

IRANIAN STUDIES

Domesticity and Consumer Culture in Iran

Interior revolutions of the modern era

Pamela Karimi



Domesticity and Consumer Culture in Iran

Examining Iran's recent history through the double lens of domesticity and consumer culture, *Domesticity and Consumer Culture in Iran* demonstrates that a significant component of the modernization process in Iran advanced beyond political and public spheres.

On the cusp of Iran's entry into modernity, the rules and tenets that had traditionally defined the Iranian home began to vanish and the influx of new household goods gradually led to the substantial physical expansion of the domestic milieu. Subsequently, architects, designers, and commercial advertisers shifted their attention from commercial and public architecture to the new home and its contents. Domesticity and consumer culture also became topics of interest among politicians, Shiite religious scholars, and the Left, who communicated their respective views via the popular media and numerous other means. In the interim, ordinary Iranian families, who were capable of selectively appropriating aspects of their immediate surroundings, demonstrated their resistance toward the officially sanctioned transformations. Through analyzing a series of case studies that elucidate such phenomena and appraising a wide range of objects and archival documents—from furnishings, appliances, architectural blueprints, and maps to photographs, films, TV series, novels, artworks, scrapbooks, work-logs, personal letters and reports—this book highlights the significance of private life in social, economic, and political contexts of modern Iran.

Tackling the subject of home from a variety of perspectives, *Domesticity and Consumer Culture in Iran* thus shows the interplay between local aspirations, foreign influences, gender roles, consumer culture and women's education as they intersect with taste, fashion, domestic architecture and interior design.

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First published 2013
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Karimi, Z. Pamela (Zahra Pamela)

Domesticity and consumer culture in Iran : interior revolutions of the modern era / Pamela Karimi.

pages cm -- (Iranian studies)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Culture--Economic aspects--Iran. 2. Architecture and society--Iran.
3. Interior decoration--Human factors--Iran. 4. Iran--Economic conditions.
5. Iran--Social conditions. I. Title.

HC480.C6K37 2012

306.30955--dc23

2012027488

ISBN: 978-0-415-78183-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-203-07290-5 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Bookcraft Ltd, Stroud, Gloucestershire

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Acknowledgments

As a young girl growing up in Iran, I experienced a unique period in that country's history. I was attending an American kindergarten as political forces were changing Iran's social climate, culminating in the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in February 1979. Thus, as Iran was isolating itself from the international community, I was exposed to a broader world outlook. This experience left a lasting impression on me, and I never lost my desire to know more about the world beyond the increasingly closed society in which I was raised. During the 1980s, everyday life in Tehran was largely dominated by the news about the Iran–Iraq war and other such serious affairs. The overemphasis on political matters barely allowed room for the expression of fantasies and desires that often appeal to young girls. I turned my attention to the interiors of life—a private realm away from the watchful eyes of the Revolutionary Guard and the school authorities. There, I could imagine a life that was different from what I saw on broadcast television, in the dull hallways and classrooms of our schools, and on city walls that were mostly covered with political propaganda murals. I was always fascinated by how friends and relatives added new exotic items to their homes and what those items implied, especially in contrast to what we encountered in our public lives. Occasionally, I tried to persuade my parents to purchase the exact same things, and to their credit, they did so. Other times, I immersed myself in the often futile attempt to “build” furniture and other decorative items that I had seen in a woman's monthly from the Shah's period or on the pages of an outdated American interior-design magazine from my parents' bookshelves. Thanks to the underground, black-market of Western videos, I was also inspired by American suburban homes and by those alluring commodities that were featured in many Hollywood movies. Because of my own life experience in revolutionary and post-revolutionary Iran, I have always been committed to the idea that things in our immediate surroundings have the power to affect our lives. They even have the potential to be liberating in both their physical reality and fictional operation. The stories that I tell in this book may not seem unusual to those who grew up in Iran; I am interested in these accounts precisely because they are commonplace. By writing the history of modern Iran through the lens of people's private lives, I would like to suggest that much of the importance in Iran's modernization lies outside political frames and away from public contexts. This assessment is coupled with my personal views towards architecture. I do not

see architecture as separate from its users; instead, I am fascinated by how ordinary people—through their decorating and furnishing choices—can transform the built environment and its related connotations. My childhood preoccupations with the home, my long-held interest in the bottom-up histories of modern Iran, and my architectural views provided the impulse for my doctoral work at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the dissertation upon which this book is based.

This project benefitted from the generous support of many institutions. I am grateful to all of them for having faith in my work. Two fellowships from the Presbyterian Historical Society and the Harry Truman Institute allowed extensive research in both institutions, which I did throughout summer 2006. A fellowship from the Social Science Research Council made possible eight months of archival and ethnographic work in Iran during fall of 2006 and spring of 2007. The American Association of University Women and the American Council of Learned Societies provided financial support for the writing of the dissertation until 2009.

My colleagues—Professors Anna Dempsey, Magali Carrera, Memory Holloway, Michael Taylor, and Thomas Stubblefield as well as Allison Cywin and Charlene Ryder—at my current home institution, The University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, provided endless support and inspiration for this project. A subvention grant from the office of the Provost allowed me to secure the reproduction costs of many of this book's illustrations. My department reduced my teaching load during the final stage of writing this book and for that I am especially grateful to my department Chairperson, Michael Taylor, and to the Dean of the College of Visual and Performing Arts, Adrian Tió.

This study would not have been possible without the help of the experts as well as the staff of several archives and institutions in both Iran and the U.S. throughout many investigations that took place between 2005 and 2011. I am indebted to Nader Ardalan, Mino Asadi, Abdol Karim Bīāzar-Shīrāzī, Parvaneh Etemadi, Jasem Ghazbanpour, Vida Hamrāz, Mehdi Husseini, Mohammad Iranmanesh, Ali Lajevardi, the Maraie family, Gholamhussein Nami, Ali Sārimī, Paul Schroeder, Mahmoud Shahsavari and numerous residences of Iran's industrial cities including those in Abadan, Yazd, Fasa, Shiraz, and Isfahan for kindly dedicating their time to interviews pertinent to this project.

I gained valuable insights from gender-related courses that I took with Professors Alice Friedman, Afsaneh Najmabadi, Irvin Schick, and Heghnar Watenpaugh. Arindam Dutta, Afsaneh Najmabadi, and Nasser Rabbat read, listened, supported, sent information, and offered excellent criticism and comments of all sorts. Professors Daniel Abramson, Lucia Allais, Ahmad Ashraf, Susan Babaie, Elizabeth Bishop, Sibel Bozdogan, Houchang Chehabi, Manouchehr Eskandari-Qajar, Joanna de Groot, Talinn Grigor, Christiane Gruber, John Harwood, Sune Haugbølle, Timothy Hyde, Mark Jarzombek, Jonathan Massey, Ijlal Mozaffar, Michael Osman, D.F. Ruggles, Jordan Sand, Cyrus Schayegh, Faegheh Shirazi, Kamran Talattof, Meredith TenHoor, and Mercedes Volait offered useful suggestions during the very many stages of the writing of this manuscript. Undoubtedly, many of these individuals will come to this book with certain expectations, and

I hope that these are met. The present project is very ambitious and covers many aspects of domesticity in modern Iran. But the limited span of the book did not always allow me to elaborate on all of these characteristics at length. Any issues that I have neglected in this study I hope to address in future publications.

I am also grateful to the University of Pittsburgh Press and Indiana University Press for allowing me to reproduce portions of chapters 3 and 4 of the present book that have been published in their respective edited volumes, *Governing by Design: Architecture, Economy, and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (2012) and *Rhetoric of the Image: Visual Culture in the Modern Middle East* (2013). Finally, I thank the editors of the Iranian Studies Series at Routledge and the three anonymous external reviewers for their insightful comments, suggestions, and editorial remarks.

My generous friends, Professors Nasim Alem, Afshan Bokhari, Delaram Kahrobaie and Azadeh Samadani were always willing to provide help when I needed them. With their backgrounds in history and architecture, my parents Asghar Karimi and Khadijah (aka Eza) Talattof believed in this project since its inception and continued to support me until the very end. My mother did not only offer emotional support, but also assisted me with numerous library and archival investigations; my father accompanied me during my travels to several cities across Iran. My siblings Parham, Pantea, and Pedram spent numerous hours, modifying the photographs and reproducing the numerous architectural blueprints that are used in this book. I feel extremely fortunate to be part of this great family of artists and architects. They never cease to impress me. The rest of my family—my mother-in-law Antonietta; my brother-in-law, Hamid; my cousins Arjang, Behruz, Farhad, Farnia, Golaleh, Sadaf, Setareh, Soheil and my uncles and my aunt Professors Iraj Karimi, Kamran Talattof and Christine Dykgraaf—helped me in many more ways that I can list here. I reserve my deepest gratitude for my husband, Robert Fisher, whose love and support gave me the courage to conclude this project. I dedicate this book to him and to my wonderful parents and siblings.

A note on transliteration

I have used a simplified version of the *International Journal for Middle Eastern Studies* transliteration system. I have used diacritics to indicate only the difference between the short and long vowels. This system is not used for Persian words that are widely known in the English language or for common words, names, and titles that appear without diacritics in English publications. Dates of Iranian publications appear in both CE and solar dates.

Prologue

Set amid a landscape in transition, the Coca-Cola advertisement with its familiar red and white logo and embossed green glass bottle is an icon of the modern era. The photograph (figure 0.1) was taken in 1959 in the Iranian oil city of Abadan. It captures the essence of Western development initiatives in Iran throughout the past century: the inexplicable allure and perceived threat of the new and different, the foreign element adding color to bleak surroundings but somehow out of place. As globalization brings the world's cultures closer together, the same challenges as those of the 1950s continue to reverberate—the efforts to liberate that instead restrict, the good intentions that are misconstrued, and the best-laid plans that go awry.



Figure 0.1 Charles R. Schroeder, Corner of Abadan bazaar, 1958–9, color transparency on film, 35mm. Courtesy of Paul Schroeder and the Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University

2 Prologue

For more than a thousand years Abadan was a small village until the British discovered oil in the area during the late nineteenth century. By the 1920s, the first residential neighborhoods had been built by British architects, beginning the transformation of Abadan into a city with a sharp divide between prosperity and poverty. Over time, Abadan became a hallmark of Iran's rapid entry into the modern world, a place where "Westerners looked in and locals looked out without having much verbal dialogue," as described by Paul Schroeder, whose father, Charles Schroeder, an employee of the National Iranian Oil Company, took the photograph above.¹ If dialogue appeared lacking to a twelve-year-old expatriate in Abadan, in other parts of the country efforts were under way to establish a connection between East and West. A thousand miles to the north, in the country's capital, Tehran, Iranian women were busy learning domestic skills in home-economics schools established by President Truman's Point IV Program. Euro-American concepts of domestic life and home design had been part of upper-class life in Iran since the turn of the century. After World War II, however, freer access to imported goods had wide-ranging implications for Iranians. Suburban "dream" items followed as American companies such as General Electric and the York Corporation introduced cooler chests, ovens, dishwashers, and shiny utensils into Iranian kitchens.

During the late 1950s, the McGraw-Edison Company's Air Comfort division (Michigan, USA) began selling air-conditioning units in Iranian cities, which helped residents to keep cool during the country's scorchingly hot summers.² A few years later, the Iranian company Arj (Value) set up a sprawling joint Iranian-American factory devoted to electrical equipment and appliances at old Karaj Road on the outskirts of Tehran. Among the many items produced by Arj was the cooler, a clunky blue-tone-and-metal air-conditioning unit. Its affordability and perfectly acceptable quality made it a hit among certain middle-class Iranian consumers. The cooler and other later brands (e.g., Absal) differed from the typical window-mounted units used in the United States. The cooler was installed outside of the building, either propped atop a balcony or attached to a metal frame. These boxes "decorated" countless facades around cities, resembling stalled elevators or awkward miniature tree houses (figure 0.2).

In the late 1960s and 1970s, the rise of new consumer products inspired a generation of artists, many of them educated in the West where they would certainly have seen Andy Warhol's prints, paintings, and drawings of common household objects. In the 1960s, Mehdi Husseini, previously known for his reliably abstract oil paintings, began illustrating household objects such as dish racks and air conditioners. At the same time, a fellow artist named Behjat Sadr began riffing on imported Venetian blinds as objects of art; and Coca-Cola bottles came to serve as inspiration for Parvaneh Etemadi (figures 0.3a–d).³ The objects depicted in these works were either imported, "montage" (joint Iranian–Western), or products of local factories and private businesses. In the late 1970s, one of Iran's most prominent businesses was the Bihshahr Industrial Group, a maker of consumer products ranging from soap to cooking oil and textiles recognized as "Iran's biggest private enterprise—snaring many coveted government franchises."⁴ At this time, the Bihshahr group



Figure 0.2 Building façade in central Tehran, furnished with suspended air conditioners. Photograph by the author, 2007

began a campaign called Art and Advertisement that grew into a collection of more than 130 contemporary Iranian and foreign paintings whose focus was primarily on commodities. These artworks were showcased in several exhibitions and catalogues.⁵ The contributions of Michael Makroulakis, a Greek painter who then lived and worked in Tehran, are particularly outstanding. In one piece, Makroulakis celebrates the company's Barf (Snow) detergent. Its box, presented in trompe l'oeil style, floats above a desert scene and gives a surreal dimension to the picture. The subject matter is idealized, and consumption is dramatized (figure 0.4).⁶

By bringing appliances into the elite sphere of art galleries and exhibition catalogues, these artists imbued the new commodities and foreign imports with a mysterious quality. As the Iranian Marxist art and literary critic Khusraw Gulsurkhī lamented in his manuscript *The Politics of Art and Poetry*, illegally distributed after his execution in 1974 by the Shah's regime, only a few privileged upper-class patrons could relate to "cliché art" (*hunar-i qālibī*) of this kind.⁷ Once the Islamic Revolution had taken place, the reality of this "Westoxification"—to use a term popular at the time⁸—continued to raise the ire of the post-revolutionary elite. Artists like Husseinī were barred from displaying their "capitalistic works" in local museums. Islamic revolutionaries drew a sharp distinction between local and imported goods. Joint Iranian–Western production (the so-called "montage") was considered *harām* (unlawful/forbidden by God)—as described in early



Figure 0.3a
Mehdi Husseinī, Dish Rack



Figure 0.3b
Mehdi Husseinī, Air Cooler

Both, c. 1967, oil on canvas, 50 × 70 cm. Both reproduced in *Modern Iranian Art: The International Art Fair, Basil Switzerland, 16–21 July of 1976*, Tehran: Culture and Art Branch of the Office of Empress Farah Pahlavi, 1976, pp. 56–57. Courtesy of the artist and the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tehran

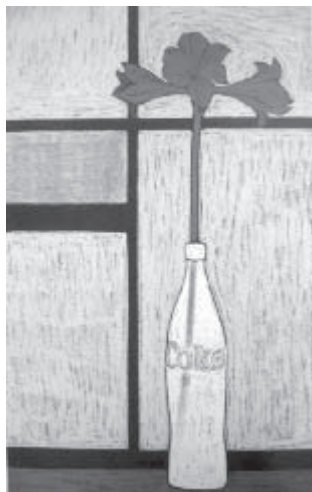


Figure 0.3c
Parvaneh Etemadi, *Composition*, 1978, pastel on paper, 80 × 60 cm. Reproduced in J. Mujābī and J. Damija, eds., *Barguzidah āsār-i Parvaneh Etemadi 1345–1377 (A Selection of Parvaneh Etemadi's Artwork, 1966–1998)*, Tehran: Nashr-i hunar-i Iran, 1999, p. 45. Courtesy of the artist and the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tehran



Figure 0.3d
Behjat Sadr, *Drape over Oil Painting on Wood*, 1967, actual blind installed over oil painting on wood panel, 100 × 80 cm. Reproduced in J. Mujābī, Y. Emdānian, and T. Malikī, eds., *Pīshgāmān-i hunar-i naw garāy-i Iran: Behjat Sadr (Pioneers of Contemporary Art in Iran: Behjat Sadr)*, Tehran: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2005, p. 87. Courtesy of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tehran

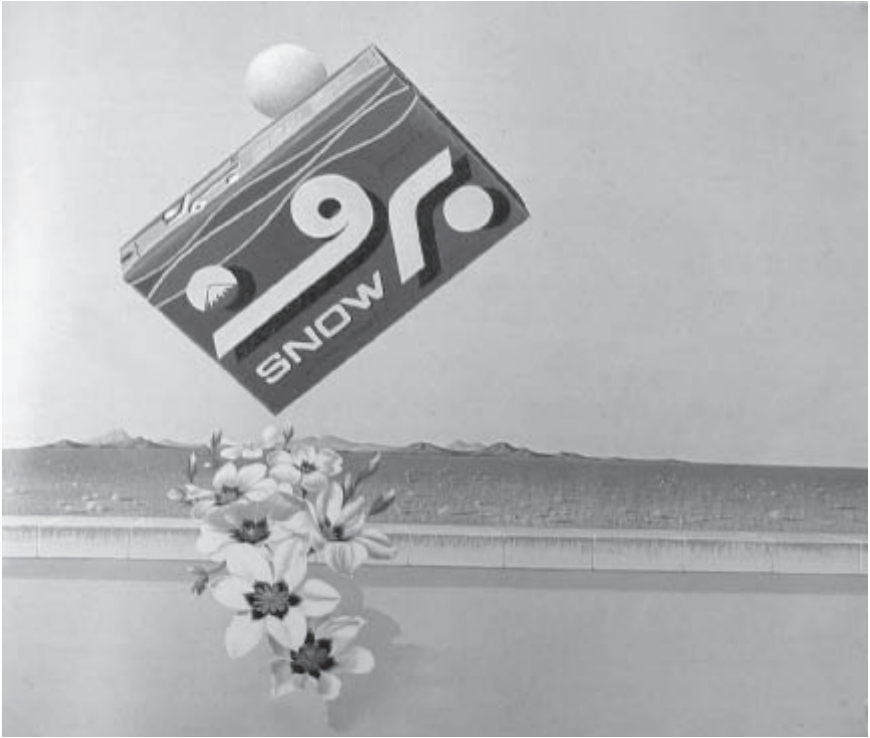


Figure 0.4 Michael Makroulakis, *Snow Detergent*, c. 1976, oil on canvas, 90 × 110 cm. Reproduced in *Hunar-i mu'āsir-i Iran: az āghāz ta imrūz (Contemporary Iranian Art: From the Beginning to Today)*, Tehran: Iranian American Society, 1976, p. 1. Courtesy of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tehran

post-revolutionary books such as *Montage Factories*, *Economic Priorities of Iran: The Sinful Economy* (see Chapter 4).⁹

The rise and fall of the cooler—as an import, a montage product, a subject of avant-garde art, and the target of Islamists—is a kind of miniature version of the story of the contemporary Iranian home. Modernization pushed Iranians into a new space, in actuality as well as in abstract terms. This new space was furnished with cultural conversions, including new notions of taste, beauty, and consumption. In 1964, the American President Lyndon B. Johnson said, “What is going on in Iran, is about the best thing going on anywhere in the world,”¹⁰ and his ambassador to Tehran chimed in, “The Shah (Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi) is making Iran (a) showcase of modernization in this part of the world.”¹¹ More than forty-five years later, Iran is perceived in a radically different way.

