopping center project in Mahmoud-Abad City Complex which was designed for the employees of National Iranian Petrol Office (Fig 109 to 111).⁴⁰⁵ Similarly, a graduate of the Universita di Roma in 1960, Rosamaria Grifone Azemoun (Fig 112) formed her consulting architectural firm in Iran with the help of her husband Khosro Azemoun and participated in Tehran University Hospital and Ramsar Airport projects (Fig 113 to 116).⁴⁰⁶ The American architect, Moira Moser Khalili (Fig 121) started her career in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development and later in an architectural firm they shared with her husband, Nader Khalili. Among their joint work were the Malek-Shahr project and the Iran poly-acryl office complex (Fig 122).⁴⁰⁷

During the fourth plan (1968-73), new urban settlements were begun and existing urban centers upgraded. New master plans and large-scale public building programs became a basis of public policy.⁴⁰⁸ A key factor in these plans was the urbanization of the population living in rural villages. In 1964, Victor Gruen Associates of the United States and the Abdol Aziz Farmanfarmaian Association, under the direction of the Iranian city planner Fereydoun Ghaffari, were jointly commissioned to produce the twenty five year phased physical development plan that was legislatively approved in 1968 and soon replicated by other planners for all the major cities of Iran. Among the team were women practitioners.⁴⁰⁹ Nectar Papazian Andref set up practice as one of the first Iranian women architects to be involved in the projects of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning for the Tabriz Master Plan (Fig 81). The establishment of strategic priorities and master plan for Isfahan was the work of Nasrin Faghieh (Fig 86). Additionally, the studies and preparation of master plans for old and new towns in Khuzestan, Bushehr, Kerman, Zahedan and Mazandaran regions were completed by Azar Faridi while working as chief planner at Daz Consultant between 1970 and 1974.

⁴⁰⁵ Franca de Gregorio Hessamian, August-November 1976, "Women Architects," pp. 47-58.

⁴⁰⁶ Rosamaria Grifone Azemenoun, August-November 1976, "Women Architects," pp. 18-25.

⁴⁰⁷ Moira Moser Khalili, August-November 1976, "Women Architects," pp. 59-61.

⁴⁰⁸ Ardalan, pp. 351-55.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

Although the bulk of construction activity of the time was undertaken by the private sector, women architects in Pahlavi Iran were widely participating in public institutions and state planning organizations such as municipalities, the Plan and Budget Organization, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning and the High Council of Urban Development and Architecture which was presided over by Shahbanu Farah. Among these women was Mahvash Hamidi Nezami, a graduate of University of Florence with a PhD degree. Working as an expert and later as supervisor of the First Department of Tehran's Detailed Plan at the Tehran Municipality between 1970 and 1974, Nezami became the Director of Master Plans and the Deputy of the Urban Development Plans Office in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning in 1976. By 1979, Nezami became the Supervisor of the Urban Planning Standards Studies Office and General Director of the Planning and Renovation Office in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning.⁴¹⁰ A Tehran University graduate, Soraya Birashk was a chief architect for the Plan and Budget Organization, and worked in charge of Master and Detailed Plans as a review team in Urban Development and Housing Management in 1973. As a member of the Technical Committee of the High Council on Urban Planning and Budget Organization in 1974, she supervised the expansion of Tehran in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning in 1975.⁴¹¹ A Tehran University graduate, Nahid Denbali worked as a senior expert at the Housing Organization and Isfahan Municipality.⁴¹²

During 1970s, a number of female-owned architectural firms were emerged gradually among them Banu (ladies) Consulting Architect was the first small self-employed female-owned firm formed by Keyhandokht Radpour (Fig 123), Shahrzad Seraj (Fig 124) and Mina Samie (Fig 125) in 1974.⁴¹³ Keyhandokht Radpour was trained at Michigan State University. Returning to Iran, with two years experience in

⁴¹⁰ "Mahvash Hamidi Nezami," 2007, *Iranian Architects Book* (Tehran: Nazar Publication), p. 162.

⁴¹¹ "Soraya Birashk," 2007, *Iranian Architects Book*, p. 248.

⁴¹² "Nahid Denbali," 2007, *Iranian Architects Book*, p. 138.

⁴¹³ Keyhandokht Radpour, Shahrzad Seraj and Mina Samie, August-November 1976, "Women Architects," pp. 75-81.

private architectural firms in America, in 1964 Radpour started her career at Pahlavi University where she was involved in the university's technical office projects as well.⁴¹⁴ Educated in Austria, Shahrzad Seraj worked in several architectural offices in Germany in collaboration with her Austrian husband. Returning to Iran, Seraj worked for Tehran Municipality.⁴¹⁵ As a colleague to Seraj, Mina Samie had been participating in master plans for Rasht and Astara in the High Council of Urban Development and Architecture before they formed Banu Consulting Architect.⁴¹⁶ Mainly involved in administrative building projects, the firm also took on the construction of several libraries (Fig 129 to 131) in Khorasan, a Museum in Semnan, the Family Welfare Center in Kermanshah and the Disabilities Center in Tehran.⁴¹⁷ B.E.B. Tehran Architectural and Planning Consultants was another female directed architectural office formed by Noushin Ehsan (Fig 132) in 1975. Educated at Tehran University and later at UCLA, Noushin Ehsan worked as a chief designer at Benham/Kite firm where she was involved in planning of various commercial, institutional, and medical buildings.⁴¹⁸ Continuing her academic career at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute as an assistant professor, Ehsan was charged with the university's campus plan. In 1970, as a professor at Harvard, she participated in the Commercial and Ocean Front Recreational project in Los Angeles.⁴¹⁹ After returning to Iran, Ehsan formed her private firm and contributed to the construction of many residential, cultural (Fig 137 to 143) and commercial buildings. Some of her revealing projects were the Mahshahr Hotel (Fig 144 and 145), the Mashad Project (Fig 133 to 136), and a housing project for Aryamehr University (Fig 141 to 143).⁴²⁰

While limited archival information about women practitioners has restrained a comprehensive study of the first generation of women architects in Iran, it provides a

⁴¹⁴ Keyhandokht Radpour, August-November 1976, "Women Architects," pp. 75-81.

⁴¹⁵ Shahrzad Seraj, August-November 1976, "Women Architects," pp. 75-81.

⁴¹⁶ Mina Samie, August-November 1976, "Women Architects," pp. 75-81.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Noushin Ehsan, August-November 1976, "Women Architects," pp. 32-46.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 32-46.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

general overview on the educational background and public status of women in the architectural profession of Pahlavi Iran. The only issue of *Arts and Architecture* published during the events of the congress demonstrates women's different kinds of contribution to architecture. During the last two decades of the Pahlavi monarchy, accordingly, women architects had been recognized widely for their important individual contributions in private architectural offices, public institutions, governmental organizations, and educational establishments.

5.2. Interrogating Modernity, A Feminine Perspective: International Congress of Women Architects

“I was fairly depressed by the atmosphere... There were only five or six girls in our studio [at the Ecole Speciale d'Architecture] Most of the boys made fun of us and put us down. ‘There's never been a girl who's become an architect worthy of the name.’”⁴²¹

In 1976, under the patronage of Shahbanu Farah, the first international congress dedicated to women architects in Iran was organized in Ramsar. The congress was the third international event on architecture, part of a series envisaged to be held every four years after 1970. ‘The Interaction of Tradition and Technology’ was the main theme of the first meeting of these series organized under the patronage of the shahbanu⁴²² with the participation of the world leading architects and urbanists⁴²³ in

⁴²¹ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 62.

⁴²² “The necessity for such a gathering to discuss the rapid transformation of the field of architecture and its impact on the human environment has long been felt. In particular, the emphasis today relates to the philosophic concepts of man's environment and its physical manifestation. The technological progress of our time has provided unlimited facilities and new horizons to those who create our human environment. That which is important, however, for those countries which share a strong traditional background is to find compatible interaction between the elements of permanence within this overall change. In our view these resolutions should reflect the spiritual base that characterizes our Eastern culture. It is anticipated that this Congress will allow both individual and group exploration of these essential problems. It is also understood that bringing to light the essential questions may be of equal significance to the subsequent answers...”; “The Inaugural Speech of Her Imperial Majesty to the First International Congress of Architects,” 1970, *The Interaction of Tradition and Technology, Report of the Proceedings of the First International Congress of Architects in Isfahan* (Tehran: Shahrivar Press), p. 3.

⁴²³ The congress of Isfahan was formulated with the participation of twenty-one eminent practitioners of architecture including Louis Kahn, Paul Rodulf, Philip Will and Richard Buckminster Fuller from America, George Candilis and Othello Zavaroni from France, Ludivico Quaroni from Italy, Oswald Ungers from Germany, Blanco Soler from Spain, Jiri Moravec from Czechoslovakia, Abdul Ali Benis from Morocco, A. Damian and Marta Nicolescu from Rumania, Aptullah Kuran, the General Reporter, from Turkey, Alexander Useynoff, the Vice-President, from Russia, I.M.Kadri from India, Mino Mistri from Pakistan and Yoshinobu Ashihara from Japan, while the death of three pioneering

Isfahan (Fig 146 and 147); followed by three annual symposia on the problems of agriculture, urban development and environmental planning⁴²⁴ on the national platform. Three years later in 1974, the second Iranian International Congress of Architecture and Urban Planning was presided over by the shahbanu⁴²⁵ under the principal subject of ‘The Role of Architecture and Urban Planning in Industrializing Countries’ with the participation of practicing distinguished Iranian and foreign architects⁴²⁶ in Shiraz, Persepolis.

The idea for an international event on female architects had originated in a meeting of Shahbanu Farah and Madame Solange d’Herbez de la Tour, the founder and the President of the International Union of Women Architect (U.I.F.A) in Paris one year

masters of Modern architecture in the same year, Mies van der Rohe, Richard Neutra and Walter Gropius prevented their participation at the congress. Mohsen Foroughi, Nader Ardalan, Houshang Seihoun, Kamran Diba, Ghobad Zafar, I. Etessam, M. Kosar, A. Sadegh, M.A. Mirfendereski and Ali Sardar Afkhami were among the prominent Iranian Participants to the Congress; “The International Congress of Architects, Isfahan,” 1970, *Journal of Arts and Architecture* Vol. 15-16 (1).

⁴²⁴ H. Jaber Ansari, 1974, “2nd Iran International Congress of Architecture: Speech of H. Jaber Ansari-Minister of Housing and Urban Development,” *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (25-26), p. 4.

⁴²⁵ “No doubt Tradition and Technology which had been the main topic of the First International Congress of Architecture has had a profound enlightening effect to those participating distinguished architects. At this Congress we are going to look at the art of architecture from a new angle. The rapid growth of industrialization creates new particularities in the face of the environment as well as social behavior which in turn demands towards architecture and urban planning. By the arrival of the scattered groups towards industrial and urban centers, new scales are presented in urbanization. In the centuries that the characteristics of architecture have not yet been marred by the effect of industrialization, it is still possible to direct the modern architectural methods in such a way that would preserve the human status. The expansion of the cities and the springing of great urban complexes should not result in the erosion of natural environment and destruction of the original networks of the urban areas. The protection of some of the ancient architectural samples which are the symbols of respect for the human prestige should be the basic foundation for the architectural way of thinking. What we create is for mankind and must be originated with the man himself. Man is the measure of all...”; “2nd Iran International Congress of Architecture: Inaugural Speech by her Imperial Majesty the Shahbanu of Iran,” *Art and Architecture*, Vol (25-26), p. 3.

⁴²⁶ During the course of the Congress, Iran invited the world-renowned architects to participate beside some outstanding practicing figures from Iran. On the list of International guests to the Congress were I.M.Pei, Peter Blake, Oswald Ungers, Jose Luis Sert, Jerzy Soltan, Paolo Soleri and Ralph Papson from U.S.A; Arthur Erickson and Moshe Safdie from Canada; Hans Hollein from Austria; George Candilis, Michel Ecochard and Otello Zaveroni from France; Walter Henn and Liber Schelhasse from Germany; Leonardo Benevolo, G. L. Quaroni and Bruno Zevi from Italy; James Stirling from England; F. Candel from Spain; Jorn Utzon from Denmark; Dolf Schnebli from Switzerland; C. A. Doxiadis from Greece; Kenzo Tange, Kiyonori Kikutake and Fumihiko Maki from Japan; B. V. Doshi and Ranjit Sabikhi from India; Hasan Fathy from U. A. R.; and M. Usseinov from U. S. S. R.⁴²⁶ Nasser Badie, Nader Ardalan, Kamran Diba, Guiti Etamad, Haeri zadeh, and Houshang Etehad were among the Iranian participating experts collaborated in the organization of the Congress in Persepolis; “2nd Iran International Congress of Architecture: Speech of H. Jaber Ansari-Minister of Housing and Urban Development”, p. 4.

earlier in 1975 and it was supposed that the congress would be organized in collaboration with the U.I.F.A. and the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development of the Imperial Government of Iran as the sponsor of the organization (Fig 148).⁴²⁷

Established in 1963, the International Union of Women Architect was the first foundation with the aim to “settle up the history of women architects”⁴²⁸ in national and international levels via meetings, organizations and congresses. First organized in 1963, the main subject of the International Congress of Women Architects was ‘Les Femmes Architectes dans le monde: Les Exigences de la Cité Moderne, formulées par des Femmes’ arranged in Paris; subsequently followed by a congress in Monaco entitled ‘Participation de la Femme Architecte dans l'Aménagement des Villes Nouvelles’ in 1969 and in Bucharest by ‘Idées et Collaboration des Femmes Architectes pour l'Humanisation des Espaces Urbains Nouveaux’. In 1976 the fourth international organization devoted to female architects encompassed the regions of the Middle East and was organized in Ramsar with the ‘Développement d'une Architecture de Pacification plutôt que d'Aggression’ as the main theme of the congress.⁴²⁹

Recalled their initial meeting with the shahbanu for the convocation of the female architects, organizing committee member Noushin Ehsan indicated that “although I rejected the notion of a meeting merely devoted to women architects in the first stage” claiming “all my life, I have been proud of ... architecture, not woman architect, and I don't like this distinct ... women versus men”⁴³⁰. She acknowledged after being asked by the shahbanu “can you think about [this idea] and come up with some reasons that we [women architects] may have this conference in Iran?”⁴³¹ In

⁴²⁷ Janet Lazarian Shaghghi, 1976, “Petticoat Preview on Ramser Meet,” *Tehran Journal: Home News*, p. 3.

⁴²⁸ *The International Union of Women Architect* [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://www.uifa.fr/home.htm> [Accessed: 12 December 2009].

⁴²⁹ “1st to the 12th World Congress of the U.I.F.A.”, 2001, *Xilfmt Congress of the International Union of Women Architects* [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://www.architettiroma.it/fpdb/notizie/maggio2001/siuiifa13.pdf> [Accessed: 12 December 2009].

⁴³⁰ Noushin Ehsan, conversation with the author, New York.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

her response to the shahbanu, Ehsan said “I thought and accepted that we may have a conference ... presenting the world of women architect [since] we do have conferences [in Isfahan and Shiraz in which] the shah of Iran was bringing the top architects of the world like Loius Kahn... then there would be women known among them.”⁴³²

A number of Iranian women architects, subsequently, were invited to attend a meeting at the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development. From them Azar Faridi, Noushin Ehsan, Guiti Afrouz Kardan, Leila Sardar Afkhami, Nasrin Faghih and Shahla Malek were elected as the executive committee to establish the framework to conduct the event.⁴³³ The committee members proceeded with the task of organizing subcommittees and their activities with regard to “research and finding in terms of the content of the congress proceedings, its date and the place where it should be held, the theme, the organizations which would be involved and those which would need to be contacted... [In addition] research into the number of guests to be invited and the information required to make their stay convenient”⁴³⁴.

Opened on 13 October of 1976 in Ramsar (Fig 149), the formal congress was planned as a four-day session, with three days of lectures, seminars, discussions and meetings revolved around three subthemes of ‘Identity’, ‘the Crisis’ and ‘the Role of Women in the Crisis and Search for Identity’⁴³⁵ and a final day for a series of resolutions and findings to be revised by the participants (Fig 156 and 157).⁴³⁶

The theme was tackled by a group of foreign attendees from twenty-three countries around the world. Guest included Indira Rai and Eulie Chowdhury from India; Alison Smithson, Monica Pidgeon, and Jane Drew from England; Denise Scott

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ “Not a women’s lib affair,” September 30, 1976, *Tehran Journal*, Vol 10 (30), p.1.

⁴³⁴ Azar Faridi, 1976, “Report of the congress by the Secretary General,” *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), p. 9.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

Brown, Joyce Whitley, Ellen Perry Berkeley and Ann Tyng from U.S.A.; Nobuko Nakahara from Japan; Marie Christine Gangneux and Delatur from France; Anna Bofill from Spain; Gae Aulenti from Italy; Bola Sohande from Nigeria; Mona Mokhtar from Egypt; Hande Suher from Turkey; Nelly Garcia from Mexico; Hanne Kjerholm from Denmark; Laura Mertsu from Finland; and Helena Polivkova from Czechoslovakia.⁴³⁷ In addition an “articulated” group of Iranian architects attended including Rosa Maria Grifone Azemoun, Laleh Mehree Bakhtiar, Noushin Ehsan, Francade Gregoria Hesamian, Moria Moser Khalili, Keyhandokht Radpour, Shahrzad Seraj, Mina Sameie, Leila Sardar Afkhami, Guiti Afrouz Kardan, Nasrin Faghih, Zohreh Chargoslo, Mina Marefat, Yekta Chahrouzi, Silvana Manco Kowsar, Anne Griswold Tyng and Laila Farhad Motamed under the patronage of the Empress and the honorary chairman of the Congress, Nectar Papazian Andreff; Azar Faridi, the general secretary of the Congress and Homayoun Jabir Ansari, the Minister of Housing and Urban Development (Fig 158).⁴³⁸

The main theme of the congress was the ‘Crisis of Identity in Architecture’ addressed in the inaugural meeting by the shahbanu (Fig 150). She declared that:

“The excellence of an architecture which manifests spiritual meaning through the creation of mankind and along with the essence of art remain eternal is within the knowledge you women architects hold, which I also began to learn.

This Gathering today will allow the opportunity for an exchange of ideas to take place among the representatives of various cultures, an exchange of work with a contemporary, conscious group, creatively active in women’s organizations.

The gathering can explore the creation and expression of knowledge about architecture, along with the recognition of the existence of spiritual forces, among women consciously directing themselves towards social problems. In particular, this gathering can explore the aspect of feeling within these areas which exists in the building of a truly human environment.

The existence of evolution and the rapid changes of the last few years within the human environment has created a need for such gatherings. The changing ideas of the builders of this environment who are of one mind and who wish to find suitable solutions for the integration of the rapid growth of progress with human needs had been created. Throughout, research on this subject, especially for countries which have a long history and ancient cultural roots, is most important. The convening of this Congress in our country with its rich cultural heritage can help further the understanding of our culture in the life of mankind. Buildings and complexes which have been built are continuous places of learning and understanding about the way of life of each generation. With patience in the approach of understanding building

⁴³⁷ “Official Invited Guests for the International Congress of Women Architects” August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol 4 (35-36), p. 17.

⁴³⁸ “Report of the congress by the Secretary General,” 1977.

and their creation as, for instance, the particular spirit of architecture and the creation of space which are reflected in the physical form or more particularly the underlying geometry and even in the ornamental forms, one can come to know the manifestation of civilization and culture, characteristics of that particular era or people.

In our civilization, the economic and social crisis and their effect upon society and the way of life of mankind has affected these cultural artifacts. It is hoped that the participants who have gathered together in this Congress, each one from a different part of the world and from varying cultural climates can, with the expression of their own ideas, light the way for a greater understanding of the cultural identity of each country and be reflected in the best possible way in architecture and the human environment.”⁴³⁹

The shahbanu denoted the aim of convention as to interchange ideas among the representatives of various cultures and emphasized the role of women architects as the symbol of modernity in the social and cultural advancement of the country. According to the quotation above, the project of an assembly of female architects was not an attempt to conceptualize femininity and feminine representation within the architectural profession of modern Iran, nor was it to question gender dynamics and the social policies of the Pahlavis.

Following the shahbanu’s address to the congress, Homayoun Jabir Ansari, the Minister of Housing and Urban Development, Azar Faridi, the Secretary General and Nectar Papazian Andref, the president of the congress, delivered their opening speeches to the gathering. The role of female practitioners in the dynamic process of the Pahlavi’s revolutionary reforms was the main subject of Homayoun Jabir Ansari’s speech. A report of the congress on a number of tasks and the duties for the initiation and the establishments of a framework to run the event including the committees, the programs, and the publications was presented to the assembly by Azar Faridi. In the last presentation of this session, Nectar Papazian Andref marked the shahbanu’s contribution in reforming “the position of women in [the profession of] architecture”⁴⁴⁰. During the initial session, Shahbanu Farah was presented an issue of *Art and Architecture* magazine dedicated to women architects in Iran with a

⁴³⁹ Farah Pahlavi, 1976, “The Inaugural Address of Her Imperial Majesty, The Shahbanu of Iran,” *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), p. 3.

⁴⁴⁰ Nectar Papazian Andref, 1976, “Address by the President of the congress,” *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 9-10.

number of architectural designs executed by the shahbanu during her architectural studies in Paris (Fig 152).⁴⁴¹

The theme ‘Crisis of Identity in Architecture’ was tackled by the participants from two different perspectives; those who preferred to remain gender neutral and those who choose to make explicit their gender status in relation to the profession. Within this scope, the three subthemes of ‘Identity’, the ‘Crisis’ and the ‘Role of Women in the Crisis and Search for Identity’, accordingly, provided a general framework to organize all differing aspects of various relations between gender and architectural practice (Fig 154 and 155).

In the following sessions, the sub-theme of the search for ‘identity’ was explored under the chairmanship of Madame de la Tour, Monica Pidgeon and Alison Smithson with an introductory lecture on ‘The Identity Crisis: Its Nature and Expression’ by the Iranian philosopher and city planner Laleh Mehree Bakhtiar. The writer of *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture* and *Sufi Expressions of the Mystic Quest*, Bakhtiar asserted the word identity in reference to ‘consciousness’ of ‘self’. The search for identity in architecture, she said, leads to a search for individual identity and claimed that the crisis appeared when identity is lost.⁴⁴² The key concept of search for identity in Alison Smithson’s presentation, ‘The Nature of Identity’, is explored in reference to modern architecture. She argued that identity is contained within the idea of invention and that is the essence of modern movement in architecture⁴⁴³. The lack of identity in Nigerian architecture was the main subject of the African participant, Bola Sohande. Arguing that the high-rise dwelling apartments were a modified copy of modern architecture, Sohande felt

⁴⁴¹ Janet Lazarian Shaghghi, “Built up truly human environment-Empress,” October 14, 1976, *Tehran Journal*, Vol. XXIII (6712), p. 1.

⁴⁴² Laleh Mehree Bakhtiar, 1976, “The Identity Crisis: Its Nature and Expression,” *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 21-7.

⁴⁴³ Allison Smithson, 1976, “The Nature of Identity,” *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 59-64.

the key to the search was to hold onto one's cultural heritage.⁴⁴⁴ Similarly, Nelly Garcia Bellizzia explored the crisis in identity in the case of Mexican architecture, expressing that the recognition of one's culture would lead to a sense of identity in architecture and that technological transformations locked in cultural references result in aggression and loss in the essence of identity.⁴⁴⁵ 'Identity Thresholds of Individual and Community in the Forming of Cities' was presented by the Chinese architect, Anne Griswold Tyng. Tyng's lecture brought a different perspective into the concept; she remarked that in search for identity the thresholds of consciousness hidden in geometry need to be emphasized to reaffirm the individual and humanize the density of the city life.⁴⁴⁶

The second sub-theme, the 'crisis' in architecture was initiated by Jane B. Drew's presentation. She described the role of architecture as to respond to requirements. Any attempt without considering social, cultural, physical, technical and economic conditions, in Drew's lecture, was introduced as a crisis in identity.⁴⁴⁷ The crisis in Noushin Ehsan's presentation was examined through defining the interrelation between the two phenomena: knowledge and change. Ehsan indicated that in the urban environment, individual knowledge needs to incorporate social and physical transition in order to harmonize with the dynamic entity of the city. The disparity between the accumulated technology in the urban framework and the individual adaptiveness brings a gap which reinforces social conservatism and results in built-in

⁴⁴⁴ Bola Sohande, 1976, "The Crisis of Identity on Architecture: Nigeria, West Africa," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), p. 97.

⁴⁴⁵ Nelly Garcia Bellizzia, 1976, "Identity as Mode of Being," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 155-7.

⁴⁴⁶ Anne Griswold Tyng, 1976, "Identity Thresholds of Individual and Community in the Forming of Cities," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), p. 130.

⁴⁴⁷ Jane B. Drew, 1976, "The Crisis in Identity in Architecture," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 31-5.

obsolescence in urban areas.⁴⁴⁸ Anna Bofill in 'Design as a Response to People's Dreams' indicated identity in culture and highlighted that architecture as the physical product of social, political, cultural and economic conditions should propose alternatives to deal particularly with the problems and different traits of urban spaces. Bofill rejected the possibility of having an international style in architecture, which she said resulted in a lack of identity and crisis.⁴⁴⁹ The crisis in identity in Leila Farhad Motamed's presentation was covered through a different perspective. The breakdown of rural economics, mass migration and inability to absorb the new influx to the cities during the period of rapid industrialization and technological development, said Motamed, brings acute problems in the field of low cost housing in the capital Tehran.⁴⁵⁰ Questioning the crisis in identity in the case of housing production, Nobuko Nakahara introduced the prerequisites for achieving successful architectural production in the case of cooperative works in Japan.⁴⁵¹ The crisis and search for cultural identity in Tuulu Fleming's lecture was examined in the case of Finland. Fleming stated that the rapid industrialization in the post-war period resulted in a "cultural shock" in the physical environment of Helsinki. She said that there is a strong reaction against the architectural developments of 1960s onward which she identified as "anonymous" in feature and indicated that the architects and city planners should attempt to "regain the tradition" and "combine [it] with technological methods" in the city structure of Helsinki.⁴⁵² Hande Suher's lecture was an experiment dealing with the problems arising from the rapid technological progress in developing countries as in Turkey's case. The disappearance of

⁴⁴⁸ Noushin Ehsan, 1976, "The Knowledge Change Gap," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 67-73.

⁴⁴⁹ Anna Bofill, 1976, "Design as a Response to People's Dreams," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 77-9.

⁴⁵⁰ Leila Farhad Motamed, 1976, "Low Coast Housing: A Cultural Reawakening or an Endemic Disease?," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), p. 83.

⁴⁵¹ Nobuko Nakahara, 1976, "Production of Housing Tokyo and its Future in Japan," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), p. 91.

⁴⁵² Tuula Fleming, 1976, "Cultural Shock in Fast Developing Communities," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 101-3.

environmental values and the emergence of squatters were accepted as the natural response of an unparalleled development between urbanization and industrialization in rural settlements which results in the crisis of identity in architecture in Suher's terms.⁴⁵³ Similarly, as the product of rapid urbanization and rural immigration, the development of 'architecture for society' in meeting the problem of shelter was another perspective in identifying the crisis in the case of Iranian architecture by Mina Marefat. Questioning the problems of mass-production, as an imitated version of Western modern architecture, Marefat introduced the architecture for society as an 'irrelevant architecture' with no root and identity in quality.⁴⁵⁴ In a similar manner, 'A Crisis in Conception' concentrated on the problem of shelter within the scope of urban and rural planning in post-colonial India. Indra Rai's lecture described the crisis in identity through focusing on unplanned city growth in the capital.⁴⁵⁵ Referring to Heidegger's assertion on the plight of dwelling, Nasrin Faghih introduced the crisis as a product of "the reduction of all references in the architectural production to more sociological concepts and patterns"⁴⁵⁶. Faghih pointed out that the dissolution can be ended with the replacement of socio-technological models by the cultural patterns which shape the architectural meaning.⁴⁵⁷

Initiating the third sub-theme of the 'Role of Women in the Crisis and Search for Identity', Denise Scott Brown remarked on the various forms of discrimination she encountered as a partner in the profession in 'Sexism and the Star System in Architecture'. As the wife and the partner of well-known architect Robert Venturi,

⁴⁵³ Hande Suher, 1976, "Disappearance of Some Environmental Values in the Process of Urbanization," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 147-151.

⁴⁵⁴ Mina Marefat, 1976, "Shelter," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 197-9.

⁴⁵⁵ Indra Rai, 1976, "A Crisis in Conception," *The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 217-20.

⁴⁵⁶ Nasrin Faghih, 1976, "On Building as the Making of the World," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), p. 181.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 181-4.

Brown attributed such experiences to the 'star system' in architecture.⁴⁵⁸ Published in 1989 for the first time, the article, however, was first presented at the congress and an abridged version of it was reproduced in the congress' report of proceedings thirteen years earlier in 1976. The 'Crisis of Identity' in architecture was explored in some text through the main theme of gender and women's emancipation. Nellien C. de Ruiter's approach provided a basis for a feminist philosophy of building and construction through which she analyzed the consequences of urbanization and the role of women architects in regard to improving the built environment.⁴⁵⁹ In "The Cultural Identity of Women Architects in U.S.A.", Jean Young highlighted that discrimination against women is the product of social tradition in America. She informed the members about the American Institute of Architects' resolution and the Affirmative Action Plan in ameliorating the status of women in the profession of architecture.⁴⁶⁰ Similarly, Virginia Tanzmann described the activities provided by the professional organization of women architects in affirming the position of women in the architectural profession in the Los Angeles area.⁴⁶¹ RR. Joyce Whitley located the crisis in the search for identity within the process in planning with community participation with respect to different perspectives of design professions. Racial identity was studied in the case of black communities in the United States.⁴⁶²

The concluding lectures were presented by Ellen Perry Berkeley and Yekta Chahrouzi to inform the conference of architectural education in the world,

⁴⁵⁸ Denise Scott Brown, 1976, "Sexism and the Star System in Architecture," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), p. 39.

⁴⁵⁹ Jean Young, 1976, "The Cultural Identity of Women Architects in U.S.A.," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 187-9.

⁴⁶⁰ Nellien C. de Ruiter, 1976, "An Approach to the Relation Between Women and Environment," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 167-177.

⁴⁶¹ Virginia Tanzmann, 1976, "Women Architects in the Los Angeles Area," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 191-194.

⁴⁶² R. Joyce Whitley, 1976, "Planning and Designing with Community Participation: Experience with Black Communities in the United States," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 203-16.

especially in the case of the U.S.A and Iran. Berkeley's lecture concentrated on the identity crisis of individual and in particular among women architects in America via focusing on the activities of the American Institute of Architects in working to eliminate gender discrimination in the architecture and architectural practice.⁴⁶³ Chahrouzi's lecture, however, was a historical analysis of general trends in the architectural profession in the world and in Iran: while criticizing the course of proceedings and exploring the role of the architect in serving and reformulating the system.⁴⁶⁴ In the final day of the congress, an architectural exhibition devoted to the works of some women architects was presented (Fig 151 and 153).⁴⁶⁵

5.3. Negotiating Women & Reviewing the Consequences of the Congress

In 1975, the idea of an international convention on women architects emerged from Shahbanu Farah. Tehran Journal had promulgated the congress as the "big event" and in fact, it was in essence since it had been proselytized for the status quo. It had been for more than three decades that women had been accepted into professional schools of architecture. The profession had been feminized in Pahlavi Iran with changing status of women and their participation in the field of architecture, yet gender representation in architectural practice had been virtually non-existent in the pages of the architectural press.

It had been rare to find a mention of women's work as architects but during the events of the congress their involvements indeed became evident in the pages of *Arts and Architecture*. To the Iranian attendees, however, the aim of the congress was not to encounter overt discrimination against women architects neither was it a search for an equal recognition for women's work by identifying their architectural practice during the second Pahlavi period. The 'Tehran Journal' propagated the event in an

⁴⁶³ Ellen Perry Berkeley, 1976, "Identity Crisis in Architecture," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 247-54.

⁴⁶⁴ Yekta Chahrouzi, 1976, "Architectural Education in Iran," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 257-60.

⁴⁶⁵ Azar Faridi, 1976, "Report of the congress by the Secretary General," *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), p. 9.

article entitled as “Not a women’s lib affair” through which Azar Faridi, the leading organizer of the congress said, “Quite frankly, we just don’t think of ourselves as women in our professional activities [in Iran] there is not any problem there.” She continued “we will be exploring [the theme] in the same way men architects all over the world are discussing it today”.⁴⁶⁶ Similarly, Rosamaria Grifone Azemun in an article in the Journal of *Art and Architecture* remarked that “this Congress would prove the lack of sexual discrimination”⁴⁶⁷ in Iran. Noushin Ehsan, a member of the organizing committee of the congress, several years later in an article in *The Sophia Echo* evaluated the condition of women architects in Pahlavi Iran, stating that “Iranian women were far more advanced than those in the United State in certain areas”. She declared that, “when I finished university in Iran ... I was one of nineteen girls in my class [however] when I went to the US in 1969 for my graduate studies, I was the first girl in the school of architecture for my program” she added “[our society] lacked discrimination towards women [and] that goes back to the history of Persia ... when the woman was a leader”⁴⁶⁸. In the same manner, Guiti Afrouz Kardan, the representative of Iran in the last International Congress of Women Architects stated that considering the issue of sexual discrimination in the developed countries, it was a privilege to be a woman architect in Iran, adding “a Swiss participant of the congress who won an architectural competition in her country was banned from construct her project just because she was a woman”⁴⁶⁹.

Similarly, many participants from Iran observed that the congress was not an experience in women’s assertion of their rights since, as highlighted by Nectar Papazian Andref, “science has nothing to do with the distinctions between men or women”⁴⁷⁰. Noushin Ehsan pointed out that “women architects apparently feel it is something of an advantage to be a female in their field here in Iran” further

⁴⁶⁶ Azar Faridi, September 30, 1976, “Not a women’s lib affair,” p. 1.

⁴⁶⁷ Rosamaria Grifone Azemun, August-November 1976, “Women Architects,” p. 24.

⁴⁶⁸ Noushin Ehsan, June 2002, in an interview with Rozalia Hristova, “Serving and inspiring people,” *The Sophia Echo* Vol. 6 (25).

⁴⁶⁹ Guiti Afrouz Kardan, August-November 1976, “Women Architects,” p. 84.

⁴⁷⁰ Janet Lazarian Shaghghi, “Architects get a break from the kitchen sink,” October 18, 1976, *Tehran Journal*, p. 8.

underlining “if anything, people here are so happy to see women achieving things in [the architectural] profession in Iran”⁴⁷¹.

Yet, the reflections of the gathering in the print media are diversified. Not all the members of the international delegation agreed on the worthlessness of the organization around female architects. In another article in the *Tehran Journal*, the event was described as ‘Architects Get a Break from the Kitchen Sink’ in which Mahnaz Afkhami, the former Secretary General of the Women's Organization of Iran and the Minister of State for Women’s Affairs, expressed optimism on remarks preceding the inauguration of the event: “[I] would have preferred the theme of the conference to relate more specifically to the problems encountered by female architects, rather than encompassing the broad topic of the ‘Identity Crisis in Architecture’”⁴⁷². She said that “women could be more effective architects in many areas than their male counterparts, being generally more familiar with the problems of the home”⁴⁷³.

In Afkhami’s description, women architects are constrained by the ideological framework which delineates the patriarchal boundaries of their status in the architectural profession. Women are subcategorized to solving the problems of domesticity.

Whether the event functioned as a showcase for gender liberation or feminine representation in Pahlavi Iran through the inclusion of a group of “distinguished” female architects is still a question mark since *Tehran Journal* noted that all the members associated with the congress were “some of the world’s very top women architects”⁴⁷⁴. One question hitherto unexplored is if these very elite and ‘articulate[d]’ group could compass a mass, and provide an appropriate image of women architects in Pahlavi Iran. All the members associated with the organization

⁴⁷¹ Noushin Ehsan, 1976, “Not a women’s lib affair,” p. 1.

⁴⁷² Shaghghi, “Architects get a break from the kitchen sink,” p. 8.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Ehsan, 1976, “Not a women’s lib affair,” p. 1.

had high-range qualification that “makes them superior rather than inferior to their male colleagues”⁴⁷⁵ since they were the representatives of Pahlavi Iran to the Western world, and exemplars of how women architects were trained in modern Iran. As mentioned earlier, the Congress served to acquaint nineteen participants from Iran among them Nectar Papazian Andref, the first Iranian woman to gain entrance to the department of architecture was a Tehran University graduate with an equivalent Ph.D. degree from L’Ecole Des Beaux Art in 1956. Azar Faridi was a graduate who received her master degree in Urban and Regional Planning in the University of Strathclyde in 1970. Receiving her Bachelor degree from Tehran University, Noushin Ehsan had a double master degree of Urban Design and Architecture from U.C.L.A. Nasrin Faghih was a Yale University graduate who gained her Ph.D. in Venice and Leila Farhad Motamed received her postgraduate degree from Bartlett School of Architecture. “There are a lot of other women architects with high qualifications here [...] there was no reason to praise them” alleged Azar Faridi to an interview with *Tehran Journal*, adding “go and talk to the others, you will find it very stimulating”⁴⁷⁶.

Foreign participants, however, complained about their public status and recounted how they had suffered in their profession. Searching for the participants, Ehsan dictated, “funny enough we had the most difficult time to find women architects in America and Denise Scott Brown was the one... and yet in the places like India, we have much more easy time to find upstanding women architects”⁴⁷⁷. Similarly, the American participant, Ellen Perry Berkeley raised the crisis women architects were facing in the architectural profession in U.S.A, stating “it has taken women a long time to become accepted in a profession that is still thought of as ‘a man’s profession’ [in America] and the process is not yet complete”. She referred to an article entitled ‘A Thousand Women in Architecture’ and stated that, although it had been for more than a hundred year that the first women architects enrolled in the

⁴⁷⁵ Azar Faridi, 1976, “Not a women’s lib affair,” p. 1.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Noushin Ehsan, 2010, conversation with the author, New York.

profession,⁴⁷⁸ the proportion of women architects in America was under four percent. Many of the prestigious schools of architecture such as Harvard, said Berkeley, accepted women after the War because of the decline in the number of male architects during 1942. She added that “there was a considerable battle at Harvard, at the time, about whether to accept women simply as students or to accept them as candidates for degrees and whether to continue the policy after the war.”⁴⁷⁹ Expressing the same sentiments were the leading members of the International delegation such as the British architect Jane Drew, the city planner Joyce Whitley from the United States and Anna Bofill of Barcelona exposed many forms of discrimination experienced by women in architecture such as less salary, less responsibility, less recognition and more difficulty finding work. Many of the participants, accordingly, worked in a family concern as a partner in the firm.⁴⁸⁰ On the contrary, Mertsu Laurola from Finland reported the good situation women architects had in her country, saying “fully a third of the leading Finnish architects are female. They are active... and are quite powerful on the cultural scene”⁴⁸¹. Similarly, the visiting architect, Indira Rai indicated architecture as an active field for women in India.⁴⁸² In an article in the *Journal of Art and Architecture*, comparing the activities of women architects in Iran and the United States, Ehsan indicated that “it was in the U.S.A that I recognized that I am a woman for the first time and this would prevent my success in the field”⁴⁸³ expressing “I found everywhere that I was going... I was the first woman architect in UCLA Master Program at Architecture... every offices I worked I was the first woman architect... then I taught at IPR in 1974... and I was the first woman architect at Harvard Graduate School of Design...

⁴⁷⁸ According to Berkeley, the first women architects were graduated from the Cornell University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology during 1880s.

⁴⁷⁹ Ellen Perry Berkeley, 1976, “Identity Crisis in Architecture,” *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects: The Crisis of Identity in Architecture* (Tehran: The Hamdami Foundation), pp. 247-54.

⁴⁸⁰ Janet Lazarian Shaghghi, 1976, “Petticoat Preview on Ramser Meet,” *Tehran Journal: Home News*, p. 3.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

⁴⁸³ “Noushin Ehsan” August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. 4 (35-36), p. 37.

and yet in Iran we [female architects] were progressed and I think we had more problems in Western World than Middle East”⁴⁸⁴.

In an article in the *Tehran Journal*, Janet Lazarian Shaghaghi interpreted the difference in the status of women architects in Iran and abroad in these words: “since there is a relatively limited number of architects in Iran, there is less discrimination against women in favor of men. Whereas in the Western countries, young architects must study and serve apprenticeships for as long as ten years before establishing successful practices, Iranian architectural students are securing commissions as early as in their second year of studies.”⁴⁸⁵

The analysis of International Congress of Women Architects demonstrates the shahbanu’s contribution in uncovering evidence of women’s roles in constructing modern Iran. Explicitly or implicitly, women architects had always fulfilled a marginalized position in the profession. Encountering obstacles created by gender prejudice in their profession, gender-bias representation had been marginally obscure; women were indeed omitted. The congress and accompanying report of the proceedings and publications, however, provided research and the only documentation regarding the work of the first generations of female architects in Iran.

In discussing the public status of women architects in Iran Noushin Ehsan said that in practice many women architects preferred to remain invisible in their gender status; they choose to operate solely as ‘architect’ in their profession.⁴⁸⁶ She emphasized that, working as prominent professionals, female architects do not need raise issues of gender in relation to their activities and that is the basic reason for their absence from publicity.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁴ Ehsan, 2010, conversation with the author, New York.

⁴⁸⁵ Janet Lazarian Shaghaghi, 1976, “Women’s Role in Architecture,” *Tehran Journal: Home News*, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁶ Ehsan, conversation with the author, New York.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

While many of the Iranian attendees agreed that the congress was not a feminist gathering *per se*, the main theme was informed by a gendered perspective by diverse participants as the first all-women conference on architecture in Iran and more importantly as the fourth international assembly devoted to women practitioners in the world.



Figure 71 A portrait of Nectar Papazian Andref, the first woman architect of Iran, 1976.
SOURCE: "Nectar Papazian Andref," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 26.

Figure 72 Astara Customs Building, 1970s.
SOURCE: "Nectar Papazian Andref," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 27.