This book illuminates a neglected aspect of these changes by examining the culture of twentieth century Iran as it manifested itself within the home and by discussing the relatively unexplored subject of the imports themselves and their reception. Acknowledging that Iran’s oil boom increased the ability of consumers to buy goods, my analysis elucidates how major conservative and

revolutionary forces contested new concepts of gender, class, consumption, and religious and national identity as these took shape in the domestic realm. In this, I go beyond the boundaries of nationalism and state politics to explore how Iranians have struggled over the spaces of their daily lives; and I consider their negotiations as to its usage and presentation. When ideas came from “above,” they were neither understood nor put into practice in the ways intended by their proponents. Likewise, reformers of domestic life who propagated their modern Western views in the form of textbooks, newspapers, and professional journals were not in a position to impose their plans by force. These reforms were, indeed, in contrast with the simplistic views offered by classic modernization theory,¹² such as stating that tradition is an obstacle for the realization of modernity and that modernization is actually desired by all.¹³

Throughout its long history, Iran has never been an isolated region. Indeed, it played an important role in what historians refer to as “archaic globalization.”¹⁴ The development of the Silk Road, starting in China and ending in Europe, reached the boundaries of Iran as early as the time of the Parthian Empire (247 BCE–224 CE). The expansion of the Pax Mongolica from the early thirteenth through the mid-fourteenth century followed the conquest of a huge amount of territory by the Mongols and energized the commercial centers of Iran, while it created a greater integration of the country into the global trade route along the Silk Road. This exchange continued into modern times; however, there has been an unusually rapid growth in Iran’s connections with the greater world since the late-nineteenth century discovery of and drilling for oil by the British. The policies of Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, who became ruler of Iran in 1941, marked the country’s entry into a boom era of residential construction and consumption. However, during the 1980s, following the Islamic Revolution, Iranians became increasingly detached from the rest of the world, the West in particular. The progression from huge promotion of Westernization through the period of anti-Westernization deeply affected the use of space and the desire for consumption within Iran. Amidst the Islamic Republic’s anti-East and anti-West (*na sharqī, na gharbī*) agenda, the global culture entered the Islamic Republic via movies (often illegally distributed), periodicals, video games, posters, and Internet and satellite images. This study explores the process of Iran’s modernization through the double lens of domesticity and consumer culture, thus displaying the extent to which the Iranian house has served as the place of encounter with the “other” and of reconsideration of the nation as “home.” In doing so, I rely on the work of scholars who have provided cogent explanations on the subject.

Domesticity, gender, consumer culture, and modernity

The subject of the home, as both physical entity and metaphor, is essential to the understanding of social power structures in studies focusing on gender and post-colonial themes and of theories regarding the critical links between space and identity. Such books as Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) and Ruth Schwartz Cowan’s *More Works for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (1983) explored a housewife’s very many

senseless hours of cleaning and housekeeping.¹⁵ Certain aspects of these writings captured the imagination of architectural historians, who have taken the authors' ideas in several directions; most remarkably, exploring the house as a consumer unit and its gendered implications. Gender is undoubtedly a key component of these studies. The modern home as a woman's sphere has been also regarded as a locus of consumption. According to Walter Benjamin in Europe in the early 1800s, "for the first time the living space became distinguished from the space of the work."¹⁶ Indeed, domesticity is not only a "modern phenomenon" but also "a product of the confluence of capitalist economies."¹⁷

Inspired by the work of Schwartz Cowan and Friedan as well as scholars who have emphasized the connections between the built environment and daily life (e.g., Henri Lefebvre, Edward Soja),¹⁸ Shirley Ardener, Doreen Massey, and Daphne Spain have written on how the home as a physical space has contributed to certain assumptions about gender roles (e.g., women belong to the sphere of consumption and home, while men belong to the public sphere and the realm of production).¹⁹ Likewise, in their ground-breaking studies of modern American domestic architecture, Elizabeth Collins Cromley, Dolores Hayden and Gwendolyn Wright have traced attitudes of consumption and gender roles in relation to the architecture of the American house.²⁰ These scholars have brought forward issues of gender and consumer culture and the ways in which they overlap with the spatial characteristics of the home; and how, in turn, certain architectural features and spatial boundaries enforce specific ways of life that would not otherwise have come to be. Studies of minority and post-colonial conceptualizations of the home, on the other hand, have shed light on issues that go beyond gender.

While bell hooks rewrote home as a "site of resistance" and re-evaluated domestic spaces of identification for women, Salman Rushdie and Homi Bhabha addressed a global and labile sense of place and belonging to the homeland.²¹ The analyses developed by these authors have been articulated in explicitly spatial terms, although not always with direct reference to the house as a physical entity. They have helped to overturn traditional approaches and have mobilized insights into the study of residential architecture from other disciplines. Above all, by integrating the concept of "home" into their work, they have disrupted the polarized fixity of "public" and "private" and "self" and "other." This latter body of literature has inspired my arguments in all chapters of this book, where instead of viewing the attitudes toward the notions of public and private, men and women, and self and other as static and confining, they are represented in their more protean senses.

In the aforementioned studies, domestic space has been interpreted as the product of a relationship among individuals, groups, and architecture. Such interactions either restrict or enable specific types of access. In the present book, I focus on spatial relations at a number of different levels within and outside the home, and I recognize that at none of these junctures is there a clear-cut division between architects and users or producers and consumers. This is particularly true in the context of non-Western countries, where ideas were introduced by foreign specialists.

In non-Western contexts where Western ideas were implemented, modernity and the additional dimension of foreignness were dealt with as people had to negotiate imported practices and commodities had to be “adopted and adapted or crafted anew.”²² Historian Jordan Sand concedes in his study of domesticity and class in turn-of-the-twentieth-century Japan that the story of modernization of the home in non-Western contexts offers a means through which to understand how “the ideology of modern domesticity was recognized from the beginning as foreign—its foreignness being an important part of its significance in fact—and posed against very different native domesticities.”²³ The theme of adopting and adapting foreign ideas has also been studied by numerous scholars of the traditional Islamic home or harem as well as by those who study Middle Eastern domesticity in modern times.

For centuries, the word harem—or, *andarūn*, the women’s section of the house or inner space, which has more common usage in Persian language—was utilized by Westerners to refer to the domestic space in the Islamic world. Building on the insights provided by pioneering scholars such as Fatemeh Mernisi, Malek Alloula, and Nilüfer Göle, the contributors to *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces* (2011), a collection of essays edited by Marilyn Booth, explore the very many ways in which the harem has been historically imagined, represented, and experienced by both the locals and foreign visitors.²⁴ The authors dismantle the commonly held stereotypes surrounding the harem, substantiating that it had broader implications than those narrow visions presented in most (Western) textual sources and pictorial representations—e.g., the imperial harem which was restricted to the sultan and his concubines. The works of these scholars, joined by many more recent studies,²⁵ have ultimately informed the ways in which the *andarūn* has been portrayed in the present book. Consider, for instance, the frequently taken-for-granted binaries of men and women, inside and outside, and public and private that have prevented historians from seeing other gendered features of the *andarūn*, such as portrayal of *franagī* (European) women on the interiors’ walls. By examining such phenomena, I hope to introduce other ways of understanding the *andarūn* in regard to issues of gender (see Chapter 1).

Three studies of Egyptian and Turkish households in the twentieth century, authored respectively by the sociologist Alan Duben, economist Cem Behar (1991), religious scholar Juan Eduardo Campo (1991), and anthropologist Farha Ghannam (2002), stand out with regard to the relationships between domesticity, gender, religion, and socio-economic issues.²⁶ These scholars map the ties between Islamic sentiments—“Islamic” in these works refers mostly to Sunni Islam—, gender dynamics, and economic factors of domestic settings. Several architectural historians have likewise followed an interdisciplinary approach in their works on the house. Such books include Sibel Bozdoğan’s *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (2001),²⁷ as well as a more current contribution by Carel Bertram, *Imagining the Turkish House: Collective Visions of Home* (2008).²⁸ Both authors explore the theme of the home within and beyond its physical boundaries. They write on how Turkish architects hoped that the modern house would inspire better and healthier

lifestyles while also contributing to the discourse of nationalism. Discussing the notion of domesticity in more detail, Bertram shows the significant role that the old Ottoman house—as well as its textual and pictorial representations—played in the imagination of the Turks at the time Westernization of the Turkish Republic was at its height. Bertram’s discussions of how the home became a central part of the discourse on national identity in Turkey resembles that of Lisa Pollard’s 2005 study of the Egyptian household, *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt, 1805–1923*.²⁹

Pollard asserts that the domestic realm was in fact a central ground through which the modern nation-state of Egypt forged a new relationship with its people. She shows how concepts such as nationhood and citizenship were imagined and articulated in schoolbooks and the popular press. According to these texts, domestic cleanliness was, for example, a sign of political organization and national power. Although not concerned with the architectural aspects of the home, Pollard provides a fresh view in discussing the home and its importance at larger national and political levels. Such a theme animates Relli Shechter’s volume, *Transitions in Domestic Consumption and Family Life in the Modern Middle East: Houses in Motion* (2003),³⁰ which includes a chapter by Pollard along with those of six additional writers. Drawing on accounts and representations of domestic life in archival documents, journals, books, and photographs, the volume reveals common aspects of people’s private lives in modern Egypt, Israel, Palestine, and Turkey. It shows how people in these formerly Ottoman-ruled regions either chose or were forced to restructure their most immediate and intimate surroundings. While the present book contributes to this body of literature, it also covers what has not been studied—the role of Shiite Muslims in shaping and contesting domestic modernization forces.

Unlike with other parts of the Middle East, the Iranian home as a physical entity and storehouse of people’s belongings has not been paid the scholarly attention it deserves. This inattention has in part resulted from the inadequacy of the themes that have dominated the scholarship of modern Iranian history,³¹ which distracts from understanding transformations of everyday life and other non-political activities. For example, while the Shah’s 1962–63 White Revolution and the 1973–74 world energy crisis have been overtly studied, the rise of consumer culture in 1970s Iranian homes has not been sufficiently explored. This deficiency may be also attributed to the lack of a solid and coherent body of archival information. This shortcoming is particularly evident in certain areas, including the industrial provincial towns built during Reza Shah’s reign (1925–41). In such places, little evidence still exists, and the houses are not as well kept up as they were in the past; indeed, one finds no traces of the past whatsoever in certain sectors. Histories are missing from every old household. The people currently living in these homes belong to a different era and know little about what is past. Even if they do, it is a delicate undertaking to acquire such information. Years of maintenance and repair have stripped these older homes of their authentic look, and their original blueprints are lost or are kept in the most unlikely archives. Other older witnesses are reserved and wish to protect the privacy, safety, and legal rights of the current dwellers.

Due to these deficiencies, the present book cannot do justice to all forms of the modern Iranian home that have emerged during the past century; nonetheless, the selected case studies are exemplars of some of the most important trends that have been shaped by or have given shape to the Iranian house.

House and home in modern Iranian historiography

In the scholarship of modern Iranian history, the study of migration of the population of rural communities into large cities and of urban housing development has gained ample attention. This is partly because of the “housing problem” that was one of the main challenges of Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi’s regime (1941–79) and partly because of the important role the urban poor and the homeless played in the 1979 revolutionary upheaval.³² Since the 1960s, many dissertations, books, and articles have directly or indirectly addressed the so-called housing problem, both during the Pahlavi period and in the aftermath of the Islamic Revolution. In *Street Politics: Poor People’s Movements in Iran* (1997), sociologist Asef Bayat examines the revolutionary period of 1978–9 and how the urban poor struggled with their homelessness without governmental aid,³³ but the place of house and home in modern Iranian history does not end there. While Bayat focuses on the role that lack of housing for all played in the revolution, others, notably Afsaneh Najmabadi (1998), Camron Michael Amin (2003), and Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet (2006),³⁴ have explored the home in more abstract ways. They have shown how the domestic sphere was often comparable with the notion of motherhood and how both the idea of the “home” and the concept of “motherhood” were constantly reimagined and reconstructed in light of nationalist discourses during the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods. These studies have inspired my approach to the notion of “home” as it was conceptualized in the thoughts of more recent political and intellectual figures, including Leftists and Islamic Republic ideologues.

Other historians of women and gender in modern Iran, such as Nima Naghibi, Michael Zirinski, Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, and Gulnar Eleanor Francis-Dehqani, have shown how American and British missionary educators introduced Western ideas of domesticity to Iranian women.³⁵ One of the most valuable aspects of this body of literature is that it explores an aspect of foreign influence on Iran that goes beyond politics.³⁶ However, by placing so much emphasis on the educational materials delivered by foreign missionaries, the aforementioned scholars often overlook the daily interactions of missionary educators with Iranian women, including the ways in which Iranian women appropriated Western modes of everyday life from them. Missionaries in Iran kept meticulous records of their daily lives. They photographed their homes and drew maps of their neighborhoods. These sources, as well as personal letters and work logs, are all excellent historical materials that open new doors to the study of everyday life in early twentieth-century Iran. Such sources are significant because they help us reassess the history of modern Iran—one that is more often than not “reduced to a paradigm of state action/societal reaction.”³⁷

Only a few scholars, such as Amin, have looked at commodities when considering how “imported ideas” aimed to transform everyday life in Iran. In

“Importing ‘Beauty Culture’ into Iran in the 1920s and 1930s: Mass Marketing Individualism in an Age of Anti-Imperialist Sacrifice,” (2004) Amin looks at products such as the lipsticks, perfumes, and soaps that increasingly entered Iranian homes during the early Pahlavi era, thus adding a fresh dimension to the study of home/daily life and consumer culture in Pahlavi Iran.³⁸ He describes how these Western imported objects were viewed and used within Iranian households, and more importantly, why all this matters. Amin’s approach is, indeed, informative for scholars of material culture and even architecture; while historians of modern Iranian architecture and archaeology³⁹ have written about the ways in which public monuments, ancient relics, and archeological remains helped to materialize the sense of national identity and political power, only scant attention has been paid to other seemingly important tangible elements, such as objects used in daily life. It might take the revolutionary change of regime to construct a new meaning for a monument such as Azādī (Freedom), formerly known as Shahyād (the Shah’s Memorial),⁴⁰ but readily available objects of daily life such as washing machines or chairs can lose their original meanings and gain new ones as soon as they enter a person’s house. These objects, too, played an important role in creating new ways of being modern, in increasing new senses of nationalism, and in facilitating the novel appropriation of gender roles, as the present book will show. Like people, objects too had lives and “their meanings changed in response to the different contexts within which they (were) found.”⁴¹ The home and its contents were not only the material culture of Iranians’ domestic environments, but they also became a topic of interest for reformers, advertisers, and intellectuals and politicians of all ranks. Something as simple as sitting on a chair instigated convoluted debates that surfaced in the popular press. While at times the chair was treated as a museum object within the locked guest room of a working-class family (see Chapter 3), it was effaced by a white sheet as a marker of anti-Western mood within the household of Ayatollah Khomeini (see Chapter 4). Such minor episodes as the fate of a chair or an air conditioner are an invitation to go beyond public spaces and to enter into the homes of a nation. Objects that might seem trivial at first may “change the very nature of the questions we are able to pose and the kind of knowledge we are able to acquire about the past.”⁴² Hence, the point of the present book is not curtains, kitchen utensils, and chairs in-and-of-themselves. Rather, it is what role such things played in spatial transformations of the house.