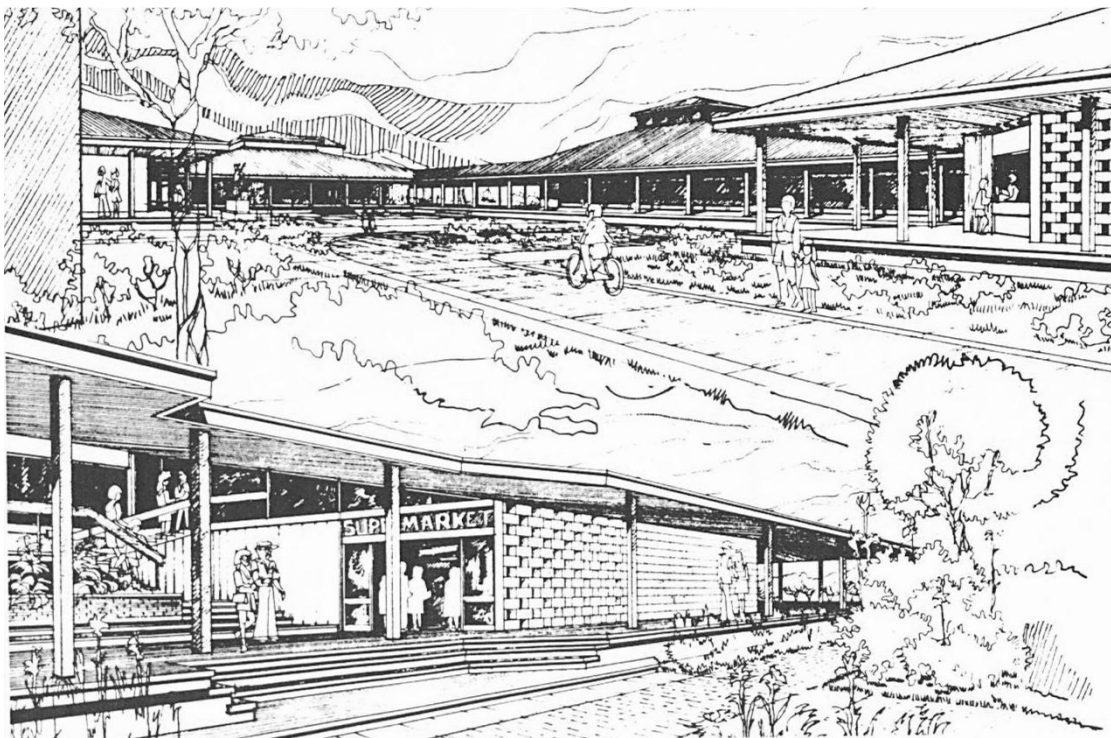


Figure 73 Astara Customs Building, 1970s.
SOURCE: "Nectar Papazian Andref," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 27.



Figure 74 The Ground Floor Plan of Farah Pahlavi Foundation, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nectar Papazian Andref," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), pp. 28-9.

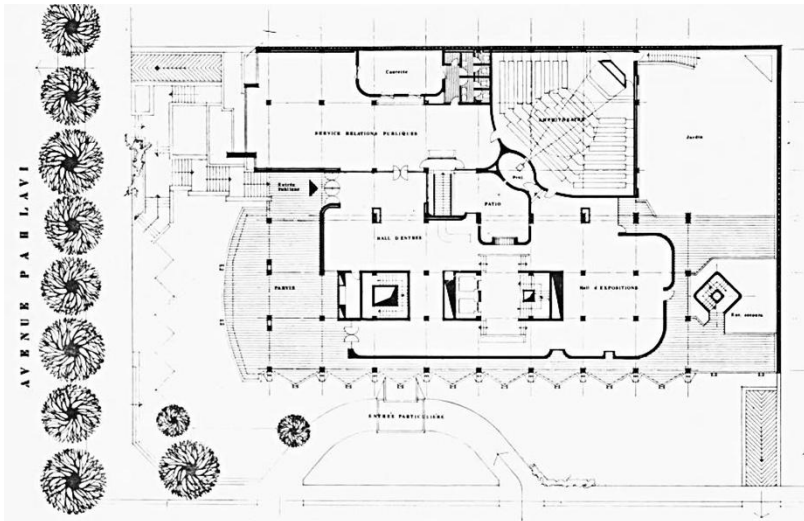


Figure 75 The Ground Floor Plan of Farah Pahlavi Foundation, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nectar Papazian Andref," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 29.



Figure 76 Pahlavi University Library, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nectar Papazian Andref," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 28.

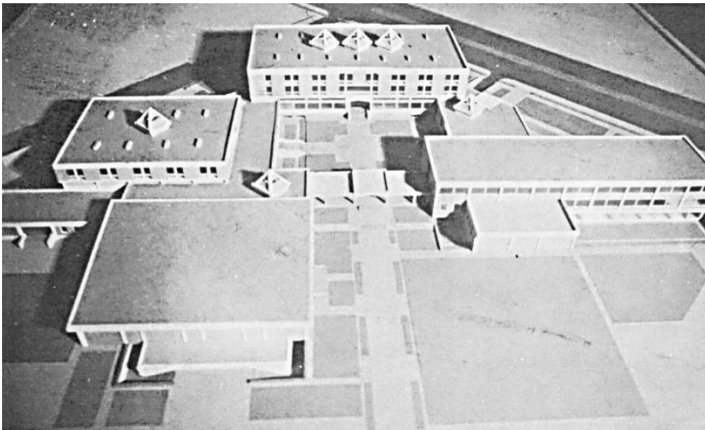


Figure 77 Bou-Ali Sina High-School Building, Hamedan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nectar Papazian Andref," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 30.

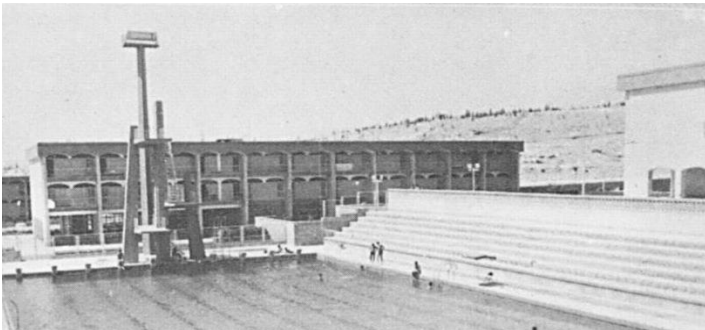


Figure 78 Bagh-e Eram Student Dormitory Building, Shiraz, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nectar Papazian Andref," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 28.

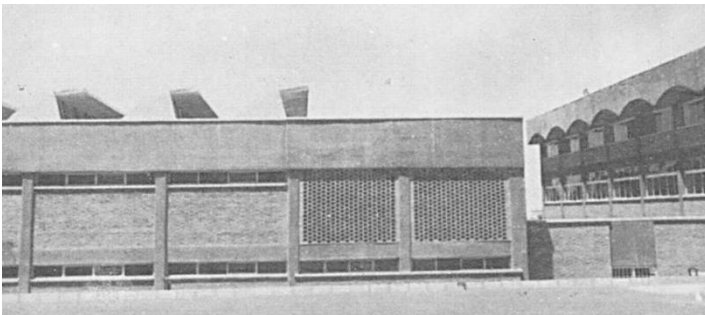


Figure 79 Technology Faculty, Azerbaijan University, Tabriz, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nectar Papazian Andref," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 28.

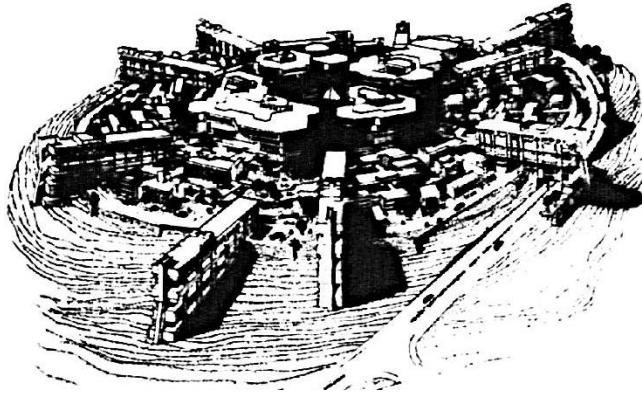


Figure 80 The Master Plan of Pahlavi University, Shiraz, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nectar Papazian Andref," 2007, *Iranian Architects Book* (Tehran: Nazar Publication), p. 39.

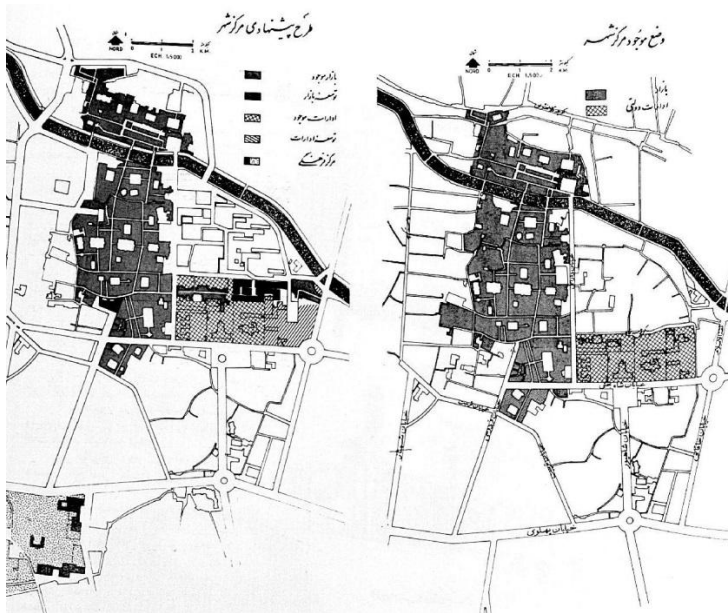


Figure 81 Tabriz Master Plan, city center before (right) and after (left) the revision, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Plan Directeur de Tabriz, Moghtader-Andreef-Echocard, Architects-Urbanistes," August-November 1970, *Art and Architecture*, p. 47.

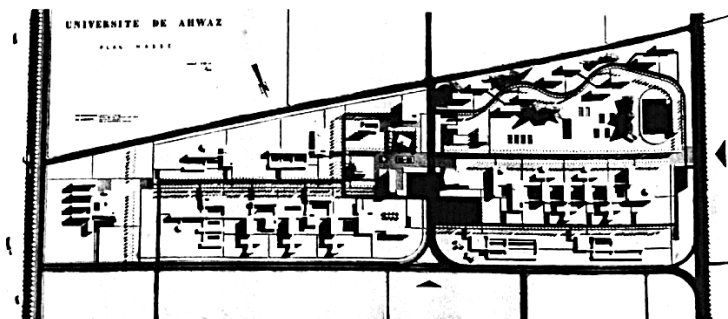


Figure 82 The Master Plan of Jondi-Shapour University, Ahvaz, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nectar Papazian Andref," 2007, *Iranian Architects Book* (Tehran: Nazar Publication), p. 39.

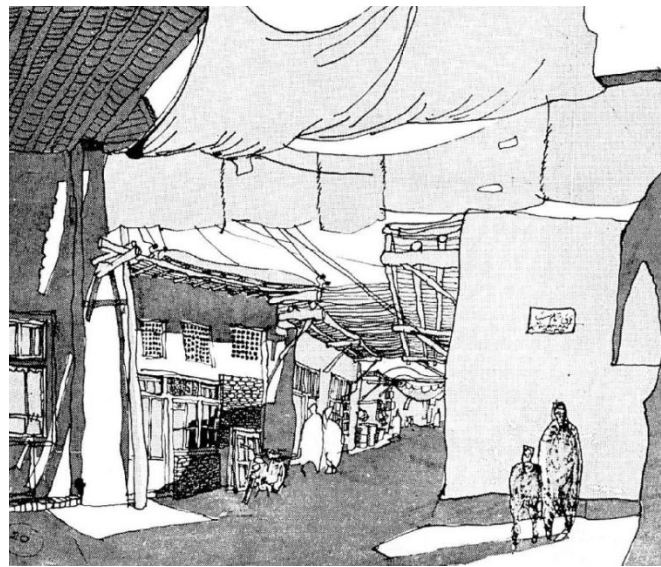


Figure 83 A portrait of Nasrin Faghih, 1976.

SOURCE: "Nasrin Faghih," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 86.

Figure 84 Isfahan Bazaar, sketch by N.Faghih, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Projet de Modernisation de la Ville d'Isfahan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (12-13), p. 56.

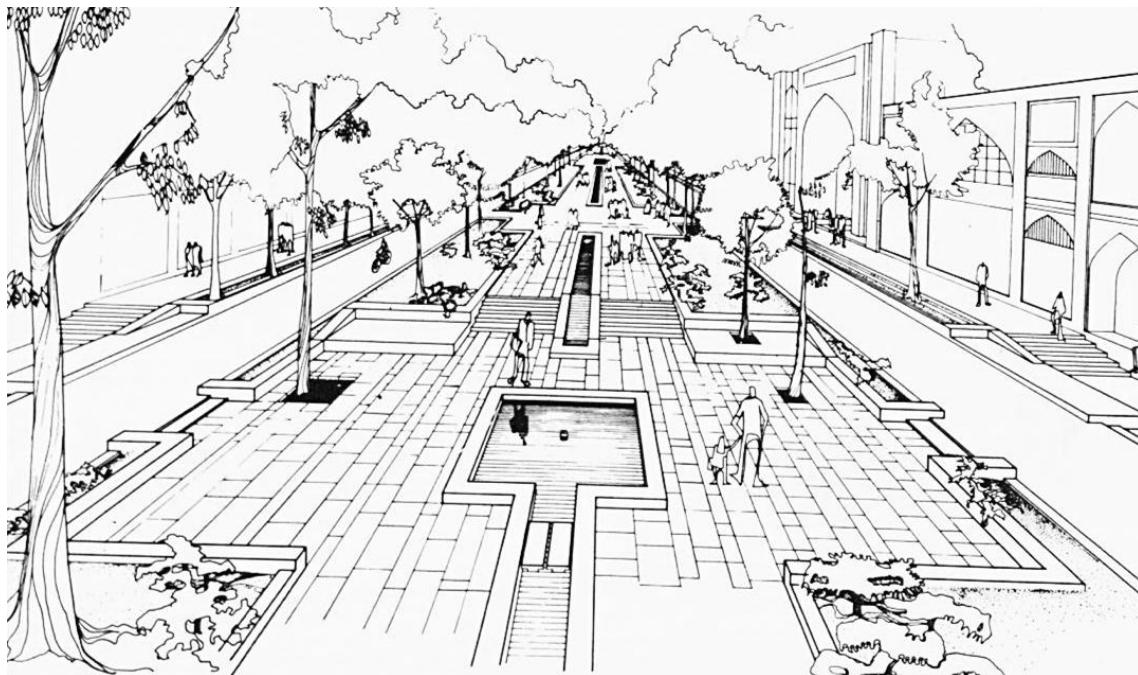


Figure 85 Isfahan Master Plan, Chahar-Bagh, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nasrin Faghih," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 87.



Figure 86 Isfahan Master Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nasrin Faghih," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 88.

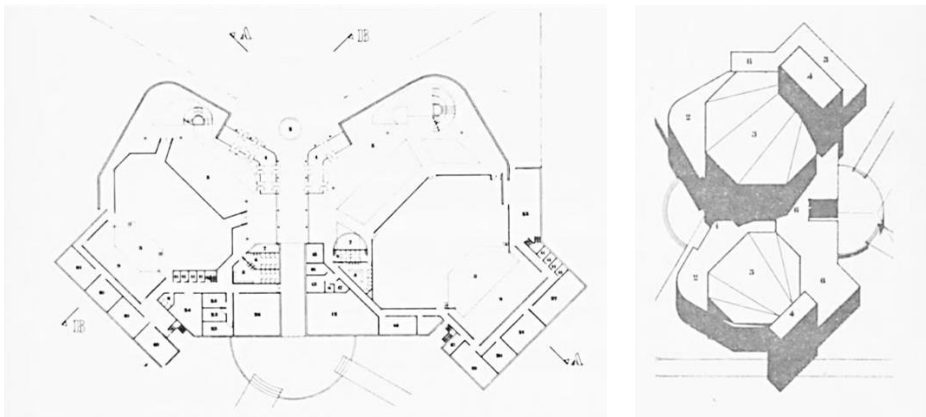


Figure 87 Aryamehr Technical University Auditorium, plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nasrin Faghih," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 89.

Figure 88 Aryamehr Technical University Auditorium, perspective, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nasrin Faghih," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 88.

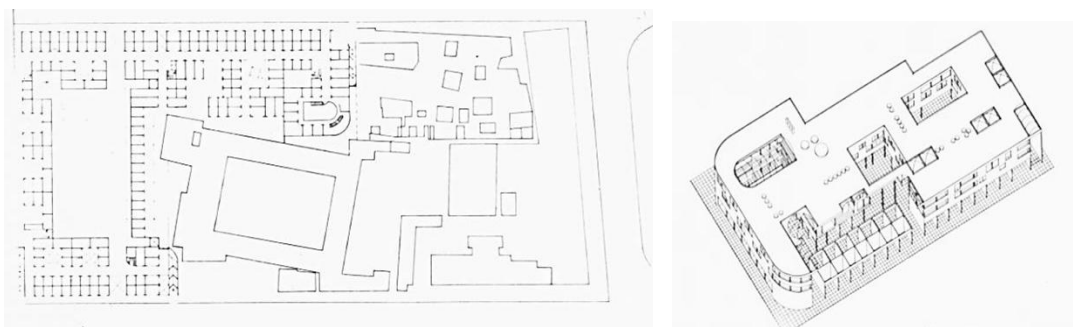


Figure 89 Bab-e Homayoun renovation project, plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nasrin Faghih," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 89.

Figure 90 Bab-e Homayoun renovation project, perspective, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Nasrin Faghih," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 90.



Figure 91 A portrait of Leila Farhad Sardar Afkhami, 1976.

SOURCE: "Leila Farhad Sardar Afkhami," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 69.

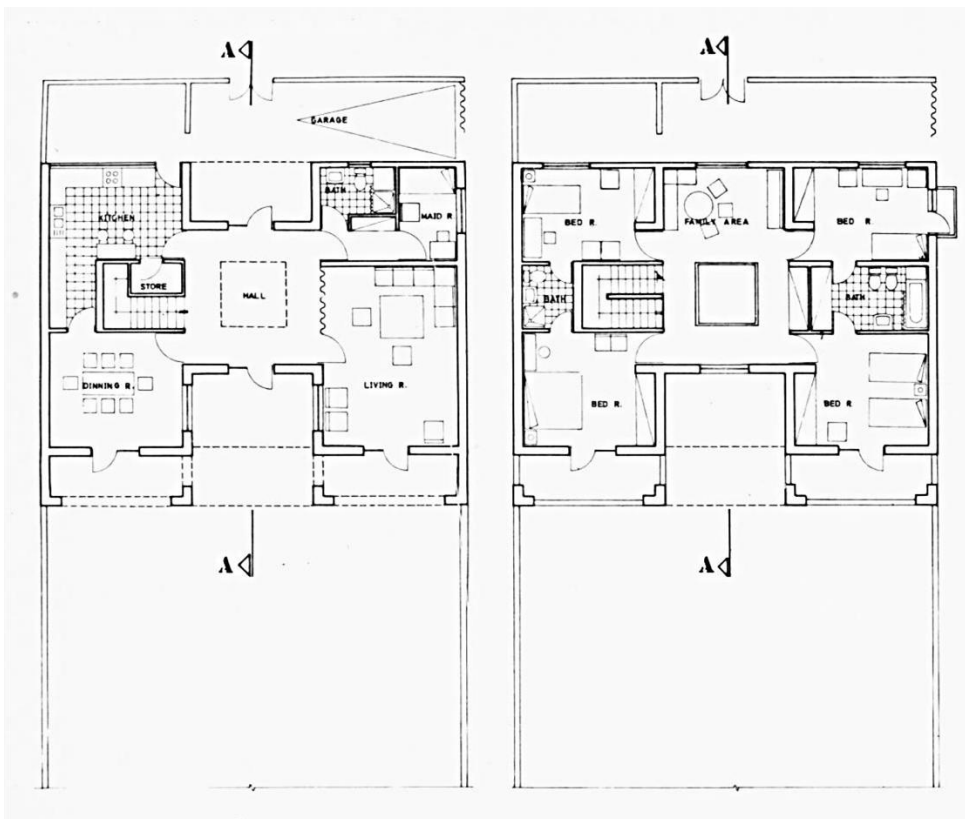


Figure 92 Aryamehr Technical University Residences, Ground Floor Plan (left), 1970s.

SOURCE: "Leila Farhad Sardar Afkhami," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 73.

Figure 93 Aryamehr Technical University Residences, First Floor Plan (right), 1970s.

SOURCE: "Leila Farhad Sardar Afkhami," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 73.



Figure 94 Interior decoration of a house in Tehran, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Leila Farhad Sardar Afkhami," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 71.

Figure 95 Interior decoration of a house in Tehran, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Leila Farhad Sardar Afkhami," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 71.

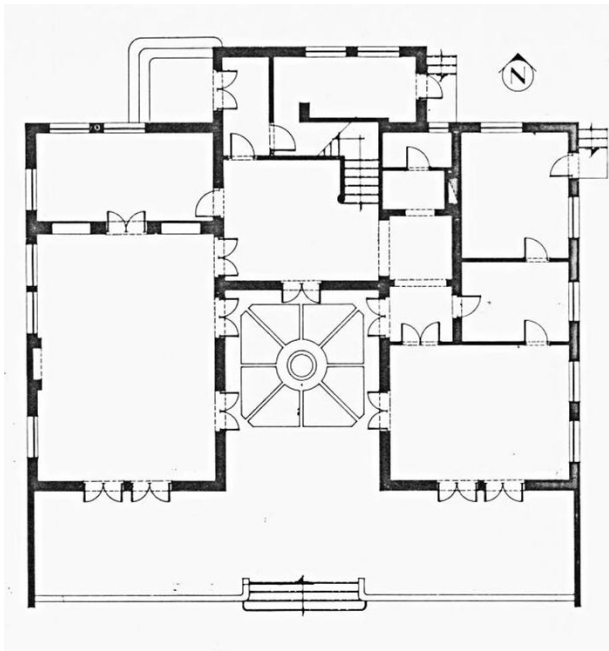


Figure 96 A house in Tehran, Ground Floor Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Leila Farhad Sardar Afkhami," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 70.

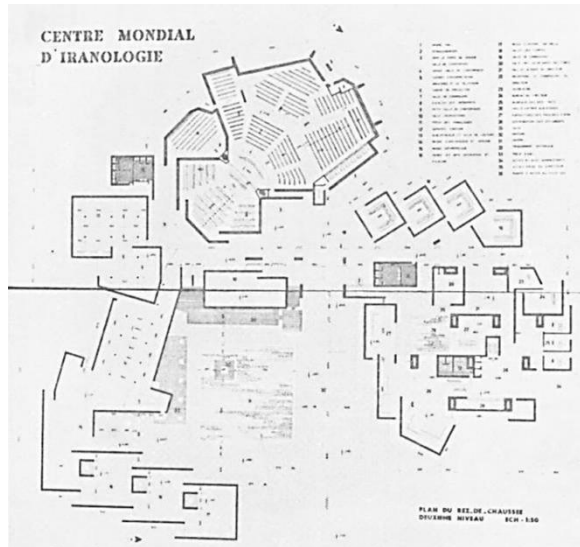


Figure 97 A portrait of Guiti Afrouz Kardan, 1976.

SOURCE: "Guiti Afrouz Kardan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 82.

Figure 98 Iranology Center, Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Guiti Afrouz Kardan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 85.

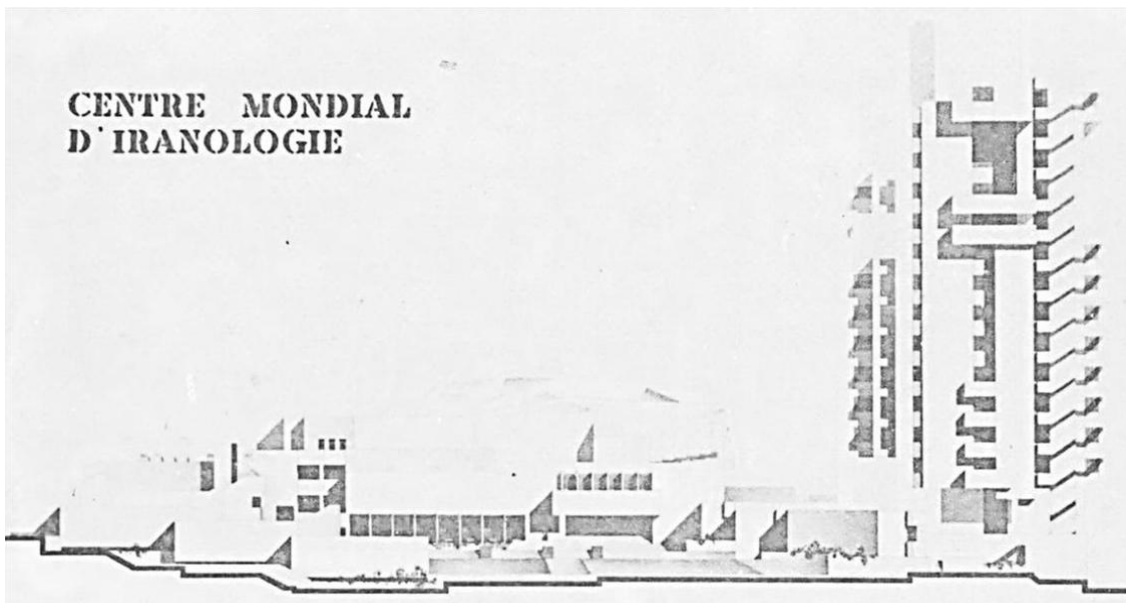


Figure 99 Iranology Center, Façade, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Guiti Afrouz Kardan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 85.



Figure 100 A portrait of Franca de Gregoria Hessamian, 1976.

SOURCE: "Franca de Gregoria Hessamian," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 47.

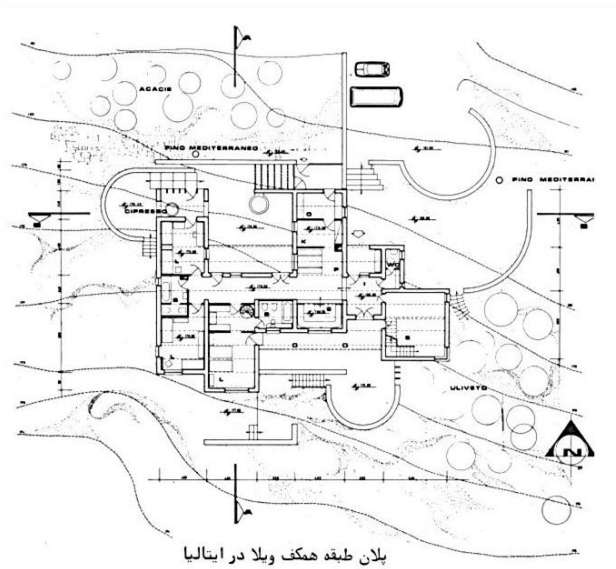


Figure 101 A house in Rome, Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Franca de Gregoria Hessamian," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 51.

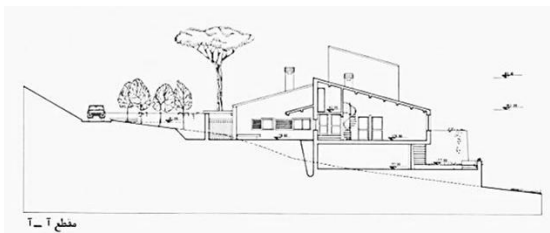


Figure 102 A house in Rome, A-A Section, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Franca de Gregoria Hessamian," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 47.

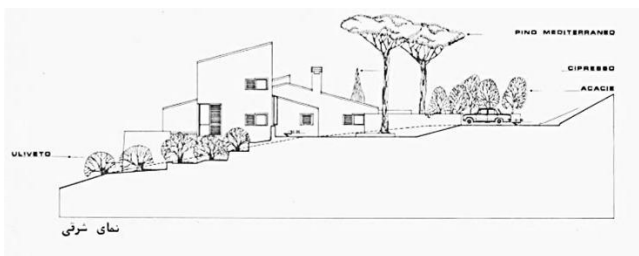


Figure 103 A house in Rome, East Elevation, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Franca de Gregoria Hessamian," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 47.

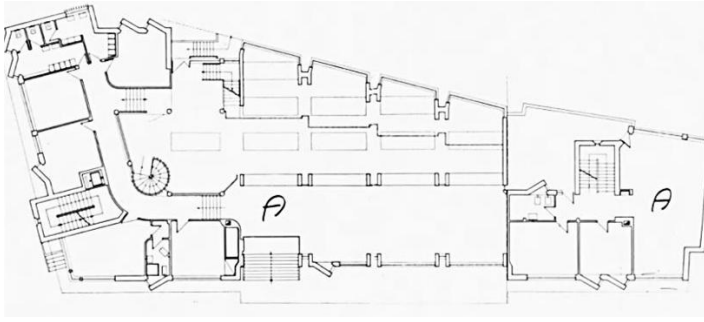


Figure 105 Bank Sepah, Babol, Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Franca de Gregoria Hessamian," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 50.

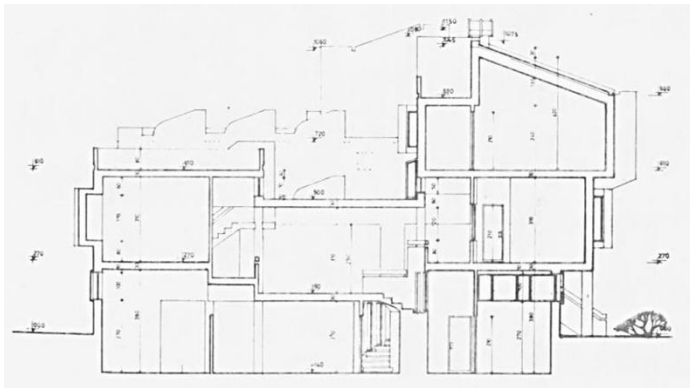


Figure 106 Bank Sepah, Babol, Section, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Franca de Gregoria Hessamian," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 49.



Figure 107 Bank Sepah, Babol, Façade, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Franca de Gregoria Hessamian," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 49.

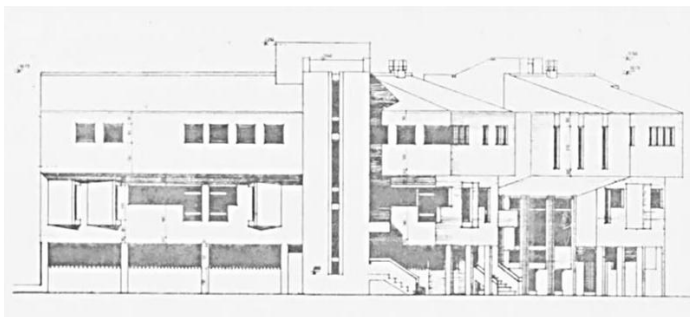


Figure 108 Bank Sepah, Babol, Façade, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Franca de Gregoria Hessamian," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 49.



Figure 109 Mahmoud-Abad Shopping Center, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Franca de Gregoria Hessamian," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 54.

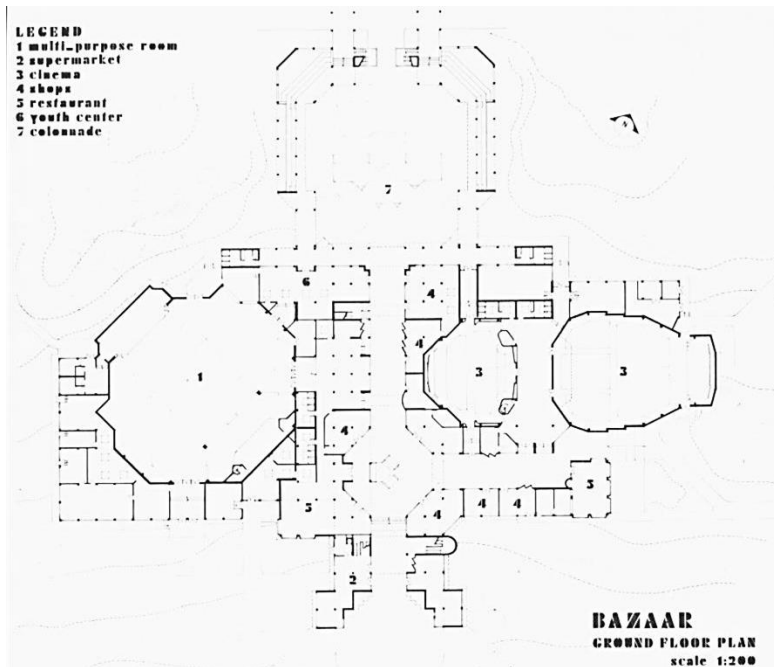


Figure 110 Mahmoud-Abad Shopping Center, Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Franca de Gregoria Hessamian," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 56.



Figure 111 Mahmoud-Abad Shopping Center, Facades, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Franca de Gregoria Hessamian," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 54.



Figure 112 A portrait of Rosamaria Grifone Azemoun, 1976.

SOURCE: "Rosamaria Grigone Azemoun," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 18.

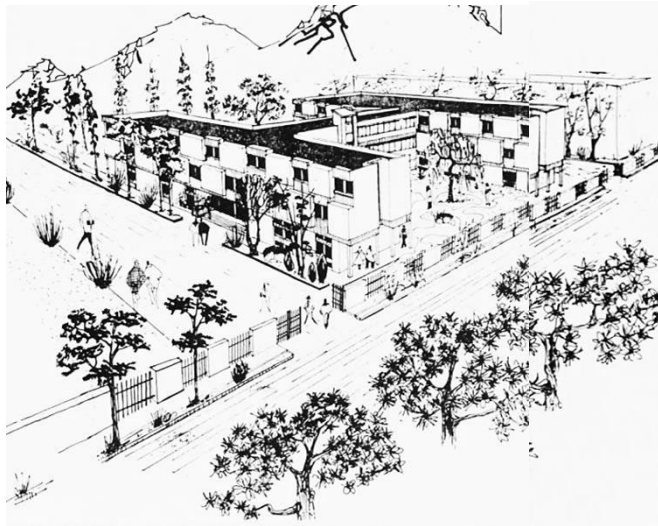


Figure 113 Tehran University Hospital, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Rosamaria Grigone Azemoun," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), pp. 18-9.



Figure 114 Tehran University Hospital, First Floor Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Rosamaria Grigone Azemoun," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 20.

Figure 115 Tehran University Hospital, Ground Floor Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Rosamaria Grigone Azemoun," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 20.

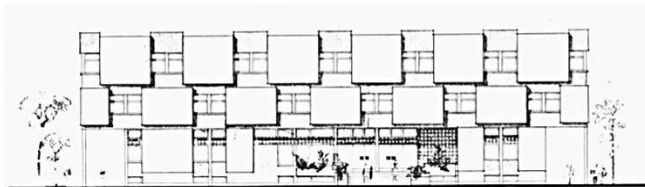


Figure 116 Tehran University Hospital, Elevation, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Rosamaria Grigone Azemoun," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 20.

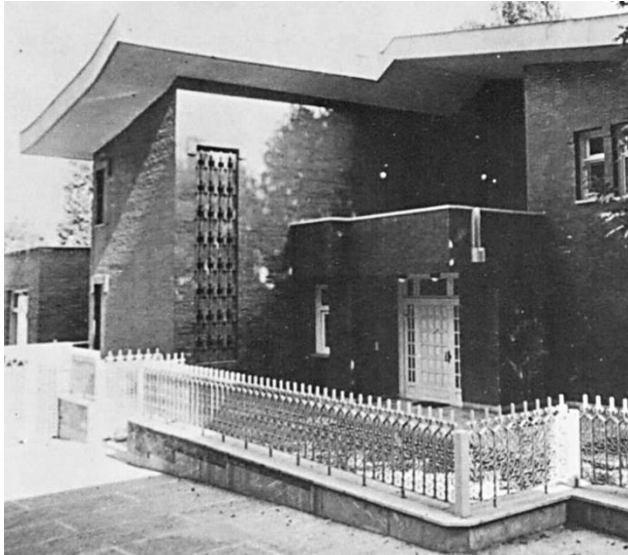


Figure 117 A house in Tehran, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Rosamaria Grigone Azemoun," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 22.

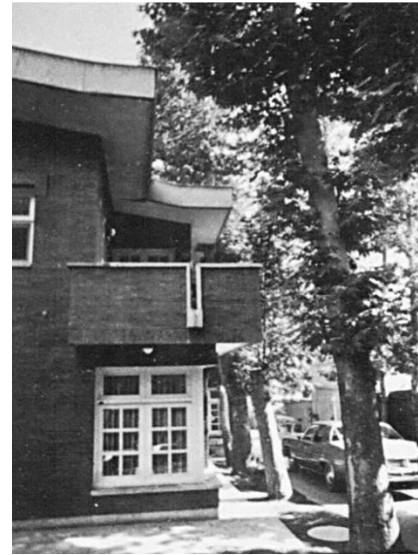


Figure 118 A house in Tehran, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Rosamaria Grigone Azemoun," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 22.

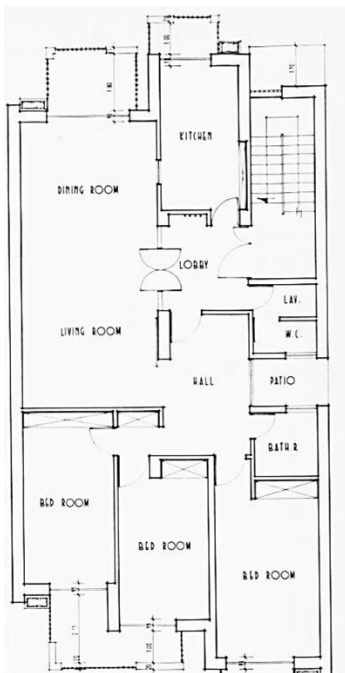


Figure 119 A house in Tehran, Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Rosamaria Grigone Azemoun," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 22.

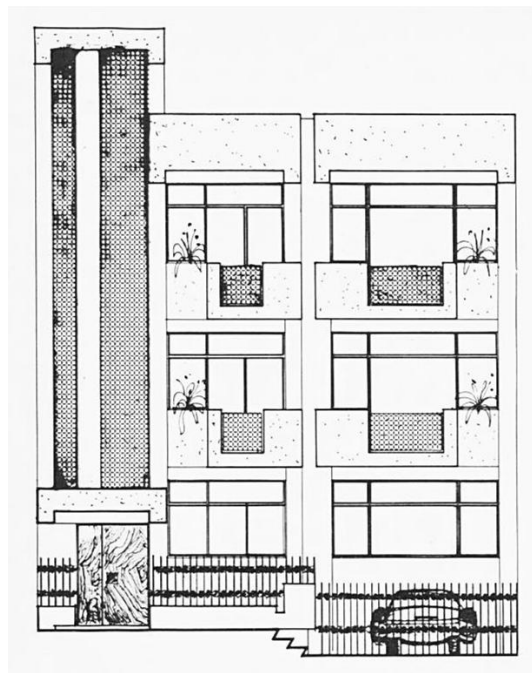


Figure 120 A house in Tehran, Elevation, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Rosamaria Grigone Azemoun," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 23.



Figure 121 A portrait of Moira MoserKhalili, 1976.
SOURCE: "Moira Moser Khalili," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 59.

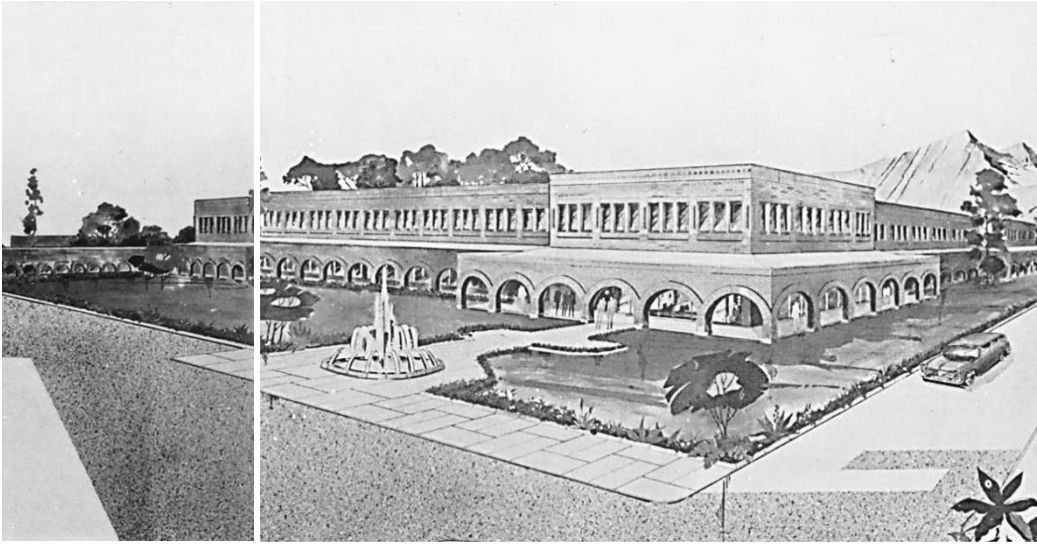


Figure 122 Iran Poly-Acryl Official Building project, 1970s.
SOURCE: "Moira Moser Khalili," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), pp. 60-1.



Figure 123 A portrait of Keyhandokht Radpour (left), 1976.

SOURCE: "K. Radpour, Sh. Seraj & M. Samiei," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 75.

Figure 124 A portrait of Shahrzad Seraj (middle), 1976.

SOURCE: "K. Radpour, Sh. Seraj & M. Samiei," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 75.

Figure 125 A portrait of Mina Samiei (right), 1976.

SOURCE: "K. Radpour, Sh. Seraj & M. Samiei," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 75.

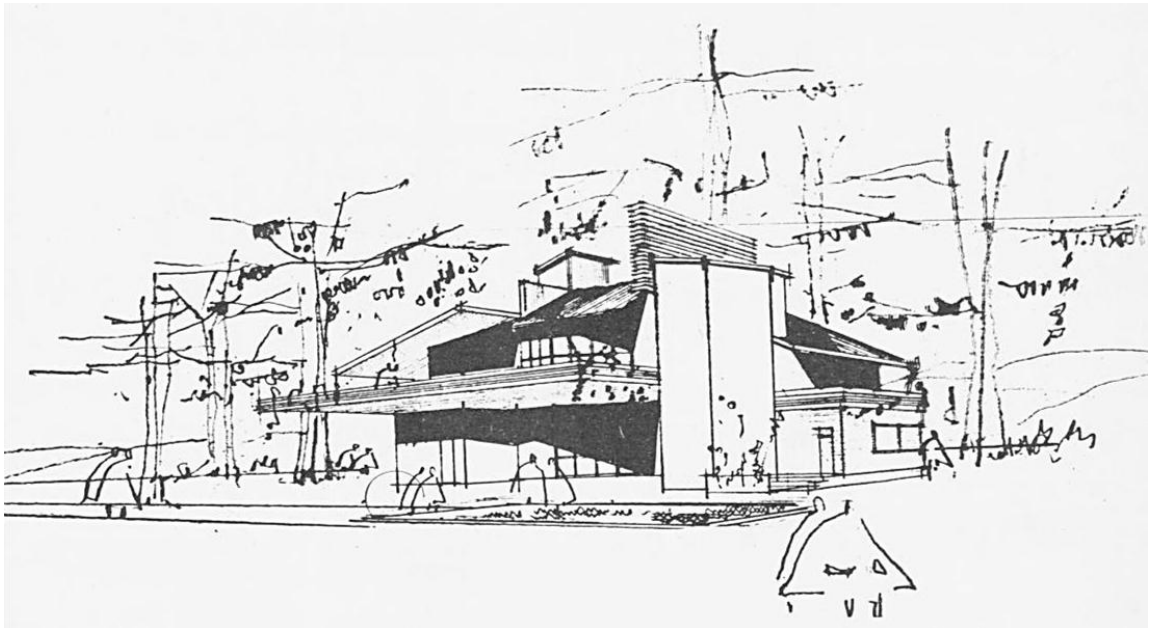


Figure 126 A house project, 1970s.