This book is, above all, a survey of Iranian domesticity and its transformations from the late Qajar period to the present time. For this purpose, the work of historians of modern Iranian architecture has been exceptionally fruitful as a database for the current study. Scholars such as Talinn Grigor, A.A. Bakhtiar, Robert Hillenbrand, Mina Marefat, and Mark Crinson have addressed regionally specific characteristics of the traditional urban house during the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods, including those contexts in which certain decorative features evolved in the houses of Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz, and Abadan.⁴³ Rather than explaining particular styles of a certain period, these scholars have studied the home to explain the “place” of these particular styles in the making of Iranians’ sense of nationalism and historical consciousness.⁴⁴ Furthermore, these

historians have invited us to rethink the ways in which ideas of nationalism were transmitted from public to residential architecture.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the work of anthropologists and sociologists such as Jane Khatib-Chahidi, Janet Bauer, and Fariba Adelkhah have shown how transformation in family structures and gender relations have configured the interior layout of the Iranian home.⁴⁶

Most architecturally significant houses of the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods have been surveyed,⁴⁷ albeit in a non-systematic way, but there are virtually no systematic and critical studies of the architectural aspects of the Iranian home in the post-World War II period. The numerous housing changes introduced by the United States and its allies are missing in the scholarship of modern Iran.

Overview of the book

The present study of the Iranian home analyses its transformation in some historical detail and explores the process of Iran's modernization by examining the nation's interior design. Throughout, ideas of consumer culture and gender are at its core, but other important socio-political subjects are examined in order to view Iran's modernization under the lens of its people's private lives. While drawing on the aforementioned studies, this book seeks to explore how the modern home was shaped by Iranians' wish to manifest their interests and cultural views. Although imported Western ideas and the decisions made by the state were certainly catalysts in the movement to bring Iran into step with up-to-date and possibly beneficial technology in the home, Iranians were engaged, as active agents, in figuring out which aspects of contemporary Western home life actually worked for them and which did not. The outcome depended on the question of adjusting a national and personal identity to rapidly changing times—something that only the people of Iran themselves would ultimately be able to do.

Chapter 1, "The hovel, the harem, and the hybrid furnishing," shows how, at the end of the Qajar period (1870–1925), the principles linking the house with the traditional forms of the extended family life began to break down. In particular, a major shift took place in the gendered identity of the home as the boundaries of *andarūn* and *bīrūn* (men's section of the house; outer) began to slowly fade away. Consequently, gendered identity was defined through such means as taste in interior design and decoration. Iranians were certainly inspired by the interiors of their European counterparts; however, they did not duplicate what they stumbled upon. Instead, they created unique, hybrid interiors that are not only exclusive to Qajar Iran, but also expressive of the place of taste in the making of a distinctive social order; beyond this, on the verge of the country's move into its industrial phase, they elaborate upon Iranian's self-understanding. For instance, Iranians did not simply find certain imported mechanically reproduced "garish" and "gaudy" things attractive; rather, they came to find these so-called tasteless and kitschy objects beautiful for very good reasons. Appraising the "visual economy" of these images is vital not only because they appealed to the Qajar households, but also because they are useful for contemporary explorations of the culture of that period. To follow Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski—the editors of *The Nineteenth Century Visual*

Culture Reader—these visual materials should not be “examined for their aesthetic value per se but for their meaning as modes of making images and defining visual experience.”⁴⁸ Many Qajar interiors lacked aesthetic significance from the point of view of contemporary Europeans and art connoisseurs, but these interiors had—and still have—value because they show us how and why certain (exotic) images and objects interpellated everyday people and how these people’s judgment of aesthetic value emerged from a multifaceted interaction of desires for both imitation and distinction.⁴⁹ An interesting aspect of this process is the extent to which gender and women were essential in it—in both real and abstract senses.⁵⁰ Indeed, from the late-nineteenth century onward, women and feminine taste played a vital role in the domestic sphere. Foreign reformers blamed Qajar women for their lack of taste in arranging and decorating interiors and for their insufficient knowledge of the care of their households. These foreign reformers tried to improve the situation through such means as initiating new school curricula for girls and via introducing women’s press. Thus residing in better homes gradually became not just a matter of one’s economic status, but of cultural capital.⁵¹ Ultimately the discourse of the 1906 constitutional revolution cemented a link between the reformed political realm and the improved private space of the home. At this time, Iranian women were not simply in the process of “being reformed”: many upper- and middle-class women began to assert agency and eventually became reformers in this arena.

Chapter 2, “Renewing the nation’s interiors,” shows how the early Pahlavi state and the foreign capital contributed heavily to nationwide housing projects that, for the first time, divided communities along the lines of status and professional degrees, thus eradicating the old ascribed status distinctions. Most Iranians looked up to the lifestyles of the class above them and tried to emulate aspects of it. But achieving a better and more modern home life required both wealth and higher education—such things were accessible to only a limited portion of society. Subsequently, many residential neighborhoods in Tehran as well as in industrial cities—all built by professionals in the early Pahlavi period and all divided based on profession and status-line—exuded an air of inequality and injustice. In oil cities of the south, when foreigners resided side-by-side with the locals, the daily life circumstances resembled those of colonial cities. Thus, rather than serving the people, the built class-based residential neighborhoods in the newly industrialized cities of Iran epitomized the power of the state. The state penetrated people’s private lives to justify its supremacy—a fact that is evident through numerous textual reports and visual representations that appeared in the media. What was not properly covered in the mass media was the life circumstances of the homeless and the poor—many of whom were villagers who were forced to move to larger cities for work. With the increase in oil revenues in the late 1960s and 1970s, the class-based communities soon gave way to a more homogeneous consumer society, consisting largely of the working and middle-classes.

Chapter 3, “The Cold War and the economies of desire and domesticity,” fills the gap that currently exists in the study of the Cold War’s impact on Iran by demonstrating how larger policies of the Cold War and the Iranian government influenced domesticity. Something as simple as new ways of cleaning the house

can be traced to America's exercise of "quiet diplomacy" in Iran. Revisiting this era is important for understanding the culture and daily life of people in the Middle East. Many scholars, including historian Rashid Khalidi,⁵² have noted that the cultural crises of today are in part the legacy of Cold War policies in the region. Despite this, with a few exceptions,⁵³ there has been no extensive study concerning the influence of Cold War policies on the material culture of the Middle East and particularly of Iran. This chapter speaks of new socio-political interactions that are beyond state-centrism.⁵⁴ After World War II, the Truman administration's Point IV Program exported American home life, establishing home-economics schools for Iranian girls, which included, not only new curricula, but also actual model homes. Over the next couple of decades, U.S. exports to Iran expanded to the point that, by the second half of the 1970s, the Iranian market was saturated with American products. These were increasingly advertised in the popular press and women's magazines. Just as the content of such publications was drawn mostly from *Ladies Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and magazines of their ilk, the illustrations also derived from Western sources and depicted Anglo-American characters and settings. Iranians did not accept these imports outright and often confronted the American dream in their own creative ways. Whereas some owners modernized their traditional homes, others made their modern homes more traditional. In the interim, Iranian intellectuals—including Leftists—reconceived the modernized Iranian home in step with their version of national identity, an outcome that was more forcefully pursued by the religious-minded elites.

Chapter 4, "Selling and saving piety in modern dwellings," focuses on religious aspects of Iranian domesticity. In the early twentieth century, sometimes even the most modest Western imports had to be immersed in water to be "decontaminated," according to Shiite regulations. These attitudes lingered well into the late 1970s, when the new house and its novel additions—e.g., washing machines, refrigerators, indoor plumbing—challenged Shiite conceptions of purity and filth. Religious thinkers sought to reconfigure traditional domestic rules by updating Shiite ethics of homelife and hygiene to curb the influence of Western standards. By the last years of the Pahlavis' reign, certain aspects of everyday religious practices had been extended, refined, and even reinvented, as reflected in Khomeini's modern *Tawzīh al-Masā'il*—a handbook of behavior governing homelife and other daily life issues, written by the *mujtahids*, the highest-ranking authorities of Shiite Islam. A close reading of that book and examination of its illustrations, which include facsimiles of images, flow charts, and diagrams from Western publications, shows how religious scholars of the late-Pahlavi period helped create a modern Shiite domesticity. At the same time that religious scholars' desired to modernize Iranians' traditional religious routines, a group of architects wished to revitalize aspects of religious belief in their modern designs. In the early Pahlavi period the house was largely discussed in a Western modernist vocabulary; the main goal was to reach better hygiene and pragmatism. However, in the last decade of the Pahlavi regime this view was contested. Although the way of life associated with the traditional courtyard house had been discouraged by the state, its architectural characteristic became

a main component of the discourse of national identity—i.e., being both modern and Iranian; a discourse that was at this historical juncture endorsed widely by Iranian intellectuals. The attraction of architects to a spiritual Islamic identity—one, which was, according to them, manifest in the layout of the courtyard house—was part of the process of re-inventing Iranian identity as both subjects and objects of modernity. Indeed, this emphasis on the nation’s pious and spiritual past made modernity in Iran very different from the secular kind depicted in Western social sciences.⁵⁵

Although some characteristics of gendered space within the modern home of the early Pahlavi period are introduced in Chapters 2 and 3, Chapter 5—“Gendered spaces and bodies out of place”—details the role gender played in the design culture of the last decade of the Pahlavi era when women increasingly entered fields where male power was firmly entrenched. The Pahlavi state invited women to participate in architectural practice and public discourse as designers, consumers, and users of the modern house and its content. Despite this, the traditional gendered rules lingered well into the late 1970s. True, women asserted their presence in the previously male-dominated profession of design and architecture; nonetheless the means they used to achieve this were couched in the discourse that had traditionally preserved their subservience to men. Women’s relegation to virtues, such as being a good housewife, forced professional female architects to focus their energy on designing homes rather than public institutions. This aspect of their career as professional architects was indeed an essential condition for women’s improved public presence in the late-Pahlavi era. Moreover, unlike the traditional homes, modern homes permitted visual access; thus design itself became a mechanism of reinforcing the seclusion of women, who were forced indoors as their homes were visually accessible to strangers. Building on such deliberations, the chapter then discusses how traditional gender rules were both contested and heightened during and after the Islamic Revolution of 1979. In this chapter I explore theoretical considerations as well as physical/architectural arrangements and show, how in many ways, the codes of gendered spatial segregation and women’s place in society in post-revolutionary Iran were rooted in the treatment and perception of such phenomena in the pre-revolutionary period.⁵⁶ Although identity categories shifted, the exercise of power in defining and defending gendered spaces and the disciplining of (women’s) bodies persisted. Relying on post-revolutionary debates that engaged architecture and the body, the final pages of this chapter look at the post-revolutionary view that the female body was/is naturally suited to certain spaces as well as how physical spaces were allocated to meet this and other such expectations.

The Epilogue, “At home in the Islamic Republic,” shows how since 1979, Iranians have contested the dichotomies of “public” and “private” as manifested in the Islamic Republic’s texts, images, and actual physical spaces. Many Iranian artists and architects—including women—appropriated aspects of these initiatives, generating a unique culture of resistance that allowed them to subtly question and challenge the status quo without putting their careers at risk.⁵⁷ Expanding on a selected number of case studies, I present resistance not just as a way to demonstrate the heroism of the resisters, but by letting these resisters’

“practices teach us about (the) complex interworking of historically changing structures of power” in Iran.⁵⁸ In many instances, Iranians have resisted the regulations regarding public and private life, but they do not always reject these rules outright.⁵⁹ This form of resistance, thus, does not mean a complete rejection of the status quo. Iranians have in fact managed to reconcile their own protests within the inevitable power/knowledge scheme;⁶⁰ they operate through “in-between” spaces wherein there are many gradations of “powerfulness” and “powerlessness.” Thus, in its closing pages, this book invites the reader to reconsider the simplistic conceptual polarities of post-revolutionary Iran, which the international media persist in sensationalizing.

Domesticity and Consumer Culture in Iran: Interior revolutions of the Modern Era has thus two chief thrusts. The first is to introduce the readers to the daily life of common citizens as Iran went through its modernization process. The book involves a wider variety of media than architecture alone and hopes to open new doors to the study of modern Iran by relying on exceptional archival documents—ranging from furnishings, appliances, architectural blueprints, maps, photographs, films, TV series, novels and works of art to work logs, women’s scrapbooks, and personal letters and reports—that have rarely been taken into consideration by other historians. By crossing boundaries—disciplinary and otherwise—I explore the deep, subliminal interplay between often separate domains. On the one hand, foreign influences, religious rhetoric, gender roles, economic factors, and education; on the other, taste, fashion, and architecture. The narrative in this book moves from the late nineteenth century to the early twenty-first century. Each chapter portrays the eclectic variety of behaviors in the course of individual and collective acts of production and consumption of domesticity, alongside the ensuing debates and ideologies. The visual materials that accompany the textual contents are offered to make them more nuanced and tangible.

The book, which shifts the focus of the scholarship of modern Iran from high politics and pivotal events to culture and daily life, also shows how Iranians were actively involved, not only in adopting new ideas but also in challenging them—especially when these ideas were imposed from above. In the subsequent chapters I demonstrate how, as active social agents, ordinary Iranians were capable of selectively appropriating certain aspects of what they saw as modern, new, or dissimilar to their usual routines.⁶¹ This study is thus a bottom-up history of everyday citizen’s resistance towards officially sanctioned transformations.

Although the book follows a loosely chronological order, every chapter stands on its own. In each chapter, the dwelling is cast in a slightly different light; each chapter explores a component of domesticity that is essential to realizing the process of modernization in Iran as well as Iranians’ reactions to it.

1 The hovel, the harem, and the hybrid furnishing

Introduction

Long before the Pahlavi dynasty (1925–79) sought to improve the condition of Iranian domesticity by commissioning foreign and local architects and by initiating large-scale housing projects for the emerging working class, Iranians had been introduced to conceptions of modern Western domesticity through the country's political and commercial expansion under the Qajar dynasty (1796–1925). The importation of Western ideas and commodities accelerated under the lengthy reign of Nasir al-Din Shah (1848–96), during which many European diplomats, soldiers, technicians, and missionaries visited or settled in Iran. Nasir al-Din Shah's role was significant. He introduced telegraph and postal services, had new roads laid, initiated the first school offering education along Western lines, launched Iran's first newspaper, and gave impetus to major urban building projects.¹ By the 1860s, the Shah had expanded old Tehran through the destruction of most of its worst-congested areas and their replacement by large squares and boulevards that were lit at night, a first.² New residential suburbs were implemented north of Tehran, and the Shah's palace of Gulistān—founded in 1759—saw new construction within the complex between 1867 and 1892.³

While he was a ruler who was bound by the norms and practices of ancient Persian royal kinship, Nasir al-Din Shah simultaneously fostered the hope of modernizing Iran, not only by adopting Western artillery and hard science but also through importing European luxury goods, fabrics, furniture, china, and silverware.⁴ Like his great-grandfather, Fath Ali Shah (reigned 1797–1834), Nasir al-Din had a particular interest in promoting courtly arts, domestic life, royal feasts, and in spending time with the women of his harem.⁵

Between 1873 and 1878, Nasir al-Din Shah made two trips to Europe. His travel diaries are filled with remarks about the architectural glamour of urban centers in Russia, France, England, and Austria.⁶ Upon his return, Nasir al-Din Shah did his best to implement European models of design by supervising the construction of new buildings at Gulistān Palace. The popular newspaper *Sharaf* (*Honor*) contentiously showcased these new additions to the palace and emphasized the quality of furnishings used in them. Often referred to as *asāshā-ya nafīs* (fine furniture), *basāthāy-a girānbahā* (expensive gadgets), and *mublhāy-a*

badī (modern chairs), the newspaper informed the readers of the high caliber of these interior contents.⁷ In 1892, Nasir al-Din Shah granted a 30-year concession to a Belgian group for manufacturing of glass, pottery, paper, and candles.⁸ Conversely, the European appetite for Persian artefacts, most notably carpets, led to a growth in the production of traditional-style rugs as substitutes for rare antiques.⁹ Between 1860 and 1910 the number of Persian carpet weavers rose from 1000 to 65,000 and, by 1930, the Persian carpet was the second main foreign currency earner, after oil.¹⁰ While tradition was fully safeguarded on the floors of Iranian homes, other furnishings were of eclectic styles that included old Persian, European, and even east Asian (*chinoiserie*).

Appropriation and aesthetics of everyday life in aristocratic settings

The designers of late-Qajar era were exceedingly capable of adapting and synthesizing a variety of local and foreign sources. Just as lithographic books and newspapers had started to implement Western-style floral vignettes and stylized page embellishments, the interior and exterior walls of residences also included Persian geometrical patterns and arabesque strapwork intertwined with Victorian rose garlands and naturalistic European landscape vignettes.¹¹ Of European origin were spectacular mirrorworks (*aynah karī*) and figural stucco carvings (*gach karī*).¹² Additionally, striking Western modes of representation were applied to narrative-based *cuerta seca* and underglazed tiles. Besides being a favored mode of decoration in Iran, Persian ceramics were in demand from the European market. A treatise prepared by Ali Muhammad Isfahani (active 1870s–1888) and compiled by John Fargues, under the title *On the Manufacture of Modern Kashi Earthenware Tiles and Vases*,¹³ paid tribute to the renewed interest in the traditional aesthetic techniques, and old luster tilework already resurfacing in Persian ceramics. These techniques, developed much earlier, soared to heights of chromatic intensity during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah, when an unprecedented naturalism was achieved through navy blue, soft greens, pinks, and chrome yellow pigments, and by introducing black shading. These polychrome tileworks represented meticulous naturalistic scenes, including Iranian and European subjects.¹⁴ The dado-lined entrance hall to the *dīvānkhānah* (governmental seat) was adorned with images of Nasir al-Din Shah surveying his troops or receiving guests; exterior walls meanwhile sported scenes of industrial European cities—often with the factory towers in the backdrop (see figure 1.1).¹⁵ Some representations seem to have been copied from actual photographs that had entered the Qajar court, as a result of Nasir al-Din Shah's fascination with yet another European import, the art and science of photography.¹⁶

Meanwhile, objects in lacquer and enamel, especially those distinguished by a mixture of old and new decorative patterns, became increasingly sought after. Chests, jewelry boxes, armoires, tables, cupboards, and mirror frames were adorned with the old arabesque motifs and the popular rose-and-nightingale (*gul-u-bul-bul*) theme as well as European-inspired realistic representations.¹⁷



Figure 1.1 Tilework, Gulistān palace. Photograph by the author, 2006

The Qajar approach to older styles was indeed a progressive appropriation of the art of previous dynasties; it was certainly more than just copying as a means to apprenticeship. The references to the style of the past,¹⁸ was accomplished through the selective use of particular events and legendary figures that received overwhelming attention, while others were entirely neglected. Similarly, borrowing from European themes was a conscious appropriation, rather than a mark of surrender to European influences.

In contrast to the Egyptian and Ottoman open-door policy to Western trends, Iran's reaction was circumspect, if curious.¹⁹ Despite his mixed feelings about European involvement in the affairs of his country, Nasir al-Din Shah was aware of the advantages of technology, education, and healthcare. However, European colonialist attitudes—seen first and foremost in the proposed 1872 monopoly concession offered to Britain's Baron Julius de Reuter for railroad construction and the development of Iran's natural resources, mines, banking, and industrial potentials, which was withdrawn in 1873—also alerted him to the danger of opening the country wholesale to Western culture and policy.²⁰ Perhaps it was due to these antithetical mindsets that the Persians did not candidly acknowledge their profound fascination with Western imports and influence. In his 1885 travelogue, *Le Caucase et la Perse (The Caucasus and Persia)*, the Belgian consultant Ernest Orsolle commented on how some Persians consciously perceived use of Western motifs as their own exclusive inventions. Even when an artwork was a

European import, some tended to take credit for it. Referring to two large tapestry gifts from Louis-Philippe I of France to Nasir al-Din Shah's father, Muhammad Shah, Orsolle writes: "The Persians unabashedly attributed these two pieces to their own weavers."²¹

Nowhere was the Qajar method of "appropriation," "recontextualization," and "making one's own" more compellingly apparent than in the ways in which chairs and sofas were adapted, adopted, and perceived among aristocrats. The chair was a European import that could be found in Iran as early as the Safavid dynasty (1501–1736) and it was also used in pre-Islamic Iran by ancient Achaemenid (c. 550–330 BCE) and Parthian (247 BCE–224 CE) kings.²² But under the Qajars the chair acquired a particular significance, as it was meant for exclusive use by the king and other important members of the royal family. The stylistic point of reference in early Qajar chair design was not clear to many contemporary European commentators. In the 1810s, the orientalist William Ouseley described it as "much (resembling) those (chairs) ... fashionable some centuries ago in France and England,"²³ while his contemporary James Morier stated that it was "old-fashioned, like those in sculptures at Persepolis."²⁴ The prototype for the Qajar "chair of state" or throne was neither European nor ancient Iranian, but the one known to the Indians of the Mughal Empire. After Nader Shah, founder of the Afshar dynasty (1736–96), invaded Delhi in 1738, he brought back with him the seventeenth-century Peacock Throne of the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah (reigned 1719–48). Subsequently, most Persian chairs were modeled after this throne made of wood encrusted with gold and gems. Chairs thus became symbolic of the dynastic power of the Qajar rulers. Fath Ali Shah had a marble throne (*takht-i marmar*) made for him that integrated elements related to the legendary throne of King Solomon or to the mythical King Jamshid from the *Book of Kings* (*Shahnamah*) of the Persian poet Ferdawsi (940–1020). According to written sources, both thrones were propelled through the air by demons.²⁵ The throne was a means to enhance the status and prestige of the Qajar king and bestowed dynastic power on him.²⁶

During the reign of Fath Ali Shah (1797–1834), delegates from Europe, along with the Iranians who accompanied them, were required to stand when the Shah was seated on his throne. Sometimes no one could sit in the presence of the Shah. Fath Ali Shah's successor, Mohammad Shah (reigned 1834–48), suffered from gout and preferred smaller European-style chairs. It was also in the 1830s and 1840s that many at the palace could enjoy sitting on European-style armchairs, including the women of the harem, but even then, the larger and more elaborate chairs continued to remain signs of authority. At royal receptions the privilege of sitting was important.

In the subsequent decades the chair remained a symbol of status and power of Qajar rulers. Nasir al-Din Shah was often photographed in front of his Peacock Throne, which served as both a symbol of his monarchical power and as a sign of his dynastic affiliation with Nadir Shah Afshar.²⁷ Some photographs presented him seated on a chair surrounded by attendants who sat on the floor. Due to its foreign associations, the chair was also considered an exotic piece of

furniture, one that was often treated as an item on display. In most upper-class Iranian homes, chairs were arranged along the walls of the rooms in the manner of Gulistān's audience hall (figure 1.2). In paintings and other representations, subjects seated on chairs signified people of particular respect.

Despite its popularity in aristocratic settings, the chair had a display function rather than being a piece of furniture that could contribute to comfort. And this was later manifest in the homes of the layman as well. The American missionary Clara Colliver Rice confirms this point by describing the interior of a typical Persian house:

The furniture in a Persian house is conspicuous by its absence! Men who have come so much in contact with Europeans may have a table and chairs in their guest rooms, and some aspire to European bedsteads, but all these are more for ornament than use, as a house is properly furnished for a Persian when it is well carpeted and curtained, and has a good stock of bedding. The *takchah* (shelves—often arched at the top—that are cut in the thick walls in the shape of windows) take the place of cupboards and tables, the mattresses and pillows of couches and chairs. Wearing apparel, when not in use, is folded up in special wrappers, and kept either in a box or on a high *takchah*. Labor and expense are saved by this style of furnishing.²⁸

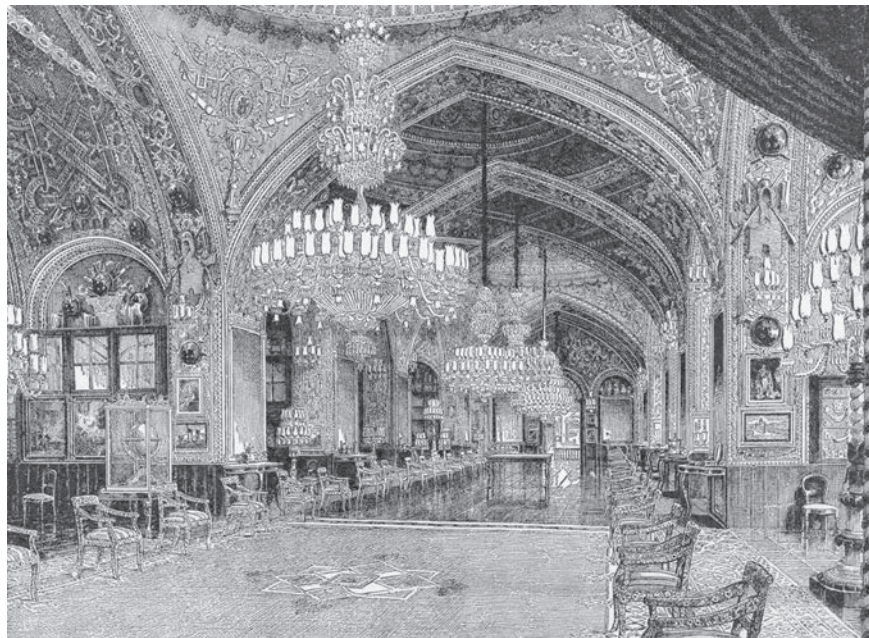


Figure 1.2 The Audience Hall at the Gulistān Palace. Image from S.G.W Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1887, p. 79

Indeed, the process of adapting the chair and other Western furniture among ordinary Iranians was a long one. Many Iranian families were hesitant not only about the use of chairs, but also about possessing any other piece of Western furniture. People in smaller cities considered all Western imports impure and immersed them in water to purify them after the touch of infidels' hands²⁹ and "it took nearly a century to resolve fully the problem of when and where the chair might be adapted within the strict rules of Iranian protocols and social habits."³⁰ Nonetheless, the "display value" of these items lingered in the marketplace of desire. European architectural forms and other courtly styles rapidly penetrated the confines of contemporary upper-class households. Like the palace, the upper-class house, too, became a locus of consumption, where exotic objects and furnishings, including European furniture and antiques or objects of antique appearance, were on display. Just as in the palace, powerful men and women defined where, when, how, and by whom different forms of décor and furnishings could be used. The point was to keep various family members in their socially defined places through interior spatial and ornamental arrangements, and not surprisingly these arrangements were defined along gender lines.

Gendered interiors: realities and ideals

The first addition to the Gulistān palace complex was Shams al-'Imarah (Sun Palace), a five-storey building completed in 1868 and a landmark for decades until taller structures eclipsed it (figure 1.3).³¹ This multi-functional edifice consisted of private quarters for the Shah and his wives, reception halls, a museum for the court's growing collection of European art, as well as a watchtower for Nasir al-Din Shah,³² and was a semi-Western structure due to its unusual height, gabled roofs, Italian-style portico, and central tower with an imported European clock set into the wall.³³

In 1881, a new harem complex was built to replace the old one. While still designed in the fashion of older family quarters (*andarūns*) with all rooms arranged around a central courtyard and no views to the outside, this new harem reflected the nurtured individuality with which Nasir al-Din Shah regarded his wives and daughters. Each woman was assigned a separate living unit.³⁴ The most striking addition to this private section of Gulistān Palace was a neo-baroque/neoclassical palace that served as both a bedroom and a venue for Nasir al-Din Shah's "nocturnal amusements."³⁵ Completed in 1886, the building was known as the Khābgāh (literally, bed chamber) and sat in the midst of the courtyard facing the newly built 1881 harem complex (figure 1.4). According to *Sharaf*, the architecture of the Khābgāh was inspired by the late-baroque classicism of the 1856 Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul, which the Shah had visited some years earlier.³⁶ Like Dolmabahçe, the façade of the Khābgāh is articulated by a number of pilasters with convoluted capitals. Window pairs are surmounted by ocular openings and linear networks of ornament consisting of ribbons, scrolls, tendrils, and similar pliant forms. The rich relief of the capitals and window frames create an elegant contrast to the smooth wall surfaces. Finally, the vertical extension

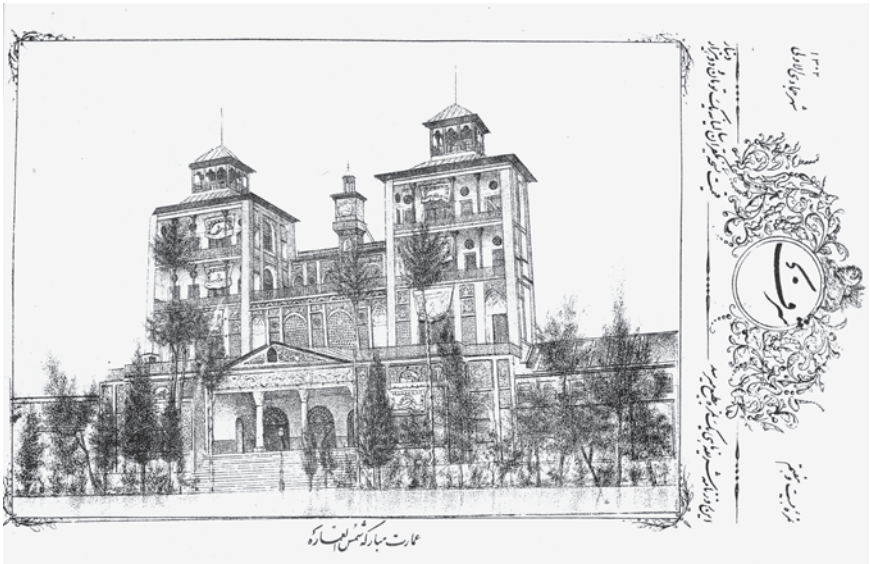


Figure 1.3 Cover of *Sharaf (Honor)* showcasing the newly constructed Shams al-'Imarah. *Sharaf*, 1303/1885, no. 27

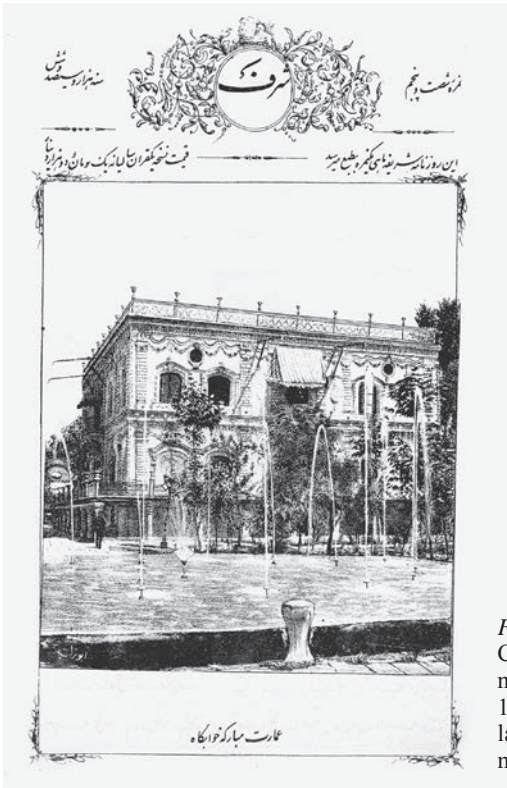


Figure 1.4
Cover of *Sharaf*, showcasing the newly constructed Khābgāh. *Sharaf*, 1306/1888, no. 65. The building was later demolished by Reza Shah to make room for the Ministry of Trade

through the cornice is capped with a continuous balustrade running along the roof edge.

Other royal residences besides Gulistān likewise exemplify new approaches to architectural design. The Qajar custom of moving between summer and winter palaces led to the construction of many summer abodes that were located in the villages of Shimīrān (or Shimīrānāt), Ishtarābād, Qulhak, and Tajrīsh, all suburbs of Tehran. With regard to their overall architectural forms, the suburban palaces fluctuate between two types found in Gulistān: the Shams al-‘Imarah and the now-destroyed Khābgāh. A neoclassical structure with steeply pitched roofs, classical capitals, and rounded arches known as Sahibqarāniyyah—located in northernmost Niyavaran palace complex in Shemīran village—resembles Gulistān’s Khābgāh. In Ishtarābād, a four-storey brick tower, which served as the Shah’s bed chamber is comparable to the Shams al-‘Imarah.