SOURCE: "K. Radpour, Sh. Seraj & M. Samiei," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 76.

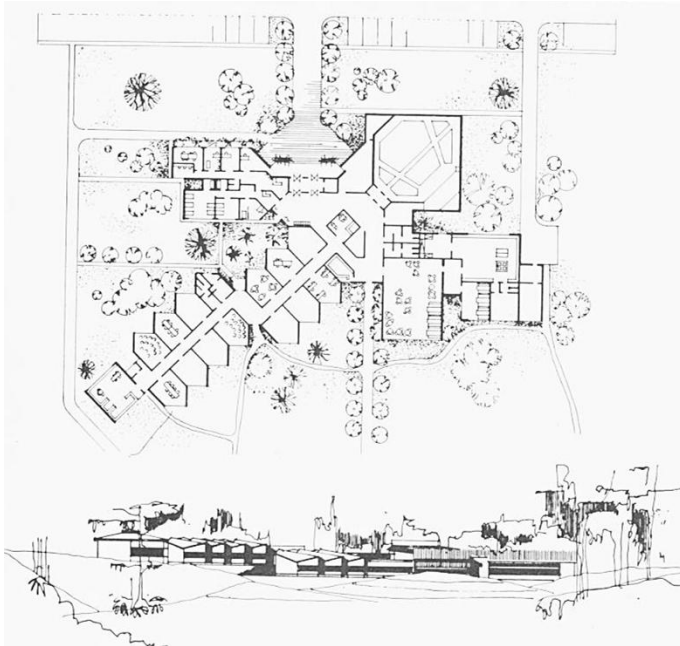


Figure 127 Payam Military House Project, 1970s.

SOURCE: "K. Radpour, Sh. Seraj & M. Samiei," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 77.

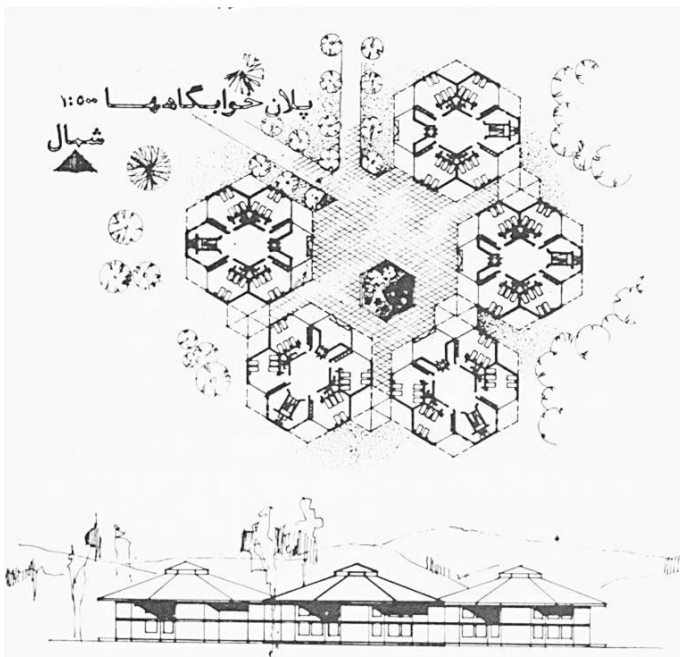


Figure 128 Payam Military House Project, Northern Dormitories, 1970s.

SOURCE: "K. Radpour, Sh. Seraj & M. Samiei," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 77.

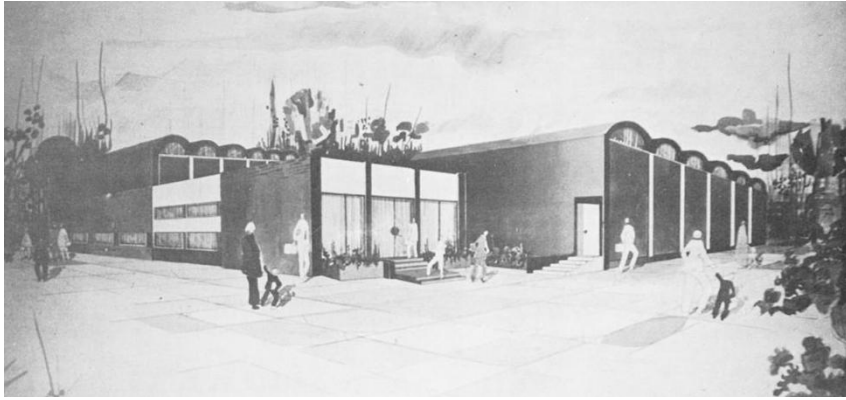


Figure 129 A library in Lotf-Abad, 1970s.

SOURCE: "K. Radpour, Sh. Seraj & M. Samiei," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 79.



Figure 130 A library in Sarkhes, 1970s.

SOURCE: "K. Radpour, Sh. Seraj & M. Samiei," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 81.

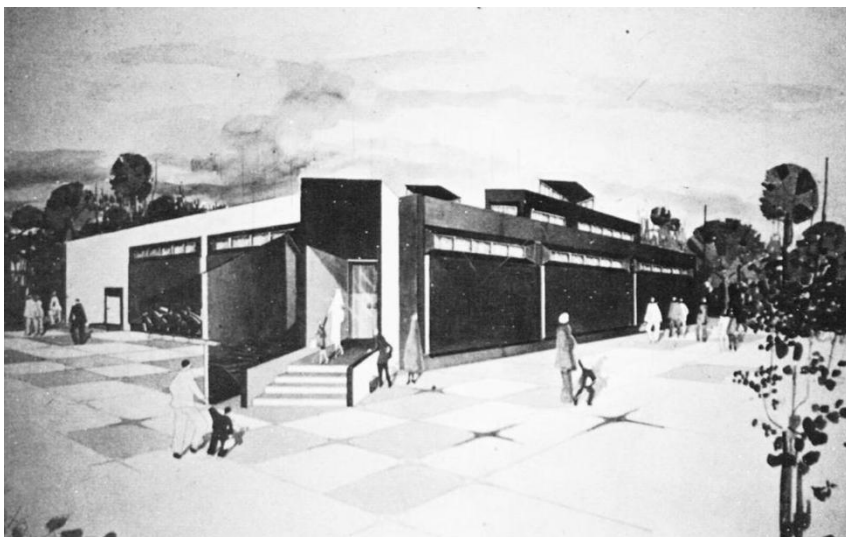


Figure 131 A library in Gez, 1970s.

SOURCE: "K. Radpour, Sh. Seraj & M. Samiei," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 81.

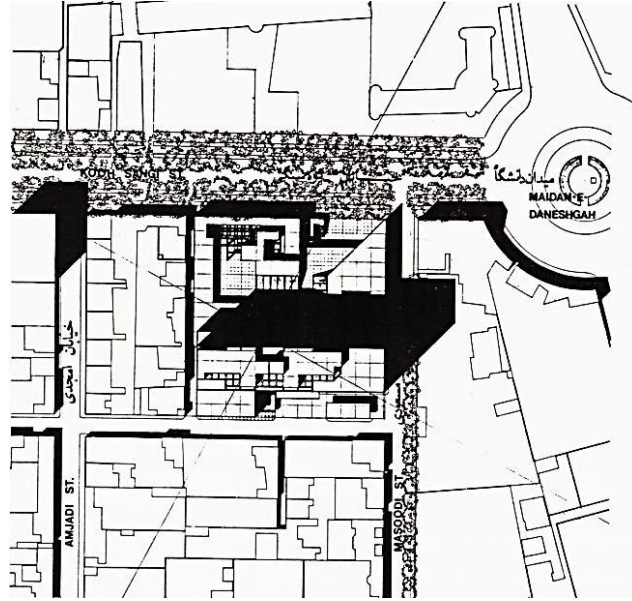


Figure 132 A portrait of Noushin Ehsan, 1976.

SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 39.

Figure 133 Mashad Project, Site Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 43.

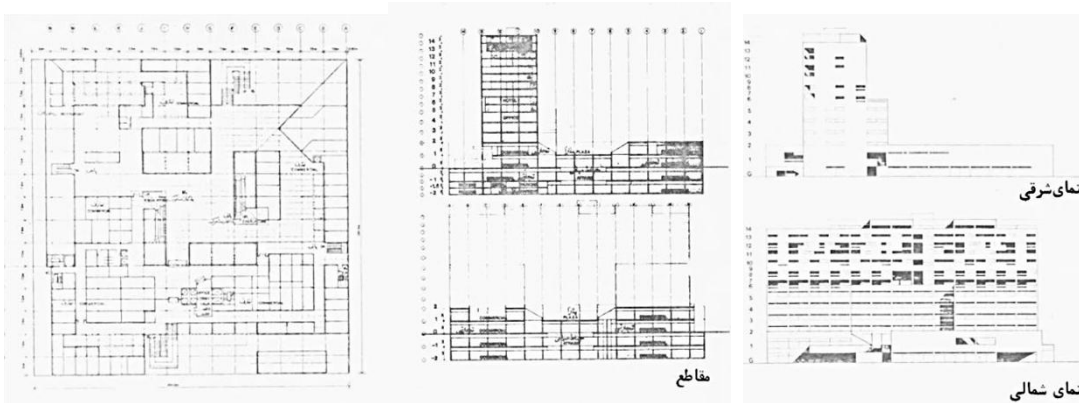


Figure 134 Mashad Project, Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 44.

Figure 135 Mashad Project, Sections, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 44.

Figure 136 Mashad Project, Elevations, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 44.

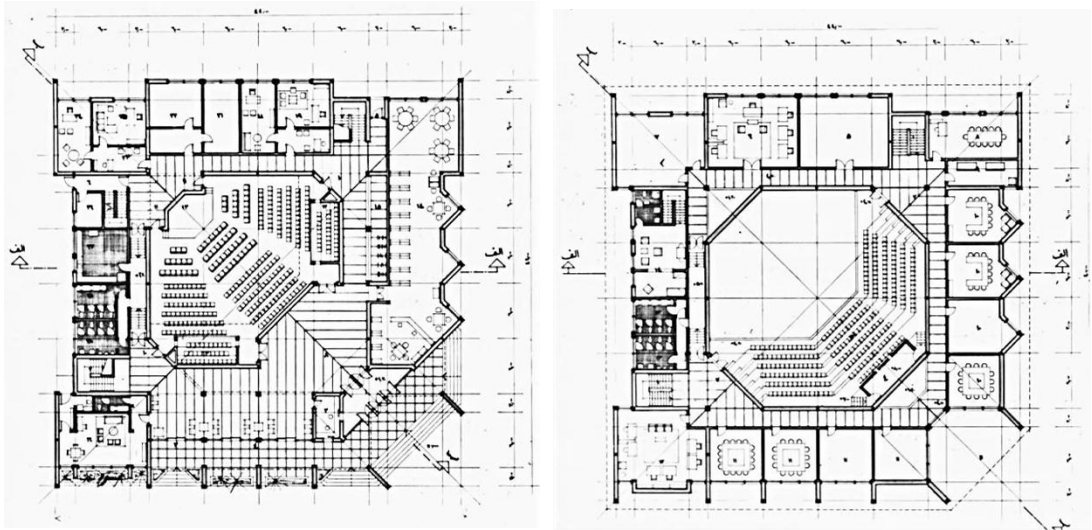


Figure 137 Talar-e Rasht Project, Ground Floor Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 35.

Figure 138 Talar-e Rasht Project, First Floor Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 35.

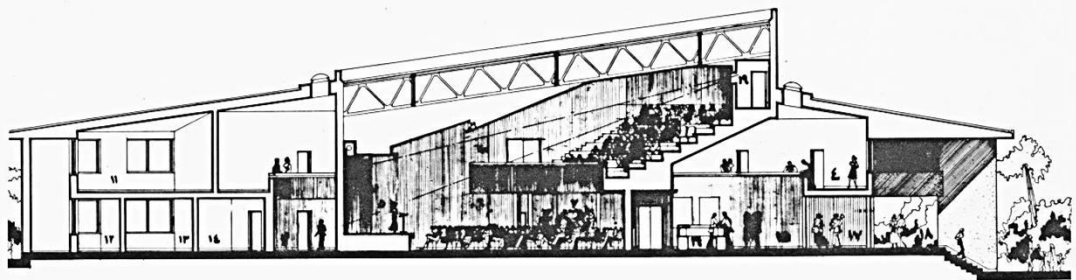


Figure 139 Talar-e Rasht Project, Section, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 34.

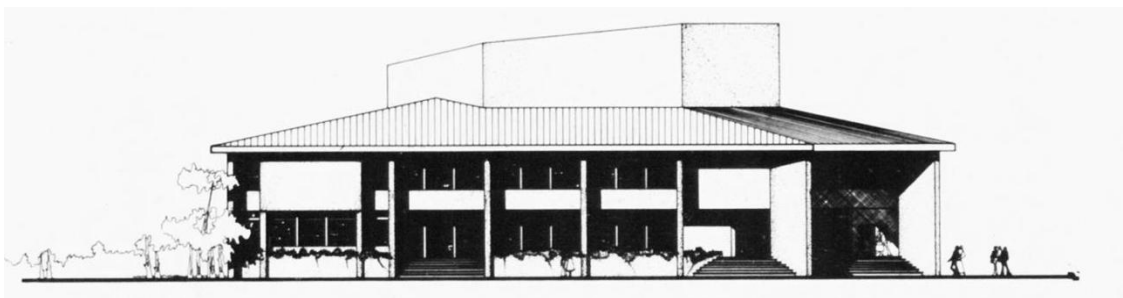


Figure 140 Talar-e Rasht Project, Elevation, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 34.

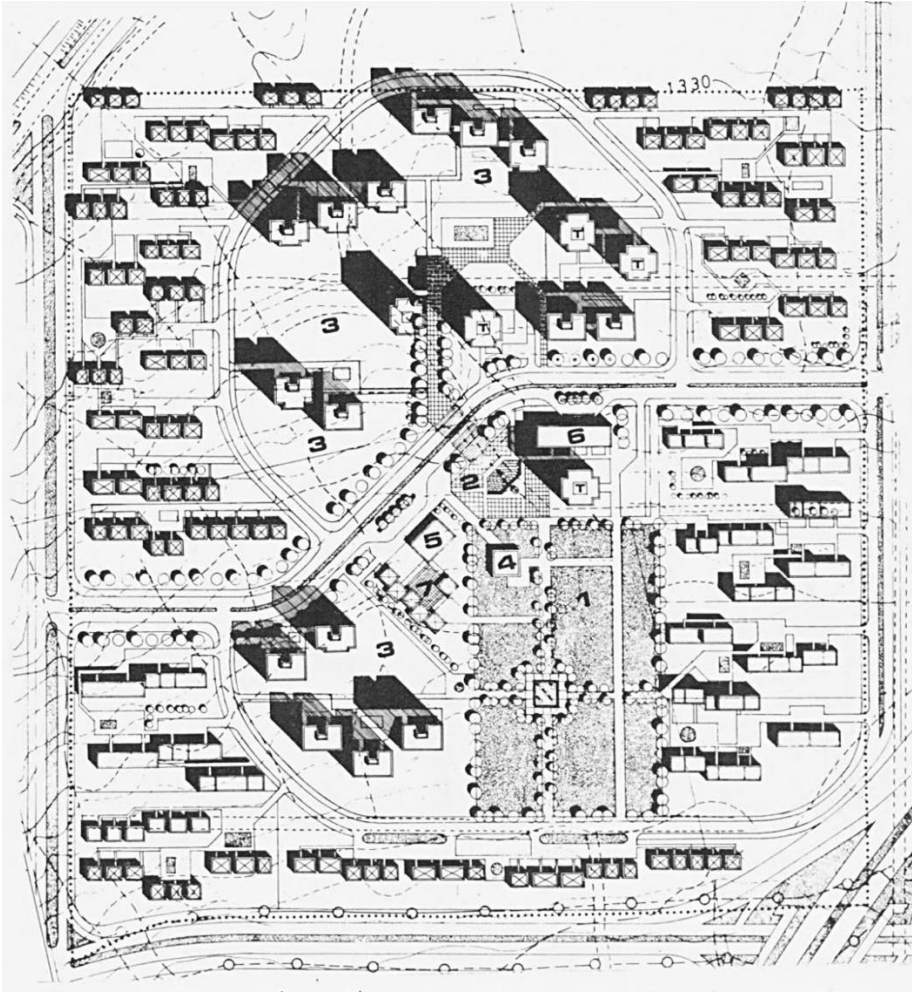


Figure 141 Aryamehr University Residences, Plan, 1970s.
 SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 46.

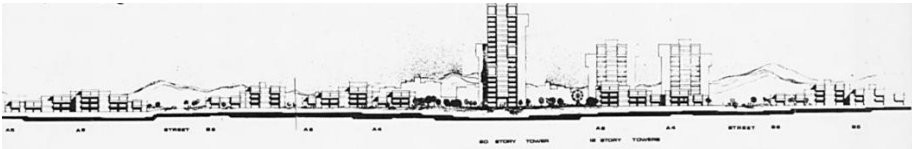


Figure 142 Aryamehr University Residences, Elevation, 1970s.
 SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 46.



Figure 143 Aryamehr University Residences, Perspective, 1970s.
 SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 46.

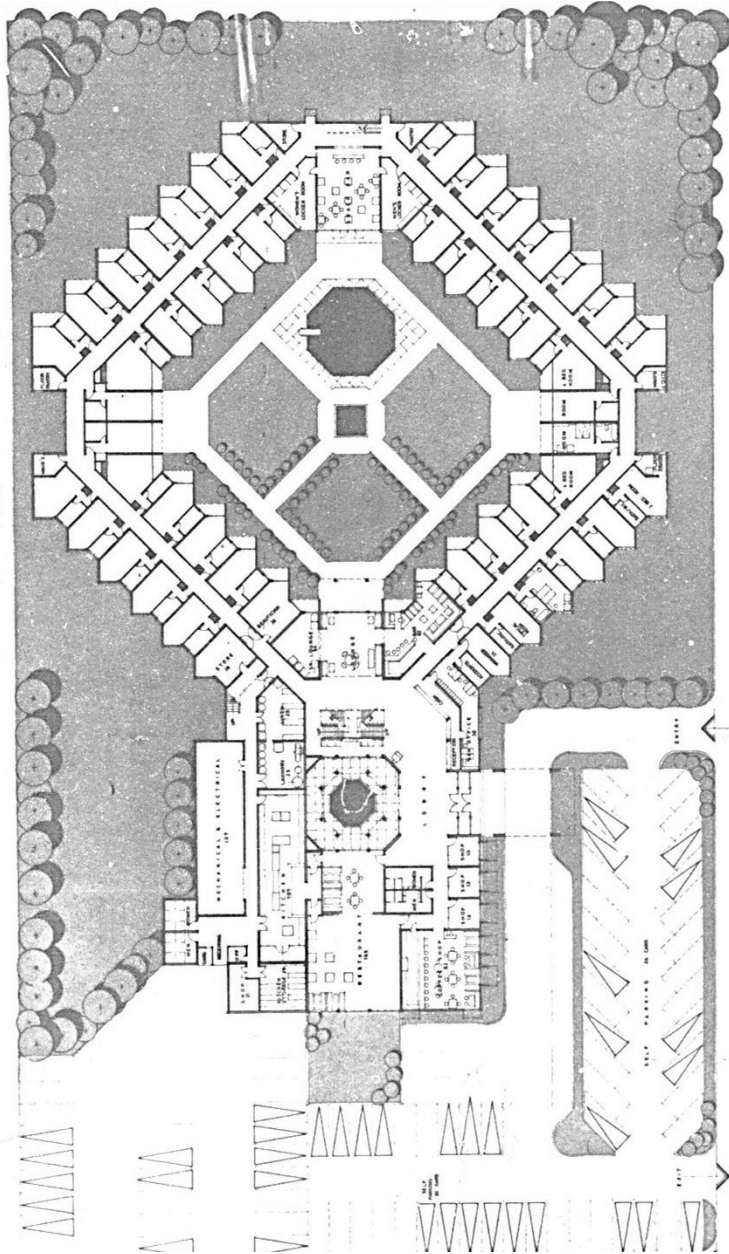


Figure 144 Mahshahr Hotel Project, Plan, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 42.

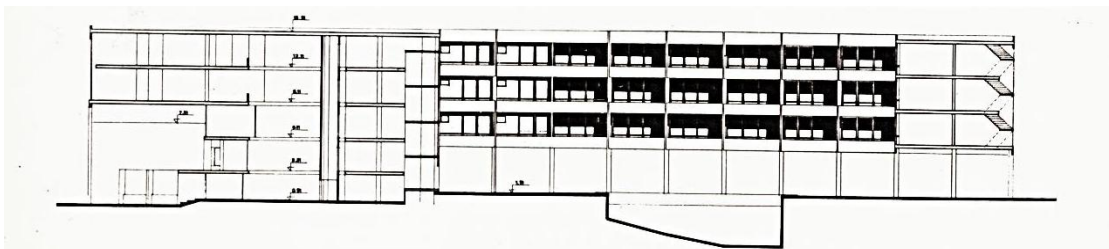


Figure 145 Mahshahr Hotel Project, Section, 1970s.

SOURCE: "Noushin Ehsan," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 41.



Figure 146 Shahbanou Farah with the delegates of the First International Congress of Architects, 1970.

SOURCE: *The Interaction of Tradition and Technology, Report of the Proceedings of the First International Congress of Architects in Isfahan* (Tehran: Shahrivar Press), p. 18.



Figure 147 Shahbanou Farah with the delegates of the First International Congress of Architects in Isfahan, 1970.

SOURCE: *The Interaction of Tradition and Technology, Report of the Proceedings of the First International Congress of Architects in Isfahan* (Tehran: Shahrivar Press).



Figure 148 The International Congress of Women Architects propagated in the journal of *Art and Architecture*, 1976.

SOURCE: "Architecture and Architect Women," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 14.



Figure 149 The International Congress of Women Architects in Ramser, 1976.

SOURCE: *The Crisis of Identity in Architecture: Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects, Ramser* (Tehran: Ministry of Housing and Urban Development), p. 131.

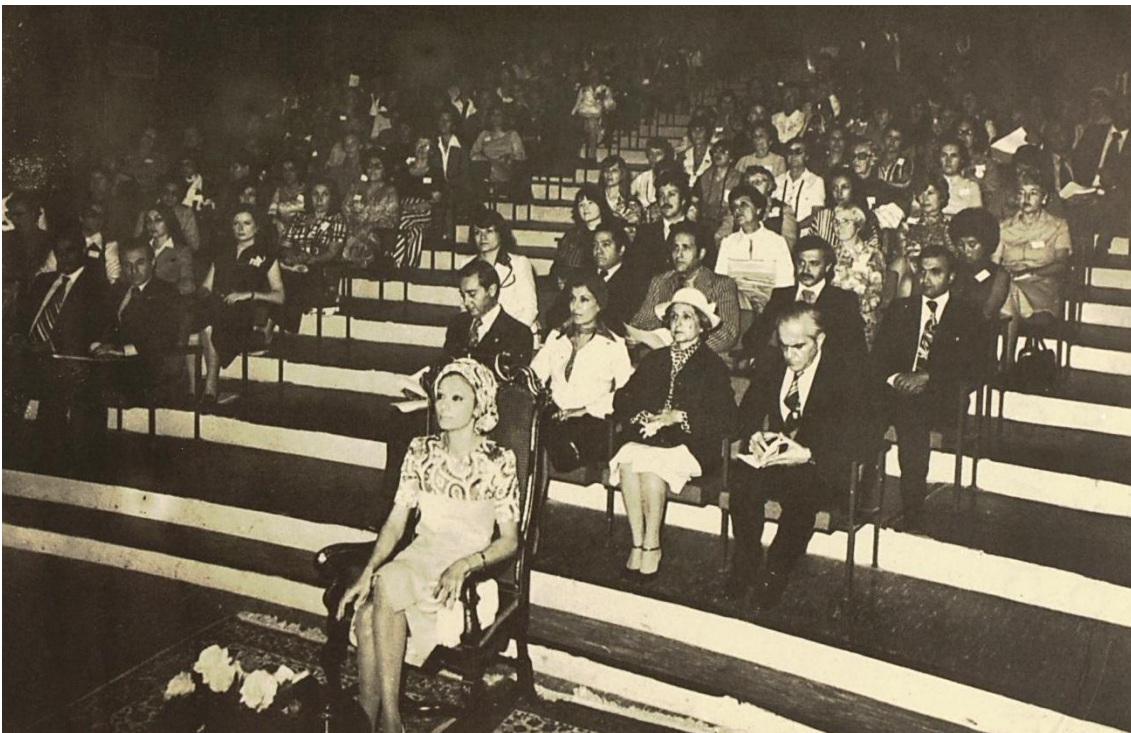


Figure 150 The International Congress of Women Architects in Ramser, 1976.

SOURCE: *The Crisis of Identity in Architecture: Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects, Ramser* (Tehran: Ministry of Housing and Urban Development), p. 2.



Figure 151 Noushin Ehsan received the first prize for hotel design from the Queen of Iran in the International Congress of Women Architects, 1976.

SOURCE: From Ehsan, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://noushinehsan.com/profesionals.htm> [Accessed: 20 June 2010].



Figure 152 The International Congress of Women Architects in Ramser, 1976.

SOURCE: "Architecture and Architect Women," August-November 1976, *Art and Architecture*, Vol. (35-36), p. 6.



Figure 153 The International Congress of Women Architects in Ramser, 1976.

SOURCE: *The Crisis of Identity in Architecture: Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects, Ramser* (Tehran: Ministry of Housing and Urban Development), p. 132.



Figure 154 The International Congress of Women Architects in Ramser, 1976.

SOURCE: *The Crisis of Identity in Architecture: Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects, Ramser* (Tehran: Ministry of Housing and Urban Development), p. 135.



Figure 155 The International Congress of Women Architects in Ramser, 1976.

SOURCE: *The Crisis of Identity in Architecture: Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects, Ramser* (Tehran: Ministry of Housing and Urban Development), p. 136.



Figure 156 The International Congress of Women Architects in Ramser, 1976.

SOURCE: *The Crisis of Identity in Architecture: Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects, Ramser* (Tehran: Ministry of Housing and Urban Development), p. 137.



Figure 157 The International Congress of Women Architects in Ramser, 1976.

SOURCE: *The Crisis of Identity in Architecture: Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects, Ramser* (Tehran: Ministry of Housing and Urban Development), p. 138.



Figure 158 The International Congress of Women Architects in Ramser, 1970s.

SOURCE: *The Crisis of Identity in Architecture: Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Women Architects, Ramser* (Tehran: Ministry of Housing and Urban Development), p. 139.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Throughout the Pahlavi era, the paradigm shift that took place by the way of the manifestation of a “state feminism” and of “high art” was not coincidental. They were both integral to the same ideological agenda: that of “modernity” itself. Both provided a concrete form of emerging political ideas under the Pahlavi monarchs. And, both were instruments in promoting the state posture and acted in the service of the government. While both enjoyed imperial patronage, the features they jointly characterized were embodied in the shahbanu of Iran, Farah Pahlavi.

“Modernity” had shaped the central part of emerging political ideologies of the two Pahlavi rulers, Reza Shah and his son Mohammad Reza Shah. While the concept may refer to various distinct definitions during each phase, what shaped the ideological foundation of Mohammad Reza Shah’s dominant vision of modernity during the last two decades of the Iranian Monarchy was the notion of “hybridity”. Modernity in Iran was more than a replication of the canonical Western model. The shah, however, attempted to legitimize his own discourse of modernity via *Iranianizing* Western thinking.⁴⁸⁸ What dominated the ideological perspective of Mohammad Reza Shah during the 1960s and the 1970s was a nationalist form of modernity.

Iranian politics of modernity had been marked by the emergence of the spectrum of nationalist discourse under the Pahlavis.⁴⁸⁹ Within that spectrum, modernization became conflated with only that modernity in which becoming modern was

⁴⁸⁸ Bani Masud, 2013, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁹ Afsaneh Najmabadi, “Authority and Agency: Revisiting Women’s Activism during Reza Shah’s Period, Rethinking Iranian Feminism and Secularism,” in Touraj Atabaki (ed.), 2007, *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran* (New York: I. B. Tauris), p. 159.

disaffiliated from Islam and made to coincide with pre-Islamic Iranianism.⁴⁹⁰ This was highly indicative of the stakes played out on gender-based reforms⁴⁹¹ taken by the Pahlavi government during the 1930s through which the Iranian modernity took a non-Islamic meaning.⁴⁹²

“Feminism” had worked as a key category in defining the secularism of Iranian modernity under the Pahlavis.⁴⁹³ The term was fitted into a general policy of government centralization throughout the Pahlavi era. As mentioned earlier, the last decades of Mohammad Reza Shah’s reign are often treated as “black box of repression and/or modernization”.⁴⁹⁴ There was indeed a significant change in the character of the shah’s rule from a traditional monarchy to a sultanistic state. It was a period which was characterized by all-embracing centralization fuelled by a quadrupling of world petroleum prices that increased Iran's national oil revenue and helped to underwrite the declaration of one-party system by the state. It was a process that multiplied the shah’s power and tightened his control over many governmental establishments including women's organizations and cultural institutions.

As the centralization of power intensified, the “feminist” movement was reduced to a state apparatus through the foundation of a single all-powerful organization, the Women Organization of Iran (WOI), which acted under royal patronage to suit the initiatives of the shah. Since its establishment, WOI became an important vehicle for projecting the shah’s image as champion of women’s rights on both the national and international stage.

⁴⁹⁰ Afsaneh Najmabadi, “Islamic Feminism or Feminism Challenges to Islam: Unveiling Feminism,” in Haideh Moghissi (ed.), 2005, *Women and Islam: Women’s Movements in Islamic Societies* (New York: Routledge), p. 226.

⁴⁹¹ The conflation of modernist with non-Islamic took shape in the course of the twentieth century through a series of gendered conflicts the most critical one was the unveiling decree initiated by Reza Shah in 1936.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Afsaneh Najmabadi, “Secularism: Iran” in Suad Joseph and Afsaneh Najmabadi (ed.), 2005, *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV), p. 727.

⁴⁹⁴ Najmabadi, 1991, “Hazards of Modernity and Morality: Women, State and Ideology in Contemporary Iran: Mohammad Reza Shah: Citizens as Grateful Beneficiaries of the State,” p. 58.

Power was exercised by a group of prominent figures in the upper echelons of the state consisting of female members of the royal family and prosperous non-court families who were involved with proselytizing the Pahlavi's modernization policies in various social, political and cultural fields. While almost all studies of the Iranian elite under the Pahlavis are male-centered, it remains the case that power was exercised alongside the shah by his twin sister Ashraf Pahlavi in politics and by his last official wife Farah Pahlavi in the arena of culture.

Not of royal descent, the shahbanu's significance stems less from the fact that she was endowed with the role of the regent, and more from the way in which she embodied the ultimate construction of emancipated modern Iranian woman. The discourse of modernity under Mohammad Reza Shah defined women's emancipation as a prerequisite in depicting the image of a modern monarch of a modern nation. By representing the archetype of the modern Iranian woman, the shahbanu would be an "active agent" in materializing the shah's modernization policies.

The shahbanu presented the image of ideal Iranian woman as "modern-yet-modest", an ideal that would transform into the image of "Islamic-thus-modest" after the Iranian Revolution.⁴⁹⁵ Whatever reforms benefited women in each of these periods were served up as a "pure representation". Whether the Pahlavis brought about a revolution in the domain of women's rights is a question mark since not all of the Pahlavi efforts at gender equality were genuine or effective. Although the legislation drawn up under the two Pahlavi shahs aimed in the expansion of women's participation in various social, political, economic and educational fields⁴⁹⁶, the limited nature of these reforms resulted in continuing inequalities and oppression for women during the period under examination except possibly for a small minority of upper-class women. Similarly, the concerns of women were rarely addressed after

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Referring to the growing participation of women in the workforce, to the increasing rate of literacy and the more prominent profile of women with higher education or in professional careers, and to the increasing integration of women into political arena (in the election of women to the Majles and the Senate, and their appointments as judges and members of the cabinet, and their appointment to the first Minister of State for Women's Affairs); Najmabadi, 1991, p. 49.

1979. In Iran, feminism has never been the intention of the authorities⁴⁹⁷ either before or after the Revolution.

In elevating the image of the Peacock Throne, Shahbanu Farah tried to expand the horizons of queenly powers to new territories. Taking her position in Iran's project of modernity, the shahbanu consistently supported the shah's policies by functioning in full harmony with the parameters of high art.

As already mentioned, while centralization of power intensified, many forms and practices of high art were subsumed under the institution of monarchy and its acts of patronage during the last decade of the Iranian monarchy. The operation of art in politics was conceived by royal hands and in particular by Shahbanu Farah. It was in this socio-political environment that the shahbanu forced her political power in materializing the Pahlavi's modernity projects through the agency of art.

Patronizing numerous social, cultural, and educational organizations⁴⁹⁸, the shahbanu enacted the Pahlavis' modernization ideologies by constructing and renovating buildings, establishing art centers, institutionalizing museums, and organizing national and international symposiums in various fields of arts and architecture.⁴⁹⁹ All these acts were outcomes of the subversion of culture by politics.

Shahbanu Farah was a prominent figure in Iran's cultural modernization during the last decade of the Pahlavi era. During the 1970s, Iran had experienced a great cultural transformation in arts and culture through a series of national and international festivals. Among those the Shiraz Arts Festival was the most important artistic organization as it challenged the horizons of traditional culture. Organized under the patronage of the shahbanu for more than a decade between 1967 and 1977,

⁴⁹⁷ Sanssarian, 1982, "Women's Rights," p. 110.

⁴⁹⁸ For more information please see page 46.

⁴⁹⁹ Although the lack of certain types of archival sources including building plans, architectural treatises, and documents on direct orders from the shahbanu do make the questions raised here concerning the relation between her and the work more of a challenge to answer, these are questions that require further elaboration.

the festival and the planned Arts Center have been accepted as influential in shaping the history of Avant-Garde arts in Iran.

The festival organized in Persepolis, the site to nationalists, of the grandeur of the first Persian Empire and of the beginning of Iranian history. If the pre-Islamic Acheamenid and Sassanid dynasties and their production were the most legitimate of Iranian history for the Pahlavis to emulate and identify with, the shahbanu's idea for an artistic event in the cultural center of Persia framed the Pahlavi's very nationalist ideology.

While the aim of Shahbanu Farah in organizing the event was to start a cultural movement in Iran, the festival however was criticized as an untenable effort within the Iranian political, social and cultural context. The idea to bring a cultural revolution had never been materialized with the approaching Iranian Revolution, yet to some western art historians the shahbanu could take her role in shaping the history of modern arts.

The shahbanu's second ride in modernizing the Iranian culture was the establishment of national museums throughout the country. During the last decade of the Pahlavi era, the preservation of the ignored Iranian national heritage became one of the dominant cultural paradigms of modern Iran. While the centralization of power intensified, the operation of high culture in politics was conceived by royal hands and in particular by Shahbanu Farah who put her force to find, renovate and museumize Iran's national artistic and architectural heritage between the years 1975 and 1979.

While high-art was positioned at the heart of politics, Iran's artistic culture was propagated through the Tehran Carpet Museum, the Abguineh Museum of Glass and Ceramics, the Reza Abbassi Museum, the Negarestan Museum and the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Arts in the capital. This time, the shahbanu put her active patronage in the establishment of national museums since museums were tools in identity-making of modern Iran under the Pahlavis.

The shahbanu's latest drive towards modernization was to organize a series of national and international symposiums on arts and architecture. During the last decade of the Pahlavi era, while the state co-opted all the processes of high culture, art and architectural discourses increased in scope to achieve their political undertone. Many artistic and architectural events were supervised under the institution of monarchy as they were appropriate instruments to legitimize politics.

Patronizing various architectural organizations, the latest international Congress of Female Architects was another form of cultural expression of political power that highlighted the role of the shahbanu on legitimating gender reforms and women's contribution in constructing modern Iran and its architecture. The congress was the first and the only event in Iran devoted to women architects. If women's emancipation is a part of the shah's "progressive benevolence towards women"⁵⁰⁰, as the symbol of modern Iranian woman in such a revolutionary progress, Shahbanu Farah could fulfill her political role through the "very [artistic and cultural] purpose". She was the most influential force to put emphasis on the activities of women. "Good taste"⁵⁰¹ this time operated for gender reform and female representation in an area that always remained central to her, architecture.

Shahbanu Farah's goals in materializing the Pahlavis' cultural ideologies were secondary to the more pressing matter of managing the imperial household. Coming to power, the shahbanu's first architectural intervention filtered into creating a contemporary environment at Niavaran. As a patron, collaborator, architect and collector, the shahbanu examined the traditional approaches that dominated the Pahlavi palaces hitherto and replaced them with "modern" alternatives. She used "modern" art and architecture (as it was defined in the Iranian context during the 1960s and the 1970s) to alter the conventions of the private spheres of her household.

⁵⁰⁰ Najmabadi, 1991, p. 677.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid, p. 149.

The shahbanu shaped much of the cultural agenda of the Pahlavi era during the last decade of her regency.⁵⁰² For the shahbanu, art and architecture were concrete expressions of the legitimate power that had been bestowed upon her by the shah. If women were largely invisible during the Pahlavi era, then through her major acts of patronage in cultural fields, the shahbanu challenged the existing structure of power and gained visibility.

As a non-male radical reformist, although Shahbanu Farah could never prevent a revolution, yet, she did question the patriarchal constructs of Iranian modernity. The fragmented historiography of modern Iranian art and architecture, according to Grigor, stems from the Western and Westernized men who introduced themselves as initiators of development in Pahlavi Iran.⁵⁰³ That Shahbanu Farah was not an instigator of change in Iran's cultural arena was not the result of her lack of significance in determining the character of modern art and architecture, but a corollary because as highlighted by the art historian Griselda Pollock "what modernist art history celebrates is a selective tradition which normalizes, as the *only* modernism, a particular and gendered set of practices."⁵⁰⁴ What she writes for the canonical history of modern art and architecture is valid in the case of Iran as well: women necessitate a "deconstruction of the masculinist myths of modernism."⁵⁰⁵

As a woman, the shahbanu forced her feminine gaze into the patriarchal structure of Iranian modernity through the agency of arts and architecture, the fields in which she deployed her active patronage during the last decade of the Pahlavi reign. Uncovering her contribution reveals that Shahbanu Farah was not a revolutionist in gender emancipation. Nor was she a subverter in modernizing Iranian art and

⁵⁰² While accepted as a radical reformist in the Iranian cultural context, Shahbanu Farah was not alone in the conception and implementation of these projects. Her close circle of architects and artists were behind some of the planning process; they were the masterminds of most of Iran's cultural modernization projects of 1960s and 1970s. This group closely collaborated with the shahbanu's private secretariat in materializing her projects.

⁵⁰³ Grigor, 2005, "Modernity Feminized." p. 472.

⁵⁰⁴ Griselda Pollock, 1988, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and Histories of Art* (New York: Routledge), p. 70-1.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 71.

architecture. Questioning the system, as a reformist, the shahbanu however did feminize that modernity, although she was not able to do it with feminist thrust.⁵⁰⁶ A consequence of the invention of the image of a modern monarch and a modern nation, was that royal woman. Like non-court woman, Shahbanu Farah's activities fell within the parameters of authoritarianism.

While the shahbanu's accomplishments were reduced to "feminine pursuits"⁵⁰⁷ by Mohammad Reza Shah and his entourage, as subversion of the masculine myth, the shahbanu's feminine contribution, however, not only enforced her political authority but also occasioned her involvement to modern Iranian art and architectural agenda. For Shahbanu Farah, arts and architecture were instruments to question the masculine myths of modernity and politics that define 1970s Pahlavi Iran.

⁵⁰⁶ Grigor, 2005, "Modernity Feminized." p. 471.

⁵⁰⁷ Paidar, 1997, "Women and the Era of Modernization: State and Society in 'The Great Civilization'," p. 149.

EPILOGUE

HOME

In the epilogue I would like to offer my somewhat speculative observations and comments on the living spaces of the Pahlavi family shaped by the shahbanu which due to inaccessibility of archives and lack of original document couldn't be developed as a proper rigorous historical narrative. Touring through the Pahlavi palaces, my observations would shape a general framework for one of the earliest chapters envisioned for this dissertation in focusing on the shahbanu's very initial architectural intervention in the private spheres of her household at Niavaran. In this regard, starting from the nineteenth century Qajar palaces in Tehran, the royal quarters of Golestan, Saad Abad and Niavaran have been visited and examined for several times. However, despite the excess of visual materials, the lack of documentary sources in each of these cases has limited further study for the researchers of the field. While the shahbanu emphasized that many of the late buildings in Niavaran Complex such as the main Palace of Niavaran, the Private Library of Farah Pahlavi and the storeroom (today's Jahan Nama Museum) were designed and constructed with her collaboration, missing archival documents obscure the nature of her patronage. As already mentioned, while the primary archive had been kept in the shahbanu's Private Secretariat and the Niavaran Palace Documentation Center, the accessibility to these materials has been restricted after the Iranian Revolution. Regarding the private archives, the architects and designers mentioned that the projects and related correspondences were seized after they left the country in 1979 by the Islamic government. Although the home was an important issue to be problematized in highlighting the shahbanu's feminine contribution, the lack of documents and sources resulted to remove the chapter to the end of this narrative. This epilogue accordingly, does not pretend to be archival. It is however, an impressionistic documentary on the Pahlavi palaces that requires greater elaboration in the future.

The epilogue offers speculative preliminary thoughts exploring the relationship between architecture and identity in the case of the Niavaran complex. It is a descriptive piece about the principal palace of the royal family during the last two decades of the Pahlavi monarchy. Investigating her architectural ideas, this study situates the shahbanu's goals for the royal residence within the broader context of "modernity". Not only did the shahbanu act as a patron, but as a collaborator, she exercised her power to materialize contemporary architecture and architectural decoration in the Pahlavi palaces. Compared to the other royal quarters in the city, the Niavaran seems to be the embodiment of a confident "modernity" and in that regard best expresses the home to the shahbanu, who was a former architectural student at the Ecole Special d'Architecture in Paris. Within the complex, while the nineteenth century buildings of Sahebqaraniyeh Palace and Ahmad Shahi Kiosk remained untouched by her, many later constructions and in particular those that constituted the living quarters of Shahbanu Farah such as the storeroom, the "exclusive cinema" and the "private library" can be identified as shaped by her, hence constituting personalized spaces.

1.1 Rehearsing Modernity: The Main Palace of Niavaran

Coming to power, one of the shahbanu's earliest architectural interventions related to her contribution in determining the future residence of her family at Niavaran. She once declared: "I preferred Niavaran to Saad Abad, which was dark and gloomy [...] Niavaran was modern and light [it] was functional and welcoming"⁵⁰⁸. Niavaran would not only be the shahbanu's locus of political patronage in conducting affairs of state where the private secretariat was located but also it should be the center of her domestic life and the material expression of her artistic tastes in the private spheres of her household. She indicated "except the way the palace [Saad Abad] was decorated. I really thought it was very depressing – so impersonal, like a hotel. Of course, before my marriage, when I had first been a guest in the Pahlavi palaces, I had been impressed by their luxury and size (though in fact they were, as Palaces go, very modest) but when I came to live in one myself, I was soon longing to change

⁵⁰⁸ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 162.

everything – to make it my home.”⁵⁰⁹ She further emphasized, “but at that time, I didn’t feel sure of my taste, and I didn’t want to hurt anyone’s feelings – those who had arranged everything, the decorators, my husband’s family, and so on ... it was years before I felt able to organize things the way I wanted them, the way I can, now, at Niavaran Palace.”⁵¹⁰

The shahbanu’s interest in modern architecture can probably be observed in the spaces she had lived in before her marriage to the shah. The penthouse in Darrouz that the Diba family lived in during the 1950s was a modern building, said the shahbanu. They shared quarters with the Qotbi family: Mohammad Ali Qotbi, Farah Diba’s uncle; his wife, Louise Qotbi; and their son Reza Qotbi who was an influential figure in materializing the shahbanu’s cultural activities after she accessed power in the court. The shahbanu writes, “we moved to an apartment at the top of a building which I love straight away for its big terrace with a fine view of a large part of Tehran and especially of the construction work going on at the university”⁵¹¹. As already mentioned, she said, “I can’t count the hours I spent on that terrace watching the cranes turning, and the trucks maneuvering and observing how a nineteenth-century town was being transformed into a large, modern capital city full of tall buildings and wide avenues to cater to the growing number of cars.” She saw in this experience the reason why “a few years later, I would choose architecture as a profession, and I think my interest in it comes from this time.”⁵¹²

Built by the Dutch architect Willem Marinus Dudok in 1939, the Pavilion Néerlandais (Fig 159 & 160) at Cité Universitaire was the hostel Farah Diba had lived for two years during her study at École Spéciale d'Architecture after 1957.⁵¹³

⁵⁰⁹ Blanch, p. 64.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 30.

⁵¹² Ibid.

⁵¹³ During the Pahlavi reign, the shahbanu ordered the building of La Fondation Avicenne, the Maison de l’Iran at the City University in Paris in 1968. Built by the official architects of the Pahlavi Court, Haydar Gia’I and Mohsen Foroughi, the Pavilion was constructed in collaboration with Claude Parent and André Bloc. Built alongside a collection of modern buildings, the Persian Student Pavilion

She writes in her memoirs: “the house was not very luxurious and the linoleum along the corridors gave it a homely appearance, but the building was *modern* and light. I had a room on the third floor overlooking the avenue which leads at right angles off the Boulevard Jourdan, near the Porte d’Orleans. A hand-basin hidden in a cupboard, a brown desk of hardboard beside the window with drawers and shelves for books, a table, an armchair, a little wooden bed, that was all.”⁵¹⁴

During the second year of her study in Paris, the Qotbi family moved to a new building (Fig 161 & 162): “I was eager to see our new house” said the shahbanu “Built by my uncle Ghotbi [...] the villa with its swimming pool stood on the heights of Tehran, very near Shemiran”⁵¹⁵ where she lived for short time due to her engagement with the shah. The two-storey building introduced the main characteristics of modern European architecture such as a visual emphasis on the horizontal and vertical lines, simplicity and clarity of forms, and use of new technology and materials such as aluminum, glass and exposed concrete:

In this tree-embowered, quiet area, Mohammad Ali Qotbi, had built a large, *modern, white house on contemporary open-plan lines*, one area merging with another, hall, dining room, bar, and what American architects call a conversation area, filling the ground floor [...] I had envisaged her setting as far more modest [...] but both this house, and that of her ‘second foyer’, the Diba house, nearby, were of a similar spacious, well-to-do style.⁵¹⁶

After their marriage, the royal couple moved to Ekhtesasi Palace, the first official residence of Mohammad Reza Shah, in the compound of Marmar Palace where the Pahlavi royal family had their own official palaces and secretariats (Fig 163). Built during the early 1930s under the patronage of Reza Shah and his close circle of masterminds of the Iranian modernization program, the aim of the shah in building the Marmar Complex was to create an independent power center for his dynasty. His

overlooks surrounding with its four-story steel suspended units and structurally independent staircase which stylistically introduced the main aspects of the contemporary and International Style architecture; Mina Marefat, 2001, “Ĥaydar Ĝai’ i,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Vol X (6), pp: 591-2., In [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/giai-haydar> [Accessed: 06 January 2013].

⁵¹⁴ Farah Pahlavi, 1978, “Should the King Come...,” p. 29. (emphasis mine)

⁵¹⁵ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, pp. 71-2.

⁵¹⁶ Blanch, pp. 59-60. (emphasis mine)

palaces, said Reza Shah, would be as magnificent as the nineteenth century Qajar palaces in the Golestan Complex in the south of the capital.⁵¹⁷

The official architectural vocabulary of Reza Shah was deeply influenced by a visual hybridity and revivalism. Compared with the official palace of Reza Shah (Fig 164 to 166) where Farah Diba had lived for a short time during their engagement with the shah, changes are visible in terms of cultural choice in the case of the Ekhtesasi Palace. While the Marmar Palace (Fig 167) exemplifies the main characteristics of eclectic architecture with efforts to synthesize the Irano-Islamic models (Fig 168) with those borrowed from the pre-Islamic Achaemenid past (Fig 169),⁵¹⁸ the Ekhtesasi Palace of Mohammad Reza Shah was an achievement of modern architecture⁵¹⁹ (Fig 170 & 171) designed by the Iranian architect Hossein-Ali Izad-Mehr in lieu of German architect named Fischer.⁵²⁰

Situated on the north of Tehran, Saad Abad was the summer residence of Mohamad Reza Shah and Shahbanu Farah. Once inhabited by the Qajars⁵²¹ (1794-1925) as the summer palace of the royal family, the nineteenth century complex of Saad Abad (Fig 172) had been bought, expanded and resided in by Reza Shah following the success of the coup d'état in 1921. Between the years 1921 and 1940, the garden was expanded to a greater area and eighteen palaces and mansions were added to this

⁵¹⁷ Bahram Afrasyabi, 1997, "The Story of Sa'ad Abad Palace and its Construction," *The Last Empress* (Tehran: Revayat), p. 114.

⁵¹⁸ Gholam Reza Javadi, 1999, *Marmar Palace Museum* (Tehran: Museum Office Publishing), p. 35.

⁵¹⁹ Walter W. Krause, 1956, "The Persian Empress-an Interview and a Portrait," *Soraya: Queen of Persia* (London: Macdonald.), pp. 141-51.

⁵²⁰ Hossein Mofid & Mahnaz Ra'ais Zadeh (ed.), 2007, "the Marmar Palace," *The Adventure of the Traditional Iranian Architecture in the Memoires of the Grand Master Hossein Lorzadeh: From Revolution to Revolution* (Tehran: Mola Publication), p. 35.

⁵²¹ Named Tappe-Alikhan (Shahvand), the garden of Saad Abad belonged to the daughter of Nasser-al-Din Shah Qajar. Bought by Reza Shah, the garden was expanded with surrounding areas, Jalal-al-Dowleh garden, Mogheyr-al-Dowleh garden and Mostofi garden; Afrasyabi, 1997, "The Story of Sa'ad Abad Palace and its Construction," p. 114.

collection (Fig 173). Among these dwellings, the White Palace was designed for the utilization of the royal family before moving to Niavaran.⁵²²

Within the complex, in sharp contrast to the simplicity of old Qajar structures, the White Palace (Fig 174) served as a symbol of power for the Pahlavis. Designed by the Iranian architect Manouchehr Khorsand, the project (Fig 175 to 177) was completed by the Iranian-Armenian architect Leon Tadeosian who worked in collaboration with a Russian designer named Burris and the Armenian engineer, P. Pessian between the years 1930 and 1935. The White Palace was a result of political, social and cultural relations between Iran and Germany that opened the way for early-modern European architecture in Iran. Reza Shah's admiration of Hitler's racist ideology resulted in the emergence of a nationalist approach introduced as the "palace style" in architecture. The White Palace exemplifies the main characteristics of eclectic architecture with efforts to blend Irano-Islamic models with those of Byzantine and Russian architecture in detail.

The duplication of Western and Iranian architecture is traced in some other palaces in the complex, the best examples of which are the Shams Pahlavi Palace by the American- Iranian architect Galich Baghlian (Fig 178 to 184) and the Shahvand Palace (1922-1929) by the Iranian architect Mirza Jafar Khan Kashi (Fig 185 to 189). Although it was built as Reza Shah's summer palace, the Shahvand Palace functioned as the private office of Reza Shah and later his son, Mohammad Reza Shah and subsequently remains as "a total act of politics" for the royal family and their supporters.⁵²³ The hybrid style in the case of the Shahvand Palace, according to Grigor, was stripped of its Italian Renaissance and Islamic elements, while the Achaemenid and Sassanian features were refined and perfected.⁵²⁴

⁵²² After his coronation in 1925, Reza Shah became the biggest feudal landlords in Iran. Beside the Marmar Imperial Palace, Sa'ad Abad and Niavaran Palace complexes in Tehran, he was involved in building palaces in Babol, Kelardasht, Ramsar, Babolsar, Nowshahr, Behshahr, Mashad, Shiraz among many others throughout the country; Eskandar Deldam, 2001, "White Palace of Sa'ad Abad," *I and Farah Pahlavi* (Tehran: Beh-Afarin), p. 701.

⁵²³ Talinn Grigor, 2007, p. 18.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 20.

While the national movement had largely affected the architectural vocabulary of Reza Shah's earliest architectural commissions within the complex, the latest to be built was Saad Abad Palace by the Iranian-Armenian architect Vartan Hovanesian, and this is the only building that reflected the rapidly changing architectural culture in the quest for modernist architecture (Fig 188).⁵²⁵ Built as Mohammad Reza Shah's earliest summer residence, the building carries the main characteristics of the style modern (Fig 189 to 193). Through application of different styles to different parts of the building, neo-classic volumes along with streamline moderne forms and Art Nouveau decorations, the architect embraced ideas of both modernism and traditionalism.

In 1963, despite the royal family preference for the White Palace at Saad Abad where their forebears had been residing since the 1930s, the shahbanu decided to move to Niavaran, the complex that was located only one kilometer away from Sa'ad Abad. There are different accounts describing how the royal family opted to leave Ekhtesasi Palace. According to the Iranian historian Abbas Milani, at the first stage, before moving to Niavaran, the shahbanu decided to build a new palace in Farah Abad, the royal family's riding and hunting ground near Tehran. The construction plan, however, was scuttled by the shah due to a government financial crisis that required a budget cut for the state. The shah rejected the project asking "What do we need a new palace for?"⁵²⁶

According to Ali Shahbazi, the shah's guard, it was Amir-Abbas Hoveyda, the prime minister of the time, who first invited Shahbanu Farah to visit the Niavaran that was owned by the government as a house to receive foreign guests. Shahbazi indicated that it was when Shahbanu Farah's housing project for the Drivers Society in the Niavaran district by Ali Sardar-Afkhami was refused by the society members due to the lack of social facilities that the shahbanu decided to allocate the buildings to the

⁵²⁵ Sohrab Soroushiani, Victor Daniel, Bijan Shafei, 2008, *Vartan Hovanesian Architecture, Architecture of Changing Times in Iran* (Tehran: DID Publication), p. 32.

⁵²⁶ Abbas Milani, 2012, "Architecture and Power," *The Shah* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 350.

imperial guard.⁵²⁷ Transferring the guard would be the first step in moving out of the imperial palace which was located “in the center of a hugely expanding Tehran, permanently surrounded by a noisy, polluting stream of traffic”⁵²⁸ in the shahbanu's words. Visiting the building with her close friends Ali Sardar-Afkhani, Leili Amir-Arjomand⁵²⁹, Leili Daftari⁵³⁰, Homa Zarrabi⁵³¹ and Fereydoun Javadi⁵³², the shahbanu wrote: “I looked it over and had work begun immediately on the alternations that were needed for the children and for the receptions that were an integral function of a head of state”⁵³³.

According to Farideh Diba, the shahbanu's mother, it was the everlasting celebrations and crowdedness in the Marmar and Saad Abad Complexes that forced her daughter to leave their palace for Niavaran. Living together with the Pahlavi royal family, she wrote, made my daughter envision a new but a modern house for her family at Niavaran. She said, it was the shahbanu who sketched the first possible renovation project for the home at Niavaran and this was the first architectural experience of what she learned during her two-year education at Ecole Special d'Architecture in Paris.⁵³⁴

⁵²⁷ Ali Shahbazi, 2000, “Farah and the Diba's Family,” *The Shah's Guard: Ali Shahbazi's Memories*, (Tehran: Ahl-e Ghalam Publication), pp. 243-5.

⁵²⁸ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 161.

⁵²⁹ Leili Amir-Arjomand (Leili Jahan-Ara) was a classmate of Shahbanu Farah in Tehran Razi School and in Paris where she received her master degree in the Department of Library Science. According to Ali Shahbazi, the Shah's secret guard, she with the Shahbanu was the followers of the Communist Party in France. After Shahbanu's marriage with the Shah, Leili Amir-Arjomand became the head of the Institute for the Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults that patronized by the Empress.

⁵³⁰ Leili Daftari was relative with Dr. Mohammad Mosadegh, the Prime Minister whose government's notable policy was the nationalization of the Iranian oil industry.

⁵³¹ Homa Zarrabi was a close friend and head-teacher of the crown prince school located in the Niavaran Complex. According to Shahbazi, by giving prominent positions to her circle, Shahbanu gets the power under her own control.

⁵³² Fereydoun Javadi was a classmate of Shahbanu Farah in Paris. After returning Iran, he worked at the Tehran University.

⁵³³ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, pp. 161-2.

⁵³⁴ Farideh Diba, 2001, “Royal Living”, *My Daughter Farah* (Tehran: Nima Publication House), pp. 89-91.

In the same vein, the Iranian historian Niloofar Kasra emphasized the shahbanu's role as an influential figure in deciding the future residence of the royal family. It should be indicated that the introduction of an independent authority at Niavaran by the shahbanu was a challenge to the Pahlavi monarchical system from within in which preservation of the dominating patriarchal family system was important.

Eskandar Doldam, the journalist who lived in the Pahlavi palaces, highlighted the shahbanu's impact on Mohammad Reza Shah as well emphasizing that she usually interfered with the shah's decisions; she was a complication that influenced the system of the Pahlavi Royal household.⁵³⁵

Exercising all those powers invested in her, this new form of authority in the royal family, said the shahbanu, was summarized as the "exaggerated sense of duty"⁵³⁶ by the shah and the Queen Mother Taj-al-Molouk and her daughters, Shams and Ashraf Pahlavi. The royal family, according to Kasra, took their stances against the establishment of an independent power position for the queen-regent at Niavaran.⁵³⁷

If Reza Shah's aim in building the Saad Abad Complex was to provide a single settling to control the dispersion of the Pahlavi royal family⁵³⁸ and to eliminate the creation of independent power against him and his regime⁵³⁹, moving to Niavaran and the creation of a new power center by the shahbanu was a challenge within a ruling system in which the idea of central political authority was important.

Located on the north of Tehran and lying on the slopes of the Alborz Mountains, the Niavaran Complex was a protected area. Beyond the Imperial Guard portals and secluded within a garden, the Niavaran Complex (Fig 194) comprised several buildings including the Palace of Niavaran or the main palace (in 1968), which had

⁵³⁵ Doldam, "the White Palace of Sa'ad Abad," pp. 721-2.

⁵³⁶ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 162.

⁵³⁷ Kasra, 2000, "Farah Pahlavi (Diba): Farah after the Birth of the Crown Prince," p. 274.

⁵³⁸ *The Complex of Sa'ad Abad* (Archive of the Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex), p. 11.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 13.

been the permanent residence of the royal couple, the private library of Shahbanu Farah (in 1976), the nineteenth century Palace of Sahebqaraniyeh (in 1888) that was restored as Mohammad-Reza Shah's bureau and the Ahmad Shahi Kiosk (early 20th century) which was renovated for temporary use of the Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi. The complex also involved a number of smaller buildings for doctors, dentists, hair-dressers, gymnastic instructors, and sport coaches as well as a house for Shahbanu Farah's curator where the art objects were purchased, collected and preserved and a set of educational buildings for the royal children ranging from kindergarten to pre-university. Within the garden a landing pad for imperial helicopters, garages, playgrounds and a pool were located as well.

A general architectural investigation of the Pahlavi palaces built or renovated for the royal couple's utilization in the complex brings to the fore the transition in modern Iranian architectural culture and the outcome of such undertakings on the spatial transformation of the home at Niavaran Complex. These debates eventually serve as a reference for evaluating and questioning the scope of Shahbanu Farah's innovative approaches to domestic projects in the Saad Abad and the Niavaran, and those in particular related to her personalized spaces.

When it was first constructed, Niavaran had been the name of a small pavilion built upon the order of the Qajar ruler, Fath-'Ali Shah (1772-97). Built for the king and the government executives, the pavilion had been a simple elevated terrace with two flanking rooms.⁵⁴⁰ In 1888, Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar (1831-96) ordered Niavaran (Fig 195) rebuilt as a summer resort pavilion in order to retreat from the congested quarter of the Golestan Palace Complex in the south of Tehran. The building was renamed as Sahebqaraniyeh, a derivative of sahebqaran, "possessor of good grace", one of the royal titles of the Qajar king. Erected by the Iranian architect Haj Ali-Khan Hajeb-al-Dowleh, the old Qajar palace of Sahebqaraniyeh had no more than a dozen of rooms including the Jahan-Nama Hall, the private sleeping areas and the summer harem of Naser al-Din Shah. The harem consisted of fifty apartments,⁵⁴¹ an ayvan and four

⁵⁴⁰ Masoud Salehi, 2006, *Sahebqaraniyeh* (Tehran: the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization).

⁵⁴¹ "Sahebqaraniyeh Palace," 1940, *Ettela'at Magazine* Vol. (24), p. 3.

rooms each, set aside for one or two of the shah's consorts.⁵⁴² During the reign of Mozaffar al-Din Shah Qajar (1853-1907) and Ahmad Shah Qajar (1898-1930), the harem was reduced in size.⁵⁴³ After the downfall of the Qajar dynasty and Reza Shah's accession to power, Niavaran was left unused with the establishment of multitude of palaces at Marmar and Saad Abad complexes. Although Sahebqaraniyeh was renovated for the wedding ceremony of the crown prince Mohammad Reza Pahlavi with his first wife Fawzia Fuad in 1938, the ceremonies, eventually, were held at the Golestan Palace due to unfavorable weather conditions and the building was forgotten again.⁵⁴⁴ During the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah, on the shahbanu's order, Sahebqaraniyeh underwent a radical change. The entire decoration and the building was consolidated and restored by the Iranian architect Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian⁵⁴⁵ and furniture was acquired from France (Fig 196).⁵⁴⁶

Sahebqaraniyeh represented the main features of the hybrid style. An issue that Iranian art historians clashed over was the way the genealogies of late Qajar

⁵⁴² Joannes Feurrier, 1940, *Sahebqaraniyeh Palace*, pp. 163-5.

⁵⁴³ Salehi, p. 6.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Abdol Aziz Farmanfarma'ian is the tenth son of the thirty-six children of the Qajar Prince Abdol-Hossein Mirza Farmanfarma'ian who held several governmental positions as the Commander in Chief of the Army, Commander in Gendarmerie, the Governor of Tehran, Kerman, Kudistan, Fars, Kermanshah, Azerbaijan, and Isfahan, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of War, the Minister of Interior and the Prime Minister during the Qajar dynasty. Abdol Aziz was sent to Paris when he was only eight years old and started his education at Lyée Michelet which he believed "was more his home than any house in Tehran". Starting at the Ecole Speciale d'Architecture, Farmanfarma'ian completed his architectural education at École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts. After returning to Iran, the architect was first employed in the mayor's office in Tehran and then he was hired as instructor at the College of Arts and Architecture at Tehran University for three years where he joined the University's construction department team as well. During the early 1950s, Farmanfarm'ian set up his architectural firms with four hundred employees in Tehran and a hundred and twenty members in Athens; Milani, 2008, "Aziz, Khodadad, Maryam and Sattareh Farmanfarma'ian" pp. 143-151. As the founder of the first and the biggest consulting engineers office in Iran (with four hundred employees) at an international level, Farmanfarma'ian participated in several governmental projects once installed by the technical office of the Plan and Budget Organization, among them were the new Palace of Niavaran (the main palace), Queen Mother's Residence and Prince Mahmoud Reza's Palace at Saad Abad, the old Niavaran Palace of Sahebqaraniyeh renovation and the restoration of White Palace, Ministry of Court and Shahvand Palace at Saad Abad. In addition he participated in construction of office buildings and ministries, health and hospitals, sport centers and stadiums, entertainment complexes, hotels, airports, hosting projects, educational buildings and universities, industrial buildings and factories, museums and master plans; Kamran Diba, winter 2002, "Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarma'ian: An overview on the last quarter-century architecture," *Memar* Vol. (15), p. 65.

⁵⁴⁶ Farah Pahlavi, 23 October 2012. *Farah Pahlavi*. [Internet, e-mail to the author].

architecture derived inspiration from previous architectural repertoires.⁵⁴⁷ Nearly all building types utilized during the reign of Naser al-Din Shah invested in such a revivalist trend. The eclectic movement was referred to as “Perso-European style”⁵⁴⁸ by the Iranian historian Abass Amanat and “Tehrani Style”⁵⁴⁹ by the Iranian architect and architectural historian Mohammad Karim Pirnia.

The palace consisted of a main hall with central pool and four large shahneshins leading into reception areas (Fig 197 and 198) flanked by smaller interlinking chambers, opening out of one another⁵⁵⁰ into more private quarters. The grand hall is an imitation of a well-known Zandiyeh structure known as kolah-farangi⁵⁵¹ or palace-pavilion.⁵⁵² Covered with traditional Iranian architectural elements such as vaulted aisles and archways (Fig 199 and 200) and adornments such as polychrome tile, carved and molded stucco, painted wood and plaster, inlaid mirror-work and carved and pierced wood-work,⁵⁵³ the palace introduced some characteristics of Western architecture and architectural decoration⁵⁵⁴ such as a gabled roof, semicircular pediment doors, and Roman arched windows.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁴⁷ Susan Babaie, 2006, “In The Eye of The Storm: Visualizing the Qajar Axes of Kingship,” *Artibus Asiae* Vol. 66 (2), p. 54.

⁵⁴⁸ Abbas Amanat, 1997, *Pivot of the Universe: Naser Al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy 1851-1896* (? : University of California Press), p. 435.

⁵⁴⁹ Gholam Hosein Memarian (ed.), 2002, *Iranian Architectural Styles* (Tehran: Honar-e Eslami Publication).

⁵⁵⁰ J. M. Scarce, 1986, “Art in Iran x. Qajar,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Vol. II (6), pp. 627-37.

⁵⁵¹ It refers to a large hall with a central space and four large shahneshins.

⁵⁵² Habibollah Ayatollahi, 2003, “The Art of Iran after Islam to the Victory of Islamic Revolution: Architecture of the Qajar Period,” *The Book of Iranian Art: The History of Iranian Art* (? : Alhoda UK), p. 284.

⁵⁵³ Scarce, 1986, “Art in Iran x. Qajar,” pp. 627-37.

⁵⁵⁴ According to Taj-al-Saltaneh the daughter of Nasir al-Din Shah, his father traveled a lot inside Iran and Europe and the palaces were the architectural product of such visitings. She said that the Shah was influenced by Western art and culture; Mansoureh Ettehadiyeh, 1983, *The Memories of Taj-al-Saltaneh* (Bethesda: Iranbooks).

⁵⁵⁵ Mohammad-Taghi Mostafavi, 1982, Sahepparanyeh Palace, *The Historic Tehran Buildings* (Tehran: Society for the Appreciation of Cultural works and Dignitaries), p. 408.

During the last decades of the Qajar era, under the influence of the West, the retrospective orientation in architecture and architectural decoration of the palaces was changed. An aversion to the traditional Iranian forms and ornaments is apparent⁵⁵⁶ in many late Qajar constructions, among them the Ahmad Shahi Kiosk (Fig 201). The building is the second construction in the Niavaran Palace Complex built upon the order of the last Qajar king, Ahmad Shah Qajar (1898-1930), in a neoclassic style. The entire classical volume in the case of Ahmad Shahi Kiosk is experienced through symmetry in planning arrangement (Fig 202 and 203), clean and uncluttered appearance in façade, less embellished doors and windows, free standing columns of Doric pillars, and porticos. While no historical document has been found about this late Qajar structure to introduce the architects and the construction period of the building, it is said that the kiosk was built for one of the Georgian consorts of Ahmad Shah during the early twentieth century. In 1938, while the Sahepqaraniyeh was renovated for the wedding ceremony of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi with Fawzia Fuad, the kiosk was prepared as temporary accommodation of the royal couple.

Among many other palaces that served the royal couple, the Niavaran Palace was one of the earliest architectural interventions of Shahbanu Farah. While speaking about his architectural practice, the French-educated Iranian architect Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian devoted some of his most impassioned accounts to Shahbanu Farah, emphasizing her role in establishing the house in Niavaran, and the process of collaboration and negotiation through which decisions about program, design and decoration were made.⁵⁵⁷ Farmanfarmaian insisted on the shahbanu's desire to change the architecture of the palaces. As a former architectural student, the shahbanu would probably have had a strong vision about the nature of modern architectural space; she saw the home at Niavaran as an opportunity to create a "modern"⁵⁵⁸ spatial environment, free of repressive traditions and rules that had dominated the Pahlavi palaces hitherto.

⁵⁵⁶ Shahab Katouzian, 1996, "Tehran, Capital City: 1786-1997, The Reinvention of a Metropolis," *Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Center I*, p. 37.

⁵⁵⁷ Abdol Aziz Farmanfarmaian, 16 November 2010, conversation with the author, Paris.

⁵⁵⁸ Here, the author refers to the Iranian definition of modernity as it was explained by the Pahlavi modernists during the last decade of the Iranian monarchy (for more information, please see the introduction of this dissertation).

According to the shahbanu, Niavaran was a modern building that expressed her “personal taste”⁵⁵⁹ in architecture. Firstly designed as a royal hotel for state guests in 1959, the governmental project⁵⁶⁰ was to be the residence of the royal family where they stayed until their departure from the country in 1979.

In collaboration with a group of Iranian and French architects and decorators, the first sketches of the re-construction project were prepared by the shahbanu according to her “specifications”⁵⁶¹. Expressing a “simplified” but at the same time a “well-organized” planning arrangement, the building was too “modest” to be a royal residence “in terms of size [and] splendor”⁵⁶².

The architectural project of the palace was assigned to Abdol Aziz Farmanfarmaian since he was a courtier and Niavaran was where his ancestors had lived between 1831 and 1930.⁵⁶³ Niavaran had witnessed the peak of his father Prince Abdol-Hossein Mirza Farmanfarmaian’s political activities during the Qajar era. Initiating his architectural education at École Special D’ Architecture where Shahbanu Farah had studied for two years, in 1946, Farmanfarmaian enrolled at École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, the school he said caused him “to emulate the Beaux-Arts style in Iran”⁵⁶⁴.

In an interview with the architect, Farmanfarmaian said it was Hossein Ala, the prime minister of the time who first offered him the role to build the pavilion that

⁵⁵⁹ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 162.

⁵⁶⁰ There is no information about the architecture of Niavaran as the guest house in the archive of the Technical Bureau of the Niavaran Palace Complex.

⁵⁶¹ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 163.

⁵⁶² Blanch, pp. 85-86.

⁵⁶³ Solmaz Naraghi, 2003, “Farmanfarma in the Niavaran palace,” *Shargh*, p. 3.

⁵⁶⁴ Milani, 2008, “Politics and Public Administration: Aziz, Khodadad, Maryam, and Sattareh Farmanfarma’ian,” p. 151.

would be used as the royal residence. Visiting the architect in his home⁵⁶⁵, Ala asked Farmanfarmaian for a similar construction to the architect's own house in Tehran⁵⁶⁶:

In an interview the shahbanu said:

“The Niavaran Palace, built by Mr. Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian as a government project and owned by the government was used to receive foreign dignitaries. I had no role in its construction [as a guest house; more emphasized] French decorator, ‘Mercier’, decorated the Niavaran Palace although I acquired some modern pieces that I liked in support of contemporary Iranian and foreign artists.”⁵⁶⁷

Niavaran embodied the main characteristics of modern Iranian architecture of the 1960s and 1970s in merging traditional motifs with modern designs. As mentioned before, during the period between 1965 to 1979, in parallel with the nationalist ideology of the state, efforts to establish a cultural identity in Iranian architecture are seen by the practitioners of modern architecture. Many Iranian architects, accordingly, started to allude to nationalizing the modern in practice. Among them Farmanfarmaian was in the first rank.⁵⁶⁸ Although Farmanfarmaian had been an influential figure in promoting modern architecture in Iran, after the 1960s his style underwent a radical change and he started to create a common language linking modern architecture and traditional Iranian designs⁵⁶⁹:

[while] his early buildings were nothing but renditions of the modern style of European or American masters, beginning with Niavaran, Farmanfarmaian found a way to combine traditional Persian motifs with the functionalism and individualism of modern architecture.⁵⁷⁰

Farmanfarmaian believed that, “genuine modernity” was the combination of the modern and tradition with what he called a “true connection to the Persian

⁵⁶⁵ Farmanfarma'ian's house had been renovated and started to be used as the Embassy of Belgium after the Iranian Revolution.

⁵⁶⁶ Abdol Aziz Farmanfarma'ian, 16 November 2010, conversation with the author, Paris.

⁵⁶⁷ Farah Pahlavi, 23 October 2012. *Farah Pahlavi*. [Internet, e-mail to the author].

⁵⁶⁸ Dehbashi, Mazayan, and Darab Diba., 2004, “Trends in Modern Iranian Architecture,” in Philip Jodidio (ed), *Iran: Architecture for Changing Societies* (Torino: Umberto Allemandi & C.), p. 34, [Internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://archnet.org/library/documents> [Accessed: 12 June 2011].

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁰ Milani, 2011, “Architecture and Power,” p. 342.

source”⁵⁷¹. In the palace, accordingly, the traditional elements of Iranian architecture (such as long columned verandas and ceramic tiles) are reconciled with the simplicity of modern architecture. The assimilation of the traditional architectural principles in the planning organization is, as noted by Milani, the reminiscent of the nationalism which was predominant in a given epoch of the Iranian modernity during 1960s and 1970s.⁵⁷² The architect’s employment of history in the case of Niavaran, accordingly, was founded on just that paradigmatic shift occurring during this period in Iranian modern architecture.⁵⁷³

As mentioned earlier in the introduction of this study, the term modernity may refer to various distinct definitions during different periods. What expresses the characteristics of this phenomenon during the late Pahlavi era was the very fact of its being Iranian. During 1960s and 1970s, Iranian architects attempted to “Iranianize” modern architecture. Iranian modernity during the late Pahlavi era (and as referred to throughout this research), indeed, was a fusion of universal and local.

The Niavaran⁵⁷⁴ looks like a defensible space (Fig 204); with its huge massive walls enclosing the interior, the building articulates the concept of privacy in its planning arrangement. Approached from the west, the building is divided into a central body, a portico with two columns rises to the roofline stressing the entrance door. Projecting the main entrance, the faience revetment wall is an application of traditional Iranian Islamic architecture in feature (Fig 205). Horizontally articulated, the southern façade is a three-section volume, a central body divided by the main entrance and a balconied window and six narrower rectangular windows arranged symmetrically on both sides of the flanks. In the southern elevation which faces the garden and the pool, a portico rises to the roofline. The entire central body is

⁵⁷¹ Milani, 2008, “Politics and Public Administration: Aziz, Khodadad, Maryam, and Sattareh Farmanfarma’ian,” p. 143.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

⁵⁷³ Milani, 2008, “Architecture and Engineering: Hushang Seyhun,” p. 788.

⁵⁷⁴ Visiting the Niavaran Complex, between 2012 and 2014, this epilogue included a series of the author’s observations regarding the architecture and architectural decoration of the Sahepqaraniyeh Palace, the Ahmad Shahi Kiosk, the main Palace of Niavaran, the storeroom and the Private Library of Shahbanu Farah.

decorated by the art of tile-working that framed the entrance door. The northern elevation is four-colonnaded portico stressed in the main part with multi-colored tile adornment and a central balcony on the upper level divided by two rows of rectangular windows on both sides.

While there is no archival document displaying the main feature of the Niavaran as a guest house, the architect noted that the project was totally changed after the renovation process to meet the needs of a royal residence. Farmanfarmaian emphasized that the two irregular volumes of the cinema and the library were added after the renovation process on the shahbanu's order.⁵⁷⁵

Compared to the other royal palaces in Tehran, Niavaran looks modern and functional. Inside the palace, the building sprawls over three floors and a basement. Reached through a wide aisled staircase elevated on the west, the honey-comb gridiron wooden partition gives on to the great hall and reception areas in the ground floor (Fig 206). This palatial entrance hall with upper galleries is introduced as a feature of "an eastern version of the Roman atrium"⁵⁷⁶. Connecting to invitation halls in the northern, southern and the eastern flanks, the entrance hall, thus, lacks light and views. Covering the main hall, the aluminum panel rolling roof system is the only element to provide natural light for the great hall and lateral halls and corridors inside the building. The same modular wooden panels in the entrance hall divide the semi-public areas for receptions (Fig 207). These decorative patterned screens create islands for waiting and seating arrangements for guests and visitors in the entry hall.

Compared to earlier Pahlavi Palaces, the architectural decoration of the Main Palace is dominated by the presence of unadorned elements, simplification in columns and evacuation of column capitals, elimination of ornamentation and statuary, and reduction in wall and ceiling decoration. Partly applied plaster and mirror works is the only architectural decoration of the palace designed and built by master Abdolahi and master Asghar.

⁵⁷⁵ Abdol Aziz Farmanfarma'ian, 16 November 2010, conversation with the author, Paris.

⁵⁷⁶ Philippe Jullian, December 1977, "Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran," *Architectural Digest*, p. 74.

In its planning arrangement, the building is divided into several irregular rectilinear halls, surrounding the great hall. Here in the palace, the lateral halls are decorated by the abstract works of Iranian and foreign artists acquired by Shahbanu Farah since she was very interested in contemporary art and sought to support figures she had once patronized. A great collection of excavated archeological artifacts of the ancient Iranian civilization is among the most particular set of decorative objects in these spaces.⁵⁷⁷ Following the nationalization of the oil company in Iran and the economic boom in 1974, the shahbanu found an opportunity to expose the Iranian artistic treasures; those emblems of cultural history, which later resulted in the establishment of national museums during the last five-year of the Pahlavi monarchy. From the lateral halls, the main hall gains connections to the state dining hall in the north and the reception hall, the dining room and the waiting room in the south.

The largest hall in the palace is the state dining hall (Fig 208 and 209) which spreads over the whole northern part of the palace two floors tall. Entered from the main hall, the state dining hall is located on a platform reached through a central staircase. Here, the royal couple holds occasional meetings and accepts guests. On the south, the grand reception hall (Fig 210) overlooks the garden through a bay window the terrace of which was decorated with a contemporary abstract bronze sculpture by Henry Moore (Fig 211). This suggests an eclectic approach in the architecture and architectural decoration of the palace. Furnished in the French classic manner, the spaces, however, hold modern art objects of contemporary Iranian and foreign artists that were acquired by Shahbanu Farah.

The royal couple had developed a set of characteristic critical values and vocabulary of their own tastes in palace decoration. As a collector, unlike the shah, the shahbanu favored contemporary design. What makes the spatial configuration of the Niavaran different is, accordingly, a synthesis of modern art objects with the classical ones, the results of which is an eclectic form of decoration.

⁵⁷⁷ Mohammad Taleb-Nejad (ed), "The Main Palace of Niavaran," *The Niavaran Palace* (Tehran: Iran Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization).

An exclusive cinema (Fig 213) is an entirely new construction in the palace planned at the request of Shahbanu Farah on the ground floor. According to the documents of the Technical Bureau of the Niavaran Palace Complex, although the plan had a symmetrical arrangement at the first stage, the cinema and the private library after the renovation as the royal residence by the shahbanu changed the symmetrical composition of the building.⁵⁷⁸ In the renovation process, the eastern ayvān which was similarly designed to the western one was eliminated and the two volumes of the cinema and the library were added.

From inside the palace, the entrance to the cinema is provided through a foyer located on the east. This waiting area, in fact, serves as a passageway between the public official parts of the palace [which are decorated in French classic manner] and Shahbanu Farah's private apartment which she shared with her close circle of artists and architects. Opposed to other parts of the palace, the interior decoration of the cinema is completely furnished in the modern style. Decorated for the shahbanu's private use, the space, she wrote, "reflected her personal and contemporary taste". The cinema is covered with green floor coverings and beige clothed walls on four sides. Inside the space, there are about twenty green velvet armchairs for visitors set behind the burgundy leather upholstery seats for each of the royal couples. This was the a clear material expression of patronage and hierarchy in the royal household. Abstract paintings and sculptural compositions are used in the internal decoration of the cinema. Although there is no information about the decorator, the resemblance between the conceptual approaches, the decoration style and the similarity between the lighted ceiling objects in the exclusive cinema and the private library of Shahbanu Farah makes one suppose that the two spaces are the products of the same architect, the French decorator, Charles Sévigny⁵⁷⁹.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁹ Charles Sévigny was an American-born architect who moved to Paris in 1948. Starting to work for an American Interior Design & Decoration magazine as well as the English Flair, Sévigny was appointed by the American State Department where he was charged with the renovation of many American ambassadors' homes in Paris, Rome, Brussels, London, Madrid and Luxembourg. During the early 1950s, Sévigny became enrolled in the design of the first boutique in Paris for Knoll, an American modern furniture design company. Sévigny was an influential figure in promoting Knoll. His style influenced an eclectic taste or "a modern fusion of classical and contemporary" in approaches. His customers were very rich and they were attracted by his innate sense of equilibrium in shape and colors, ancient and contemporary, and his functional and decorative designs. He connected

From the two sides of the entrance hall on the west, a wide railed staircase provides the access to the first floor gallery (Fig 214). Around the stairs, the walls are covered by the abstract paintings of Iranian and foreign artists. On the first gallery floor (Fig 215), a smaller hall decorated by Mercier Frères⁵⁸⁰ leading into Shahbanu Farah's official office (Fig 216) and conference room in the upper storey.⁵⁸¹ Inside her office, Shahbanu Farah accepted guests at a French *bureau plat*⁵⁸². Leila Pahlavi's and her nanny's bedrooms are located to the east part of the gallery. Here, it is a puzzle that while the shahbanu's design for her semi-public spaces that she shared with her close circle of artists and architects such as the 'exclusive cinema' and the 'private library', celebrated modernity, however, she was ambivalent about making a complete break with the past in the case of her private bureau. The room is surprisingly decorated in French classic style.

Above, in the second floor (Fig 218), the main corridor is linked to the royal couple and the children and their nannies' rooms. The most attractive decorative objects in the central corridor are the Op-Art lithographic works by the Hungarian-French artist Victor Vasarely. On the north, the gallery is connected to Ali Reza Pahlavi's bedroom (Fig 219), reading room (Fig 220), a kitchen and a bathroom besides Farahnaz Pahlavi's sitting room, bedroom (Fig 221), reading room (Fig 222), dressing room, kitchen and a bathroom. These areas open onto a L-shaped balcony in the north. The open plan arrangement in the second floor lets the rooms connect into each other. Accordingly, although the access is provided by a central gallery,

ancient furniture to contemporary ones and obtained special effects by using lighting and materials. Built at the end of 1970s, Hubert de Givenchy's apartment was among the most famous projects of the decorator. Sévigny continually worked with famous architects and artists of his time such as Mies van der Rohe, Eero Saarinen, Luis Barragan, Ricardo Legorreta, Harry Seidler as well as Harry Bertoia and Sheila Hicks. He also participated in the decoration of Paris Theater, especially Jean Cau Les Yeux crevés piece with cooperation of Marie Bell; Thomas Michael Gunther, 2009, *Collection Charles Sévigny Yves Vidal* (Paris: Christie's), pp. 6-7.

⁵⁸⁰ Founded in the late nineteenth century by Andre Mercier, Mercier Frères was a leading design studio and furniture manufacturer firm in Paris; "Mercier Frères," *Antiques*, [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://www.antiquitiesweb.com/designers/mercier-freres> [Accessed: 16 December 2012].

⁵⁸¹ Jullian, p. 75.

⁵⁸² Ibid.

accessible to one another, the rooms are combined as a single area with various zones for resting, reading and playing for the children.

The same design arrangement is experienced in the eastern and the southern part of the second floor where the building gets into the royal couples' private apartments; a connection in spatial arrangement is provided between the sitting room, Mohammad Reza Shah and Shahbanu Farah's resting area (Fig 217), her attire room (Fig 223), dressing room (Fig 224) and the couple's bathroom. Here, again it is challenging that the shahbanu had the decorator incorporate classical furniture into her bedroom, her attire room and her dressing room, although this went against one of the basic tenets of the modern approach she pursued.

Despite the simplicity in its planning, the eclectic approach in architecture and architectural decoration of the palace, however, introduces a different interpretation for the spaces. Incorporated with the classical French style, a synthesis of Iranian artistic treasures and historic artifacts, Islamic art, contemporary Western and Iranian art, Chinese art objects and African art in decoration, however, challenges the traditional luxuries of the royal living:

“The Queen's eclectic taste was evident not just in the collection but even more in the interior of the palace. The prevalence of French motifs made the atmosphere equally comfortable for the Shah, who was in his cultural taste a dedicated Francophile. French was, after all, the language the Shah and the Queen preferred to use when conversing with the Crown Prince whose nurse too was a Frenchwoman.”⁵⁸³

The palace is creatively experimental in decoration. Everywhere in the royal residence, a frame of an abstract art or a piece of objective art challenges the parameters of the spatial configuration. Designed by the French design firm, Mercier Frères⁵⁸⁴ in the classic style, the palace, however, was rigged with a collection of contemporary art objects by the shahbanu: “I acquired some modern pieces that I liked in support of contemporary Iranian and foreign artists”⁵⁸⁵ she wrote.

⁵⁸³ Milani, 2011, “Architecture and Power,” p. 346.

⁵⁸⁴ The curtains, wall curtain and furniture of the palace were provided by the Mercier firm; Zahra Khaneh-Shiri, *the upholstery in Europe and in the main palace of Niavaran* (Niavaran Cultural/Historic Center Archive and Documentation) [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://www.niavaranpalace.ir> [Accessed: 16 December 2012].

⁵⁸⁵ Farah Pahlavi, 23 October 2012. *Farah Pahlavi*. [Internet, e-mail to the author].

The integration of the shahbanu's contemporary approach in decoration with Iranian traditional architectural style conveys an alternative interpretation in the physical formulation of the spaces. Niavaran demonstrates a contradictory approach in the design method of the building and its decoration by moving back and forth between the modern and the traditional.