Nasir al-Din Shah’s *andarūns* were conceptually and, at times, even visually more exposed to the public spaces of the palace complex.³⁷ For one thing, the carved wooden latticework of Shams al-‘Imarah—which housed harem women for a short period following its construction—allowed women of the harem to see outside without being seen, while the unusual height of the building, which made it visible from a distance, exposed the physical existence of the harem to public sight.³⁸ In addition to its four-storey brick tower, Ishtarābād included a supplementary *andarūn* space consisting of separate chalets grouped around an artificial lake (figure 1.5). These European-style arrangements were in sharp contrast with the secluded *andarūns* of the second Qajar ruler, Fath Ali Shah, all of which



Figure 1.5 Aerial view of harem quarters of the Ishtarābād palace. Image from T. al-Saltana and A. Amanat, ed., *Memoirs of a Persian Princess from the Harem to Modernity*, Anna Vanzan and Amin Neshati, trans., Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 1993, p. 23. Courtesy of Mage Publishers

consisted of a series of isolated rooms adjoining a rectangular fort with openings only into its interior courtyard.³⁹ As mentioned, the *andarūn* also became a focus of public readership as the popular press began to cover certain aspects of the doings there. An 1882 issue of the newspaper *Sharaf*, for example, featured the construction process used for Nasir al-Din Shah's newly built harem.⁴⁰ The article lauded the degree of comfort that the recent building granted to the "servants (*khuddām*) of the harem."⁴¹ It also presented a drawing with a view of the harem as seen from the interior courtyard.⁴²

Other volumes of *Sharaf* likewise unveiled images of the Shah's multiple palaces, including many of the new summer residences,⁴³ but more than just published articles shared details of royal private life with the public. By the 1850s, young Nasir al-Din Shah had become an avid photographer, thanks to European educators and daguerreotype equipment offered to the Qajar monarch by Queen Victoria of Britain and Tsar Nicolas I of Russia.⁴⁴ Nasir al-Din Shah used photography as a tool to record the interiors of his harems. Harem women in his photographs are often unveiled and at times even shown in erotic poses. These photographs resonate well with a commentary provided by Roland Barthes in *Camera Lucida* (1981), as they "corresponded precisely to the explosion of the private into the public, or rather into the creation of a new social value, which is the publicity of the private..."⁴⁵ At the time of their first production, the harem photographs were certainly meant to be enjoyed only by Nasir al-Din Shah; nonetheless, the fact that they were neither discarded by the Shah nor ordered to be disposed of after his death attests to the fact that these easily reproducible visual sources were intended to remain in existence as historical documents. They "furnished the Qajar ruler with an efficient tool for producing a visual chronicle of his power by way of consolidating his monarchical rule."⁴⁶

The harem of Nasir al-Din Shah was expanded many times, and was not as isolated as the Qajar court wished to keep it.⁴⁷ Rather, it was dominated by the powerful women who surrounded the Shah, including the Shah's mother (Mahd-i Awlia), his wife (Anis al-Dawla), and his favorite concubine (Jayran). Knowing his indulgent and vulnerable nature, each secured a sphere of influence.⁴⁸ By immersing himself in his many perceived weaknesses, which extended to affection toward his favorite pets, the Shah provoked his onlookers and aggravated his opponents. By past standards, the ruler was disproportionately indulgent with his harem, and he was too lax to shroud his overtures with secrecy. Rumours spread by some onlookers of the harbouring of a young harem boy, Malijak, bordered on disgrace for the Shah.⁴⁹ The Shah's dual image as both a despotic ruler and a homebound royal husband established a meeting ground between his public and private lives. This union of extremes embodied in the persona of the Shah was deemed problematic, according to many contemporary commentators. Nonetheless, the Shah's character alone could be thought of as a means through which the public/private dichotomy began to be diluted at the end of the nineteenth century.

At the time when the boundaries of *andarūn* and *bīrūn* began to diminish slowly, gendered spatial identity became defined more and more through other

means, such as taste in interior design and decoration. This is not specific to the Qajar era. Prior to this time architectural spaces had certainly presented gendered identity through such devices. What is unique about Qajar interiors is that, owing to growing contacts with Europe, the distinction between gendered objects was more conspicuously expressed.

For centuries, Iranian aristocrats had enjoyed viewing representations of women in illustrated manuscripts. However, as the popularity of oil paintings and interior wall paintings grew, these illustrations became more accessible to viewers of all kind. Portrayals of both men and women in the public audience halls of Persian palaces had become quite the norm by the early Qajar period. Félix Marie Charles Texier, a French historian and archaeologist who visited Iran in 1838, remarked on the strange mindset of Persians who hid their women away in the harem and yet displayed their portraits in public.⁵⁰ Murals and images hung or painted on the walls with images of unveiled women had embellished the seventeenth-century royal palace interiors of the Safavids (1501–1736), and such murals gained even more popularity during two succeeding dynasties: Afshar (1736–96) and Zand (1750–94). During the reign of the Zands, a new medium and support appeared—oil on canvas; portraits of these kings came to be painted in the European fashion, which was perfectly suited for the upper walls of reception rooms. Carrying on this tradition of showcasing self-images, Fath Ali Shah's Takht-i Marmar Palace in the Gulistān complex exhibits large-scale portraits of himself and images of his courtiers.⁵¹ The successor of Fath Ali-Shah, Muhammad Shah, was fascinated by images of Europe and its monarchs, especially in print form. The French orientalist Eugene Bore (1809–78)—who had close ties with the court of Muhammad Shah—ordered the French government to send pictures of landscapes, monuments, and machinery to Persia.⁵² In particular, he asked for a copy of *The Life of Napoleon* with engravings of his battles.⁵³ Nasir al-Din Shah was enthusiastic about his own printed portraits that appeared in European newspapers—such as the *London News*, *The Times*, and *Le Figaro*—on the occasion of his visits to Great Britain and France.⁵⁴ Later some of these lithographs were even reproduced for public consumption.⁵⁵ The market demanded not only images of queens and kings, but also portraits of attractive European and local women. Images of these women appeared on walls as well as on utensils such as water pipes.

The development of the technique of pouncing meant that portraits could be reproduced widely and were likewise alterable in scale. They were, beyond this, adapted and recasts by working artists into an expansive array of media, from lacquer to tilework, oil painting, and stone carving.⁵⁶ As use of tilework, instead of wall paintings, became more favored during the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah, images of Western women appeared on colorful tiles that embellished the exterior walls of multiple residences, including the Sahibqarāniyyah Palace in Niāvarān (north Tehran), whose European architectural form is incongruously adorned with local tilework that represents Iranian women in Victorian attire. While their facial features and makeup—including uninterrupted brows, beauty spots or *khāls*, and heavy eyeliner—are undoubtedly Qajar in origin, the outfits—including bodices and wide, hanging sleeves—are exclusively Victorian

(see Figure 1.8).⁵⁷ This form of representation proves a point mentioned earlier in this chapter: whether utilized in architecture or furnishing, most Qajar decorative patterns were based either upon traditional forms from earlier dynasties or were laden with European exoticism.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the architectural vocabulary of Qajar residences emerged as a fusion of European and traditional Iranian themes, in homes in Tehran and in other large cities.⁵⁸ Late Qajar upper-class houses evolved within the context of recent practices already affecting royal buildings. Other notable royal residences that have survived relatively intact may be found in Shiraz and Isfahan, former Persian capitals of the Safavid dynasty (1501–1736) and the Zand dynasty (1750–94), respectively. The aristocratic residences of Narinjīstān (1881) and the Afīfābād (1863), both in Shiraz, are among the finest examples of these hybrid styles, where Western images, including British soldiers in high relief and Corinthian columns, are exhibited along with copies of Achaemenid reliefs from Persepolis.⁵⁹

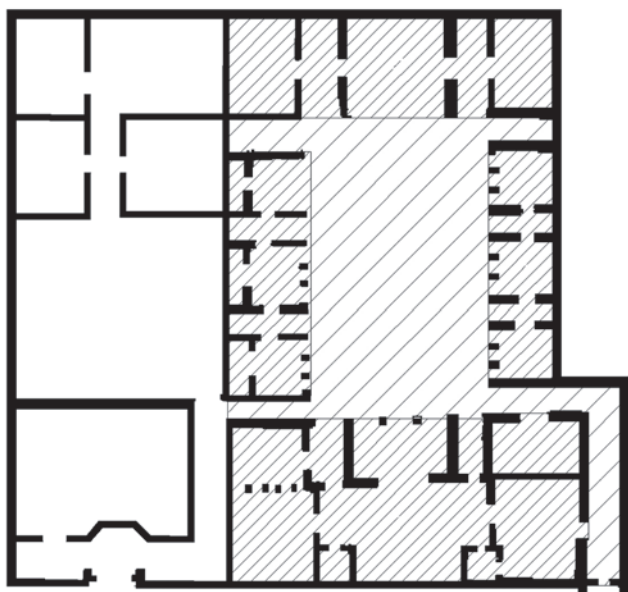
In Tehran between 1896 and 1925—during the reigns of Mozaffar al-Din Shah (1896–1907), Mohammad Ali Shah (1907–09), and Ahmad Shah (1909–25)—a group of homes was built that combined various styles, among them ancient Persian, neoclassical, French baroque, and Perso-Islamic.⁶⁰ The entrance alcoves to most of these homes included patterns such as scrolls and undulating and heavily molded cornices, layered engaged pillars, oval and circular ocular windows, broken cornices, segmental pediments, and convoluted capitals (figure 1.6).⁶¹ These elements were often incongruously intertwined with the local architectural vocabulary, including bricks laid in basket weave and glazed tiles with calligraphic inscriptions of verse. Such eclectic mixtures were deployed toward a purely decorative end and served no purpose other than to create animated and highly expressive façades. Despite changes in ornamental idiom—with a few exceptions—most Qajar houses were formally and spatially products of the old tradition of courtyard houses.⁶² Most of these houses included a secluded space consisting of a series of one-to-three-storey rooms arranged around a private central courtyard carefully separated from that of the *bīrūnī* segment of the house. The *andarūnī* was generally reserved for women, and only close family members had access to it, while the *bīrūnī* was occupied entirely by men of the household and their male guests. The house was composed of an octagonal gatehouse (*hashtī*) attached to a dog-leg entrance that helped prevent direct visual access to the interior.⁶³ The *hashtī* then led to two principal sections of the house, the *andarūnī* and the *bīrūnī*, which were quite similar in appearance except that the kitchen was located within the *andarūnī* while the *bīrūnī* often had none (see, for example the blueprint of a house in Yazd, as shown in figure 1.7).⁶⁴ The two parts of the house were connected solely by a narrow and often long corridor, apart from which there was sometimes no opening, not even a window, to join the *andarūnī* and *bīrūnī*.⁶⁵

Despite their conservative formal arrangements, the *bīrūnī* and *andarūnī* were not always that rigidly used in everyday life. In fact, in the late-Qajar period, many homes lacked a *bīrūnī* unit with a separate courtyard. Even when the *bīrūnī* unit was fully implemented, it was not meant to be used at all times. As historians Robert Hillenbrand and A.A. Bakhtiyar have noted, at the end of the Qajar era, the



Figure 1.6
Entrance to a residence at no. 38 Ray Street, south Tehran. Photograph from Hussein Soltanzadeh, *Fazāhāy-i vurūdī khānaha-ya Tehran-i qadīm* (Entrance Design in Houses of Old Tehran), Tehran: Daftar-i pajūhishhāy-i farhangī, 1371/1992, p. 49.

Figure 1.7
Plan of a large courtyard house in the city of Yazd; *andarūnī* (blank area on the map) and *bīrūnī* (hatched area on the map) sections. M. K. Pīrnā, *Ashnā-yī bā mi'marī Islāmī Iran* (Introduction to the Islamic Architecture of Iran), Tehran: Science and Technology University Press, 1372/1993, p. 182. Plan reproduction courtesy of Parham Karimi



bīrūnī part of some aristocratic homes was used *only* for special occasions such as feasts, marriages, and religious ceremonies, while the *andarūnī* part remained the only space used in daily life, a place where *mahram* men—those related to the family by blood-ties⁶⁶—could also entertain a few non-*mahram* guests. Some of the most intimate interactions within the family were, surprisingly, not concealed at all. The common sleeping room of the traditional extended family allowed sexual relations between couples as they slept side by side with their children. Sometimes the division of space according to gendered roles and activities was based upon temporal considerations. Rooms served different purposes at different times of the day and night. On occasion one had little privacy in the house. Yet at certain times, some spaces allowed for personal moments. Thus, within the immediate family, space was neither entirely feminine nor masculine, but allowed for elements of both.

Nonetheless, certain aspects of the late-Qajar home, such as décor and furniture, often reflected the gender of the “self” or the desired “other.” Indeed, this concept of the “other” was keenly emphasized in reception rooms of the late-Qajar period, which displayed pictures of unveiled women.⁶⁷ In *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (2005), Afsaneh Najmabadi explains how by the end of the nineteenth century the concept of “beauty” became differentiated by gender.⁶⁸ Unlike other historians of Qajar art, Najmabadi reminds us that the feminization of beauty was not just due to an emerging interest in more realistic depiction of the human figure, but rather to “the disappearance of the male object of desire” from late-Qajar representations.⁶⁹ Homoerotic depictions of older men with younger men and heterosexual male-female couples, so prominent in paintings of the Safavid rulers and the succeeding Zand dynasty, were replaced in the Qajar period by depictions of solitary female objects of desire. The bare-breasted woman continually appears in Qajar art, in both book illustrations and paintings. The fascination with women’s beauty, and especially their bare breasts, Najmabadi argues, was linked to Iranian men’s perception of women in Europe.⁷⁰ For male Iranians, the European woman became an object of enthrallment—accompanied by its theoretical corollary, European personified as a woman. This is perhaps most clearly illustrated in representations at the time of the medieval Sufi story of Shiykh-i San’a and his romance with a Christian maiden of Rum—known originally as *dukhtar-i tarsā* or the “non-Muslim girl.”⁷¹ New versions of this medieval tale were composed, and episodes from the story became the theme of many Qajar paintings. The story itself was updated and “was re-imagined as a tale of Iranian men falling in love with European women and of Iran falling in love with Europe as woman.”⁷² *Dukhtar-i tarsā* (Christian maiden) gives way to *zan-i farangī* (European woman); a virgin Christian girl thus became a deflowered European woman, a figure that by Najmabadi’s account is more sexualized. At this time, Iranian officials who travelled to Europe saw it as a kind of heaven, particularly due to the look of its women, who reminded them of the promised heavenly angels (*hūrs*).⁷³ It is thus no surprise that images of European women, in photographic detail inspired paintings and tilework (figure 1.8) that appeared in Qajar palaces.⁷⁴



Figure 1.8 Ceramic tiles from the rear of the Sahibqarāniyyah Summer Palace in Nīāvarān (built c. 1887). These tiles, now part of the exterior back façade of the palace, were most likely part of the *andarūn* (harem) of Nasir al-Din Shah and were later demolished by Ahmad Shah. Photograph by the author, 2007

As in royal residences, the display of images of European women became an arresting phenomenon in household interiors of the upper-class in the last years of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the next. Unable to afford the paintings or fine tilework of Tehran's palaces, many aristocrats instead incorporated oleographs—photographically produced color lithographs or chromolithographs, which were pressed on to a textured surface and then varnished so as to resemble an oil painting⁷⁵—of women into the masonry of their walls.⁷⁶ Numerous upper-class homes—some never documented before their destruction at various dates throughout the twentieth century, including the post-1979 revolution period—could well have included such images, but there are a few remaining Qajar reception rooms that definitely do.⁷⁷

A late-nineteenth century courtyard house in Yazd, known as the Lārīha Residence, has decoration that might have been an early twentieth century addition (figure 1.9). The only *panjdarī* (literally five-door room)⁷⁸ of the house—the largest type of room within a courtyard house (see figure 1.10)—which according to local anecdotes⁷⁹ most possibly served as a reception area for, mostly male, visitors displays oleographs of European women and scenes—some from paintings famous at the time—that are carefully encased within frames of mirror fragments placed on the room's plastered upper walls and ceilings (figure 1.11).⁸⁰ Some resemble women from European paintings with harem schemes (figure 1.12).⁸¹ The sharp contrast of these images with the pasty background separates them from local ornamentation, which “cut up all breadth of effect”⁸² and let the patterns dissolve into one another (figure 1.13). However, the Lārīha Residence's images are positioned symmetrically, that is, some identical images are placed along the same axes. Perceiving them thusly resonates with traditional practices of review that date back to the Timurid dynasty (1370–1526), when the experiencing of architectural revetments was, in the words of art historian David Roxburgh, one of motion as “the eye (registered) changes of direction and (performed) rotations of degrees across axes.”⁸³ In this sense, despite being different from traditional modes of ornamentation, the arrangement of oleographs in the Lārīha's reception room evokes the haptic character and the optical realm of Iranian architectural revetments. Other such elaborate presentations of women's images are found in the reception rooms of Qavām al-Dawla House in Tehran and Shahshahānī House in Isfahan (figures 1.14 and 1.15).⁸⁴ Unlike the lacquered oleographs of Lārīha House, the European women of Qavām's *tālār* (a large rectangular hall preceded by a hypostyle porch) and the Shahshahānī's reception room do not immediately stand out—resembling the traditional *horror vacui* approach to ornamentation that shunned empty spaces—but rather dissolve into the ornate background of friezes, coffering, and plaster cartouches in low relief around the doorways and fireplaces.