Niavaran expanded the definition of palace through reshaping the composition of the household in unconventional spaces and a non-traditional spatial arrangement with particular attention to the shahbanu's role as collector, patron and architect; she used arts to alter the conventions of her home. She said:

“When I was in Iran, I collected a few things, especially Persian art. I had some pre-Islamic objects and Safavid and Qajar lacquered papier-mâché *qalamdars* [pencil boxes] and Qurans and some enamel work. I bought some modern art, not many paintings and sculptures, but lithographs by artists, like Miro, Chagall, Calder, Cesar, Arman, Segal, Pomodoro, Rouault, just for the sheer pleasure looking at them. I wanted to have beautiful objects around me. I also bought art works by contemporary Iranian artists because I like them and wanted to encourage and support our native artists by exposing their work in the palace.”⁵⁸⁶

Niavaran resembles an exhibition hall with a wide collection of modernist paintings and sculptures located for temporary display. While the the shahbanu's link with European avant-garde allows the penetration of a large number of contemporary Western artifacts into the palace, the local expression of modern art allow Niavaran to expand its content into the modern Iranian visual culture of the 1960s. By including an immense quantity of ancient and modern Iranian art objects, mostly for decorative purposes, the shahbanu's approach, yet has parallels in the Iranian political context.⁵⁸⁷

As mentioned earlier, during the 1960s, a celebration of the Iranian “self” permeated modern art and architecture. Many Iranian artists, by then, started to explore an

⁵⁸⁶ Stein, 2013, “The Pahlavi Dynasty and the Transitional Period after the Iranian Revolution: For the Love of her People: An Interview with Farah Diba about the Pahlavi Programs for the Arts in Iran,” p. 77.

⁵⁸⁷ H. Keshmirshakan, 2004, “Contemporary Iranian Art: Neo Traditionalism from the 1960s to 1990s,” (Ph.D. diss., University of London).

“alternative”⁵⁸⁸, a local expression of contemporary art⁵⁸⁹ through the issue of “national” and “Iranian” identity.⁵⁹⁰ This kind of perception with regard to art, however, coincided with the nationalist debates that were prevalent in the Pahlavis’ political agenda.⁵⁹¹ Promoting the state’s cultural policies, the term “national art” was accordingly used extensively by governmental patronage⁵⁹² and in particular by Shahbanu Farah. The shahbanu became an effective patron of the modern “Iranian” art in the international art scene during the 1960s. Her wide collection of art objects included the innovative works of the pioneers of *Saqqakhaneh* style⁵⁹³ in Iran. She encouraged artist-state dialogue declaring “The state must buy artists’ works”⁵⁹⁴. The appellation of national art and its integration with the palace decoration was a result of such an outlook in Iran during the Second Pahlavi period.

1.2 Placing Modernity: A Storeroom or a Metaphor?

“Dotted about the grounds of Niavaran there are a number of smaller buildings: among them a house where the Curator of Her Majesty’s art collection has her bureau, and works classifying the immense quantity of pictures, sculpture and *objets d’art* stored below ground. The Shahbanu is an avid collector, of very wide tastes, and has the habit of changing the pictures and objects around her frequently, in the classic manner enjoyed by Chinese connoisseurs. Thus she may replace one of Chagall’s Biblical lithographs for an eighteenth century Persian flower painting, or exchange a contemporary Greek painter’s delicate landscape of Iran for a Picasso or a Braque [...] thus the Royal collection

⁵⁸⁸ Daftari, “Another Modernism: An Iranian Perspective,” p. 95.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁰ Karim Emami, “Modern Persian Artists,” in E. Yar-Shater (ed.), 1971, *Iran Faces the Seventies* (New York: ?), pp. 349-63.

⁵⁹¹ Keshmirshekan, 2004, “Contemporary Iranian Art: Neo Traditionalism from the 1960s to 1990s”.

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ Saqqakhaneh is an artistic movement that began during the 1960s in Iran. This movement sought to integrate popular symbols of Shi’a Muslim culture in art, the results of which have been described as ‘spiritual Pop Art’. Saqqakhaneh style is a local interpretation of avant-garde art in Iran. The word Saqqakhaneh refers to public fountains offering drinking water. The fountains were constructed in honour of Shi’a martyrs, who were denied water at Kerbela in 680 AD. It is a powerful allusion to the beginnings of Shi’a Islam; “Word into Art: Parviz Tanavoli (Iran), Heech in a cage, bronze sculpture,” *The British Museum: Explore*, [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/online_tours/museum_and_exhibition/word_into_art/parviz_tanavoli_iran_heech.aspx [Accessed: 07 July 2013].

⁵⁹⁴ Farah Pahlavi, 1968, “Shahbanu during a visit to Exhibition: The state must buy artists’ work,” *Ayendegan* Vol. 24(1).

spreads, overflowing into ever larger storage premises, forever being shuffled, aired, enjoyed, or returned to storage again.”⁵⁹⁵

In 1976, the architectural decoration of the Sahepqaraniyeh Palace underwent a radical change; while the palace was restored as the shah’s private secretariat, the western part of the basement was renovated for the shahbanu’s private use⁵⁹⁶. She wrote:

“The basement of Sahebqaraniyeh Palace was originally used as a storage space. I decided to have the basement decorated exactly according to its period and asked Mrs. Manijeh Ghiai, a decorator, to study the project. She, along with the Ministry of Culture, worked and researched hard in order to reproduce the era. Hundreds of artisans were employed to reproduce the detailed mirrored work, the colored windowpanes, the stucco, the painting on wood.”⁵⁹⁷

The storeroom was the office of the shahbanu’s curator, Afsaneh Hoveyda, where she worked to collect, classify, store and preserve a vast number of paintings and sculptures that had been purchased by or donated to Shahbanu Farah’s private collection.⁵⁹⁸ An exercise in innovative architectural decoration, the space with its artistic interior resembled a private museum more than a storeroom.

The storeroom was not the shahbanu’s first architectural intervention in museum building. Her earliest contribution was the Artistic Museum and the Movie Theater built in the basement of the White Palace of Saad Abad one decade before. In 1967 under the patronage of Shahbanu Farah, some parts of the glasshouse (Fig 225) and the cellar of the White Palace were renovated for her private collection, a wide range of paintings and sculptures reflecting the art of ancient Iran dating back the fourth century B.C. to the first century A.D, the art of Maya civilization of the first century B.C., Indian art, African art and the contemporary Iranian and Western art (Fig 226

⁵⁹⁵ Blanch, p. 87.

⁵⁹⁶ According to Asadollah Alam, the Court Minister, seven and a half million dollars was spent on transforming the onetime residential Palace of Sahepqaraniyeh into the Shah’s office and storeroom; Alam, p. 207.

⁵⁹⁷ Farah Pahlavi, 23 October 2012. *Farah Pahlavi*. [Internet, e-mail to the author].

⁵⁹⁸ According to Alam, the Minister of Court, seven and half million dollars was spent to transform the onetime residential palace of Sahepqaraniyeh into a museum; Alam, p. 207.

to 228).⁵⁹⁹ The renovation project was designed by the Iranian architect Amir-Ali Sardar Afkhami, a classmate who played an important role in the implementation of the shahbanu's architectural projects⁶⁰⁰ over a three year period. The shahbanu wrote:

“Converting the wasted space in the basement that was fairly large and had a low ceiling into a facility to store some of the art pieces I had such as paintings, wooden African statues, and other different objects. This was done with the help of Ali Sardar Afkhami. The space was sadly used as a storage for all kinds of neglected objects, some usable and some not, such as chinaware, gifts from people, etc.”⁶⁰¹

The storeroom of Niavaran formed a T-shape composed of three great halls around a central hall in the main floor and an underground hall for storage (Fig 229). The access to basement is provided from two different levels on the ground from the north and the south. On the western wing, the building opens into a service area, an aisle through which the exhibition area is connected to the store and a grand hall where the contemporary works of American and European avant-garde artists are located besides a collection of items from the middle Ptolemaic Egypt and African art of 200 B.C.. From the east, the central hall is allocated to the works of twentieth century Iranian painters and sculptors (Fig 230). This room has four vaulted exits into the smaller halls in the north and the south (Fig 231). The thickness of the wall provides niches for displaying objects (Fig 232). Here a collection of ancient Persian ceramic works dated back to Parthian period of the third century B.C., is placed besides the abstract items by the Iranian modernist artists (Fig 233). The smaller halls in the north and the south cover a selection of major movements of twentieth century and contemporary issues in art (Fig 234). This collection is interrelated with an array of ancient artifacts from Colombia and northern Peru in presentation:

“With an apparently infinite supply of money at her disposal, the Queen began to buy art, and before long her art collection included, amongst other things, five Picasso, four Braque, a Gauguin, and a Chagall. Giacometti's Standing Man stood next to a lulled cat from Peru. An Egyptian bird sat next to exquisite pottery and statues from ancient Persia. Masters of abstract expressionism were also amply represented; testify to the Queen's wide-ranging aesthetic sensibilities. Tehran became a mecca for art dealers and big-name American and European architects, who converged on the city to sell a design or an artifact. What the Queen could not find in Tehran, she either found in her travels in

⁵⁹⁹ *The Nation Arts Museum* (Tehran: Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex Publication).

⁶⁰⁰ Shahbazi, 2000, “Farah and the Diba's Family,” p. 233.

⁶⁰¹ Farah Pahlavi, 23 October 2012. *Farah Pahlavi*. [Internet, e-mail to the author].

Europe or America or has her aids or agents to find for her. Some of the regime's opponents at the time criticized these purchases as extravagant.⁶⁰²

Viewed from the garden, the basement resembles a freestanding construction. Although reflected the original planning components, yet the shahbanu's evolving artistic language found expression in the creation of the interior space of the basement. The storeroom provided an innovative environment through the artistic challenges represented by the art objects; it represented a real break with the nineteenth century traditional approach in the interior architecture of the Sahebqaranyeh palace. The basement offers a choice of experience to create a new space free of the repressive traditions that dominated the interior of the palace.

The storeroom is a house for art works: a museum in the metaphoric sense. It is a center to represent the shahbanu's main collection of paintings and sculptures where the artifacts are investigated, selected and transferred by her to the palace or to her private library. It is, accordingly, an extended private sphere of the shahbanu's home. Although excluded from the architectural component of the main palace of Niavaran, the house for art works, however, has symbolic connotations to the private quarters of Shahbanu Farah in the Niavaran complex the construction or decoration of which are organized and interpreted by her.

1.3 Constructing Modernity: The Private Library of Farah Pahlavi

"I really liked my private library, which I had built in a wing adjacent to the palace. It was the only place that had been planned exactly according to my specifications and decorated according to my personal taste [...] sculptures and objects both ancient and modern were there side by side. In this vast, bright room I had gathered together the works that meant the most to me: writers from all over the world and Iranian poets, art books and antiquarian books, paintings and sculptures by contemporary Iranians such as Zenderoudi, Ovissi, Mohasses, and Tanavoli, with works by Andy Warhol, César, and Arnaldo Pomodoro."⁶⁰³

"The library, my favorite room, was a private area. I sometimes received guests in the library before or after dinner. I also used it as a room to receive work related visits from mostly intellectuals and those with artistic taste. Other visitors were received in my office."⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰² Milani, 2011, "Architecture and Power," p. 346.

⁶⁰³ Farah Pahlavi, 2004, p. 163.

⁶⁰⁴ Farah Pahlavi, 23 October 2012. *Farah Pahlavi*. [Internet, e-mail to the author].

Established in 1976, the private library was the only space within the complex that reflected a modern architectural environment, free of traditions and rules dominated the Pahlavi palaces hitherto. Despite a vast number of architectural interventions she was involved in during her reign, the private library, she emphasized, offered a personal space. The private library was a new discovery and investigation in palace architecture and architectural decoration. Here, in the library, the shahbanu's subjectivity intersected with the spatial formation and artistic/aesthetic composition. Bringing an alternative interpretation in the palace formulation, the shahbanu's conceptualization of her library offered the very embodiment of modernity through the nature of forms, materials, objects and spaces.

The idea for a library was put down on paper in 1976 with the decorative scheme proposed by Shahbanu Farah and it was decided that the project would be realized with the commitment of the Iranian architect Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian and the American-born French decorator Charles Sévigny who work in partnership with Yves Vidal⁶⁰⁵ for the implementation of the architecture and the architectural decoration of the building:

“The cinema and the library were later added to Niavaran Palace. I enjoy *modern architecture* and approved the design for the rooms, which were submitted by Mr. Abol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian.”⁶⁰⁶

Although the shahbanu's contribution remained partial in reforming the project of the Main Palace at Niavaran, the private library, however, was her own creation, she said, in its very contemporary approach. By choosing to build her private quarters at

⁶⁰⁵ Working in collaboration with the fashion photographer, Richard Dormer, Yves Vidal was introduced to Hans and Florence Knoll by Charles Sévigny in 1952 and he participated in creation of Knoll International in France. This association produced the furniture and the textiles that were designed by Eero Saarinen, Florence Knoll, Harry Bertoia or Richard Schultz. In 1958, he became a director general of Knoll International France. In 1961, Yves and Charles made the acquisition of two exceptional houses the Moulin des Corbeaux in Paris and York Castle in Tanger. And, Yves Vidal was responsible for the animation of these special places in welcoming the visitors, receiving and organizing a memorable celebration. Each house became a legend contemporary, reference and compendium of decorative houses: “we connected the old elements that are found in place and other antique things in France or the foreign creations of Knoll International, textiles, carpet, benches of Mies van der Rohe, chairs and tables of Saarinen or Florence Knoll to each other”, Charles Sévigny said. Yves Vidal suffered from congenital disease and died in October of 2001; Gunther, 2009, pp. 6-7.

⁶⁰⁶ Farah Pahlavi, 23 October 2012. *Farah Pahlavi*. [Internet, e-mail to the author].

home, the shahbanu made a radical statement: she re-examined the traditional approaches and replaced them with a wider spectrum of alternatives. This new approach led to a more fluid exchange between the traditional and the modern and the immutable and the developing in spatial arrangement.

Viewed from the garden side, the library resembles a distorted white box (Fig 235) with split walls and windows that de-materialize the boundary between interior and exterior. The flatness of the façade and its unified form heighten the sense of imposing monumentality. Attached to the east side of the main palace (Fig 236), the access to the library is provided by two sets of wide steps connecting ground to terrace and from there to the porch. From inside the main palace, however, the building is attached to the library at three separate levels.

Entering from the north, the building appears as a single enclosed space surrounded by something more than an ordinary-looking library. Erected in two floors (Fig 237 and 238), the entire space of the library was built out of a cube: a composition on the walls, ceiling and floor, between the architecture and the artistic works. It is a large open space intersected by the fireplace located directly opposite the door in the center of the room (Fig 239). The huge lofty cubic hall on the ground floor flows into a wide gallery around the four sides of the upper storey which permits the spaces to telescope into one another and appear as a whole. Linked by a circular staircase (Fig 240), the gallery provides an open space, visible from the principal hall below. The library is designed in an open floor plan which means the space is free to be configured into rooms without concern for supporting walls. The concept is of an unobstructed space applied for flexible accommodation, zones for reading, working and resting. The private areas such as the audio-visual room, the service room and the storage room are enclosed within the service areas.

Throughout the interior, mirror, glass and bronze shift the light for a visual interplay of translucence, reflection, transparency and opacity. A voluminous configuration of three thousand translucent glass rods of varying lengths sparkling over from the ceiling illuminates the library from above (Fig 241). Reflected in the mirrored fireplace, this duplicates the effects of the extraordinary ceiling light within the space

and changes the visual dynamics of the volume. Large-scale vertical windows eliminate the boundaries between the interior and exterior from three sides of its elevation. The penetration of light from these openings is controlled by the aluminum panel shadings (Fig 242).

On the four sides of its interior, the comprehensive bookcase ascends up to the level of the ceiling two floors above. The horizontal continuity of book-lined walls breaks up the full length windows to provide a bay to hold an area for different functions. On the corners, the glass windows let the natural light in. These vertical windows are the only architectural elements to soften the rigidity of the book-lined walls in the library.

On each side, the library is decorated with eight columns of bookcases divided into multiple stories of shelving spaces depending on the lengths of books. Although there is no information about the library classification system, in some visual documents, the disciplines are classified as main divisions and subdivisions. The lowest shelves grouped the large volumes of picture-books located in a horizontal line one above another.

The shahbanu was a bibliophile. In her vast collection, a wide range of published materials covered approximately twenty-three thousand volumes of books, folios, rare editions, classics, paperbacks, technical treatises on town planning, literature, history, fine arts and architecture mainly published in Persian and French.⁶⁰⁷ In her collection, the shahbanu intended to accumulate and preserve as comprehensive as possible record of world arts and culture: the first edition of travel accounts of foreigners to Asia and Iran, a complete complex of publications from Tehran University and Iran Cultural Foundation with special binding in Royal-blue covers, the books of the complete works of famous twentieth century painters and sculptors and a great number of eighteenth and nineteenth century French writers published when they were alive. Among her personal collection, edited in Paris in 1609 by Josephus Flavious, *The History of Jews* was the oldest non-Persian publication in the library and the latest, *The Journal of Soap Opera Digest* was received in 1979 before

⁶⁰⁷ Blanch, p. 99.

the Revolution. Published in Leipzig, the poetic works of *Hafiz* was the oldest Persian material granted to Naser al-Din Shah in 1873. One of the most valuable collections of the library was the collection of a hundred and sixty three manuscripts in leather and wood book-bindings.

The notes in the books either by the shahbanu or written by donors, added spiritual values to the collection. According to Alberto Manguel, “As repositories of history or sources for the future [...] the books in a library stand for more than their collective contents”⁶⁰⁸. Accordingly, the private library was more than of great value for offering a comprehensive panorama of arts and culture; it was also an accumulation of new associations and new definitions shaped by added notes and accumulating publications. The personal notes demonstrate the shahbanu’s official life, the social circle she developed in many spheres and in many countries, those she appreciated or those she was admired. The notes perhaps testify to the milieu of her predilection among the politicians, philosophers, heads of universities, historians, artists and architects. The manuscripts brought new meanings and definitions to this collection since, as mentioned by Umberto Eco, personal notes, signatures and dedications were combined with published materials, so the pages were reconstructed and took on new identities.⁶⁰⁹

According to Manguel, books are the concrete expression of power. He stated, “Books read or unread, whatever their allotted use or value, are often lent such awe-inspiring prestige [and power]. Libraries are still founded by (and named after) politicians who, like the ancient kings of Mesopotamia, wish to be remembered as purveyors of that power.”⁶¹⁰ Here, Manguel refers to the King Ashurbanipal, the last great king of the Assyrian Empire, who was the founder of the first library in the ancient Middle East. Bestowed a collection of tablets in his palace in Nineveh, the King stated that: “The wisdom of Nabu, the signs of writing, as many as have been

⁶⁰⁸ Alberto Manguel, 2006, “The Library As Shadow,” *The Library at Night* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press), p. 123.

⁶⁰⁹ Umberto Eco Jean-Claude Carriere, 2011, “Bugün yayımlanan her kitap bir *post-incunabula*’dır,” *Kitaplardan Kurtulabileceğinizi Sanmayın* (Can yayınları), p. 95.

⁶¹⁰ Manguel, 2006, “The Library As Power,” p. 94.

devised, I wrote on tablets, I arranged the tablets in series, I collated, and for my royal contemplation and recital I placed them in my palace.”⁶¹¹ Similarly, building modernity⁶¹² was, inadvertently perhaps, a symbolic expression of the shahbanu’s ideology. The library was an assemblage of art objects and a collection of art editions since art was an instrument to legitimize authority of the shahbanu; art for her was a tool to encourage a nation acculturation. She wrote:

My country is so culturally rich. I wanted to protect what we have historically for the people. [However] we cannot only live in the past and I wanted to support the young contemporary artists for future generations [as well] by encouraging private business, individuals and government entities to build collections and publish books [...] they began to acquire art and orient towards culture.⁶¹³

In the library, the old-world luxury of the palace architecture is updated with modern conveniences. The shahbanu relied on ready-made furniture manufactured by Knoll for the interior architecture of her library. It was a material expression of the shahbanu’s reform-mindedness when she chose a Barcelona Chair (Fig 243) designed by the prominent architect, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and placed it in her library.

Introduced by Parviz Bushehri, the representative of Knoll Associates in Iran, the company was influenced by the [Bauhaus](#) style in its very modernist approach to furniture design⁶¹⁴. Incorporating a contemporary approach in designing her library was an experimental but at the same time a revolutionary attitude in the interior architecture of the Pahlavi palaces. Promoted by Charles Sévigny (Fig 244) and Yves

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

⁶¹² Since 1976, the shahbanu had involved in the construction of the Artistic Museum, the Storeroom and the Private Library for her private art collection. She had also contributed in the establishment of national museums in Iran including the Negarestan Museum of Qajar dynasty arts, the Abguineh Museum of ancient ceramics and glasses, the Carpet Museum, the Reza Abbasi Museum of pre- and post-Islamic art works, and the Tehran Museum of contemporary art in the capital among many others in the provinces.

⁶¹³ Ayad, p. 40.

⁶¹⁴ The international American modern furniture design company, Knoll Associates was formed by Hans Knoll and Florence Knoll Bassett (née Schust) (Fig 245) in 1938. The company collaborated with a diverse group of prominent architects in designing the products; among them were the well-known works of Alvar Alto, Emilio Ambasz, Marcel Breuer, Peter Eisenman, Frank Gehry, Hans Hollien, Pierre Jeanneret, Richard Meier, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Richard Schultz, Eliel Saarinen and Robert Venturi. Today, a selected number of the products are exhibited in the permanent Design Collection of The Museum of Modern Art, the Metropolitan Museum and the Louvre Museum; [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.knoll.com> [Accessed: 24 February 2013].

Vidal, the furniture, however, was selected by the shahbanu herself and consequently represents an individual experience in the spatial configuration of the library. She said:

The decorator Charles Seigny assisted in selecting the modern furnishings along with Vidal, both of whom were introduced by the Knoll representative in Iran. All pieces were first shown to me for approval before purchase”⁶¹⁵

The library was a practical room for creating a new but a modern space the architecture and architectural decoration of which was guided by architectural considerations of the shahbanu:

It was Charles Sévigny, the American-born Paris decorator, who worked with Her Majesty on realizing this library, and it is a triumph of team-work. While he has advised on many technical or structural questions, his own individual, unconventional idiom in decoration is also that of the Shahbanu. The sumptuous and the simple, the old and the new, are brought together to harmonize. It is taste far removed from the rigid French decorator’s Classic style, which now seems several centuries out of key with contemporary life. Thus, this partnership has produced one of the loveliest rooms anywhere - *hors série, hors temps*.⁶¹⁶

Shahbanu Farah’s “unconventional idiom in decoration” simulates an inventive expression in internal design of the library⁶¹⁷. She furnishes her library with both contemporary and traditional art objects and furniture design:

[In the library] the unusual combination of religious relics and modern paintings, accompanied by an assortment of antiques and art deco furniture, captured the Queen’s peculiar cosmopolitanism.⁶¹⁸

The room is filled with an unprecedented assemblage of various styles; a constant blending of paintings, sculptures and publications (Fig 248) covering a simple space constituted the visual dynamics of the volume which was personalized according to specifications of the shahbanu:

The personal library of the Empress [...] is a room that reflects her own taste in the most personal way possible [...] it is another world. Naturally protocol is still honored, but there is the charming addition of personal taste and imagination.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁵ Farah Pahlavi, 23 October 2012. *Farah Pahlavi*. [Internet, e-mail to the author].

⁶¹⁶ Blanch, p. 99.

⁶¹⁷ A pair of cast iron decorative tables by Diego Giacometti (Fig 246) for example is located by a Chinese painted table (Fig 247) or a luxurious gold coffee-table presented by an Eastern monarch is dismantled by the Empress and mounted on a black plexi-glass for daily use.

⁶¹⁸ Milani, 2011, “Architecture and Power,” p. 350.

The library was recognized as a center of contemporary art offering the viewer an array of symbols that refer to the shahbanu's personal but very contemporary choices (Fig 249 and 250). It was a product of an architectural-sculptural-pictorial organism and indeed imposed a private reading of the built space. The integration of artistic objects allowed the entire space to be interpreted in consonance with pictorial installations; each selected and integrated according to the shahbanu's pre-defined composition for the spatial configurations:

Everywhere paintings; the book-lined walls have been ingeniously contrived so that panels can slide across them at will, thus giving wall-space for the paintings which the Shahbanu chooses, turn and turn about, [on the walls or on the plane-tables] from her ever-expanding collection of Iranian and other painters. A large number of statues, icons, specimens of oriental calligraphy and a never-ceasing flow of royal portraits in every medium, paint, metal and marble, are assembled here.⁶²⁰

The shahbanu was a collector. She preferred changing the art objects frequently: "from time to time I move everything around. Things go into other corners, and often into other rooms"⁶²¹. Explaining the shahbanu's multifaceted approach in decoration, her biographer observed that:

"She may replace one of Chagall's lithographs for an eighteenth century Persian flower painting, or exchange a contemporary Greek painter's delicate landscapes of Iran for a Picasso or a Braque."⁶²²

This attitude to objects assigned a renewed but a constantly repeating identification to the architectural spaces they situated. Temporarily changing the objects of art and the spatial transitions, consequently, resulted in various interpretations for the spatial decoration.

As the royal couple cultivated a distinctive personality as collectors, the shah cast his lot with traditional art and the shahbanu was a supporter of modern contemporary artists. Each developed a set of characteristic critical values and a vocabulary of their

⁶¹⁹ Jullian, December 1977, p. 76.

⁶²⁰ Blanch, p. 99.

⁶²¹ Jullian, December 1977, p. 68.

⁶²² Blanch, p. 87.

own. The question of the avant-garde, in this regard, often caused frictions between the royal couple:

“I had a César sculpture in my library at Niavaran Palace in Tehran [which according to the Shah] was not appropriate! So, I put it outside [in the garden] and in its place I put a roughly three-meter bronze *Heech* [Fig 251] by Tanavoli”.⁶²³

Similarly, the shahbanu’s biographer wrote:

“[In the library] a Luristan statuette may give place to something overwhelmingly *avant-garde*, like the towering abstract brass [Fig. 252 and 253] form by Tanavoli which rears up, massive and problematic, [...] a state inadmissible to the Shah, [as well as] a number of other manifestations of the extreme in contemporary expression. On occasions, he has requested some should be removed from his sight.”⁶²⁴

To calm the reactions, however, the shahbanu preferred to hide the construction process of the library from the shah and the royal family (Fig 254):

[...] the Shah whose taste in décor is rigidly classical; it seems the Shahbanu was chary of his reactions. Sensing the damping effect of his probable criticism were he to glimpse her audacious mixtures before all was in place, she kept the progress of her library a strict secret from everyone. Only when all was completed she formally invites her husband and rest of the family to enter the honeycomb.⁶²⁵

Niavaran is not an ordinary house. Building a private library, the shahbanu tried to shift the balance between public and private spheres. And, she conceptualized this change through breaking the boundaries as she viewed her home as a center to provide non-domestic activities as well. The shahbanu redefined home as a set of spaces for a range of relationships: a showplace for her political, social and cultural activism. The home was more than a space for living but for informal gathering, conventional meetings, and social and cultural engagement with her close encourage. In this regard, Farmanfarmaian’s design framed and foregrounded the shahbanu’s activities, reinforcing her purpose through artistic and architectural agency. The shahbanu’s library served as a semi-public cultural center. Here in the library, the shahbanu accepted artists, organized meetings, approved projects and arranged festivals, symposiums and congresses on arts and culture.

⁶²³ Ayad, p. 43.

⁶²⁴ Blanch, p. 100.

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

Modern art and modern architecture in the case of Niavaran, accordingly, was used to alter the conventions of domestic life through expanding the definition of home to include various types of activities, shifting the balance between public and private, reshaping the composition of the household in conventional or non-traditional way and creating residential-work spaces with particular attention to woman's role as patron, architect and collector.

The library reflected the shahbanu's imagination of her private spheres within the complex; a place to which she could escape and where she could live as she preferred. The library was a "thinking room" in her words:

Solitude is for the Shahbanu almost unobtainable. It has something she has come to crave, she told me. 'But then, an hour, I might snatch for myself, all alone, is probably the one I feel I would better share with my children. I never see enough of them, somehow... *think*... there are the guards: always they follow me, or else I know they are observing me, efficiently from a distance. Always footsteps following me – eyes watching me... Guarding me – yes, but I long to tell they must go away, and then, somehow, I can't: after all, it is their job – though for me, sometimes it seems like a kind of Chinese torture. Even indoors – when I've taken refuge in my library, I am often snared, and have to admit someone to my hard-won solitude – and so, good-bye to my thoughts!' I reminded her of Thoreau, who said he looked forward to the time when every house would have not only a dining room and a bedroom, but a *thinking* room too...⁶²⁶

Considering the transformation in architecture and architectural decoration in the case of the 'private library', the 'exclusive cinema' or the 'storeroom' of Shahbanu Farah, the 'home' at Niavaran demonstrates an innovative experiment in the spatial configuration of the Pahlavi palaces. As a patron, collaborator, architect and collector, the shahbanu, unlike her predecessors, was an essential catalyst not only for implement changes but also to participate in a creative process; using modern art and architecture to alter the convention of domestic life.

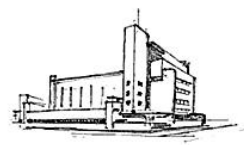
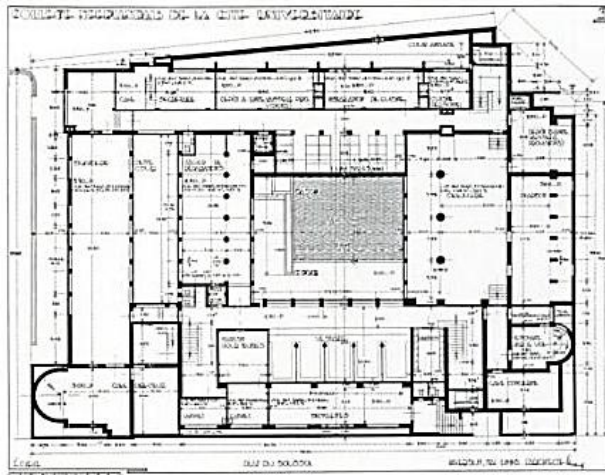
Niavaran is more than a retreat; it is a place in which a new way of life was experienced. The home is an opportunity to create a contemporary environment. The analysis of Niavaran demonstrates Shahbanu Farah's intervention in (re) constructing the private quarters of her home. Making a home, however, is not just an architectural instance. Art and architecture are instruments for self-representation and self-definition with a larger purpose in mind. The shahbanu's contribution in (re)

⁶²⁶ Ibid, p. 101.

building her residence is an expression of new ideas. The home makes a visual statement about her cultural taste which was modernity itself (as grounded in the Iranian context). Niavaran emerges as the material expression of the shahbanu's contemporary leaning; however, it is inevitable that her achievement in the case of the 'home' like the many others on cultural field was supported and shaped according to the guidance of a close circle of architects and artists around her.

The gender issue in the case of Niavaran is not manifested through differences between male and female approaches to architectural practice; nor is it revealed in a feminine sense of aesthetics and space. The 'private library', the 'exclusive cinema' or the 'storeroom' contained no particular clues to the female gender of its occupant. Rather, these spaces are produced as gendered through the concept of privacy. The shahbanu organized her daily life within the parameters of the private spheres within the complex. She actively participated in the construction of her 'exclusive cinema', her 'private library' and a 'storeroom' for her private art collection thoughtfully and deliberately. Contrary to the public and formal quarters of their residence at Niavaran or Sa'ad Abad, the suite of rooms designed for the shahbanu's semi-private use demonstrates her active role as a non-traditional collaborator in design for architectural innovation. Celebrating modernity in the library, the cinema and the storeroom, the spaces she shared with her close circle, the shahbanu, however, was ambivalent about making a complete break with the past and had the decorator incorporate into her bedroom and her bureau antique furniture and family heirlooms.

Constructing an environment in the case of Niavaran is rather constructing a new, a revolutionized and a modernized sense of life in the Pahlavi palaces. Niavaran is a synthesis bringing together arts and architecture under the aegis of power. The home is an imagination and the home is culture; it is a symbol of power that was constructed by her and yet has been constructing her.



Preliminary sketch
Perspective



Figure 159 The Plan of Pavillon Neerlandais, Cite Universitaire, 1926.

SOURCE: Harman Van Bergeijk, 2001, "Pavilion Néerlandais, Cité Universitaire, Paris," *W. M. Dudok* (Rotterdam : 010 Publisher), p. 83.

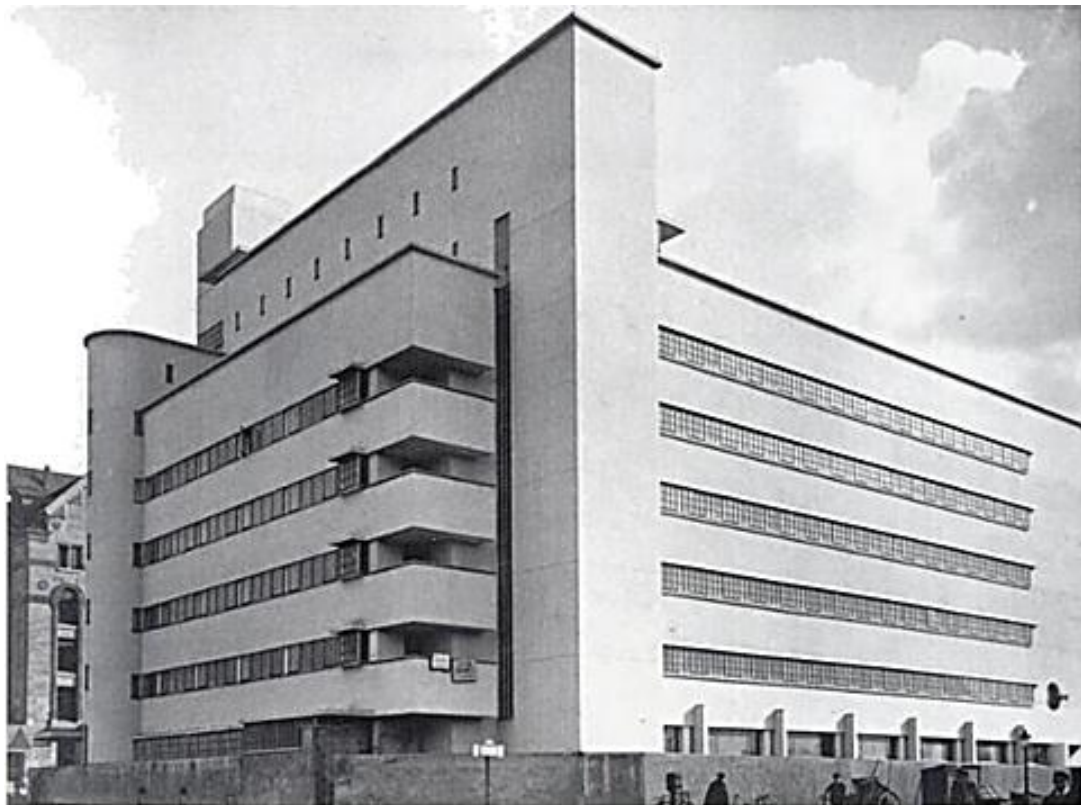


Figure 160 View of Pavillon Neerlandais, Cite Universitaire, 1926.

SOURCE: Harman Van Bergeijk, 2001, "Pavilion Néerlandais, Cité Universitaire, Paris," *W. M. Dudok* (Rotterdam : 010 Publisher), p. 83.



Figure 161 Farah Diba in her uncle Ali Qotbi's home in Tehran before her marriage with the Shah, 1950s.

SOURCE: "The Engagement of M. Reza Pahlavi with Farah Diba," *The Institute for Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.iichs.org> [Accessed: 07 January 2013].



Figure 162 Farah Diba in her uncle Ali Qotbi's home in Tehran before her marriage with the Shah, 1950s.

SOURCE: "The Engagement of M. Reza Pahlavi with Farah Diba," *The Institute for Iranian Contemporary Historical Studies* [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.iichs.org> [Accessed: 07 January 2013].

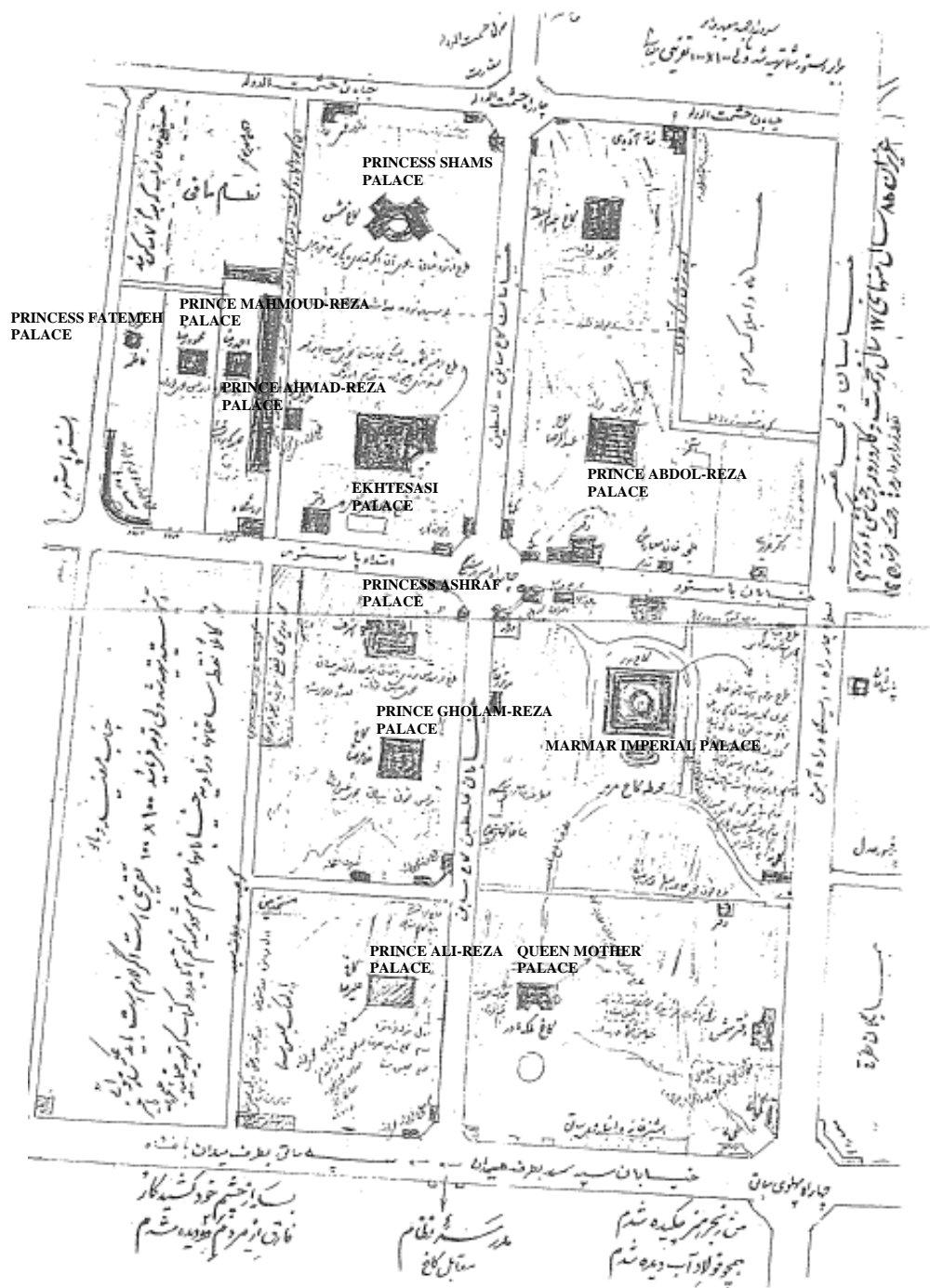


Figure 163 Sketch of Marmar Imperial Palace Complex by the Iranian architect Hossein Lorzadeh, 2007.

SOURCE: Hossein Mofid & Mahnaz Ra'ais Zadeh (ed.), 2007, "the Marmar Palace," *The Adventure of the Traditional Iranian Architecture in the Memoires of the Grand Master Hossein Lorzadeh: From Revolution to Revolution* (Tehran: Mola Publication), pp. 64-5.

Not: The site plan is revised by the author.

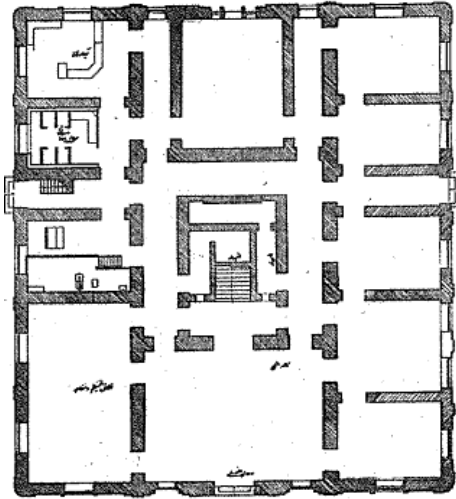


Figure 164 The Ground Floor Plan of the Marmar Palace.

SOURCE: Vahid Ghobadian, "Marmar Palace," *Styles and Concepts in Iranian Contemporary Architecture* (Tehran: Elm-e Me'mar), p. 156.

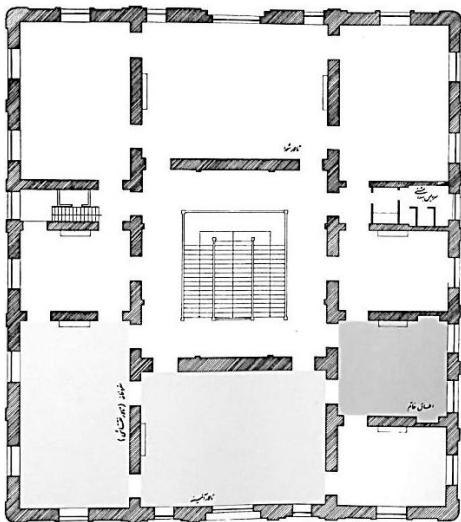


Figure 165 The First Floor Plan of the Marmar Palace, 1999.

SOURCE: Gholam Reza Javadi, 1999, *Marmar Palace Museum* (Tehran: Museum Office Publishing).

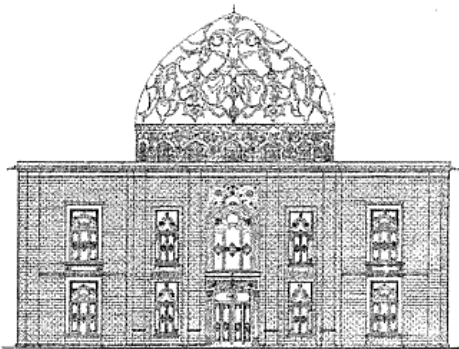


Figure 166 The Main Facade of the Marmar Palace, 1999.

SOURCE: Vahid Ghobadian, "Marmar Palace," *Styles and Concepts in Iranian Contemporary Architecture* (Tehran: Elm-e Me'mar), p. 156.



Figure 167 A general view of Marmar Imperial Palace Complex, 1960s.

SOURCE: *Marmar Palace*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.vefagh.co.ir> [Accessed: 06 January 2013].



Figure 168 View of the Marmar Imperial Palace, 1960s.

SOURCE: *Marmar Palace*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.vefagh.co.ir> [Accessed: 06 January 2013].



Figure 169 View of the main entrance of the Marmar Palace Complex, 1960s.

SOURCE: Gholam Reza Javadi, 1999, *Marmar Palace Museum* (Tehran: Museum Office Publishing).



Figure 170 View of the Ekhtesassi Palace behind the gate of the Marmar Complex, 1990s.

SOURCE: *Ekhtessasi Palace*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.vefagh.co.ir> [Accessed: 06 January 2013].



Figure 171 View of the Ekhtesassi Palace, an aerial view of Kakh Avenue, Tehran, 1990s.

SOURCE: Sohrab Soroushiani, Victor Daniel & Bijan Shafei, 2008, *Architecture of Changing Times in Iran: Vartan Hovanesian Architecture* (Tehran: Did Publications), p. 18.

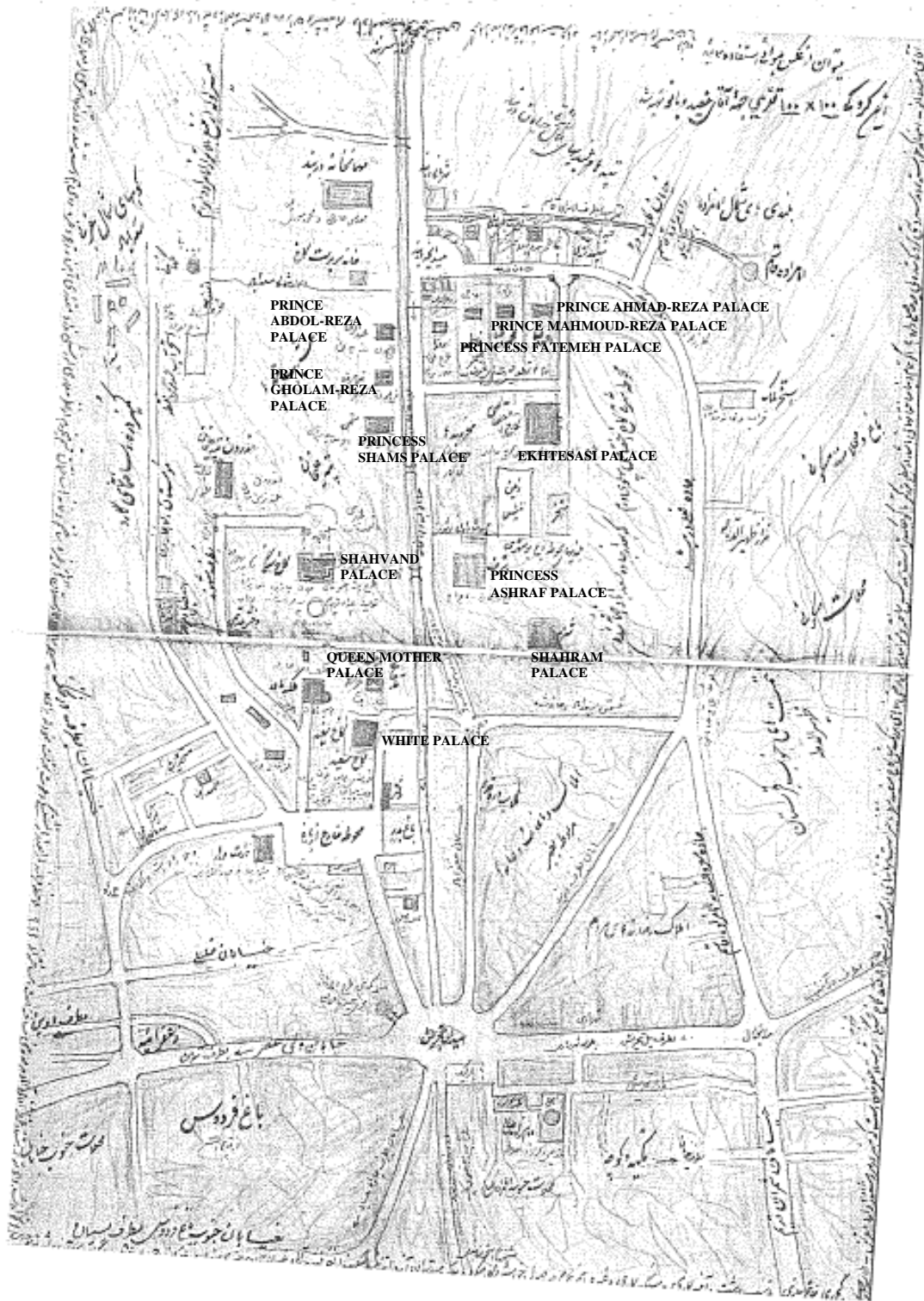


Figure 172 Sketch of Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex by the Iranian architect, Hossein Lorzadeh, 2007.

SOURCE: Hossein Mofid & Mahnaz Ra'ais Zadeh (ed.), 2007, "the Sa'ad Abad Palace," *The Adventure of the Traditional Iranian Architecture in the Memoires of the Grand Master Hossein Lorzadeh: From Revolution to Revolution* (Tehran: Mola Publication), pp. 66-7.

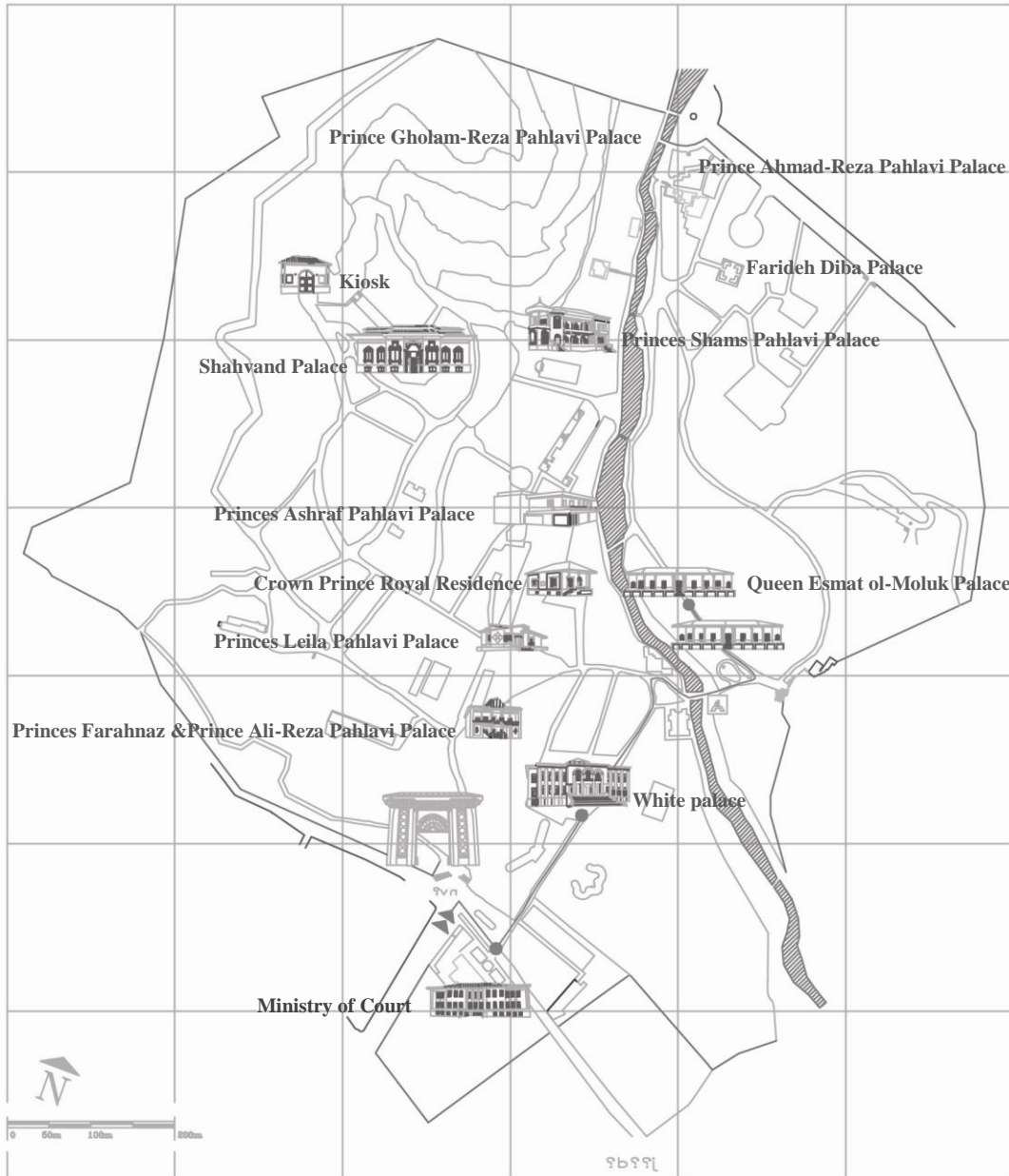


Figure 173 Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex, Site Plan, 2000s.

SOURCE: *Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex* (Tehran: The Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex).

Not: The site plan is revised by the author.



Figure 174 The White Palace of Sa'ad Abad, the South-West elevation, 2011.
 SOURCE: Author, 2011.

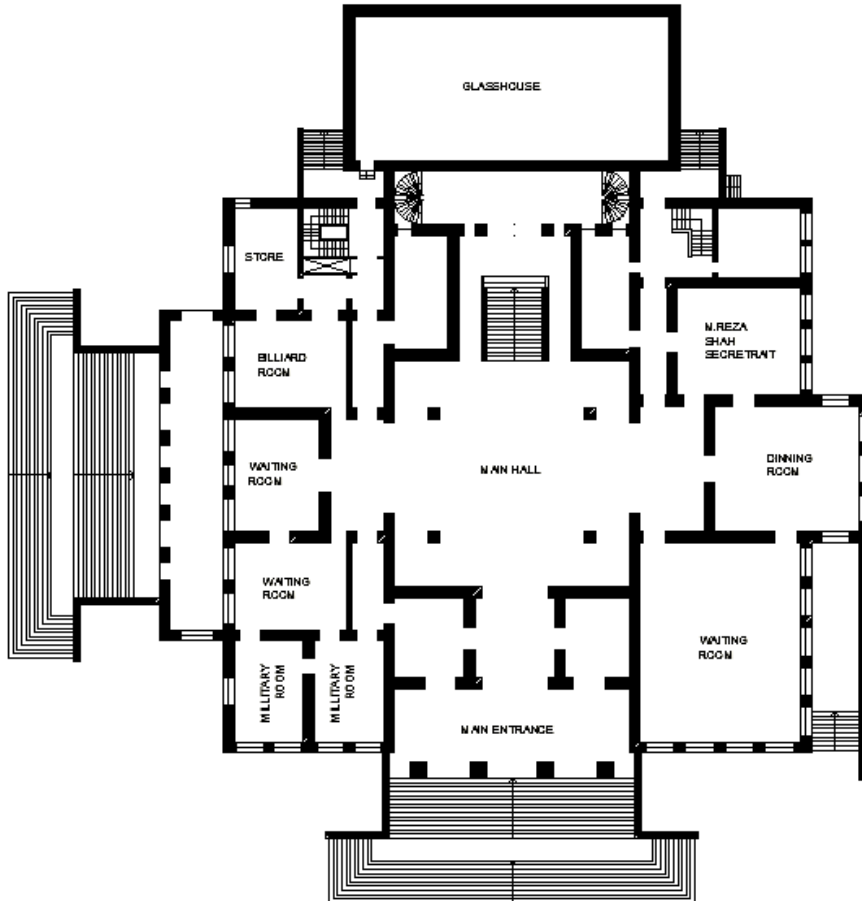


Figure 175 The Ground Floor Plan of the White Palace of Sa'ad Abad.
 SOURCE: *Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex: A Technical Report Revenue of 2002-5* (Tehran: Archive of the Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex). Not: The plan is reconstructed by the author.

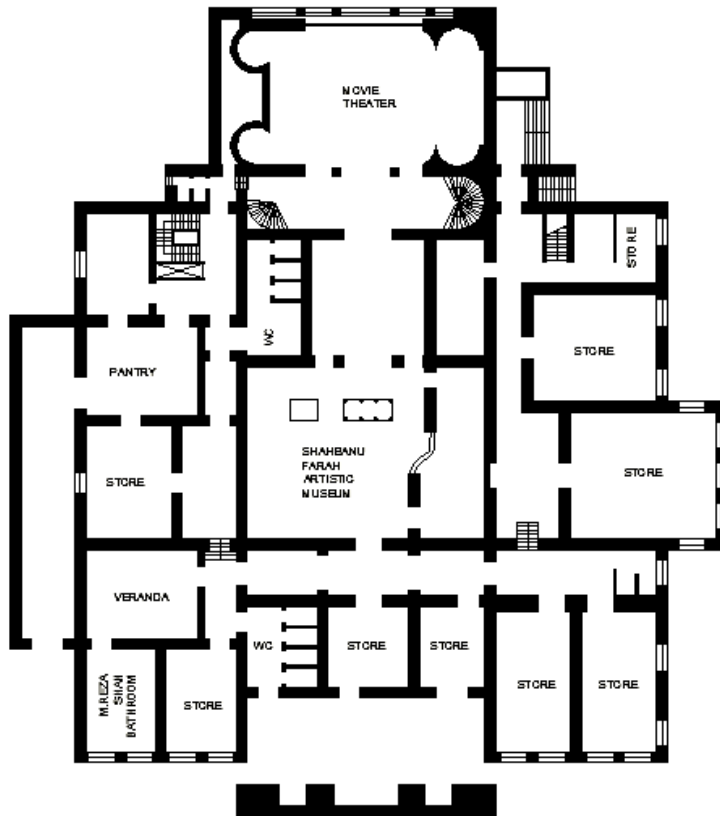


Figure 176 The Basement of the White Palace of Sa'ad Abad.

SOURCE: *Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex: A Technical Report Revenue of 2002-5* (Tehran: Archive of the Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex). Not: The plan is reconstructed by the author.

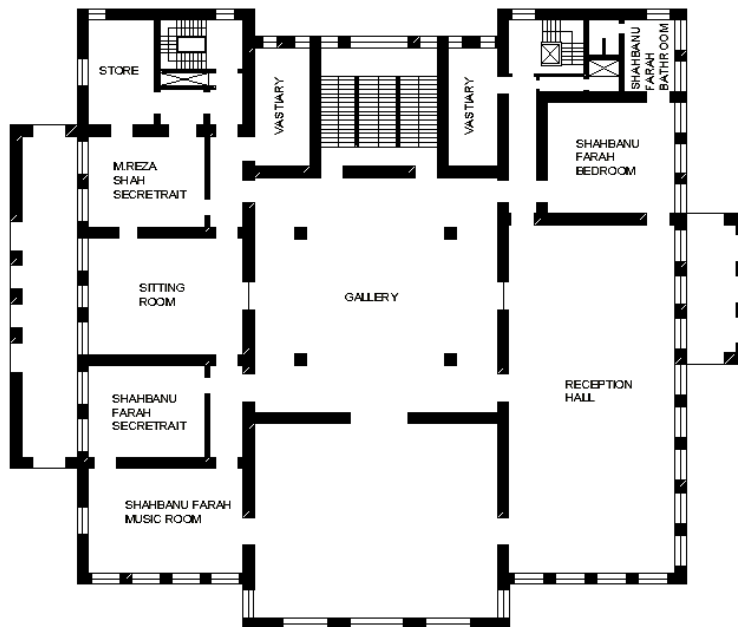


Figure 177 The Second Floor Plan of the White Palace of Sa'ad Abad.

SOURCE: *Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex: A Technical Report Revenue of 2002-5* (Tehran: Archive of the Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex). Not: The plan is reconstructed by the author.



Figure 178 The Shams Pahlavi's Palace at Sa'ad Abad Complex.

SOURCE: *Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex: A Technical Report Revenue of 2002-5* (Tehran: The Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex).

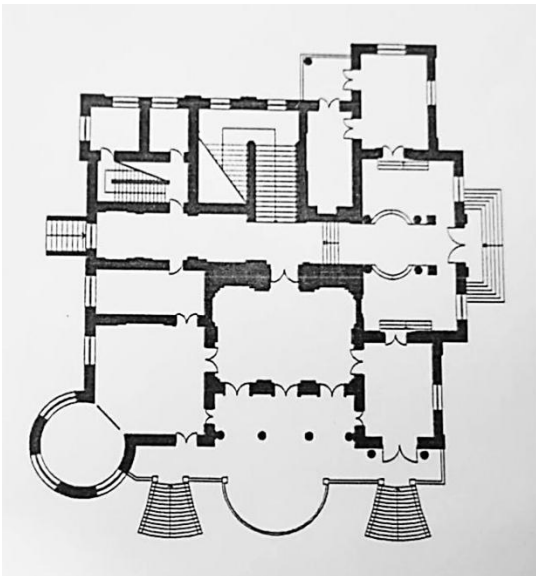


Figure 179 The Ground Floor Plan of Shams Pahlavi's Palace at Sa'ad Abad Complex, 1990s.

SOURCE: *Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex: A Technical Report Revenue of 2002-5* (Tehran: The Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex).

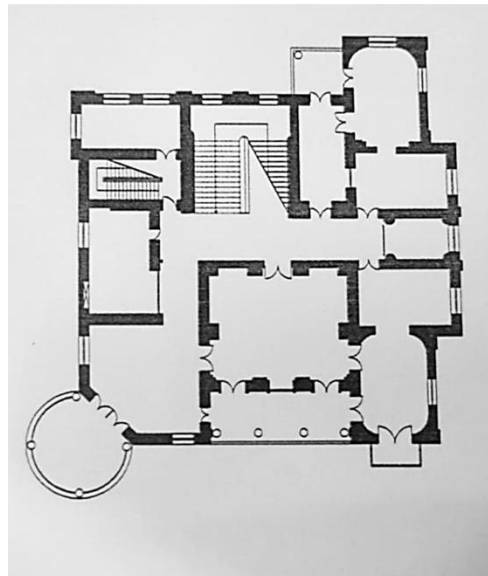


Figure 180 The First Floor Plan of Shams Pahlavi's Palace at Sa'ad Abad Complex, 1990s.

SOURCE: *Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex: A Technical Report Revenue of 2002-5* (Tehran: The Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex).

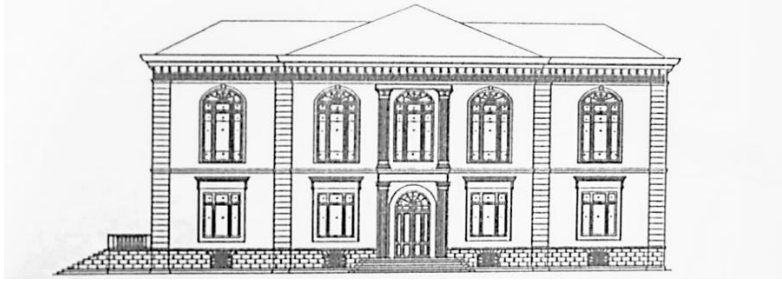


Figure 181 The East Elevation of Shams Pahlavi's Palace, 1990s.

SOURCE: *Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex: A Technical Report Revenue of 2002-5* (Tehran: The Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex).

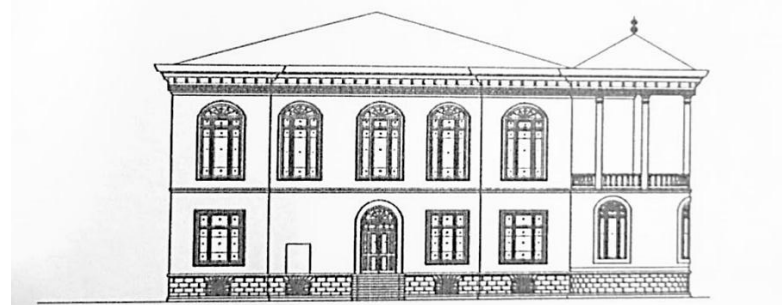


Figure 182 The West Elevation of Shams Pahlavi's Palace, 1990s.

SOURCE: *Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex: A Technical Report Revenue of 2002-5* (Tehran: The Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex).

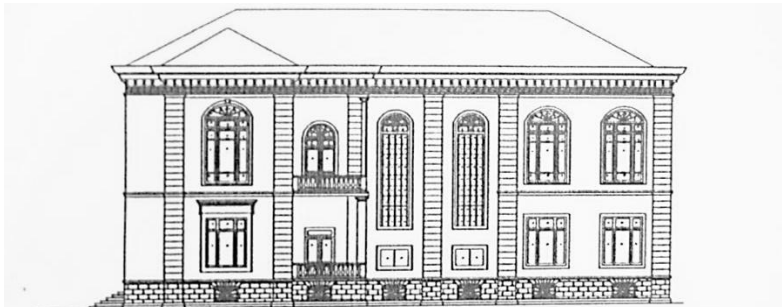


Figure 183 The North Elevation of Shams Pahlavi's Palace, 1990s.

SOURCE: *Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex: A Technical Report Revenue of 2002-5* (Tehran: The Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex).

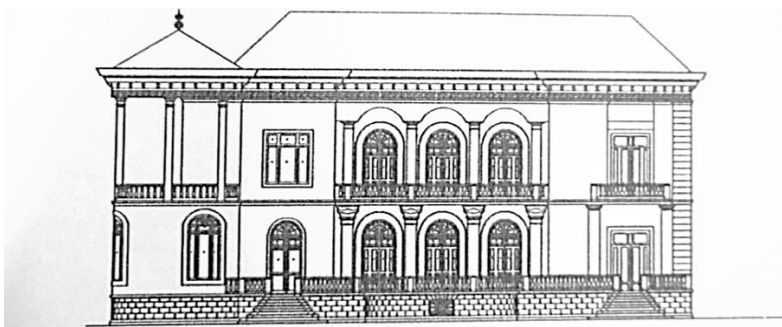


Figure 184 The North Elevation of Shams Pahlavi's Palace, 1990s.

SOURCE: *Sa'ad Abad Palace Complex: A Technical Report Revenue of 2002-5* (Tehran: The Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex).



Figure 185 The Shahvand Palace, the main elevation, 2011.
SOURCE: Author, 2011.

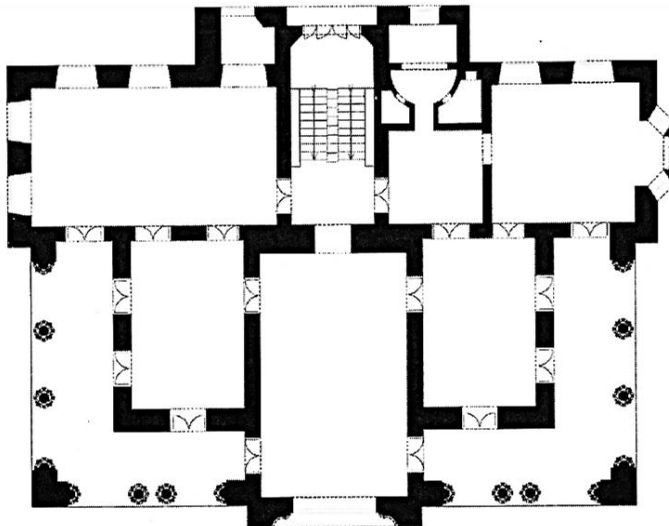


Figure 186 The Ground Floor of the Shhvand Palace, Sa’ad Abad Palace Complex, 2011.
SOURCE: Eskandar Mokhtari Taleghani, 2011, “First Moderns: Prominent Iranian Architects and Their Roles in Architectural Developments.” *The Heritage of Modern Architecture of Iran* (Tehran: Cultural Research Bureau Publication), p: 102.

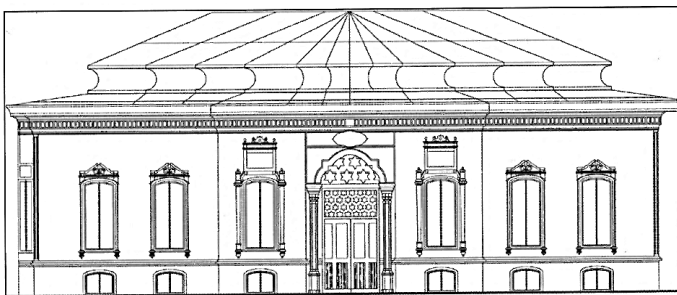


Figure187 The elevation of the Shhvand Palace, Sa’ad Abad Palace Complex, 2011.
SOURCE: Eskandar Mokhtari Taleghani, 2011, “First Moderns: Prominent Iranian Architects and Their Roles in Architectural Developments.” *The Heritage of Modern Architecture of Iran* (Tehran: Cultural Research Bureau Publication), p: 102.



Figure 188 The Saad Abad Palace, Sa'ad Abad Complex, 2008.

SOURCE: Sohrab Soroushiani, Victor Daniel and Bijan Shafei, *Architecture of Changing Times in Iran*, Vartan Hovanessian Architecture (Tehran: Did Publication), p. 68.

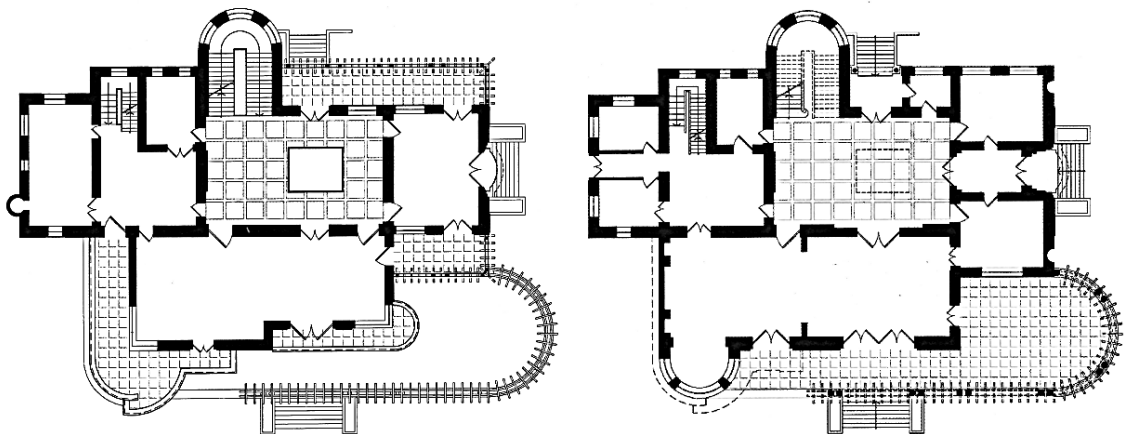


Figure 189 The First Floor Plan of the Saad Abad Palace (left) at Sa'ad Abad Complex, 2008.

SOURCE: Sohrab Soroushiani, Victor Daniel and Bijan Shafei, *Architecture of Changing Times in Iran*, Vartan Hovanessian Architecture (Tehran: Did Publication), p. 68.

Figure 190 The Ground Floor Plan of the Saad Abad Palace (right) at Sa'ad Abad Complex, 2008.

SOURCE: Sohrab Soroushiani, Victor Daniel and Bijan Shafei, *Architecture of Changing Times in Iran*, Vartan Hovanessian Architecture (Tehran: Did Publication), p. 68.

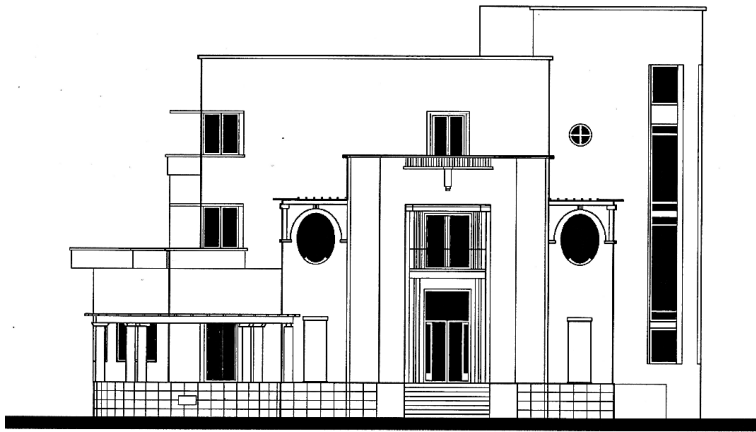


Figure 191 The East Elevation of the Saad Abad Palace at Sa'ad Abad Complex, 2008.
SOURCE: Sohrab Soroushiani, Victor Daniel and Bijan Shafei, *Architecture of Changing Times in Iran*, Vartan Hovanessian Architecture (Tehran: Did Publication), p. 67.

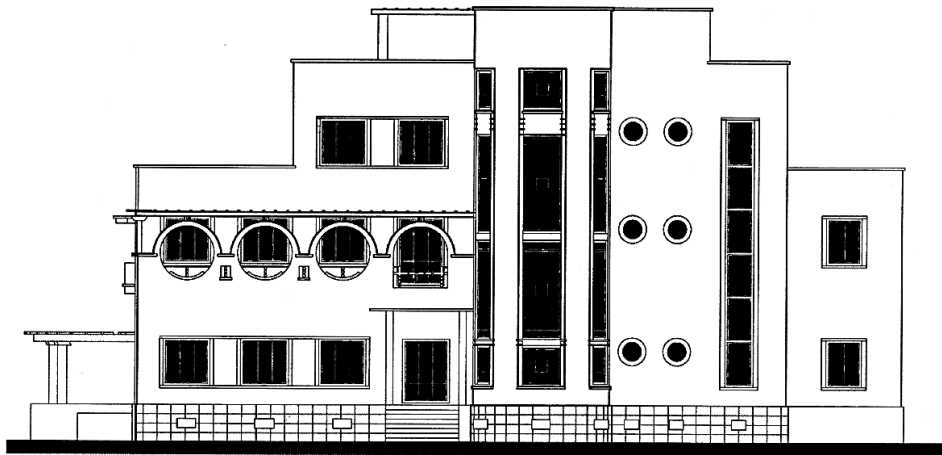


Figure 192 The North Elevation of the Saad Abad Palace at Sa'ad Abad Complex, 2008.
SOURCE: Sohrab Soroushiani, Victor Daniel and Bijan Shafei, *Architecture of Changing Times in Iran*, Vartan Hovanessian Architecture (Tehran: Did Publication), p. 67.

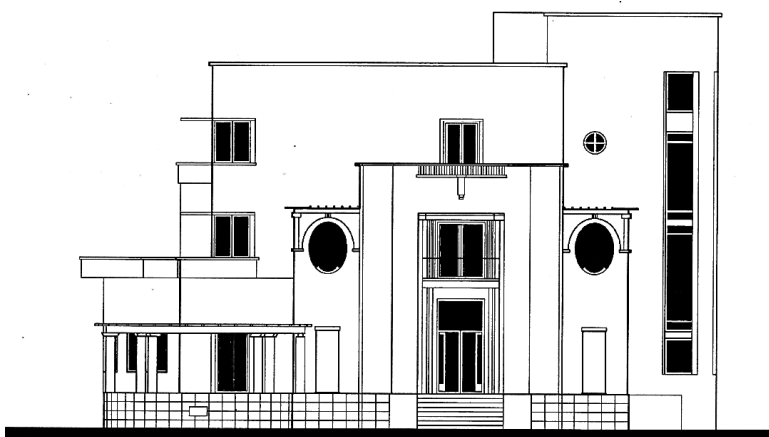


Figure 193 The South Elevation of the Saad Abad Palace at Sa'ad Abad Complex, 2008.
SOURCE: Sohrab Soroushiani, Victor Daniel and Bijan Shafei, *Architecture of Changing Times in Iran*, Vartan Hovanessian Architecture (Tehran: Did Publication), p. 67.

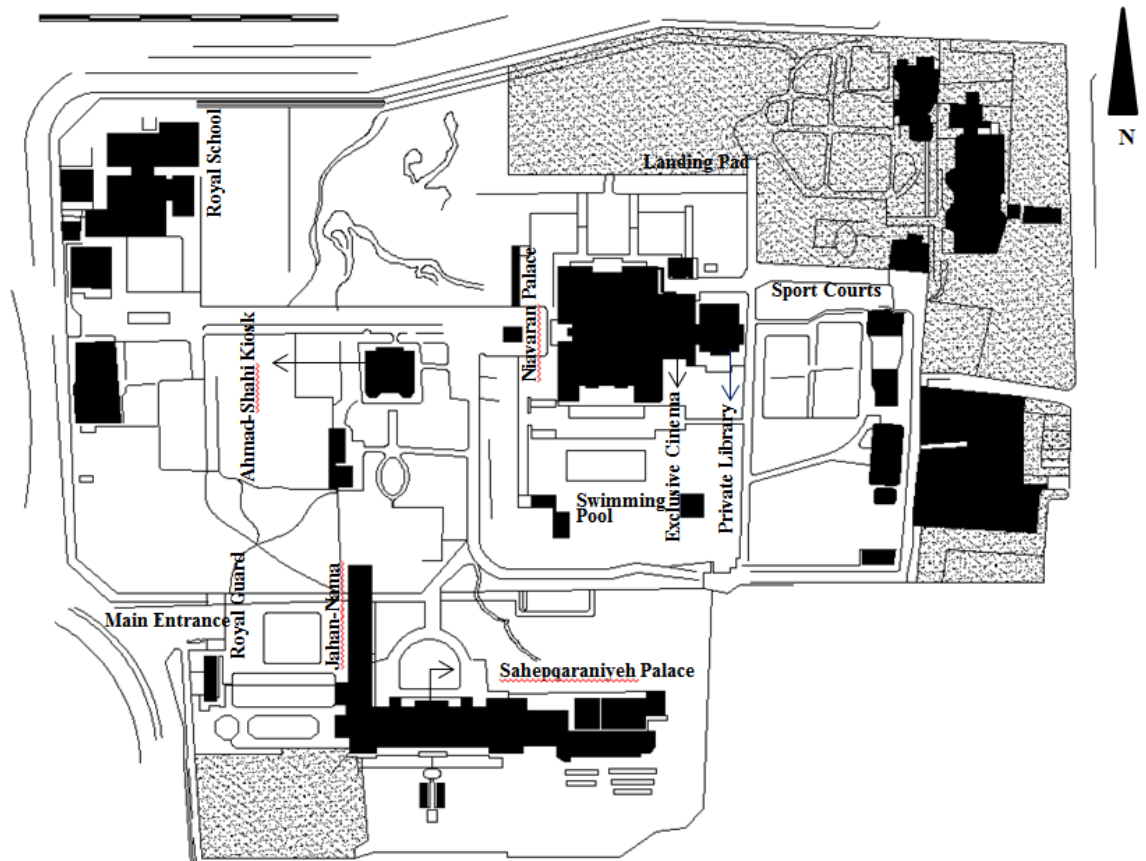


Figure 194 Niavaran Palace Complex, Site Plan, 2012.

SOURCE: *Niavaran Palace Complex* (Tehran: Archive of the Technical Bureau of Niavaran Palace).

Not: The site plan is revised and reconstructed by the author.

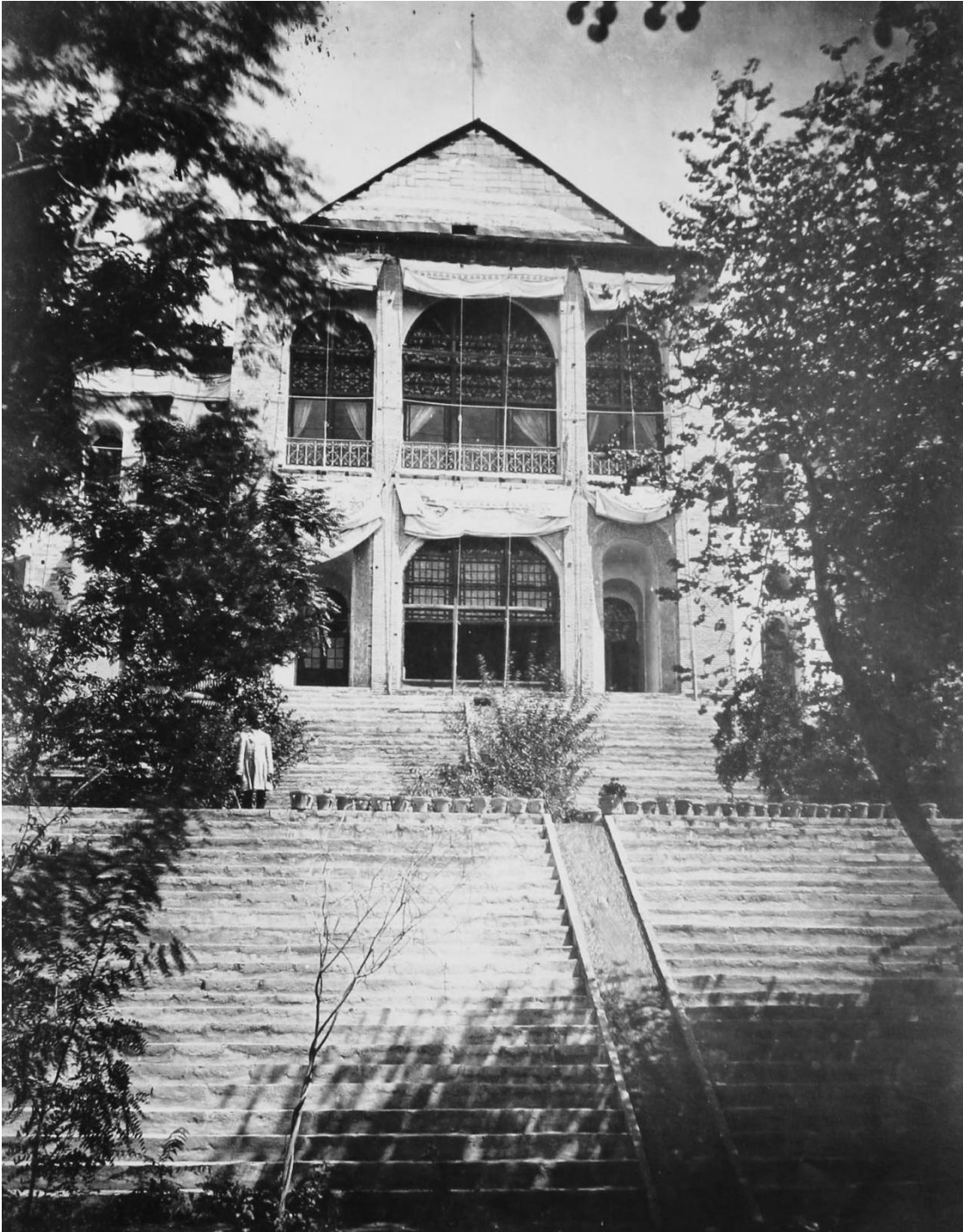


Figure 195 The main entrance of Sahebqaraniyeh Palace, 1880.

SOURCE: Archive of the Technical Bureau of the Golestan Palace.



Figure 196 The Mirror-Hall or Jahan Nama Hall, view of the Shah's bureau, Sahebqaraniyeh Palace during the reign of Mohammad-Reza Shah Pahlavi, 1977.

SOURCE: Philippe Jullian, December 1977, "Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran," *Architectural Digest*, pp. 76-7.



Figure 197 View of Hose-Khaneh (pool-room) and Shah-Neshin (formal reception area), Sahebqaraniyeh Palace under the Qajars, 1880s.
SOURCE: Archive of the Technical Bureau of Niavaran Palace Complex.



Figure 198 View of Hose-Khaneh (pool-room) and Shah-Neshin (formal reception area) during the reign of Mohammad-Reza Shah Pahlavi, Sahebqaraniyeh Palace, 1970s.
SOURCE: Author, 2012.



Figure 199 View of Hose-Khaneh (pool-room), Sahebqaraniyeh Palace during the reign of Naser al-din Shah Qajars, 1880s.

SOURCE: Yahya Zoka & Mohammad-Hasan Semsar, 1997, *The Sahebqaraniyeh Palace, Tehran in Illustration II* (Tehran: Soroush), p. 261.



Figure 200 View of Hose-Khaneh (pool-room), Sahebqaraniyeh Palace during the reign of Mohammad-Reza Shah Pahlavi, 1970s.

SOURCE: Author, 2012.



Figure 201 View of the Ahmad-Shahi Kiosk, the Niavaran Palace Complex, 2010.
SOURCE: Author, 2010.

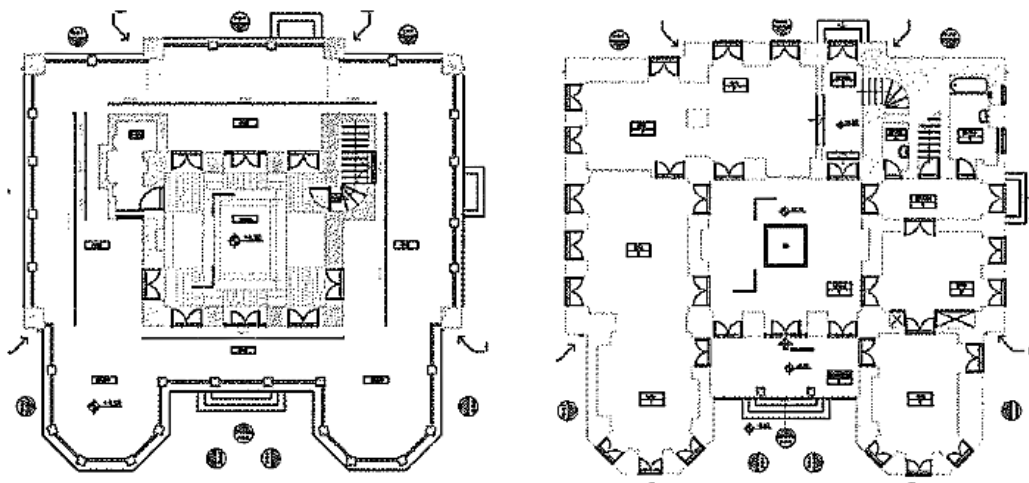


Figure 202 The Ground Plan of the Ahmad-Shahi Kiosk (left).

SOURCE: Vahid Ghobadian, "Ahmad Shahi Kiosk," *Styles and Concepts in Iranian Contemporary Architecture* (Elm-e Me'mar), p. 114.

Figure 203 The First Plan of the Ahmad-Shahi Kiosk (right).

SOURCE: Vahid Ghobadian, "Ahmad Shahi Kiosk," *Styles and Concepts in Iranian Contemporary Architecture* (Elm-e Me'mar), p. 114.



Figure 204 A view from the southern-side of the Main Palace of Niavaran (left) and the Private Library (right), 1977.

SOURCE: Philippe Jullian, December 1977, “Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran,” *Architectural Digest*, p. 68.



Figure 205 A detailed view from the main entrance of the Palace of Niavaran, 2011.

SOURCE: Author, 2011.