These densely decorated reception rooms had one thing in common despite minor differences: they were all for the exclusive use of the male residents and their guests. The exoticism of these “European Reception Rooms” is comparable to the “Arab Rooms”⁸⁵ found in upper-class Victorian homes. Art historian John Sweetman convincingly argues that the British Arab Room was a result of the Victorian taste for the exotic. Because it was often a refuge for smoking—an

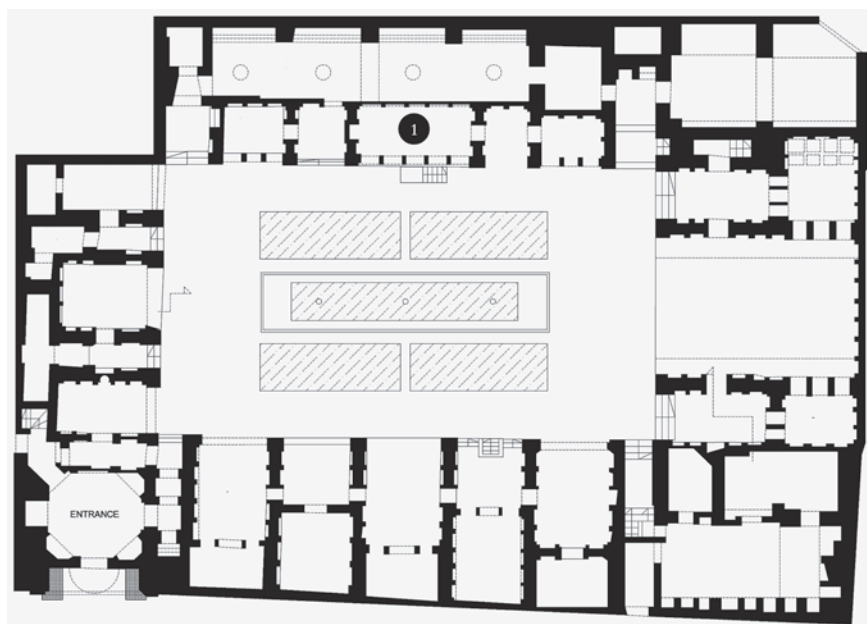


Figure 1.9 Map of the Lārīha Residence, Yazd. Room no. 1 on the map is the *panjdarī* (reception or guest room) of the house where the European oleographs are installed. Plan courtesy of Organization for the Cultural Heritage, Yazd. Plan reproduction courtesy of Parham Karimi



Figure 1.10 The exterior of the *panjdarī*, Lārīha Residence, Yazd. Viewed from the courtyard. Photograph by the author, 2006



Figure 1.11 Oleographs of Western women installed in the ceiling of the *panjdarī* of the Lārīha Residence, Yazd. Photograph by the author, 2006



Figure 1.12 Oleograph of a Western-looking woman posed in the oriental harem-girl fashion in the *panjdarī* of the Lārīha Residence, Yazd. Photograph by the author, 2006



Figure 1.13 Oleograph of a Western woman installed on the ceiling of the *panjdari* of the Lārīha Residence, Yazd. Photograph by the author, 2006



Figure 1.14 Detail of a fireplace cartouche with framed oleograph of a European woman in Qavām al-Dawla House in Tehran. Courtesy of Jassem Ghazbanpour



Figure 1.15 Details of a ceiling and a wall in Shahshahānī House in Isfahan, with framed oleographs of European women. Courtesy of Jassem Ghazbanpour

idea associated with Muslim water pipes—the Arab Room was also a convenient way to separate the sexes. Men had their gun rooms and smoking rooms, while women enjoyed their morning rooms and parlors. Sweetman maintains that it was perfectly apt to associate a room for exclusive use of English men with a “part of a world where male dominance was taken for granted.”⁸⁶ One may perhaps use a similar analogy to interpret the aforementioned occidental or “foreigner” (*farangī*) reception rooms in Iranian residences: a guest room for males associated with the part of the world wherein men could freely enjoy the company of unveiled European women away from the bounds of home. Considering this, it is no surprise that women in almost all of these images are peaceful and passive—i.e., they are not engaged in daily life activities. In this sense, the male guest room becomes also a locus of restful calm. The docile European women depicted created, therefore, a realm apart from mundane life, where European pleasures could appear seductively close.⁸⁷ The oleographs of European women are devoid of any actual referent; rather, they represent a generalized femininity. They are women as images, not images of particular women, and as such conform to what Marx described as the fetishized commodity.⁸⁸

Gender and the visual economy of household commodity culture

The use of oleographs—a fully modern manufactured product in terms of lot size, quality, and effortless and endless reproducibility—became the means through which associations between gender and household consumption were cheaply and easily constructed.

The Persian male viewer, in his symbolic confrontation with a “feminine” West, derived an imagined ascendancy over the *farangī* woman. She was, indeed, “there to feed (men’s) appetite,” to borrow an interpretation from John Berger in *Ways of Seeing* (1972),⁸⁹ to which end images of the eroticized foreign woman ultimately became a production commodity in the capitalist manner. During the early Pahlavi period (1925–50), the commoditized visual and conceptual representation of the European female body is certainly evident in the endless commercial advertisements for such items as radios (figure 1.16), and other domestic products. Those who implemented images of *farangī* women in advertisements must have intended to employ a strategy that is delicately articulated by the historian Collin Campbell: “individuals do not so much seek satisfaction from products, as pleasure from the self-illusory experiences which they construct from their associated meanings.”⁹⁰ Furthermore, since depiction of Persian women in press advertisements was not permitted even as late as 1949, images of *farangī* women were enthusiastically substituted. Thus the depiction of *farangī* women, originating as an embellishment of the private interiors of Qajar royal residences, gradually found its way into the public sphere, only to become so ubiquitous that in due course it lost its value as an exotic item.⁹¹ Moreover, Shi’ite clerics (*‘ulamā’*) and religious-minded intellectuals exploited the image of *farangī* women as a scapegoat in order to reconstitute the boundary between Islam and the secular world.⁹² Such cultural repercussions may be undoubtedly

more telling; however, from an aesthetic standpoint these printed images, which interfaced with structural media, resulted in the decline of traditional decorative revetments and craftsmanship. At the time, this was not a matter of concern for Iranians. As mentioned earlier, Iranians in the nineteenth century were very selective when it came to preserving their past traditions and this led to certain artistic skills that continued to be well-maintained while others were ignored



Figure 1.16 Advertisement for Andrea Radio, *Tehran musavvar* (Illustrated Tehran), Ābān 1328/October 1949, no. 327, p. 22. Courtesy of the Center for the Study of Contemporary History of Iran, Tehran

and moved to the threshold of decline. Whereas calligraphy and lacquer were preserved and even advanced, interior design and pottery were not considered “privileged” forms of art. In fact, in these areas, the virtue of being a foreign import had a distinct advantage over locally made products.⁹³

While older techniques of decoration were good for the *longue durée*, the new oleographic surfaces of the interior seem to have been meant to last only for a short time. They appear temporary, even though some of them have remained intact to the present day. During the early twentieth century, the German/English term *kitsch*, carrying with it a pejorative tinge, commonly referred either to low-quality, mechanically reproduced objects, or to leftovers from nineteenth-century commodity culture.⁹⁴ The exhibit of mechanically reproduced nineteenth-century Victorian “leftovers” in early-twentieth-century Iranian homes did not suggest such associations at the time of their installation, certainly; rather, the very entity that Marx once called “a trivial thing” had been turned into a validated signifier of high culture and taste. Many European travelers admitted that these prints could be found only in the homes of the wealthy.⁹⁵ But they also qualified these images as vile and cheap. Savage H. Landor, an English painter, explorer, and savant, called them “the vilest oleographs that the human mind can devise, only matched by the vileness of the frames,” saying that they “set one’s teeth on edge.”⁹⁶ Others indicated: “Here one sees at one single shop in the bazaar ... the vilest scenes, in front of which Persian women often stop, and (...) prove their participation by the pointing finger and the loud remarks”⁹⁷ Europeans were usually dismissive of this variety of decorating; however, they themselves sold or gave these so-called “vile” prints to the Persians, sometimes during official visits.⁹⁸ Even ambassadors presented drawings and prints from Europe to prince-governors and important bureaucrats on several occasions.⁹⁹

Nonetheless, European and American female visitors continued to hold Iranian women accountable for this lack of taste in home decoration. They had a rationale for this accusation; some witnessed that sometimes cheap colorful oleographs were chosen by the women of the *andarūn*—despite the fact that the themes of these prints as well as the spaces wherein they were installed suggest that they could have well been intended for male consumption. Referring to two interiors built in the early years of the twentieth century, the American missionary Clara Colliver Rice reports, “Persian ladies sometimes cover the walls of the *andarūn* with pictures cut from English and French illustrated papers, and find them a constant source of interest.”¹⁰⁰ Thus the perception of *farangī* woman as commodity could easily alternate with Persian woman as consumer, when seen from a Western point of view.¹⁰¹

Of course, there is no doubt that the demand for foreign goods varied among upper-class women. Some of these women were doubtful, especially when it came to using certain aspects of the European culture. To one Qajar princess, for example, Victorian manners and European women’s dresses seemed awkward. After meeting with the wife of the British envoy to Persia, Mary Sheil, she reported:

... Her clothes ... appeared uncomfortable ... the bodice went down to an abnormally narrow waist, the skirt was in the shape of a bell ... (T)hey

wear something underneath like a cage (corset) with bones in it to make their waists narrow. In reality they are prisoners in their costumes They talk of freedom of women in Europe, yet it seems to me that they lack any because so many rules and regulations exist for eating, drinking, dressing, sleeping, and even just existing.¹⁰²

While some Qajar women wore European dresses in private to satisfy their husbands, others ridiculed the uncomfortable Victorian outfits.¹⁰³ Similarly, cutting oleographs from newspapers and pasting them onto the walls could not have been practiced by all, although Westerners often blamed all Qajar women. The American missionary Clara Colliver Rice writes:

A house matters far more to a Persian woman than to an Englishwoman, because she so seldom leaves it. Yet her ideas of making it comfortable are far removed from ours, for, after all, to her it is never more than a house, while to an Englishwomen it would be a home.¹⁰⁴

This perceived lack among Iranian women, which extended beyond decorating their homes to keeping them hygienic and organized, led educators to consider how best to train Iranian girls.¹⁰⁵ Although these educational regimes were not widely spread during the reign of the Qajars—and only became prevalent after 1925, when Reza Shah came to power—they nonetheless had begun to slowly take shape then.

After the constitutional revolution of 1906, in which upper- and middle-class Iranian women played a significant role,¹⁰⁶ more authority was given to women to actively design and care for their homes.¹⁰⁷ These women created networks that helped find a place for their voices in the hundreds of newspapers then being published.¹⁰⁸ Thanks to the support from the *anjumans* (popular provincial councils), they also instituted several schools for girls in Tehran and other major cities.¹⁰⁹ Efforts to enrich homemaking skills were also initiated—as part of the elementary school curricula or the popular press—by local upper- and middle-class women;¹¹⁰ but compared to these local efforts, the approach of American missionaries was the most systematic when it came to elevating women's home-making skills during the late Qajar period.

The Anglo-American vocation: taming domestic knowledge

Pre-modern concepts of household management were all expressed by male authors in texts known as *books of ethics* (*akhlāq*), which had been written as early as the thirteen century.¹¹¹ Most of these books emphasized that the father was the sole manager of the house, was responsible for choosing a wet-nurse, and was in charge of educating his sons and overseeing their mental and physical development.¹¹² As for the mother, only her bodily health and good genes were deemed important.¹¹³ As Iran modernized, the role of the mother as the main educator of children became all the more important. As early as the mid-nineteenth century, many newspapers, including *Ta'lim* (*Education*) and *Akhtar*

(*Star*), began to propagate the idea that, in order to improve the nation, Iran needed well-informed mothers who not only knew how to read and write, but also how to raise their children in a proper manner. Indeed, the role of women in these texts was upgraded from the stigma of being part of the “house” (*manzil*) to being the “manager of the house” (*mudabbir-i manzil*).¹¹⁴

This was largely due to the influence of foreign texts and educators. The first official textbook on the subject of household management (*tadbīr-i manzil*) in the curriculum of state-sponsored girls’ schools was in fact a French textbook translated into Persian by Mirza Aziz Allah Khan in 1865 at the behest of the Department of Education (*Vizārat-i ma’ārif*).¹¹⁵ This book was not the first and only adaptation of a French source as throughout the late Qajar period, Iran’s educational system—including its curricula and pedagogical skills—was predominantly modeled after that of France, whose cultural supremacy was omnipresent in all of the Middle East and North Africa. During this period, many higher-ranking Iranians—including Nasir al-din Shah himself—spoke French, having received their education either in France or at French schools within Iran. By the time of Reza Shah, the Iranian Ministry of Education had employed several French nationals to teach French, and up until the end of World War II many state secondary schools taught French as a second language, rather than English.¹¹⁶ Jeanne d’Arc, a French girl’s school, was established in Tehran in 1875 and offered literacy instruction, especially in French, as well as a smattering of history and geography, again with emphasis on French and European subjects. Certain others among the French schools, notably the Lazarist and the Alliance Israelite Universelle, had a specific influence on the Jewish community of Iran, more than on other religious minorities or the Muslim majority. However, “despite the tremendous impact of French schools on modern education, the most significant activity on behalf of female education in Iran was led by the American Protestant mission, the largest U.S. missionary institution in Iran.”¹¹⁷

The process of educating Iranian girls gained momentum as American Presbyterian missionaries established the first school for girls in the northwestern city of Urumiyyeh in 1838.¹¹⁸ Subsequently, other American and British missionaries established additional schools for girls in the cities of Tabriz (1865), Isfahan (1865), Tehran (1870), Ghazvin (1889), Kirman (1897), and Sultanabad (1900). The following years witnessed rapid expansion of schools in Tehran and other large cities, some of which were initiated by locals.¹¹⁹

Much like colonial rulers, many missionaries in Iran believed they had a responsibility to replace traditional ways of life with more rational Western norms. The role they played in improving domesticity through means such as publications and educational regimens was significant. Beyond teaching new ideas concerning hygiene and cleanliness, female missionaries encouraged Iranian women to assert themselves through their decorating and dining preferences. Of course, these reforms did not affect all Iranian women. They only influenced those of the upper and middle-classes, yet these privileged women eventually served as symbols of Iranian domesticity and exercised power in defining and defending the modern Iranian home for years to come.

The missionaries at first worked primarily with the minority Christian communities of Iran; but even when they began to educate Muslims, priority was not given to conversion.¹²⁰ They used the Bible “as a textbook and not an instrument of conversion and/or profession of faith.”¹²¹ The women’s magazine *‘Ālam-i nisvān (Women’s World)*, published from 1921 to 1936 by the missionary Annie S. Boyce,¹²² placed emphasis on the connection between morality and cleanliness, but made little or no reference to Islam or the traditions and rituals connected to it. *‘Ālam-i nisvān* did not exactly oppose Islam, but “the articles encouraged Protestant American notions of religiosity, with faith manifested in moral character, piety, and good deeds and focused on the internalization of religious faith in the name of ‘progress’ and ‘civilization’”¹²³ Indeed, American missionaries served a dual role in Iran, teaching both modernization and Protestant morals.¹²⁴ Still the force for modernization was more significant. As historian Michael Zirinsky aptly points out, “American missionaries were among the most important agents for ... westernizing change in Iran before the Second World War.”¹²⁵ This so-called westernizing change was best manifested in the home sphere. From the missionary perspective, home was the locus of spiritual and moral growth: “[T]o attend to the inner realm of the soul, the inner realm of the domicile had to be cleaned up.”¹²⁶ To concur with historians, some American missionaries were even more concerned with “(shaping) the world in America’s image” and exporting the Christian way of life rather than the doctrine of Christianity.¹²⁷ Additionally, in an effort towards improving their financial resources, American missionaries asserted that their work would open potential markets.¹²⁸ One missionary wrote: “when a heathen man becomes a child of god and is changed within, he wants his external life and surroundings to correspond: he wants the Christian dress and the Christian home ... and all the other things which distinguish Christian civilization”¹²⁹ This attention to material life allows us to apprehend the extent to which missionaries influenced the modernization of domesticity in Iran. Upon their arrival, Presbyterian American missionaries noted multifarious problems in Iranian homes and household care. A report from 1934 reads:

Tehran has no sewage disposal system, most houses being equipped with individual cesspools. Plumbing is rare and porcelain bathtubs and toilet fixtures are just beginning to appear on the local market. ... Water for baths is usually heated in the kitchen on a coal or charcoal fire or in a large samovar (Russian teapot). ... Ice is prepared during the winter by diverting gutter water to open basins where it freezes and is cut. It is filthy and cannot be used with food or drink Small mountain streams ... are diverted into open gutters and thus, gathering pollution as they flow, supply the city’s various quarters with water for all purposes. Foreigners usually live in the northern sector of the city, thus obtaining an early opportunity to draw on this murky gutter water for bath and other non-drinking purposes. Water for drinking and kitchen purposes is brought ... by carriers from special sources, but it is hardly an exaggeration to say that to use this water without boiling is suicidal.¹³⁰

Other reports from diverse American Presbyterian missionary stations in Iran describe the inadequate nature of missionaries' places of residence, highlighting the impracticality of some traditional elements such as "small Persian doors and windows," which had to be replaced by "standard" types.¹³¹ Upon moving into a local residence, missionaries plastered the rooms and covered the floors with tiles. In general, all houses purchased by missionaries had to be transformed to meet "missionary standards."¹³² Lack of major utilities such as plumbing, heating, and sewage systems, and the "impracticality" of the traditional design were not the only concerns. Even when later developments appeared, they often seemed incongruous, as Cecil Keeling, a British artist and correspondent for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), noted in his 1947 book, *Pictures from Persia*:

One swiftly gains the impression that the architects of the new Tehran had returned from a rapid tour of London, Paris and Berlin full of new, wonderful but barely comprehended ideas, and in a whirl of enthusiastic indecision. Poring over the picture-post-card view of the European capitals, they could hardly believe it possible that they had been so lamentably lagging behind the times, fussing about with those silly old Islamic designs when people in Europe had produced such a fund of new, slick, smart ideas. And such an abundance of styles! It was really difficult (to know) where to begin. But begin they must, at once, without losing any more time And so out into the streets, to tear down the domes and colonnades and get the foundations down and the scaffolding up, of what was to be a brave new Tehran. The result has been, to say the least, enlivening. A building would begin in a swirl of French baroque and end up austere in Third Reich Classicism But people would be living quite comfortably within these . . . walls—better than (in) . . . cave(s) anyway!¹³³

The Anglo-American perception that Iranians craved an understanding of modern aesthetics made "household arts . . . an important and essential course"¹³⁴ of instruction for girls at Iran Bethel, an American missionary school established in 1874.¹³⁵ Prior to this the so-called subject of "household arts" was taught first in 1852 in an American Mission girls' school in Urumiyyeh by the missionary Fidelia Fiske. The curriculum for both programs was modeled after that taught at Mount Holyoke College (Massachusetts) to middle-class girls in the United States. Iran Bethel developed these ideas further in a course run by the editor of *Ālam-i zanān*, Annie S. Boyce, which presented subjects such as the proper design, layout, and furnishing of the home.¹³⁶ Boyce's main goal was to "make the girls feel that household management was an art—not merely servants' work as many believed—and was worthy of the best efforts of educated girls." She also upheld the importance of home economics, elevating it to a vocation.¹³⁷ This fact becomes more compelling when compared to the contemporary Farsi home-economics textbook, Mirza Aziz Allah Khan's *Tadbīr-i manzil*. In Aziz Allah Khan's book, commentaries regarding house architecture and, more specifically, the interior of the house

were based on climatic and geographical features of Europe that did not quite match the climatic conditions of most Iranian cities—the humid and relatively cool region along the Caspian being the exception. Moreover, in Aziz Allah Khan’s book, there is no talk of aesthetics and interior design. In fact, it was not until the time of the Iran Bethel that interior design and aesthetics became an integral part of some Iranian girls’ school curricula. A 1916 report shows how Boyce engaged Iranian girls in Tehran in creative in-class activities to assess their understanding of their homes:

In our study of the (h)ouse itself, the girls were asked to draw plans of desirable Persian houses. The usual Persian house is of one-story and is built on three or four sides of a courtyard, having windows on the surrounding property. More modern houses are sometimes two-storied and are at times placed in the middle of the courtyard, connecting with the side walls. This allows for windows on two sides and permits better ventilation, but costs more to build. In our class discussions we considered the relative desirability of one-end and two-storied houses, the best orientation of houses in Teheran and the most convenient arrangement of rooms, with relative sizes. The plans the girls drew revealed a tendency to stick to the small dark cellar-kitchen and to have this as far as possible from the dining room, regardless of the distance the food would have to be carried. The rooms distinguished as sleeping rooms were too small and too few, the rooms for receiving guests large and important. Not many of these girls have opportunity to build their own homes but we believe they will know better what to look for when renting a house.¹³⁸

The Iranian girls’ imagined ideal homes were quite similar to those already in existence; the students were unable to imagine anything beyond what was available to them. It is thus not surprising that the missionaries felt a need to introduce alternative forms. Some of these ideas came from two recently published American home-economics books, co-authored by Helen Kinne and Anna M. Cooley: *Shelter and Clothing* (1913) and *Food and Household Management* (1914).¹³⁹ Both books are filled with suggestions—all accompanied by photographs of American homes—for interior design, furniture choices, and decoration. *Shelter and Clothing* provides a complete chapter on the history of housing in America and its different styles—e.g., colonial, English, Italian, etc. It also offers ways to distinguish a well-designed from a poorly designed home. *Food and Household Management*, on the other hand, discusses the planning and architectural layout of different kitchens.

There was more to the Anglo-American and missionary involvement than publications and schooling. Missionaries interacted with Iranians, exchanging cultural habits, tastes, and modes of homelife. Iranians sometimes copied certain aspects of the latter. These imitations provided opportunities to experience modern Western life at secondhand. Grace Jeannette Murray, who worked at a missionary station in the northern city of Rasht from 1912 until her death in 1939, was regarded as a “home builder”:

She achieved the ideal of “the home with the open door.” She had no feeling of race prejudice. Her home was open (to) ... Iranian friends of all classes. ... She welcomed local boys—Iranian, Armenian, Russian—to play with her boys, was glad to have the church prayer meetings in her home, gathered large groups of women together for evangelistic work ... Although often ... the only American woman in the city, she never felt lonely, for she had made so many close friends among the nationals.¹⁴⁰

Apart from being hospitable, missionaries interacted with the local community at informal sewing classes,¹⁴¹ hospitals, and the cultural venues that had been initiated by them. Just how and when the locals were permitted to visit missionaries is evidenced in archival documents from the American Presbyterian mission station in the northeastern city of Mashhad. The mission station in Mashhad was a neighborhood unto itself (figure 1.17).¹⁴² It was developed in 1920 and included a hospital, a church, and a school, and like other distinct quarters of the city, it was entered by a gate in the city’s wall, labeled “the new American gate” on maps (figure 1.18). While other quarters developed around the shrine of Imām Reza,¹⁴³ the missionary neighborhood was planned independently and followed a perpendicular grid model that contrasted with the compact, organic appearance of homes clustered together in cell-like patterns along narrow winding streets, as found in the rest of the city. Each missionary home was located at the heart of a private yard or garden separated from other yards by low walls. Although carefully segregated, the homes were visible to the rest of the city.

Rooted perhaps in the nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon American conception of the “small house” that encouraged humble comfort and that linked ideas of simplicity and efficiency to morality,¹⁴⁴ missionary homes were devoid of extensive ornamentation (figure 1.19). These homes were simple, efficient, and practical, and yet they provided spaces for leisure unknown in most Iranian homes of the time, including, for example, reading rooms, a piano room (figure 1.20),¹⁴⁵ and even in one case a basketball court in the backyard.

Although homes were designed in harmony with American missionaries’ tastes, local builders, craftsmen, and carpenters were in charge of constructing these homes and their furnishings. Sometimes local builders adapted the blueprints to make them look more Persian than American. While the blueprints of the Donaldson residence in Mashhad show a portico with Ionic capitals, the actual built portico consists of a series of Persian arches, customary in local architecture (figure 1.21).¹⁴⁶ These interactions went beyond a simple imposition of power by the missionaries upon the locals. Social spaces “met, clash(ed) and grapple(d) with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination.”¹⁴⁷ Thus, on the whole, there was an active communication between the missionaries and local builders. Referring to her house in Tehran, Annie S. Boyce reported:

(W)e make our own designs and the (local craftsman) copies pictures using the measurements we have worked out. Each new chair and table is



Figure 1.17 A view to the missionary station in Mashhad, c. 1920; RG 91-19-2, Presbyterian Historical Society. Courtesy of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia

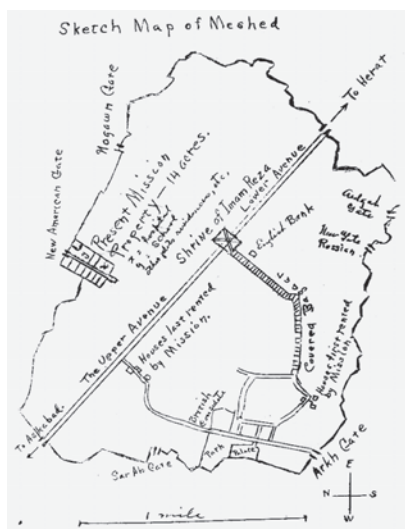


Figure 1.18 Map of the missionary station with the "new American gate," c. 1920; RG 231-4, Presbyterian Historical Society. Courtesy of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia

Figure 1.19 Photograph of a recently built home at the Presbyterian station in Mashhad, 1922; RG 231-4, Presbyterian Historical Society. Courtesy of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia





Figure 1.20 Interior of the Donaldson Residence, 1922; RG 231-4, Presbyterian Historical Society. Courtesy of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia

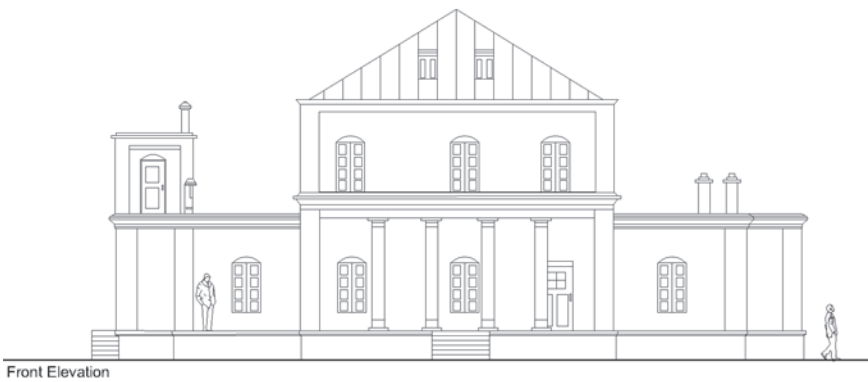


Figure 1.21 Blueprint of the main facade of the Donaldson Residence; RG 91-19-2, Presbyterian Historical Society. Elevation reproduced by Parham Karimi (after Donaldson). Courtesy of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia

an achievement which means more to us than the money we have paid the carpenter, for into it have gone our own time and thought and planning.¹⁴⁸

The competition among missionaries for higher-quality furnishings pushed local builders to try their best at materializing American designs.¹⁴⁹ Boyce reported:

(I)n Tehran it is a quite the usual thing for someone to walk into my lady's drawing room and say, 'Where did you find that table? And how much did you pay for it? ... Who makes those nests of tea tables? Would you mind my having your davenport copied?'¹⁵⁰

While archival records do not provide more detailed information on how local Iranian men and women perceived such approaches to design and furnishings, they nonetheless provide some insight into how new domestic habits were introduced through, for example, direct interactions with the local craftsmen and builders.

As for interaction with the laymen, the missionary hospital in Mashhad was one of the most influential venues. The Mashhad mission station constructed a hostel adjacent to the hospital. A later report from the Mashhad station describes this hostel as a "family ward department" that allowed patients to "live in with their families, while under treatment for conditions that do not demand their being in the hospital as in-patients."¹⁵¹ "A place to stay at the hospital," the report stated, "would keep a considerable number of people within the hospital's, and station's religious influence."¹⁵² Another report suggested the construction of a "book room" in the hostel, or what was later referred to as the "gatehouse" of the hospital.¹⁵³ A photograph from the Presbyterian Historical Society's visual archives shows an Iranian couple (Bībī Khānūm and Ahmad) dining at a table in their room at the Mashhad hostel (figure 1.22). This must have greatly differed from the couple's everyday eating rituals; normally they would have been sitting cross-legged in front of plates, bowls, and silverware, all placed on a *sufrah* (a cloth resting on top of a rug).¹⁵⁴ The photograph shows a new mix of public and private lives, portraying a formerly private domestic activity taking place in a public place, that of a room in the hostel at Mashhad hospital. Another photograph incorporating this idea presents a 1920 Thanksgiving party at the residence of one missionary family—referred to as the Hoffmans. In it, a local servant stands by and watches over the table, while Khānūm Sharīfah—in the middle place on the table's right side and who is most probably the wife of the standing man—dines with the missionaries. Khānūm Sharīfah's posture shows the extent to which she has adjusted herself to the table etiquette of the missionaries, aware that this traditionally private moment was now made public (figure 1.23).

Iranians' response to missionary ways of life varied. While some immediately embraced it, others were unenthusiastic. There are multiple accounts of such reactions. Once, when a village woman was seated in a rocking chair in a missionary home and was rocked forward and onto the floor, she fled from the room crying she had been put into "one of the conversion machines."¹⁵⁵ More severe criticism came from a religious fundamentalist group in Mashhad.¹⁵⁶ In 1917, they issued



Figure 1.22 Iranian couple dining at the table, c. 1920; RG 231-3, picture no. 141, Presbyterian Historical Society. Courtesy of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia



Figure 1.23 Interior of an American Presbyterian missionary house in Mashhad, Thanksgiving 1920; RG 231-3, picture no. 49, Presbyterian Historical Society. Courtesy of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia

a death threat to the missionaries. The letter explicitly stated that by circulating certain religious books, missionaries were attempting to convert Iranian Muslims to Christianity. “These activities,” the letter stated, “should not happen in any city, but Mashhad is our most sacred city and should stay away from the reach of non-Muslims.”¹⁵⁷ Despite such threats from organized religious groups, many showed interest in what the missionaries had to offer. Missionaries’ contributions to health matters were particularly appreciated by the poor. The upper class and the emerging middle-class, on the other hand, were attracted to their lifestyle, as well as to the knowledge missionaries offered in their educational institutions.

Some Iranians who were in close contact with missionary families fully adopted the clothing and manners of the missionaries whom they served or worked with as colleagues—e.g., nurses and doctors. The public presentation of the self, in the photograph of Khānūm Sharīfah and Mirza Abdol Hussein—possibly the servants of missionaries—resembles that seen in a family picture of the Lichtwardts.¹⁵⁸ In both, the couples are dressed in similar fashion, and like her American missionary counterpart, the Iranian housewife, Khānūm Sharīfah, seems to be reading. Chairs, still unknown in many traditional Persian households, had evidently been chosen by the Iranian couple. Finally, both husbands are busy amusing their children, an activity that traditionally had often been relegated to women (figures 1.24 and 1.25). Although posed photographs do not necessarily reflect the condition of actual homelife, they nonetheless show how some Iranian families close to the missionaries emulated their lifestyle. These visual records indicate the extent to which some Iranians were eager to become Westernized, yet it must be remembered that missionaries were neither in a position to impose their vision by force nor in the position of unchallenged cultural dominance relative to society at large.

Missionaries were in contact with all segments of the Iranian society. However, despite their commitment to creating a pious egalitarian society, they tended to work more with the “emerging modernizing Iranian elite classes than they did with the largely illiterate masses.”¹⁵⁹ The home-economics education influenced mostly middle- and upper-class Iranian women, while the habits of lower classes were generally denigrated by both the educators and middle- and upper-class Iranian students.¹⁶⁰ The Church Missionary Society of Britain also focused more on middle- and upper-class Iranian women. Indeed, many British missionaries believed that poorer girls just needed to be “taught to earn their own living ... according to the customs of the country.”¹⁶¹ Both English and American Protestant missionaries often forced more privileged classes to involve themselves in the “dignity of labor.” Upper-class Iranian girls—and later boys—who attended the boarding school Iran Bethel, for example, were asked to make their beds and clean their rooms, something new for students who traditionally had servants to take care of these chores. Although working with a limited group of privileged Iranians, Protestant missionaries affected class and gender roles.¹⁶² Such associations were advanced later during the reign of Reza Shah,¹⁶³ as housing conditions among Iranians became the major signifier of social status. A result of several internal factors, including advancing industrialization, new regulations with regard to having fewer children, and the early Pahlavi regime’s endorsement of monogamy, these changes were not just the consequence of a foreign presence in Iran.