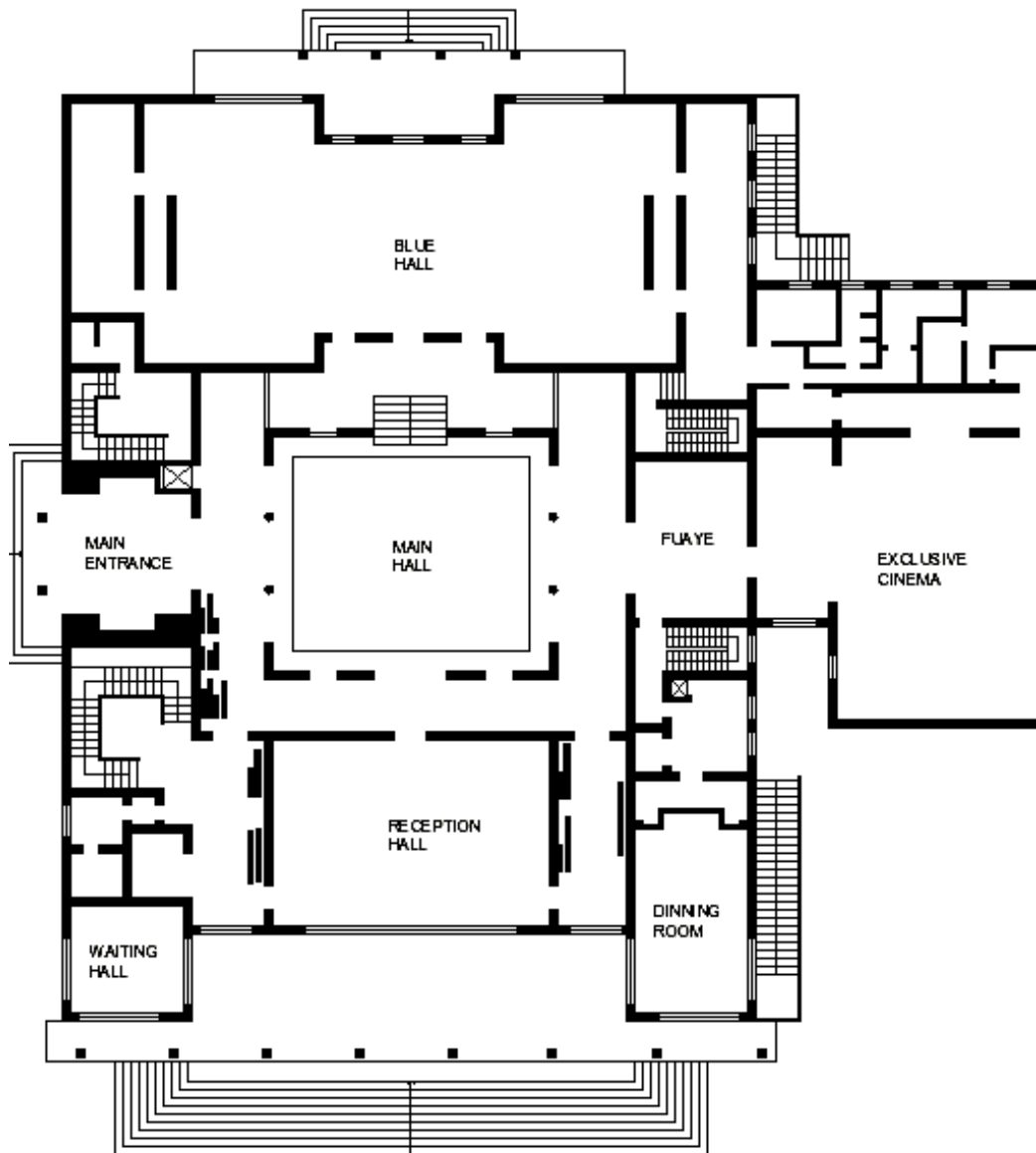


Figure 206 The Ground Floor Plan of the Niavaran Palace, 2012.

SOURCE: Archive of the Technical Bureau of the Niavaran Complex.

Not: The plan is reconstructed by the author.



Figure 207 A detail of the main entrance hall and the gallery floor, the Niavaran Palace, 1977.

SOURCE: Philippe Jullian, December 1977, "Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran," *Architectural Digest*, p. 68.



Figure 208 View of the State dining-room., the Niavaran Palace, 1977.
SOURCE: Philippe Jullian, December 1977, "Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran,"
Architectural Digest, p. 71.

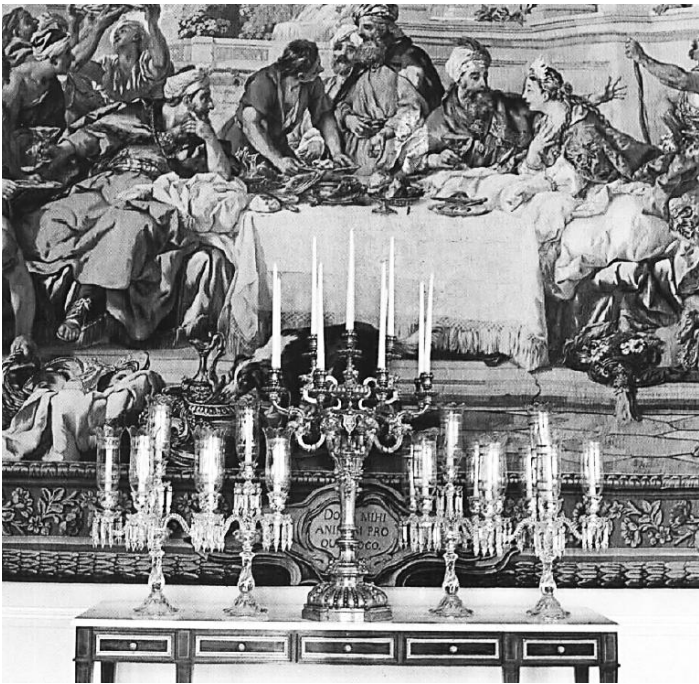


Figure 209 A detailed view from the State dining-room, the Niavaran Palace, 1977.
SOURCE: Philippe Jullian, December 1977, "Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran,"
Architectural Digest, p. 71.



Figure 210 A view of the reception hall, the Niavaran palace, 1977.

SOURCE: Philippe Jullian, December 1977, "Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran," *Architectural Digest*, p. 71.



Figure 211 The contemporary abstract bronze sculpture by Henry Moore, the Niavaran Palace, 2013.

SOURCE: Mehr News Agency, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.mehr.ir> [Accessed: 03 March 2013].



Figure 212 A general view of dining-room, the Niavaran Palace, 2013.

SOURCE: Mehr News Agency, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.mehr.ir> [Accessed: 03 March 2013].



Figure 213 A view of the Private Cinema, the Columnar sculpture by Parviz Tanavoli and the Sun by Abdolghasem Saidi, the Niavaran Palace, 1977.

SOURCE: Philippe Jullian, December 1977, "Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran," *Architectural Digest*, p. 74.



Figure 214 View of the railed staircase, the Niavaran palace, 2011.

SOURCE: Author, 2011.

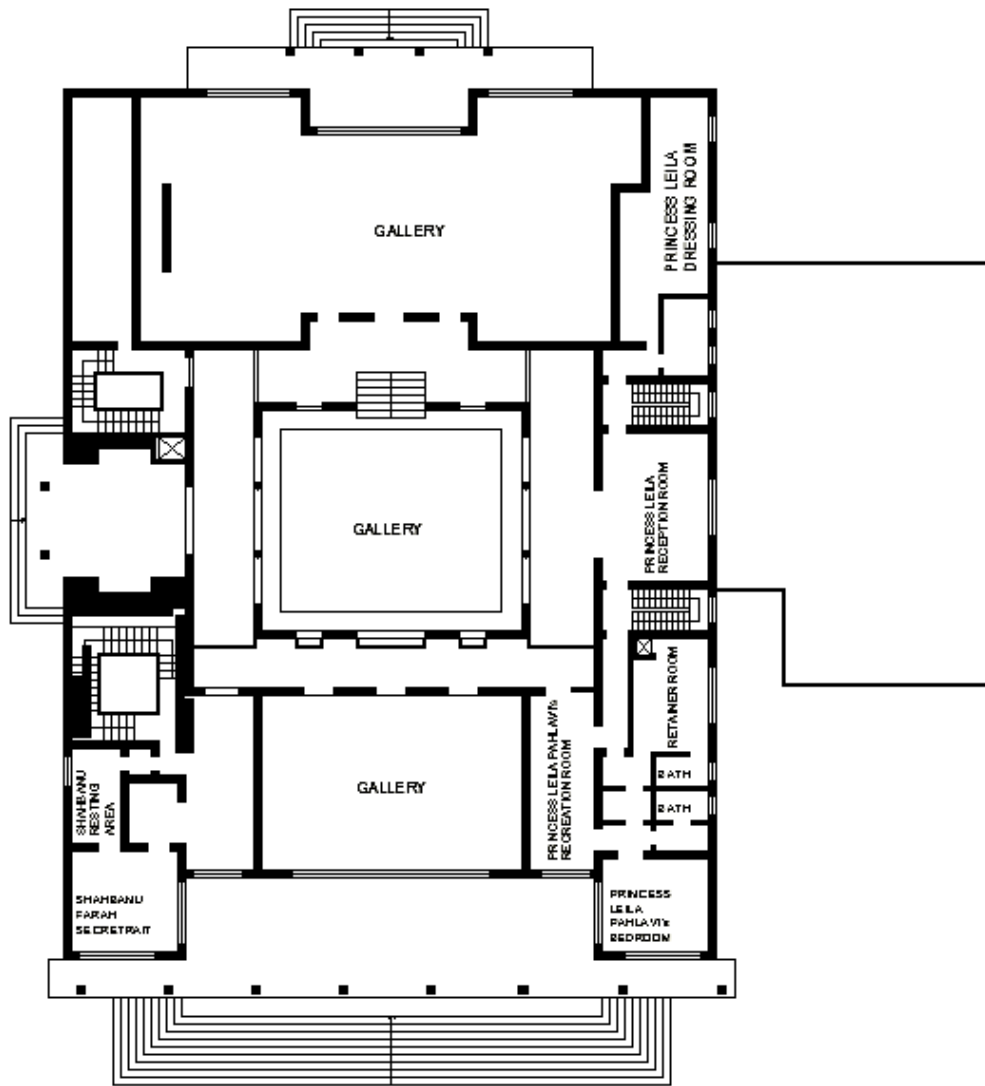


Figure 215 The First Gallery Floor Plan of the Niavaran Palace, 2012.

SOURCE: Archive of the Technical Bureau of the Niavaran Complex.

Not: The plan is reconstructed by the author.



Figure 216 The Shahbanu Farah’s Official Office, the Niavaran Palace, 2011.

SOURCE: Author, 2011.

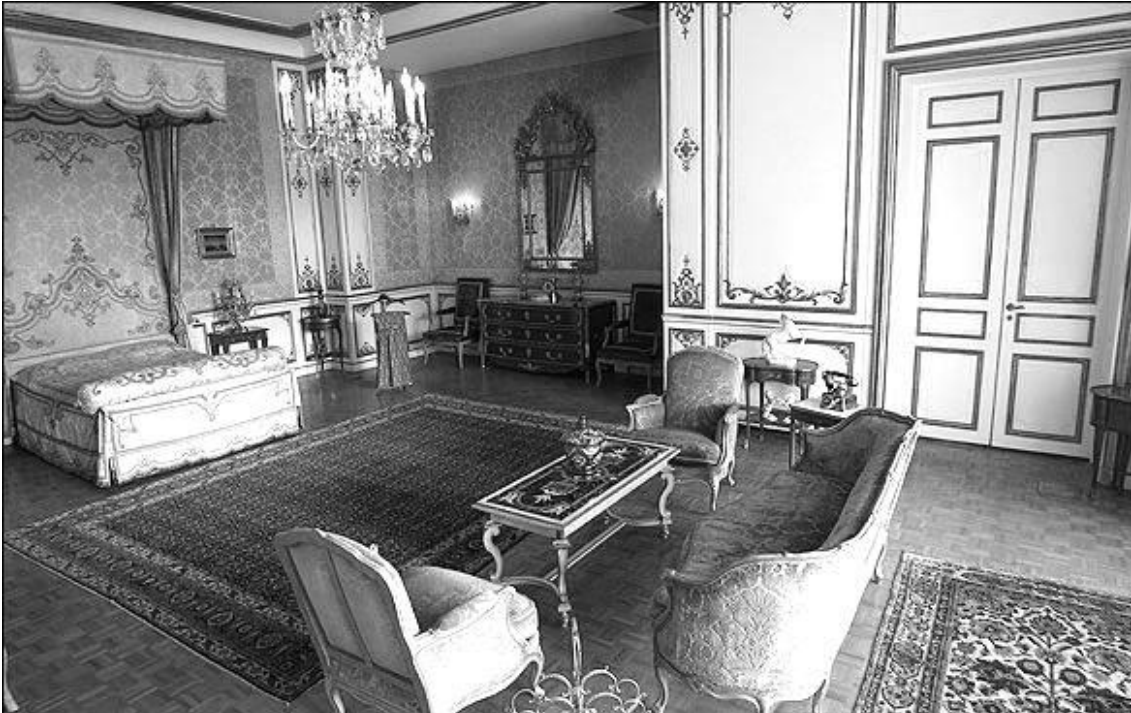


Figure 217 The Shahbanu Farah’s resting-room, the Niavaran Palace, 2011.

SOURCE: Author, 2011.

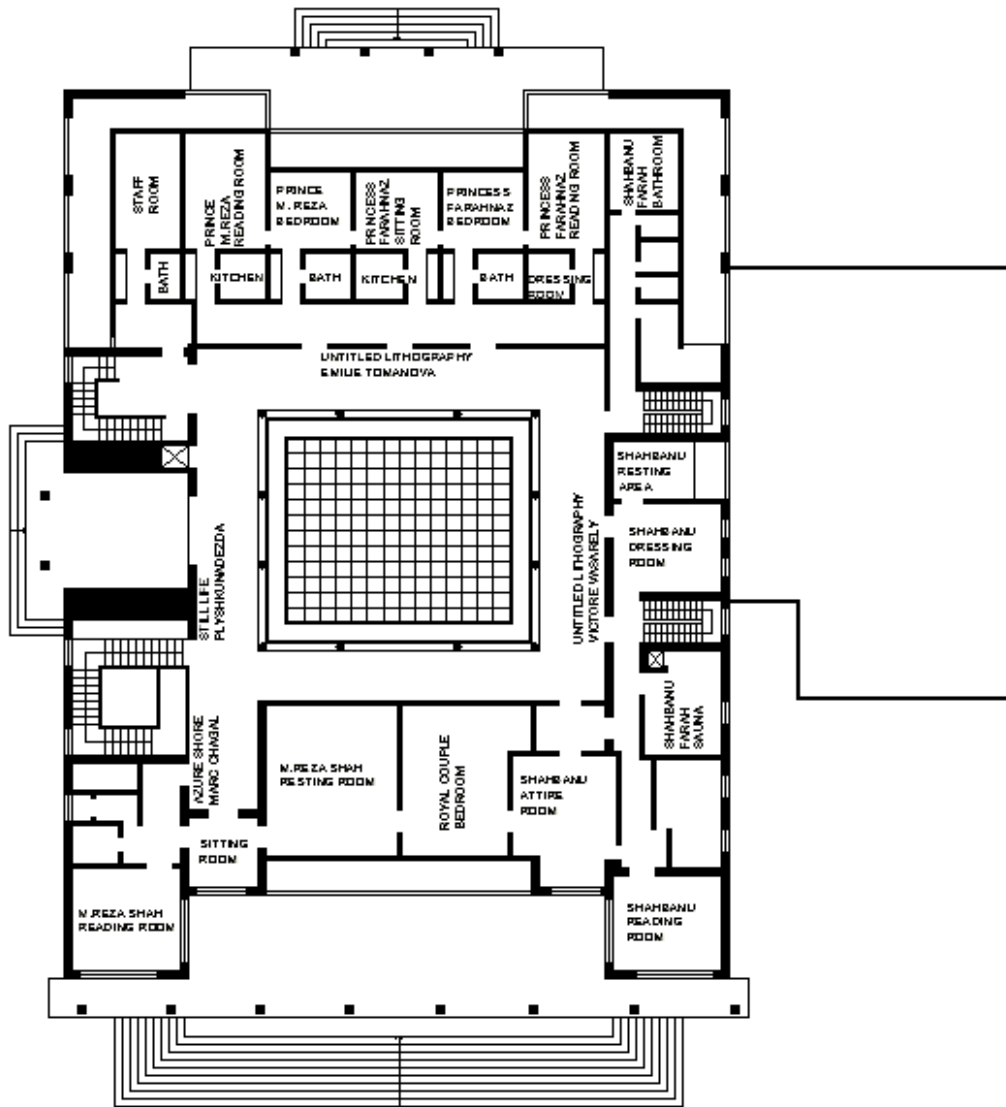


Figure 218 The Second Gallery Floor Plan of the Niavaran Palace, 2012.

SOURCE: Archive of the Technical Bureau of the Niavaran Complex.

Not: The plan is reconstructed by the author.



Figure 219 Ali-Reza Pahlavi's bedroom, the Palace of Niavaran, 2013.

SOURCE: *The palace of Niavaran: Photo Gallery* (Niavaran Cultural/Historic Center Archive and Documentation), [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://www.niavaranpalace.ir> [Accessed: 27 February 2013].



Figure 220 Ali-Reza Pahlavi's reading-room, the Palace of Niavaran, 2013.

SOURCE: *The palace of Niavaran: Photo Gallery* (Niavaran Cultural/Historic Center Archive and Documentation), [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://www.niavaranpalace.ir> [Accessed: 27 February 2013].



Figure 221 Farahnaz Pahlavi's bedroom, the Palace of Niavaran, 2013.

SOURCE: *The palace of Niavaran: Photo Gallery* (Niavaran Cultural/Historic Center Archive and Documentation) [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://www.niavaranpalace.ir> [Accessed: 27 February 2013].



Figure 222 Farahnaz Pahlavi's reading-room, the Palace of Niavaran, 2013.

SOURCE: *The palace of Niavaran: Photo Gallery* (Niavaran Cultural/Historic Center Archive and Documentation) [internet, WWW]. ADDRESS: <http://www.niavaranpalace.ir> [Accessed: 27 February 2013].



Figure 223 The Shahbanu Farah's attire-room, the Niavaran Palace., 2011.
SOURCE: Author, 2011.



Figure 224 The Shahbanu Farah's dressing-room, the Niavaran Palace, 2011.
SOURCE: Author, 2011.



Figure 225 View of the main entrance of Shahbanu Farah's Artistic Museum (right) and Movie Theater (left), the basement of the Sa'ad Abad Palace, 2011.
SOURCE: Author, 2011.



Figure 226 View of Shahbanu Farah's Artistic Museum, 2011.
SOURCE: Archive of the Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex.



Figure 227 View of the Shahbanu Farah's Artistic Museum, 2011.
SOURCE: Archive of the Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex.



Figure 228 View of the Shahbanu Farah's Artistic Museum, 2011.
SOURCE: Archive of the Technical Bureau of Sa'ad Abad Complex.

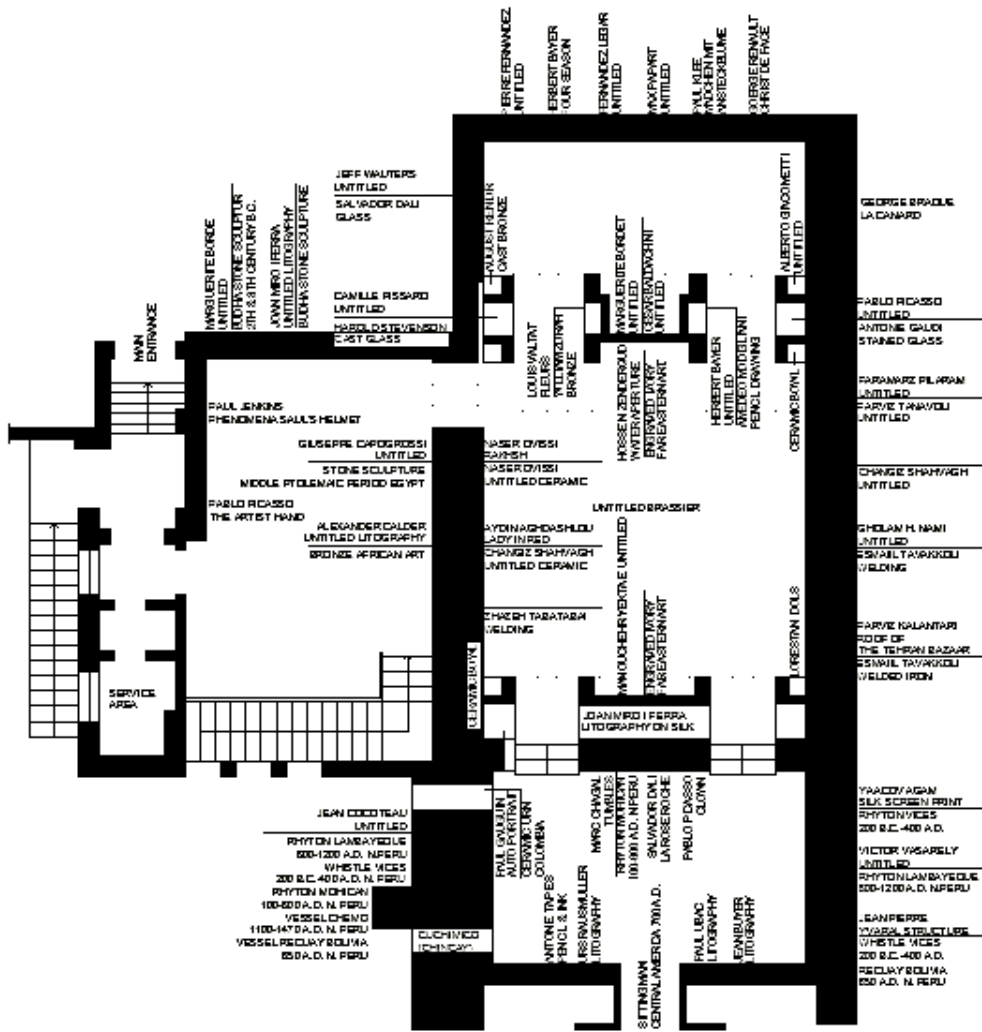


Figure 229 A detailed Plan of the Storeroom, the Niavaran Palace, 2012.

SOURCE: Archive of the Technical Bureau of the Niavaran Complex.

Not: The plan is reconstructed by the author.



Figure 230 A general view of the central hall, Shahbanu's storeroom, Sahebqaraniyeh Palace., 1977.

SOURCE: *Of Niavarán Garden's Fragrance: Selection of Artworks in Niavarán Cultural-Historical Complex* (Tehran: Iran Cultural Heritage & Tourism Organization publication), pp. 290-1.



Figure 231 A general view of the central hall, painting by Manouchehr Yektaie (top), engraved ivory, far eastern art (bottom), Shahbanu's storeroom, Sahebqaraniyeh Palace, 2013.

SOURCE: *Jahan-Nama Museum*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.mehrnews.ir> [Accessed: 12 February 2013].



Figure 232 Joan Miro Ferra, lithography on silk, the thickness of the wall provides exhibiting areas in the storeroom, Sahebqaraniyeh Palace, 2013.

SOURCE: *Jahan-Nama Museum*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.mehrnews.ir> [Accessed: 12 February 2013].



Figure 233 Silk screen print by Yaacov Agam (top), Rhyton Vices and Lambayeque (bottom), Shahbanu's storeroom, Sahebqaraniyeh Palace, 2013.

SOURCE: *Jahan-Nama Museum*, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.mehrnews.ir> [Accessed: 12 February 2013].



Figure 234 Sitting Man fom central America 700AD., the Shahbanu Farah’s storeroom, Sahebqaraniyeh Palace, 2012.

SOURCE: Author, 2012.



Figure 235 The Shahbanu Farah's Private Library, 2011.
SOURCE: Author, 2011.



Figure 236 View of the Shahbanu Farah's Private Library (left), the Private Cinema (middle) and the Main Palace (right), 2011.
SOURCE: Author, 2011.

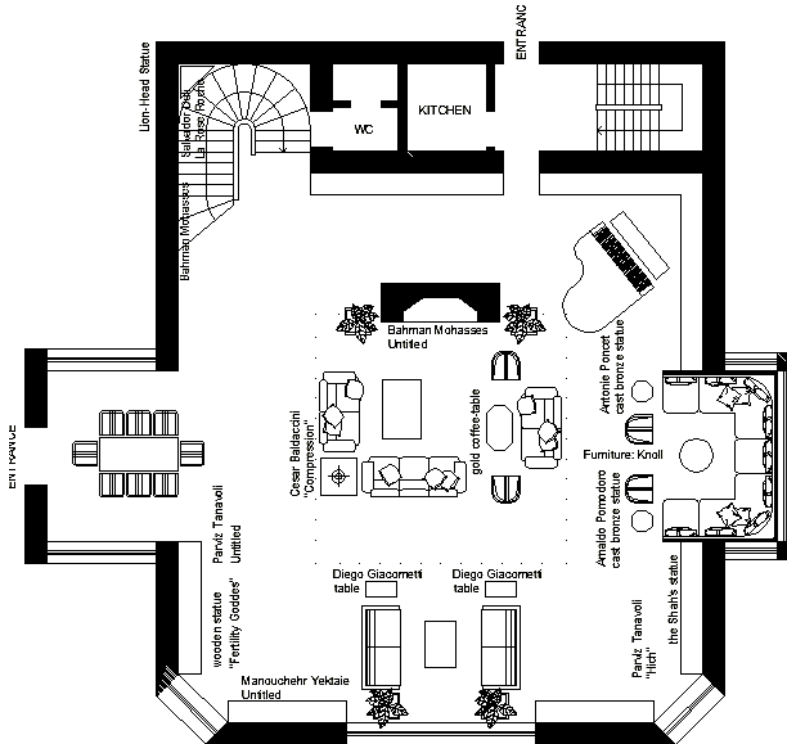


Figure 237 The Ground Floor Plan of the Private Library of Farah Pahlavi, 2012.

SOURCE: Archive of the Technical Bureau of the Niavaran Complex.

Not: The plan is reconstructed by the author.

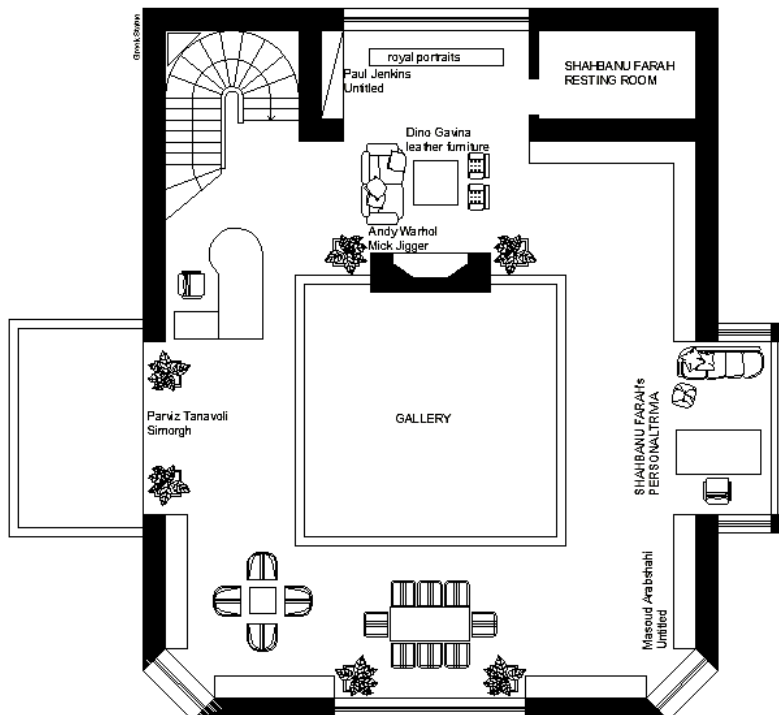


Figure 238 The Gallery Floor Plan of the Private Library of Farah Pahlavi, 2012.

SOURCE: Archive of the Technical Bureau of the Niavaran Complex.

Not: The plan is reconstructed by the author.

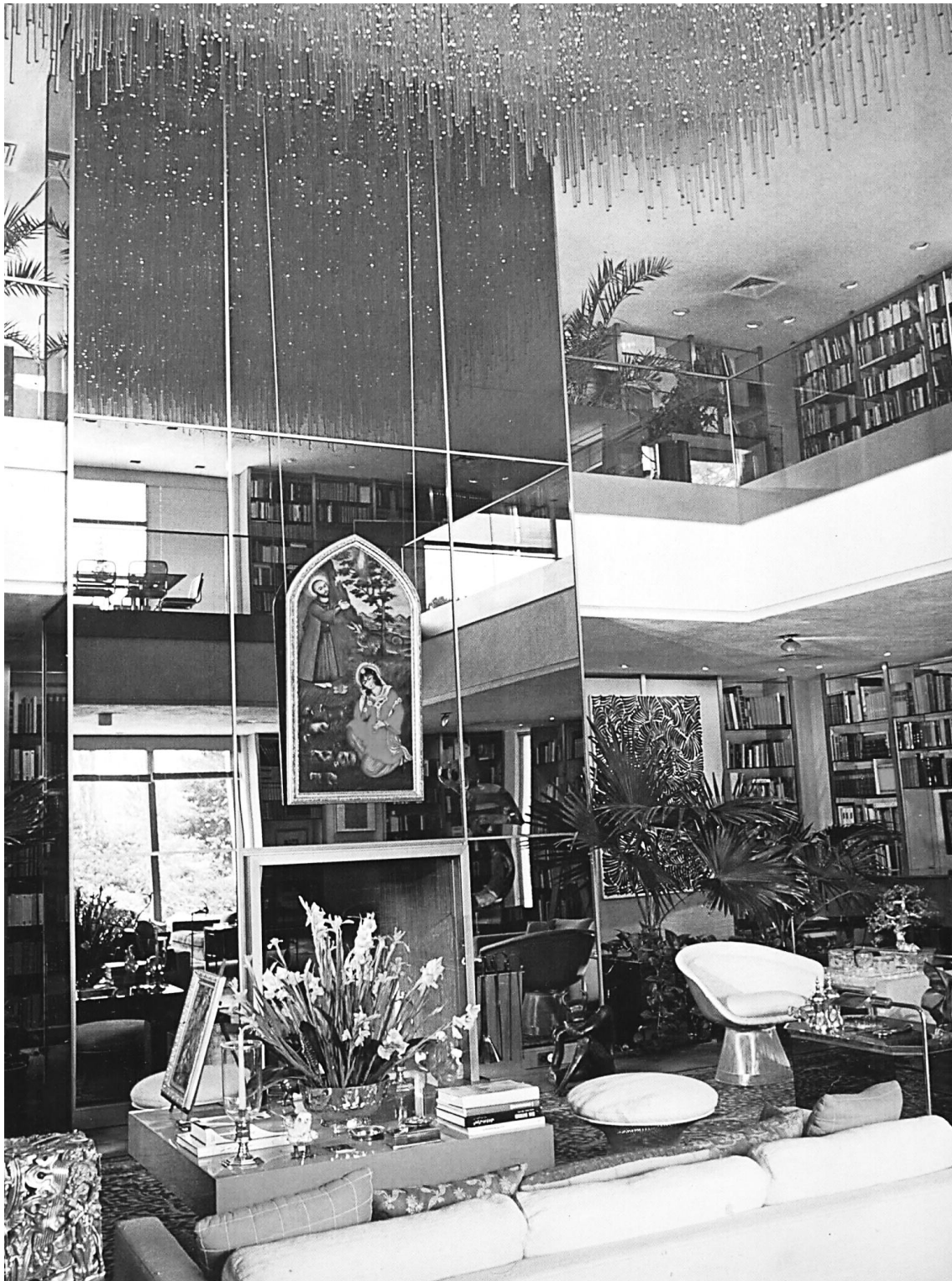


Figure 239 A view from the central part of the Private Library of Shahbanu Farah, 1977.
SOURCE: Philippe Jullian, December 1977, "Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran,"
Architectural Digest, p. 72.



Figure 240 Detail of the staircase and the column window, the Private Library of Shahbanu Farah., Niavaran Palace, 2011.

SOURCE: Author, 2011.



Figure 241 A general view of the Private Library of Shahbanu Farah., Niavaran Palace., 2011.

SOURCE: Author, 2011.



Figure 242 Detail of the lightening, the Private Library of Shahbanu Farah. Niavaran Palace, 2011. SOURCE: Author, 2011.



Figure 243 A detailed view from the gallery floor of the Private Library (the embroidered benevolent talismans, family photographs and a painting by Paul Jenkins, Barcelona chair and stool by the Knoll Company), 1977.

SOURCE: Philippe Jullian, December 1977, "Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran," *Architectural Digest*, p. 74.



Figure 244 Charles Sévigny au'travail Paris.
SOURCE: *Collection Charles Sevigny - Yves Vidal* (Paris: Christie's), p. 4.



Figure 245 Florence Knoll Bassett at the Knoll office, 1946.
SOURCE: Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.metropolismag.com> [Accessed: 12 February 2013].



Figure 246 Cast iron decorative table designed by Diego Giacometti, 2011.

SOURCE: Author, 2011.



Figure 247 Chinese painted table, 2011.

SOURCE: Author, 2011.



Figure 248 A detailed view from the south-west of the Private Library (the wooden statue, Fertility Goddess and M. Yetkaie's painting), 1977.
 SOURCE: Philippe Jullian, December 1977, "Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran," *Architectural Digest*, p. 73.



Figure 249 *Aux Écoutes* by the French Sculptor Antoine Poncet, the Private Library of Shahbanu Farah, 2011.
 SOURCE: Author, 2011.

Figure 250 *Sfera* by the French Sculptor Antoine Poncet, the Private Library of Shahbanu Farah, 2011.
 SOURCE: Author, 2011.



Figure 251 A detailed view from the south-east of the Private Library (the Shah's statue, P. Tanavoli's bronze sculpture, *Hich*, D. Giacometti's table and Buddha stone sculpture from the 2th century AD.), 1977.

SOURCE: Philippe Jullian, December 1977, "Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran," *Architectural Digest*, p. 73.

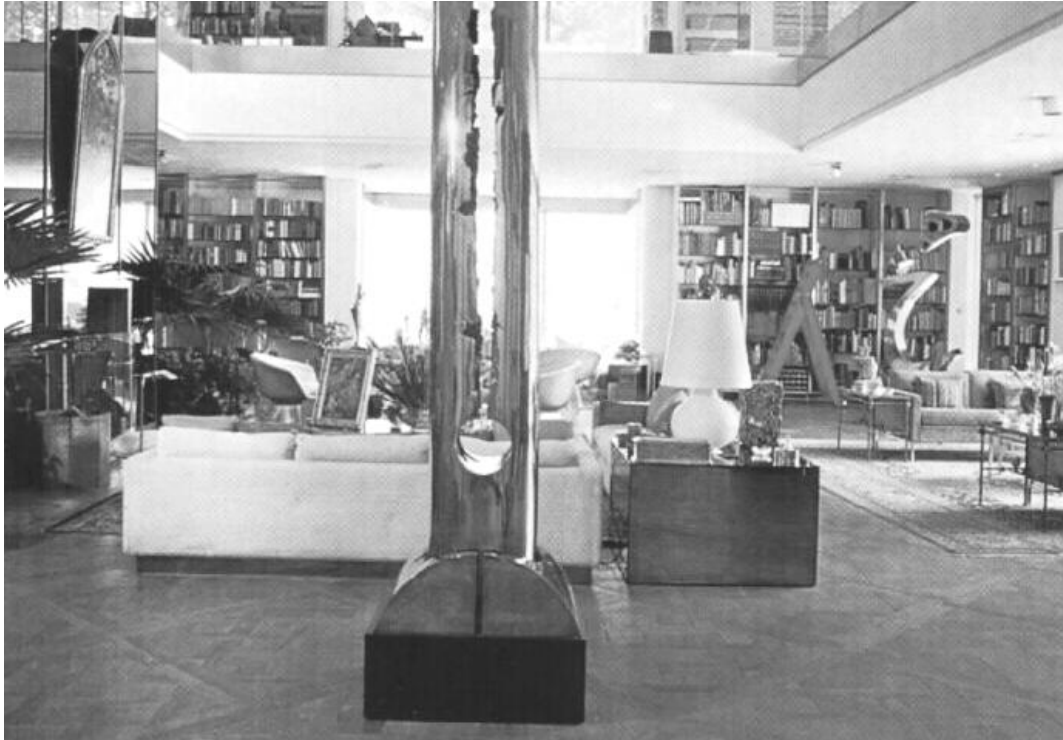


Figure 252 A detailed view from the south-west of the Private Library; *Colonna* by Pomodoro.

SOURCE: Philippe Jullian, December 1977, "Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran," *Architectural Digest*, p. 73.

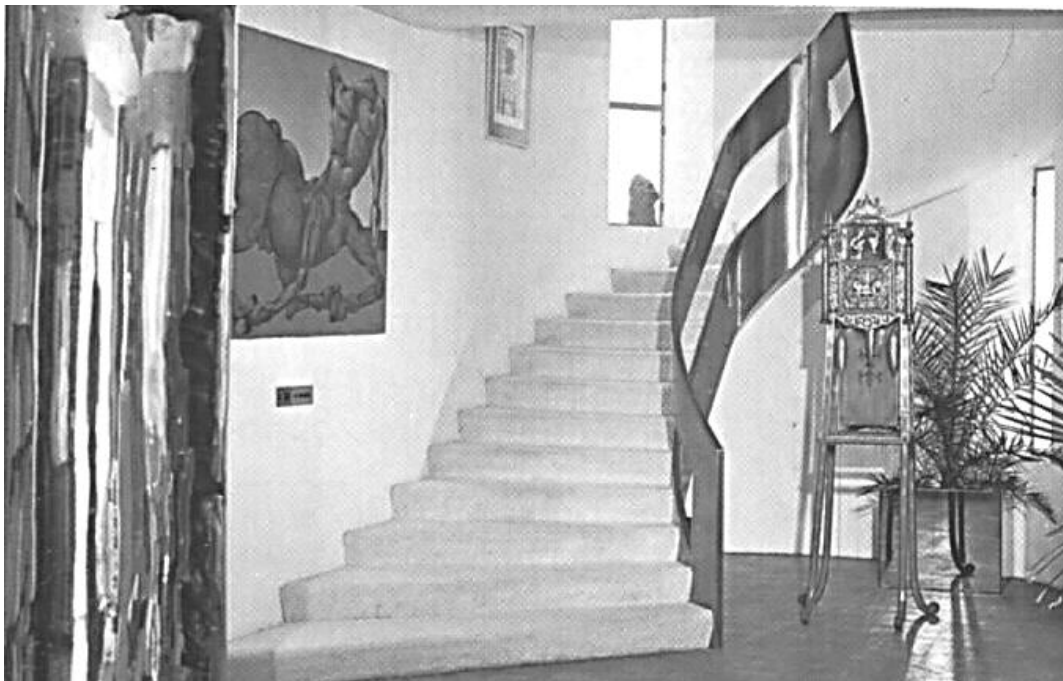


Figure 253 A view from the staircase of the Private Library (an untitled painting by B. Mohasses, *La Rose Roche* by S. Dali and a lion-head statue), 1977.

SOURCE: Philippe Jullian, December 1977, "Architectural Digest Visits: The Empress of Iran," *Architectural Digest*, p. 73.



Figure 254 Shahbanu of Iran with her children Farahnaz Pahlavi, Reza Pahlavi, Leila Pahlavi and Ali Reza Pahlavi at her Private Library (from left to right), Niavaran Palace, 1977.

SOURCE: Jean Michel Pedrazzani, 1977, *L'imperatrice d'Iran: le mythe et la realite* (Paris: Publimonde).

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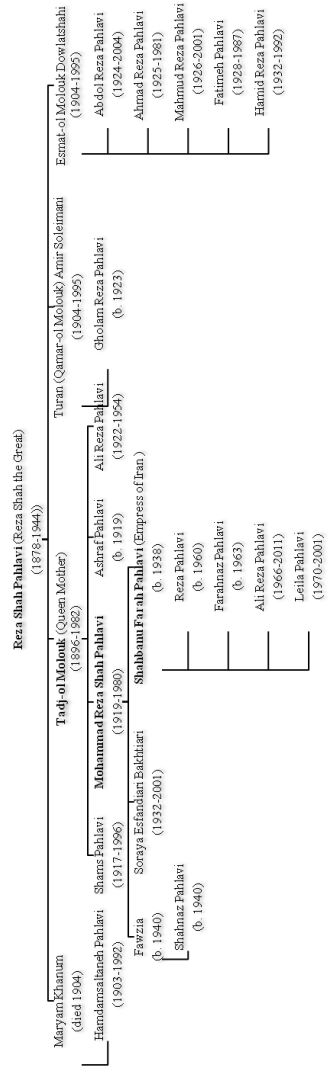
APPENDIX A

THE QAJAR DYNASTY

The Qajars were a Turkmen tribe who ruled Persia between 1794 and 1925 following the Zand Dynasty. Establishing their capital at Tehran, the crowned Shah Agha Mohammad Khan Qajar was assassinated and succeeded by his nephew Fath Ali Shah Qajar in 1797. Under Fath Ali Shah, Iran suffered major military defeat during the war with Russia which resulted in the Treaty of Golestan in 1813 and the Treaty of Turkmanchai in 1820. Iran accordingly gave most of the north Caucasus region and the north of the Aras River (territory comprising present-day Armenia and Republic of Azerbaijan) to Russia. Between the period 1834 and 1848, Mohammad Shah ruled Iran. The reign of Naser al-Din Shah Qajar was a starting point for the Iranian modernization process. After the assassination of Naser al-Din Shah, his son Mozaffar al-Din Shah Qajar was crowned in 1896. The most important event during the reign of Mozaffar al-Din Shah was the Iranian Constitutional Decree which was forced by the merchants and clerical leaders in 1906 and resulted in strict limitations on royal power and the election of majles. The Constitutional Revolution was followed by the Supplementary Fundamental Laws approved in 1907 which provided, within limits, for freedom of press, speech, and association, and for security of life and property. With Mohammad Ali Shah's access to power in 1907, and Russian aid, however, prevented the Constitutional rules to be realized and Parliamentary government was abolished in 1908. Although the Constitution was re-established in 1909 and the Shah went into exile, the revolution could not inaugurate a new era of independence from the great powers and ended due to the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 through which Britain and Russia agreed to divide Iran into southern and northern spheres of influence. Crowned in 1909, Ahmad Shah, the last shah of the Qajar dynasty, was also unable to preserve the integrity of the country during World War I (1914-18) from Russian, British, and Ottoman troops. With a coup d'état in 1921, Reza Khan deposed Ahmad Shah and established the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925.

APPENDIX B

PAHLAVI ROYAL FAMILY



APPENDIX C

REZA SHAH PAHLAVI

Born in 1877, Reza Khan was the only child of Abbas-Ali, a colonel of the Savadkuh regiment, and Zahra (Nushafrin) Ayromlou. After his father's death, Reza Khan joined the Persian Cossack Brigade. In 1903, he married Tajmah. After the birth of their daughter, Fatemeh (later known as Hamdam al Saltaneh), the couple divorced. In 1896, Reza Khan served the Iranian Army guarding the government centers and foreign legations where he became sergeant major at the Russian Loan Bank and later a machine gun sergeant major. In 1909, Reza Khan joined Bakhtiary and Armenian forces to suppress regional disorder in Zanjan and Ardebil and he was promoted to major of the gunners' and became the commander of Hamedan brigade in 1912. By 1915 Reza Khan was promoted to the rank of colonel. In 1916 he married Nimtaj (Taj al Molouk), the eldest daughter of Teimour Khan (Ayromlou), a Brigadier General in the regular army. Taj al Molouk gave birth to four children including the crown prince Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, Shams Pahlavi, Ashraf Pahlavi (twin sister of crown Prince, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi), and Ali Reza Pahlavi. When the Russian forces occupation of Iranian cities began, the British sought for carrying a coup in Iran to halt the Bolsheviks' penetration. The preliminary arrangements of the coup were planned with the help of General Ironside (commander of British forces in Iran), Ardeshir Jey (the British spy in Iran), Reza Khan, commander of Hamedan brigade, and Seyyed Zia, managing editor of Raad daily. The Hamedan forces entered Tehran, occupied the capital, and arrested about one hundred political and leading figures and clergies. Ahmad Shah escaped to Farah-Abad Palace. Subsequently, Reza Khan and Seyyed Zia were appointed commander of the Cossack division and prime minister respectively. In 1922 Reza Khan married a third time to Turan (Qamar al Molouk) Amir Soleimani, the daughter of Issa Majd al Saltaneh. They had a son prince Gholam Reza. Reza Khan divorced her in 1923. Following Reza Shah's Coup in 1921, he became responsible for securing Iran's

interior and calming the revolts against the new government. Appointed prime minister in 1923 and later Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, he established a political cabinet in Tehran to organize his plans for modernization and reform. Reza Khan's last wife was Esmat Dolatshahi, the daughter of a Qajar Prince Mojalal al-Doleh, whom he married in 1923. From this marriage Abdol Reza, Ahmad Reza, Mahmoud Reza, Fatemeh and Hamid Reza were born. In 1925, he forced the Parliament to depose Ahmad Shah Qajar, and instate himself as the next Shah of Iran. With the proclamation of Reza Khan King by the Parliament, he established the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925. After consolidating his political power, Reza Shah initiated his modernization program. Influenced by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, Reza Shah's approaches provided the social and educational base for a progressive, self-governing society which could be summarized in three main headings; "building up the infrastructure of a modern state, asserting independence from foreign domination, and launching socio-cultural reforms". During the World War II, the Allies protested his rapprochement with the Germans, and in 1941 British and Russian forces invaded and occupied Iran. Forced to abdicate in favour of his son, Mohammad Reza Shah, Reza Shah died in exile in Johannesburg of South Africa in 1944.

APPENDIX D

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
PhD	METU, Architectural History	2014
MA	METU, Architecture	2005
BS	UU, Architecture	2000

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2007- 2009	METU, Architecture	Student Assistant
2006-2008	Kartallar Imar	Project Manager
2002-2005	ArCAD Mimarlık	Project Manager
2000-2001	Dostođlu Mimarlık	Architect

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Advanced Persian, Advanced Turkish, Fluent Arabic, French

AWARDS

Türk Serbest Mimarlar Derneđi, Jüri Özel Ödülü, Cemal Nadir Caddesi, Otel ve Alışveriş Merkezi Tasarım Projesi, Bursa, Ocak 1999.

SCHOLARSHIPS

Student Assistant, Middle East Technical University, September 2007- January 2009

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1. Yavuz, Ezgi and Baharak Tabibi, 2014, " Questioning the Paradoxes of “Other” Modernities: Uncovering Architecture in the Political Agenda of Iran and Turkey 1920-1940," International Journal of Social Science and Humanity vol. 4 (5), pp. 405-409.
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APPENDIX E

TURKISH SUMMERY

Bu tez, ikinci Pahlavi dönemi olarak adlandırılan, Anglo-Sovyet işgali sonrası 1941 yılında Mohammad Reza Şah Pahlavi'nin tahta çıkışı ile başlayan ve 1979 yılında hükümdarlığının devrilmesine sebep olan İran Devrimine kadar süren dönemde, İran da mimarlık ve daha geniş bir çerçevede İran modernitesinin şekillenmesinde kraliyet Pahlavi Kadınları'nın rolüne odaklanmaktadır. Bununla beraber Kraliyet himayesinde yürütülen otoriter modernleşme süreci içerisinde Şahbanu Farah Pahlavi'nin özellikle çağdaş İran kültürü üzerindeki etkilerini cinsiyet, güç, sanat ve mimari uygulama arasındaki çeşitli ilişkiler üzerinden ortaya koymayı hedeflemektedir.

Pahlavi saltanatının son on yılında, Şahbanu Farah birçok sanatsal ve mimari projelerde yer aldı: bir ev, bir kütüphane, bir sekreteryaya, sergi salonları, müzeler ve sanat merkezleri inşa ettirdi. Ayrıca ; şahbanu çeşitli sanat ve mimarlık alanlarında festivaller, sempozyumlar ve konferanslar düzenlettirdi. Bu projelerin her biri Pahlavilerin sosyo-politik ve sosyo-kültürel ideolojileri tarafından önceden tanımlanmış özgün bir "modernite" deneyimini ortaya koymaktadır; bu "hibrid" modernite formu çeşitli çağdaş ve geleneksel, evrensel ve yerel, ithal ve yerli, otantik ve taklitçi, değişmez ve gelişmekte ve laik ve dini olan dualitelerin arasındaki farklı düzeylerde şekillenmektedir.

Bu araştırmada şahbanu'nun dahil olduğu önemli bazı projeleri daha kapsamlı bir inceleme yapmak için seçilmiştir. Bu projeler Şahbanu Farah'ın Pahlavi döneminde mimari gündemi yönlendirilmesindeki rolünü vurgulamaktadır. Bu projeler 1968 ve 1976 arasında İranlı mimar Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian ve Fransız tasarımcı Charles Sévigny tarafından yapılan Niavaran Sarayı ve Şahbanu Farah'ın Özel Kütüphanesi; 1968 yılında Yunanlı mimar, inşaat mühendisi ve müzik teorisyeni, Iannis Xenakis tarafından yapılması planlanan ancak gerçekleşmemiş Persepolis

Sanat Merkezi projesi; 1975 yılında Çekoslovak mimar, Jaroslav Fritsch tarafından tasarlanan ve Qajar dönemi sanat eserlerini içeren Negarestan Müzesi; 1976 yılında Alman mimar Hans Höllein tarafından restore edilen ve İslam öncesi ve sonrası cam ve seramik eserlerinin bulunduğu Abguineh Müzesi; ve son olarak 1977 yılında İranlı mimar Kamran Diba tarafından tasarlanan ve uygulanan Tehran Çağdaş Sanat Müzesini (TMOCA) kapsamaktadır.

Şahbanu kültürel faaliyetlere katılımı sadece himayesinde gerçekleştirilen mimari projelerin inşası ve tadilatı ile sınırlı değildi. Şahbanu ayrıca 1967 ve 1978 yılları arasında Persepolis'te düzenlenen Şiraz Sanat Festivali ve 1977 yılında organize edilen Ramsar Kadın Mimarlar Konferansı gibi ulusal ve uluslararası etkinlikler düzenleyerek rolünü daha da genişletmiştir.

Bu projelere ek olarak, şahbanu'nun himayesinde restore edilmiş Marmar Sarayı Kompleksi ve Saad Abad Sarayı Kompleksine ait genel bilgiler ve şahbanu tarafından organize edilen Kültür ve Sanat Festivali, Tus Festivali, Popüler Gelenekler Festivali, Isfahan ilk Dünya Mimarlık Konferansı ve Shiraz ikinci Uluslararası Mimarlık Kongresi da bu tez'in şekillenmesinde belirli bir ölçüde katkı sağlamıştır. Bu projelerin incelenmesi şahbanu'nun mimari patronaj karakterine daha geniş bir çerçeveden bakılmasını sağlamaktadır.

Seksen yıllık Pahlavi monarşisi boyunca, İran modernitesi batılılaşma, merkezileşme ve milliyetçilik gibi birçok kavram üzerinden oluşturulmuş ve yorumlanmıştır. Konu Pahlavi döneminde İran da yaşanan modernleşme süreci ve modernite kavramı olunca, tartışmanın parametrelerini daha ayrıntı bir şekilde ortaya koymak gerekmektedir.

Qajar döneminin başından itibaren "modernite" kavramıyla ilgili farklı tanımlar yapılmıştır. İran mimar ve tarihçisi Amir Bani Mesud'a göre, geç Pahlavi döneminde bu kavramın karakterini belirleyen unsur "İranlı" olmasıydı. İran da "Modernite" kanonik Batı modelinin taklit edilmiş bir yansıması değildir. Pahlaviler kendi "modernite" söylemini meşrulaştırmaya çalıştılar. İran sanat tarihçisi ve New York Modern Sanat Müzesi yardımcısı küratörü, Fereshteh Daftariye göre, Pahlavi

döneminde son on yılında "modernite" batı modelini taklit eden basit bir hareket değildi. İran da modernite kavramını anlamak için, İran sosyal, tarihsel ve politik yapısını anlamak esastır.

Baniye göre, İran'da ve Batı'da modernite kelimesi yalnızca 'kavramsal' olarak birbirine benzemekte olup içerik bakımından oldukça farklıdır. Ona göre İranlıların modernleşme arzusu tarihsel açıdan iki farklı döneme ayrılır: İlk dönemde İranlılık fikrini Batılılık çerçevesinde şekillendirilirken ikinci dönemde Batılılık kavramını İranlılık perspektifiyle biçimlendirdiler. Ona göre erken modernistler batı modernleşmesini daha sınırlı bir ölçüde kavramışlarsa da, geç dönem entelektüelleri Batılılaşma ve modernleşme kavramlarını İranlılaştırarak yorumlamışlardır.

Batı düşüncesini İranlılaştırmak sadece politik bağlamda değil aynı zamanda kültürel alanda da gerçekleştirilmek istenmekteydi. İranlı sanatçılar ve mimarlar, paralel olarak, kapitalizm altında kültür sorununa bir çözüm arayışındaydılar. Daftariye göre problemin çözümü "hibridite" kavramında gizliydi.

İran da "Modernite" 1960 ve 1970'lerde yerelcilik ve evrensellik kavramlarının bir senteziydi. Yine bu dönemde milliyetçilik düşüncesinin de eklenmesiyle İran da modernite kavramı kendine özgü yeni bir tanım almıştır. Milliyetçilik temel politik ideolojinin ana unsurudur. İran'da milliyetçilik on dokuzuncu yüzyılda tasarlanmış ve 1906 Meşrutiyet Devriminde laik milliyetçilik, dinsel milliyetçilik ve hanedan milliyetçiliği şeklinde siyaset sahnesine giriş yapmıştır. Bu üç form arasında, hanedan milliyetçiliği batı laik milliyetçiliğinden uyarlanmıştır. Temel varlık sebebi İran monarşisinin önemini ortaya koyarak devlete hizmet etmektir.

Avrupa tarafından bilinen Hint-Avrupa kökenleri on dokuzuncu yüzyılda İranlılar tarafından yeniden keşfedilmesiyle Aryan söylemi yeniden vücut bulmuştur. Bu söylem çerçevesinde Avrupalı tarihçiler İran ve Batının ortak tarih köklerinden geldiğini savunurken İranlılar köklerine dönmek için Batıyı taklit etmek gerektiğine inanmışlardır. Yirminci yüzyılın başında İran ulusal kimliğinin ve İslam öncesi geçmişin tarihsel keşfi Pahlavi İran'daki milliyetçi siyasi gündemin şekillenmesini doğrudan etkilemiştir. İslam öncesi İran'ın yüceltilmesi, Zerdüşt mirası ve de Aryan

etnik bilinci 'hanedan milliyetçiliği' olarak Reza Şah'ın reformlarında siyasi bir enstrüman olarak kullanılmıştır.

Antik geçmişin yeniden değerlendirilmesi Pahlavi hanedanı için siyasi bir meşruiyet anlamına geliyordu. Bu meşruiyeti doğru kullanabilirlerse mutlak hakimiyetlerini sadece otoriterliğe değil aynı zamanda toplumsal bir kabulleniş sağlayacak olan tarihsel köklere dayandırabileceklerdi. Bu meşruiyet alanını güçlendirmek için ilk olarak soyadlarını Partlar tarafından kullanılan dilin adı olan Pahlavi'yi koydular. Bu soyadı ile Pahlaviler İslam öncesi dönemle bağ kurmuş oldular. Monarşi yönetiminin iki bin beş yüzüncü yılını Persepolis de kutlayan çağdaş İran'ın hükümdarı Muhammed Reza Şah kendisiyle ilk hükümdar Cyrus arasında tarihsel anlamdan bir süreklilik bilinci oluşturmayı hedefledi. 1976 yılında aynı tarihsel bilinçle İran ulusunun doğuşunu sembolize eden ve başlangıç tarihi Achaemenid İmparatorluğunun kuruluş tarihi olan yeni ulusal takvimi İslami Hicri takvim ile değiştirildi. Bu hareket toplumu İslami köklerinden modern yeni yapılara doğru bir kaydırış değildi sadece. Bu hareket modernite çerçevesini milli kimlik bilinci çerçevesinde oluşturularak İslami kimlikten ulusal kimliğe geçişi de ifade etmekteydi.

Aryanizm ve Zerdüştlüğe duyulan hayranlık aynı zamanda İran kimliğine, tarihine ve arkeoloji bilincine doğrudan etki etmiştir. Persler İncil anlatılarında önemli bir rol oynarken ve Hegel tarafından "tarihsel ilerleme sürecini başlatan insanlar" olarak açıklanırken, İranda arkeoloji önem kazandı. Bu mimaride milliyetçi sembollerin kullanılmasına rasyonel bir temel sağladı. Ülkede İslam öncesi inançların canlanması modern İran'ı güçlendirecekti. Mimari bu ideolojiyi somutlaştırıyordu.

İran'ın gelişimi için referans olarak geçmişe bakma dürtüsü, 1967 yılında şahbanu'nun himayesi altında eski Pers başkenti kalıntılarında uluslararası Şiraz Sanat Festivalini organize etmek için rasyonel bir temel oluşturdu. Festival 1967 yılından itibaren başlayarak on iki sene boyunca müzik, dans, tiyatro ve sinema alanlarında "en avant-garde ve en geleneksel" arasındaki kültürler arası bağlantıyı kurmayı hedefledi.

Şiraz Sanat Festivali, o zamana kadar İran da düzenlenen Kültür ve Sanat Festivali, Tus Festivali ve Popular Gelenekler Festivalinden bir çok yönden farklıydı. Sözü edilen bu festivallerin tümü Şahbanu Farah'ın himayesinde düzenlenen fakat ulusal çerçevede İran'ın geleneksel kültür ve sanatına odaklanmışken, uluslararası platformda gerçekleşen Şiraz Sanat Festivali Doğu ve Batı kültürleri arasındaki bağlantıyı kurmayı hedefleyip yeni bir uluslararası sanat arayışı içine girmişse de festival kapsamında gerçekleştirilen birçok sanatsal performans o dönem için İran'ın yerleşik kültürünün çok dışında zaman zaman toplumsal tepkiye yol açacak düzeyde gerçekleşmişti. İran devriminin altında yatan faktörler arasında bu festivaller kapsamında gerçekleştirilmiş ve İran'ın muhafazakâr kesimlerinin hafızasına kötü örnekler olarak yer etmiş sanatsal faaliyetleri de sayabiliriz.

Festival şahbanu'ya göre Pahlavilerin devrimci programı kapsamında bir yandan İran Ulusu'nun geleneksel kültürünü beslerken, diğer yandan İranlı sanatçıların çalışmalarına yer vererek İran kültürünü dünya'ya tanıtmayı hedeflemişti. Ayrıca yabancı sanatçıların performanslarına dikkat çekerek hem İranlı sanatçıların ve hem de halkın dünyadaki son kültürel gelişmelerden haberdar olmalarını sağlamaya çalışıyordu. Bu festivaller kültür ve sanat içeriği ile irdelendiğinde içerisinde birçok amacı barındıran çok fonksiyonlu yapılar olarak karşımızda durmaktadır. Bu kadar farklı misyonu içerisinde barındıran bir yapının da toplumun her kesiminden farklı eleştiriler alması da doğaldır. Fakat özellikle şahbanu'nun Kraliyet ailesinin bürokratları tarafından bile eleştirilmesine sebep olan o günün toplumsal yapısı içerisinde aşırı olarak görülen kimi sanatsal çalışmanın eleştirilere maruz kalması ise kaçınılmazdı.

Şiraz Sanat Festivali'nin en önemli ürünü Persepolis'te yapılması planlanan Sanat Merkezi projesiydi. Şahbanu Farah'ın himayesi altında 1968 yılında Yunanlı mimar, inşaat mühendisi ve müzik teorisyeni, Iannis Xenakis tarafından tasarlanması beklenen Sanat Merkezi, İranlı eleştirmenler tarafından ülkede Batı hegemonyasına sebebiyet vereceği eleştirisiyle engellenmeye çalışıldı.

Festival hem devrim öncesi hem de sonrasında muhafazakarlar başta olmak üzere bir çok kesim tarafından eleştirilere maruz kaldı. Şahbanu'ya göre festival sadece

Pahlavi rejimine karşı eleştirilerin ifade edilmesi için imkan sağlamıyordu, aynı zamanda Şahbanu'nun sanat ve kültür eğilimlerini eleştirmek için en uygun platformdu. Farklı bir değerlendirme ile toplum içerisinde Pahlavilere ve onların siyasal hegemonyasına karşı gelişen toplumsal muhalefet bu festivallerin eleştirisi ile vücut buluyordu. Her ne kadar toplum içerisinde farklı hassasiyetleri barındıran birçok toplumsal kesim yer almışsa da bütün bu kesimler mutlak otoritenin karşısında eleştirel duruşlarını yekpare bir bütün olarak ortaya koyuyorlardı.

Toplumsal direncin oluşumu bu festivalleri daha sınırlı bir hale sokmakta toplumun genelinde kopmasına ve bir elitist sergiye dönüşmesini de beraberinde getiriyordu. Şahbanu'nun sanata yönelik aktiviteleri devlet'in üst düzey bürokratları tarafından bile yanlış konumlanmış aşırı liberal bir düşünce olarak eleştiriliyordu. Eleştirmenlere göre şahbanu'nun eğilimleri bazen sarsıcıydı. Şahbanu'nun İran'ın kültürel geçmişini korumaya yönelik çabaları, onun sanatsal uğraşları ülke insanına çokça çağdaş ve avant garde geliyordu.

Eleştirmenlere göre Şiraz Sanat Festivali toplum'un çoğunluğunun geleneklerini ve düşüncelerini göz ardı ederken, kültür'ün bu bağlamda sadece bir grup elit tabakanın eğlence aracı haline geldiğini savunuyorlardı. Bu grubun çoğunluğunu ise şahbanu ve onun yakın çevresi oluşturmaktaydı.

Sonuç olarak her ne kadar festival ve akabinde planlanan ancak gerçekleştirilemeyen Sanat Merkezi projesi milletin kültürlenmesine katkı sağlaması amaçlanmışsa da, İran'ın, siyasi, sosyal ve kültürel bağlamlarında savunulamaz bir çaba olarak eleştirilmektedir. Festival İran kültürüne yabancılaşmaya sürüklediği ve ülkede Batı hegemonyasına sebebiyet verdiği gerekçesi ile muhafazakar kesiminin ve din adamlarının eleştirilerine maruz kaldı.

İran İslam Devrimi'nin gerçekleşmesiyle Şahbabu Farah'ın planladığı kültürel hareket sonuçsuz kaldı. Ancak onun avant-garde sanat tarihinin şekillenmesinde önemli bir rol üstlendiği kabul edilmektedir. Üstlenilen bu rol bir kadın kimliği ile mutlak bir otorite altında hedeflenen feminizme edilmiş ulusal bir modernlik

kavramının doğmasına ve özellikle Kraliyetin son on yılında gündelik yaşama doğru etki eden yeni bir siyasal söylem oluşmasına imkan vermişti.

İran'ın ulusal kültürel, sanatsal ve mimari miras ve İran'ın modern siyasal gündemi arasındaki bütünleşme Pahlavi monarşisinin son on yılda Şahbanu Farah himayesinde ulusal milli müzelerin kurulmasını sağladı. Merkezileştirilme Pahlavilerin sosyo-kültürel ideolojisinin temel unsurlarından biriydi. Beyaz Devrim ile başlayıp 1974 yılında petrol gelirlerindeki sürekli artış ile, şah gücünün doruk noktasına erişmişti. Şah ülkenin mutlak gücü oldu. Daha sonra, 1975 yılında, şah Diriliş Partisi'ni oluşturarak tek-parti sistemi hükümetine geçerek amaçlamış olduğu güce ulaşmış oldu. 1975 yılında hükümet neredeyse tüm milletvekillerini kendisi tayin etti ve bu sayede ana devlet örgütleri, İran Ulusal Radyo ve Televizyonu, eğitim, sanayi, turizm, sağlık ve sosyal refah ve sanat ve kültür bakanlıkları üzerinde devlet denetimini yoğunlaştırdı. Devlet İran'ın yüksek sanat ve kültürel gündeminin şekillendirilmesinde en etkili faktör olurken devletin tüm gücü toplumunun seçilmiş üst kademe bir grubu tarafından kullanıldı. Bu grubun misyonu sadece kültürel faaliyetleri birer sanat etkinliği çerçevesinde organize etmeleri değildi. Bu organizasyonlardaki ana misyon kültürel ve sanatsal faaliyetlerin üretilmek istenen yeni siyasal kimliği ortaya koyucu, toplumsallaştırıcı ve ulusal kimlik arayışına bir cevap verebilecek ulusal, batılı ve merkeziyetçi bir yapıya sahip olmasıydı.

1970'lerde politikada yüksek kültürün uygulaması Kraliyet hegemonyasına ve özellikle de şahbanunun etkisi altına girmişti. İran ulusal müzelerin kurulmasının arkasındaki hikaye bu bağlamda yüksek sanatı politikanın merkezine yerleştirmektir. Pahlavi monarşisinin son on yılında, o zamana kadar göz ardı edilen İran geleneksel mirasının korunması, modern İran'ın egemen kültürel paradigmalarından biri oldu. İran modern çağında geçmişine yönelmiş derin bir kimlik arayışına girmişti. Bu kimlik arayışından Pahlavi mutlak monarşisinin yer alacağı sağlam bir tarih kurgusu yaratmaya çalışıyorlardı. Tüm çabalar Şahbanu Farah'ın kültürel politikaları altında İran'ın sanatsal ve mimari mirasını aramak, restore etmek ve sergilemek üzerine yoğunlaşmıştı. Şahbanu Farah İran'ın kültürel mirasını geri kazanmak için adeta kültürel bir hareket başlatmıştı. İran'ın yüksek sanatsal kültürün propagandası Şahbanunun himayesi altında 1975 ve 1979 yılları arasında kurulan Halı Müzesi,

Abguineh Müzesi, Reza Abbasi Müzesi, Negarestan Müzesi ve Tehran Çağdaş Sanatlar Müzesi ile vücut bulmuştu.

1974 yılında, ekonomik patlama ardından, elde edilen yüksek milli gelir ve devletin ve dolayısıyla toplumun zenginleşmesi şahbanu'ya millet için öngördüğü sanatsal vizyonunu sürdürme fırsatını verdi. İran'ın kültürel eğitimine katkıda bulunmak, mevcut eğitim seviyesini yükseltmek, modern bir toplumun ihtiyacı olan seviyede eğitim ve daha da önemlisi sanatsal ve kültürel anlamda batılı ve modern bir bilince sahip olası için gerekli olan çalışmalar için kaynak sağlamış oldu. İdealize edilen toplum ideolojisinin öngördüğü ve milli kültürel hazineleri daha geniş bir dünyaya açma maksadıyla, şahbanu önceden yurtdışına çıkarılmış tarihi eserlerini geri alarak, kendisine bağışlanan ve yerli ve yabancı koleksiyonerlerden aldığı eserler ile geniş bir koleksiyon yaratmak ve de bu ulusal sanat hazineleri kurmuş olduğu çeşitli ulusal müzelerle ülkeye geri kazanmaya hedefledi. Yurt dışına çıkmış olan bu sanat, kültür ve tarihi eserlerin geri alınmasının altında yatan diğer bir faktör ise yine ulusalcılık ve milliyetçilik çerçevesinde oluşturulmaya çalışılan milli kimliğin desteklenmesi, antik dönem ile nesne özelinde bir ilişki kurma çabasıydı. Geri getirilen tarihi eserler toplumsal hafızada yaratılmaya çalışılan milliyetçiliği pekiştirecek somut, görsel materyaller olarak kullanılmaktaydı. Toplum ona empoze edilmeye çalışılan milliyetçi kimliği sadece kafasında canlandırmayacak aynı zamanda bu eserleri bizzat görerek içselleştirmesi bir bağ kurması hedeflenmişti. Bu maksatla şahbanu'nun ilk projesi 1975 yılında Jaroslav Fritsch'in tarafından tasarlanan Negarestan Müzesi oldu. Bu Müzede bulunan yaklaşık üçbin Qajar dönemi eser'in tamamı şahbanu ve sekreteryası tarafından bağışlanmıştır. Bağışlanan eserler üzerinden antik İran'ın yurduna geri dönmesi sağlanıyordu.

Şahbanu'nun aktiviteleri sadece İran milli sanat eserlerini geri almak değildi, aynı zamanda unutulmuş veya göz ardı edilmiş İran milli mimari mirasını korumak şahbanu'nun modernleşme ideolojisinin en önemli adımlarından biriydi. Ona göre geçmişle kurulacak her türlü bağ milli bir ulus yaratma ülküsüne hizmet etmekteydi. Her ne kadar şahbanu'nun kültürel aktiviteleri salt sanat olarak adlandırılmış olsa da o siyasi gücünü bu alana yoğunlaştırmıştı. Çünkü Sanat ve kültür faaliyetlerinin ideolojilerin yaygınlaştırılmasındaki öneminin bilincindeydi. Sanat ve kültür

faaliyetleri olmadan yaratılmak istenen kimlik toplumun bütün basmaklarına inemeyecek yayılımı kısıtlı kalacaktı.

Toplumsal yayılımı sağlamak adına eski binaları korunması ve toplumun günlük hayatının bir parçası olarak yaşamlarına devam etmesi de önemliydi. Bu kapsamda 1973 yılına kadar, Şahbanu Farah'ın himayesi altında ve de İran Antik Departmanı katkısı ile altı yüz bina yıkılmaktan kurtuldu. Bu binaların yaklaşık yarısı ise yine Şahbanu Farah'ın Sekreteryası denetiminde restore edilerek yeni işlevlerine kavuştu. Bu fonksiyonlardan biri de ondokuzuncu yüzyılda yapılan Qajar döneminde Cumhur Başkanı Ahmad Qavam'ın eviydi. 1976 da Şahbanu'nun Sekreteryası tarafından satın alınan bina cam ve seramik eserlerini barındıran Abguineh Müzesi oldu. Müze'nin projesi yine Şahbanu'nun isteği üzerine Alman mimar Hans Hollein tarafından tasarlanıp uygulandı.

Şahbanu'nun himayesinde yapılan müzeler sadece İran'ın kültürel ve mimari mirasını korumaya yönelik değildi. Gerçekleştirilen tüm kültürel, sanatsal ve mimari çalışmaların her zaman çok fonksiyonlu misyonları bulunmaktaydı. 1977 yılında, şahbanu Avrupa ve Amerika dışındaki en büyük modern sanatlar müzesini kurmak için çalışmaları başlattı. Bu o tarihte bir kadının patronajını, sistem içerisindeki gücünü ve etkinliğini ortaya koymak adına çok önemli bir adımdı. Böyle bir projenin Anglo-Amerikan dünyanın dışında hem de bir kadın tarafında gerçekleştirilmesi sadece İran modernitesi için değil Dünya modernitesi içinde önemli bir aşamaydı. Bu proje Şahbanu Farah'ın patronajını simgelemesi açısından ayrı bir öneme sahiptir.

Şahbanu için modern sanat da en az geleneksel sanat kadar önemliydi. Kendisi yaklaşık dört yüz sanat eseri için üç milyar dolar bütçe ayırdı. Döneminde sanatsal faaliyetler için ayrılan bu bütçe Şahbanu'nun başarısının başka bir yansıması idi. Bu eserlerde ondokuzuncu yüzyılın sonlarından başlayarak yirminci yüzyıl ortalarına kadar modern ressamlar, heykeltıraşlar ve fotoğrafçıların en iyi eserlerini alabilmek için çabaladı.

Tehran Modern Sanatlar Müzesi şahbanu'nun kuzeni Kamran Diba tarafından tasarlandı ve müze'nin yapımı yaklaşık olarak on yıl sürdü. Müze binası mimari

açından döneminin en önemli eserlerinden biridir. Bu bağlamda müze içindekiler kadar kendi yapısı itibariyle de sanatsal bir değer taşımaktaydı. Müze modern mimarlık üslubunun ana prensiplerinin yanı sıra İran geleneksel mimari özelliklerini taşımaktadır. Ve bu anlamda 1960larda hakim olan hybrid üslubun en iyi örneklerinden biridir.

Milli müzeler İran'ın geleneksel ve kültürel mimarisini sergileyerek modern İran'ın kimliğini oluşturulmasında büyük bir katkı sağladığı kadar, Tehran Modern Sanatlar Müzesi de bu bağlamda aynı değeri taşıyordu. Sonuçta müzeler ister geleneksel olanı isterse de modern olanı yüceltsin, İran modernitesinin sembolleriydiler. Milli kimliği korumak kadar modernini teşvik etmek modern İran kimliğini oluşturmakta özgündü. Çağdaş olan da en az geleneksel olan kadar modern İran'ın dünyadaki imajını oluşturmaktaydı. Bu bağlamda ortaya konulan sentez içersinde İran'ın iki bin beş yüzyıllık tarihinin tüm unsurlarını kesintisiz olarak barındırması hedefleniyordu.

İran'ın sanat ve kültürel mirasını korumak Pahlavilerin modernite projelerinin bir parçası olarak İran'ın milli kimliğine katkı sağlamıştır. Dönemin siyasal erki için bu kimliği oluşturmak en önemli faaliyetlerden bir tanesiydi. Çünkü bu yeni kimlikleştirme doğrudan Pahlavileri salt otoriter bir yönetim ve iktidar figürü olmaktan çıkartıp tarihsel kökleri olan meşru bir zeminde hâkimiyetlerini sürdürme imkanı sağlamaktaydı. Bu kapsamda yürütülen tüm faaliyetler ister kültürel olsun ister sanatsal hepsi ortak bir amaca doğru hizmet eden siyasallaşmış araçlar olarak değerlendirilmekteydi. Şahbanu Farah'ın özellikle son on yılda elde ettiği gücün ardında yatan ana faktörde işte bu siyasal mekanizmaya hizmet edebilecek çok önemli bir araca sahip olmasıydı. Bu durum sanatsal ve kültürel çalışmalara olan bakış açısının da yeniden şekillenmesini beraberinde getirmiş daha önce fark edilmeyen bir güç olarak Farah'ın hâkimiyetinde kullanılmaya başlanmıştı. Farah bu gücü salt feminist bir söylem içerisinde kullanamadı. Fakat siyaset mekanizmasının temel kavramlarını pekiştirmek, siyasal ve kimliksel mesajları aktarmak için dizayn edilen bu sanatsal ve kültürel faaliyetler Farah'ın patronajı altında kadınsal bir bakış açısını da taşımış oldu.

Devlet yüksek kültürün tüm süreçlerini yürütmekteyken, sanatsal ve mimari söylemler de siyasi bir araç olarak kullanılmaya başlanmıştı. Bu kapsamda çeşitli sanatsal ve mimari etkinlikler yüksek kültürün önde gelen hamisi olarak monarşi kurumu tarafından denetlenmekteydi. Monarşi içerisinde özellikle Şahbanu ve çevresi son on yılda düzenledikleri mimari konferanslarla da siyasi iktidarın kültürel ifadesini ortaya koydular.

Öncesinde de belirtildiği gibi, 1960'lar ve sonrasında, gelenek ve anti-moderniteye doğru eğilimler ülkedeki Batı hegemonyasına karşı gelişen siyasi kültür ile bütünleşti. Bu bütünleşme üretim güçleri ile siyasal söylemler arasındaki paralelliği ortaya koyması açısından da önemli bir içeriğe sahiptir. İran da, petrol sanayisinin kamulaştırılmasına yönelik verilen mücadele anti-batı duygularını da beraberinde getirdi. Bu duygular toplumun her kesiminde de yüksek sesle dile getiriliyor ve İran Meşrutiyet öncesi ve sonrası dönemde ileriye dönük düşünceler 1960 ve 1970'lerde Batılılaşmaya karşı milliyetçi eğilimlere yol açıyordu. Milli kültürüne yönelik sempati Şahbanu Farah'ın himayesinde İran'da üç uluslararası mimarlık sempozyumu organize edilmesi ile sonuçlandı. 1970 yılında İsfahan da gerçekleştirilen "Gelenek ve Teknoloji'nin Etkileşimi", 1974 yılında Shiraz da gerçekleştirilen "Endüstrileşen Ülkelerde Mimari ve Kentsel Planlamanın Rolü" ve son olarak 1976 yılında Ramsar da gerçekleştirilen "Mimarlıkta Kimlik Krizi" adlı sempozyumların ortak özellikleri aslında modern mimarlığın anti-tarihsel özelliklerine karşı eleştirel bir bakış açısı getirmesiydi. Tarihselliğin ve tarihsel bağların yüceltiği bu dönemde özellikle mimari alanda tarihsel sürekliliğin önemi bu konferanslar aracılığı ile dile getiriliyordu. Sanat ve kültür gibi mimarlıkta tarihsel sürekliliği içeren bir üretim alanı olması açısından bu sempozyumlar da kullanılan dil ve söylem siyaset mekanizması açısından büyük bir öneme sahipti.

Bu mimari organizasyonların sonuncusunun şahbanu'nun kadınların ve özellikle de kadın mimarların toplumdaki yerini vurgulamak amacı ile yapılan bir organizasyon olduğu için çok önem taşıyordu. Kadın Mimarlar Kongresi 1976da şahbanu'nun himayesi altında Ramsar da organize edildi. Kongre'nin önemi kadınlara yönelik düzenlenen İran da ilk dünyada ise dördüncü kadın mimarlar kongresi olmasıydı. Ve

bu anlamda belki de Pahlavi dönemi kadınlarının modern İran'ın kuruluşundaki yerini de belirleme çabası vardı.

Şahbanu Farah'a göre İran'ın ve de özellikle İranlı kadınların böyle bir mimari etkinliğe ihtiyaçları vardı. O güne kadar İran da üç uluslararası Mimarlık kongresi düzenlenmişti. Bunların ilki Isfahanda bir diğeri ise Şiraz da düzenlenmiş ve dünyadaki en önemli mimarlara ev sahipliği yapmıştı. Ancak bu kongrelerde kadınlar yok denilecek kadar azdı. İran'ın ilk kadın mimarı 1943 yılında Tehran Üniversitesi Sanat ve Mimarlık bölümü kurulduktan kısa bir süre sonra mezun olmuştu ancak yine de İran da mimarlık mesleğinde çalışan kadınların sayısı çok azdı.

Kongre dünya'nın her yerinden kadın mimarlarının katılımı ile gerçekleşti. Kongre'nin kadın özgürleşmesinde ya da kadınların ataerkil yapıdan kurtuluşu adına bir adım mıydı halen soru işareti olarak tarihteki yerini korumaktadır. Bu kongreye katılan kadınların çoğu İran'ın elit bir tabakasından gelmekteydi. Hepsi eğitimlerini dünyadaki en önemli mimarlık okullarında tamamlamışlardı ve hepsi ya bireysel ya da ortakları ile kurdukları mimarlık bürolarında ya da devlet kurumlarında görev almaktaydılar. Bu elit tabaka ile bir toplumun geneline bakıp mimar kadınların İran'daki durumu ile ilgili genel bir kanıya varmak mümkün değildi.

Kongre sırasında İranlı kadın mimarlar, İran da kadına yönelik bir özgürleşme hareketine ihtiyaç olmadığını vurgularken, yabancı katılımcılar çoğunlukla kadın olarak meslekte yaşadıkları problemleri dile getiriyorlardı. İranlı kadınlar İran da kadın ve erkek mimar arasında bir fark olmadığını vurgularken, kadınların çok ön planda olmamalarının nedenini, kadınların bir tercihi olarak ortaya koyuyorlardı.

İran'da kadın mimarların durumu tam olarak belli değilse de bugün için bu kongrenin düzenlenmesini çok önemli hale getiren temel özelliği kongre sonrasında basılmış olan kongre kitabı ve kongre döneminde yayınlanan Sanat ve Mimarlık dergisinin kongre için basılan sayısının bugün Pahlavi döneminde çalışan kadın mimarların tanıtıldığı tek kaynak niteliğinde olmasıdır.

Eğer kadınların özgürleşmesi şah'ın kadına yönelik ilerici bakış açısının bir parçası ise, modern İranlı kadının sembolü olarak Şahbanu Farah bu organizasyonla siyasi rolünü yerine getirmiştir. Şahbanu Farah kadın faaliyetlerinin en etkili figürüydü. Pahlavilerin toplumsal cinsiyet reformu şahbanu'nun mimarlık alanındaki organizasyonunda hayata geçirilmiştir.

Şahbanu ideal modern İranlı kadını sembolize ediyordu. Pahlavi döneminde kadın reformları kadını bir temsil aracı olarak belirlemişti. Pahlavilerin kadın hakları alanında bir devrim getirip getirmediği halen bir soru işaretidir. Çünkü Pahlavilerin tüm toplumsal cinsiyet eşitlik çabaları gerçek veya etkili değildi. Fakat ataerkil bir yapı içerisinde kısıtlı olsa merkezi otoriteden güç alarak bu gücü kendi tasarladığı projeler için kullanabilmesi siyaset sahnesinde kadının konumunu tartışmasız şekilde çok önemli bir noktaya taşımış oldu.

İki Pahlavi şah'ın yönetimi altında hazırlanan mevzuatların amacı, sosyal, siyasal, ekonomik ve eğitim alanlarında kadınların katılımının genişletilmesini amaçlamasına rağmen, bu reformların azınlıkta olan üst sınıf kadınları dışında toplumun geri kalan kadınlar için eşitsizliğin ve baskının devam etmesini engelleyemedi. Benzer şekilde, kadın sorunu İran'da 1979'dan itibaren çok nadiren ele alındı, "feminizm" ne devrim öncesinde ne de sonrasında yetkililerin öncelikli konusu olmamıştır.

Şahbanu naiplik döneminin son on yılında Pahlavi kültürel gündeminin oluşturulmasında en etkin figürdü. Şahbanu için, sanat ve mimarlık şah tarafından kendisine bahşedilen gücün meşrulaştırıldığı somut alanlardı. Pahlavi döneminde kadınların sistem içinde görünmez olmalarına karşın, şahbanu sanat ve mimarlık alanlarındaki rolü ile mevcut sisteme belirli ölçüde meydan okuyarak görünürlük kazanmıştır.

Bir radikal reformist olarak Şahbanu Farah devrimi asla engelleyemedi, ancak o İran modernitesinin ataerkil yapısını sorgulayabildi. Modern İran sanat ve mimarlık tarihi Batılı ve Batılılaşmış erkekler tarafından şekillenmiştir. Şahbanu'nun İran'ın kültürel gelişiminde ve değişiminde azmettirici bir rol üstlenmiyor olması, onun modern sanat ve mimarlık karakterini belirlemekte önemsiz bir figür olması anlamına

gelmiyordu. Aksine, bu problem'in kökeni modernist sanat tarihi'nin karakterinde saklıydı. Griselinde Pollock'un da belirttiği gibi modernizm, özel ve cinsiyetçi bir grup uygulamalarının normalleştirilmesidir. Pollock'un kanonik modern sanat ve mimarlık tarihi için yazdıkları İran örneği için de geçerlidir: kadınlar modernizmin maskülinist mitlerini yapısızlaştırmasını gerekli kılıyorlar.

Bir kadın olarak, şahbanu İran modernitesinin ataerkil yapısını kadınsı bir bakış açısıyla yorumladı. Sahip olduğu bu bakış açısını da Pahlavi saltanatının son on yılında sanat ve mimarlık alanlarındaki aktif patronajıyla ortaya koymaya çalıştı. Şahbanu'nun katkıları onun cinsiyet özgürleşmesinde bir devrimci olmadığını ortaya koymaktadır. Aynı zamanda İran sanatını ve mimarisini modernleştirme anlamında da bir devrimci değildi. Fakat şahbanu içinde bulunduğu sistemi sorgulayan bir reformcu olarak İran modernitesini kadınlaştırdı. Kraliyete mensup diğer kadınların faaliyetleri gibi, şahbanu'nun faaliyetleri de mutlak sistemin otoriterliğinden etkilenerek güç kaybetmiştir.

Şahbanu modern bir ulus yaratmak için ihtiyaç duyulan idealize edilmiş ve modernite çerçevesinde kabul edilen tüm iyi özellikleri bünyesinde barındıran bir sembol olarak Kraliyet ailesini kültür ve sanat alanlarında temsil ediyordu. Bu temsil sadece Kraliyet ailesi içinde değil İran toplumu önünde de bir rol model niteliği taşıyordu. Kraliyet kadını sokaktaki kadından farksız ataerkil sistemde bir araç haline gelmiştir. Belki de ikisinin de ortak özelliği sistemin maskülen mitini sorgulayan birer temsil aracı olmalarıydı. Onun sanat ve mimari alanlarındaki faaliyetleri de, şahbanu'nun kendisi gibi 1970'lerdeki Pahlavilerin kapsayıcı modernist ideolojisinin bir parçası haline geldi.

Kültürel arenaya yetkisini sınırlandırarak Şahbanu Farah faaliyetleri de diğer meslektaşları gibi Batı modernizminin çok dışlayıcı paradigmarında kayboldu. Pahlavi döneminde kadınlar, folklor gibi, tahakküm'ün pasif ve sessiz bir nesnesi olarak kaldı. Bu nedenle de şahbanu'nun moderniteye katkıları modernleşmenin maskülen yapısı içinde parçalandı.

Şahbanu'nun başarıları Mohammed Reza Şah ve maiyeti tarafından kadınsı uğraşlara indirgenmesine rağmen, maskülen mitini sorgulayarak, şahbanu kadınsı katkısı, ancak, sadece onun siyasi otoritesini değil, aynı zamanda onun modern İran sanat ve mimari gündemini oluşturmadaki katkısını ortaya koymuştur. Şahbanu Farah için, sanat ve mimarlık 1970'lerde Pahlavi İran'ı tanımlayan kültür, modernite ve siyasetin maskülen mitlerini sorgulayabildiği araçlardır.

1979 yılında yaşanan İran İslam Devrimi Pahlavis modernizasyon programının ani bir şekilde sonlanmasına sebep olmuştu. Aynı dönemde Şahbanu Farah'ın 'kültürel projeleri' de farklı anlamlar taşımaya başladı. Devrim öncesi dönemde, modernist bir söyleme sahip olan bu projeler modern İran kültürünü oluşturmak, sergilemek kimlik arayışlarını cevaplamak ve yaşatmak için kullanılırken, aynı kültürel faaliyetler devrim sonrasında bu sefer İslami siyasetin hizmetine sokulmuştur. Sanat ve mimarlık bir kez daha yeni İran'ın muhafazakâr ideolojisinin bir uygulama aracı haline dönüşmüştür. Kültür, sanat ve mimari üretimler için devrim öncesi ile devrim sonrası arasındaki temel fark patronaj ve bu patronajın temel ideolojik söylemidir. Patronaj değiştikçe bu enstrümanlarında hizmet edeceği çevre ve sadece bu yeni çevrenin beklentileri değişmiştir. Bunun dışında Sanat, kültür ve mimari çalışmalar her iki dönemde de hakim ideolojinin bir üretim aracı ve devlet'in hizmetindedir.

APPENDIX F

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Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Tabibi

Adı / Name : Baharak

Bölümü / Department: Mimarlık / Architecture

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English) : Propagating

“Modernities”: Art and Architectural Patronage of Shahbanu Farah pahlavi

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE : Yüksek Lisans / Master Doktora / PhD

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