Figure 1.24 Khānūm and Company, 1922; RG 231-3, Presbyterian Historical Society.
Courtesy of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia



Figure 1.25 The Lichtwardt Family, 1922; RG 231-3, Presbyterian Historical Society.
Courtesy of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia

2 Renewing the nation's interiors

Introduction

At the close of the nineteenth century, a group of reform-minded intellectuals influenced by Western thought began to criticize the Qajar kings' rule.¹ Following Nasir al-Din Shah's assassination in 1896, Iran saw a vital new period, the result of an expansion of modern schools and a growth of mass media publications on topics ranging from geographical discoveries and political conflicts, to scientific developments and adventure novels; these new educational sources afforded the Persian public insights into the world beyond Iran.² Meanwhile, the constitutional revolution of 1906 led the parliament to draft laws, enacting a more centralized state control; however, the political turmoil brought about mainly by World War I put these planned reforms on hold. The founding of the new Pahlavi dynasty by Reza Shah in 1925 finally led to significant infrastructural reforms that affected the design and appearance of Iranian cities and residential neighborhoods.

During Reza Shah's reign (1925–41), the norms for urban public spaces were dramatically altered, not only through the construction of wide streets, new shops, and modern administrative buildings, but also by the introduction of public spaces such as cinemas and parks for social interaction and entertainment. The public sphere expanded apace with the transportation infrastructure and the revamping of such services as schooling and health care. The number of motor vehicles in Iran rose from six hundred in 1928 to twenty-five thousand in 1942.³ Between 1905 and 1930, thirty-three movie theatres were built in a number of cities,⁴ and this figure grew significantly over the following years.

Meanwhile, public media helped to encourage greater openness. In 1943, approximately fifty newspapers were published, but by 1951, in the midst of nationalization of the oil industry, this figure rose to seven hundred.⁵ When newspapers were scarce, radio kept those in more remote areas of the country informed.⁶ In the popular press, what was considered "public" was not necessarily defined in opposition to the "private" sphere of the home. Many home-related activities, such as childrearing practices, had already become very much a public concern.

Reza Shah's urban modernization program brought radical change to Iranian cities throughout the country, from Rasht and Mashhad in the north to Bandar Abbas and Ahvaz in the south. In 1933, the Iranian Ministry of

Interior established a legal basis for change with the Street Widening Act (22 Ābān 1312/ November 13, 1933).⁷ These regulations had a great influence on the overall look of most cities, where “shops predominated in the avenues (*khīyābāns*) ... (and) the street front(s) of (many) buildings were decorated by protruding neoclassical columns,”⁸ and other novel decorative motifs. The cities themselves were joined by a new transnational railroad being built along with the new roads and bridges. Generally speaking, all aspects of Iranian life were affected, as the government busied itself “laying out streets; repairing houses and doors; installing chairs and tables in coffee houses; paving streets with cobblestones; putting up hotels and inns in (numerous) towns ... establishing the university and primary and secondary schools, erecting new governmental buildings.”⁹

Tehran in particular benefited from urban reform. It was the “Mecca of the dandies,” in the words of missionary Annie S. Boyce (writing soon after Reza Shah came to power), with Lālihzār Avenue as its “*Ka’bā*.” Lālihzār Avenue was a promenade for the perfumed youth of the city.¹⁰ Stores along the avenue were newly illuminated by the warm glow of electric lights. Referring to the glittering effect of the electric light at one antique store, Boyce describes how *chihil chirāgh* (forty lamps) hung from the ceilings and “the thousand crystal pendants tinkle(d) gently as the building vibrate(d).”¹¹ Overcoming traditional modes of public life, which had restricted the mixing of different ethnic groups, Iranians started to interact with each other in novel ways. Boyce elaborates on this phenomenon:

In (our) ... schools ... Christians, Muslims, Hebrews, Bahais, Parsees, worked and played together, forgetting the old laws of ‘clean and unclean’ as boys jostled each other on the football field, or girls strolled around arm-in-arm at recess. The rule of each school was that no religion was to be evil spoken of [sic].¹²

The “production of new public spaces”¹³ also relaxed restrictions on the gendered character of the public and the private.¹⁴ Tabloid magazines began to feature serialized stories about the sexual exploits of the Qajar kings—most notably Fath Ali Shah and Nasir al-Din Shah—and their royal harems.¹⁵ An aura of exoticism came to surround the stories of people’s private lives under the previous dynasty, one that made them seem like ancient fantasies rather than recent histories.

Eradicating the old Qajar ascriptive status distinctions, the reform of domesticity under the Pahlavi regime was, in turn, expanded along status lines and professional degrees. Fath Ali Shah of the Qajar dynasty fathered more than sixty sons and forty-eight daughters by almost a thousand wives and concubines.¹⁶ This urge to create a princely class remained intact among the royal class during the Pahlavi regime, albeit with less magnitude; but when it came to governmental politics regarding the distribution of wealth and labor, other modes of class identity were taken into consideration. By the 1920s, educational reforms helped produce a homogeneous modern middle class, many of whom were employed at

governmental institutions.¹⁷ Aware of the destructive aspects of industrial urban modernity, the government tried its best to prevent disorder and to foster a society of educated, disciplined, and productive individuals.¹⁸ This goal required new state-run projects in the areas of health and well-being that traveled beyond the traditional governmental concerns of taxation, levying troops, and preventing anarchy.¹⁹ The improvement of home life—a major route by which Iranian society could become healthier and more productive—received further attention during the early Pahlavi period. More than ever before, women's magazines and the press propagated the importance of housework and its impact on the health of the family and society as a whole.

The discourse of domesticity gradually crept into the field of state policy, which sought to create a healthy and productive nation by building better homes.²⁰ During the time of Reza Shah, housing development plans were implemented mostly through foreign contractors. From the 1920s until 1951, when Iran nationalized the oil industry and evicted the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, oil cities such as Abadan and Masdjid Suleiman saw massive expansion due to the arrival of construction laborers and oil specialists from the United States, Europe, India, and the Persian Gulf states.²¹ Many other foreign architectural firms and consultants were involved in the building of residential neighborhoods in other industrial cities of Iran, among which were the Scandinavian consortium SENTAB (*Svenska Entreprenad Aktiebolaget*) and the Austro-Hungarian industrial enterprise Škoda. In addition, housing for employees of the trans-Iranian railroad company was constructed mostly by Italian consultants.²²

These projects were executed by foreign companies, and it was not until the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi that the Iranian government began to formulate its own standards for housing. These were implemented through a number of development plans. Between 1949 and 1967, the Ministry of Development and Housing (*vizārāt-i ābādānī va maskan*)²³ completed two such comprehensive plans.²⁴ Meanwhile, the High Council of Urban Planning (*shurā-ya ālī shahrsāzī*) was created in order to formulate housing regulations.²⁵

Early Pahlavi domiciles and exchange of styles

Inspired in part by the ideas of such Iranians as the Zoroastrian representative to parliament Arbāb Kaykhusraw—who was a force behind the revival of pre-Islamic architecture of Iran in the administrative buildings of the 1930s—and in part by a Western inclination toward elevating the Aryan race, the Aryan supremacy of Iran was celebrated as ancient Iranian icons started to embellish the early Pahlavi government buildings.²⁶ While the neo-Achaemenid style adorned Tehran's city hall, national bank, and post-office headquarters, the neo-Sassanian style emerged in the Museum of Iranian Antiquities.²⁷ These achievements were made possible both by Reza Shah's interest in creating a national style that was different from that of the Qajars and by the growing public budget.²⁸ Unlike the Qajars, who depended primarily on religious endowments for creating public monuments and institutions, the Pahlavi state was able to initiate the construction

of these structures within the state budget.²⁹ The process of creating a national Pahlavi style meant that the architectural styles of the Qajars were to be rejected. But this was done arbitrarily. Reza Shah demolished Tehran's monumental old Qajar fortified walls with their twelve elaborate gates, and the old harem of the Gulistān complex was removed to make room for the new Ministry of Trade.³⁰ However, some parts of the Gulistān palace—including the Tālār-i almās and the Shams al-‘Imārah—remained intact.³¹

As is noticeable in most surviving public architecture of his reign, Reza Shah is commonly known for his overwhelming interest in the pre-Islamic architecture of Iran; but thanks to the advice of foreign experts—notably the American art dealer and scholar of Islamic art Arthur Upham Pope—the Shah was also keen on preserving the monuments of Islamic Iran—particularly that of the Safavids.³² As he became increasingly attentive to the value of Safavid art, he even integrated some features of the Safavid architectural style into his own palaces, which were a combination of neoclassical European and local styles. Such characteristics emerged in the two palaces of Reza Shah built in Tehran: Kākh-i sabz (Green Palace), which was erected in 1928 in the former Qajar summer-palace complex of Sa’d ābād; and Kākh-i marmar (Marble Palace), completed in 1934. The two buildings were “signed” by the regime, distinguishing them from Qajar structures, with distinctive “Pahlavi” embellishments at the tops of window frames and doorways.

The Green Palace was the work of local master builders. The high reliefs of the palace's façade were, in contrast, the products of European craftsmen and were shipped to Iran from Italy (figures 2.1a, 2.1b and 2.1c).³³ A similarly eclectic approach was adopted in the Marble Palace. The Palace was the creation of French engineer Joseph Leon and local architect Fathallah Firdaws.³⁴ Occupying an area of 30,462 square feet, the structure was capped with a huge dome that replicates that of the Safavid mosque in Isfahan, Shiykh Lutf Allah.

The construction process in both palaces was closely supervised by Reza Shah. Observing the ways in which a marble worker at the Marble Palace construction site placed the plaques next to one another in a sloppy manner, the Shah mentioned Persepolis's artisans and their masterful disguising of the cracks between the plaques. Reminding the worker that Persepolis dates back three thousand years, the Shah insisted that contemporary Iranian craftsmen must learn from their sophisticated ancestors. Reza Shah wanted a palace that could serve as his overnight retreat, as an official seat, and as “a museum of Iranian arts and crafts.”³⁵ The Shah asserted that he wanted to revive many types of traditional Iranian craftsmanship that were on the verge of becoming moribund. He thus selected the best local craftsmen, paid them well, and supervised them throughout the building period.

The Marble Palace was often featured in the press, particularly because it became the seat for important official ceremonies. Indeed, the palace was “unveiled” during a ceremony held in honor of Reza Shah's women's forced unveiling law (1936–41).³⁶ As “the ancient traditions of Iran” were paraded in front of visiting dignitaries, so were the unveiled women of the palace—including the Shah's wife, who hosted the ceremony.³⁷



Figures 2.1a, 2.1b and 2.1c
Top: main entrance to the Green Palace;
middle: relief, detail; left: interior of the
palace, showing mirrorworks (*āynah
kārī*). Photographs by the author, 2007

In the years following the Shah's resignation and subsequent death, the popular press often associated the Marble Palace with the Shah's persona. An article from a 1950 copy of the popular newspaper *Ittilā'āt-i māhiyānah* (*Monthly News*)³⁸ explained how the Shah ordered the demolition of a Qajar palace to allow enough space for the building of the new Marble Palace (figure 2.2).³⁹ The article went on to lovingly describe the “unveiling” ceremony and the foreign guests' fascination with the palace. The implementation of traditional crafts was reviewed in detail, while the simplicity and humbleness of Reza Shah's life itself was said to have been reflected in the look of his “simple and modest” bed (figure 2.3).

Figure 2.2
A page showing the exterior of the Marble Palace and interior details from *Ittilā'āt-i māhiyānah* (*Monthly News*), Mihr 1329/September 1950, vol. 3/7, no. 31, n.p. Courtesy of the National Library of Iran, Tehran



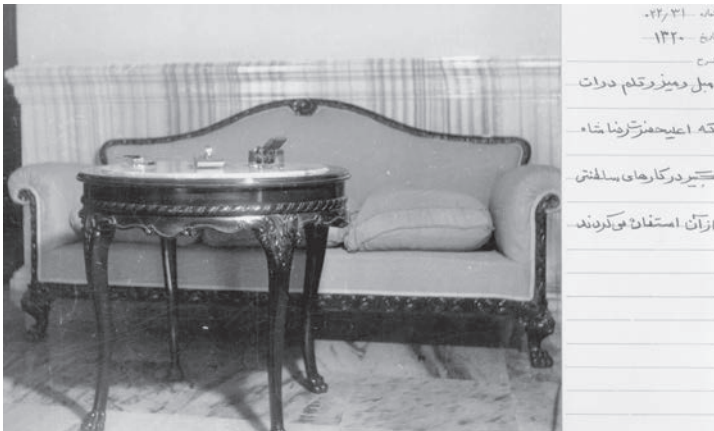
Figure 2.3
“The Private Life of his Majesty (*Zandagī khusūsī ‘ulīya*) *hazrat-i faqīd*,” *Ittilā'āt-i māhiyānah*, Isfand 1332/December 1953, vol. 72, n.p. Courtesy of the National Library of Iran, Tehran

این تخته خواب رضاشاه کبیر است در صورت منزل تکثیر آراب یکبار در عادی است .
 اما رضاشاه هیچوقت روی تخت نمیخفت. همیشه بر زمین میخفت و می گفت:
 اگر روز من کلمه هم باشد اهیتمی ندارد اما ایران باید در چشم بیجا بشکند
 سر بلند باشد. روی بخاری تصویر امیرحضرت همام پور شاهنشاهی و شاهزاده
 خانم غزویه و شاهزاده فئید در موقع تکثیر آراب گذاشته شده است .

Other modest aspects of the palace were a subject of interest for an editorial in the popular newspaper *Tehran musavvar* (*Illustrated Tehran*) in 1949. “The Day the Shah Left” describes how a lonely corner in the Marble Palace—where the sofa and the table stood—captured the mood of the time when Reza Shah sat at his table and wrote his resignation statement on September 16, 1941, and shortly thereafter left the nation.⁴⁰ This corner of the Marble Palace, whose image was also reproduced in many other newspapers, shows white marble plaques covering the entire floor and halfway up the walls. A statue of a nude stands by an antique-looking European sofa and writing table that had belonged to Reza Shah. This whole tableau speaks of the old and new—of old European style and modern simplicity (figures 4a–4b).



شماره ۳۰ - ۱۳۲۸
 تاریخ شنبه ۱۳۲۸
 شماره
 سرسرای کالج مورخین
 لحظه پس از امضای استعفا
 نامه اعلیحضرت رضاشاه



شماره ۳۱ - ۱۳۲۸
 تاریخ ۱۳۲۸
 شماره
 مبل و میز و قلم در وقت
 که اعلیحضرت رضاشاه
 سیر در کارهای سلطنت
 از آن استغناء می کردند

Figures 2.4a and 2.4b

Room from the interior of the Marble Palace and detail thereof. These photographs were published in *Tehran musavvar* (*Illustrated Tehran*), 25 Shahrivar 1328/16 September 1949. The archives of the Institute for Contemporary Iranian History. Box. M, Fol. 275/130729-0. Courtesy of the archives of the Center for the Studies of Modern Iranian History, Tehran

The juxtaposition of Iranian and Western styles was often abrupt. Just as foreign aspects of Reza Shah's palaces were slavish imitations of Western models, so were their local aspects mere recycling of patterns and models of Iran's traditional crafts. In this sense, the palace was indeed a museum, a modern building that placed the treasures of Iran's arts and crafts on display. In the years following Reza Shah's death, the celebration of the tradition within the palace was still carried on.⁴¹ One minister's 1948 letter to the Shah's elder daughter, Shams Pahlavi, regarding the purchase of eighteen yards of fine Indian fabric for curtaining one palace bears witness to this: I need to remind the majesty that it may be better to use the fine traditional fabrics of Isfahan (*qalamkār*) for the palace. The use of these Isfahani fabrics will help honor our own heritage and encourage local craftsmanship, and above all, it will be much less expensive.⁴² This was combined with furniture—in most royal residences—based on eighteenth-century French aristocratic style (figure 2.5). Thus the mixing of cultures and styles dominated, even when Iranian materials were deliberately chosen.

The use of foreign materials led members of the Iranian intelligentsia to voice their concerns about the loss of national identity in the face of the onslaught of Western modernity. In "*Tarīkkhānah* (The Dark Room)," a tale from his short-story collection *The Stray Dog* (1942), the surrealist Iranian novelist Sadegh Hedayat describes the new homes as "stupid mimicry" (*taqlīd-i ahmaqūnah*) of Western styles.⁴³ This so-called mimicry, however, was nothing if not professionally executed, and some homes were competent imitations of European urban middle-class residences. Along with Reza Shah's frenzied large-scale development, which provoked dissent, there was also the work of professional



Figure 2.5
Queen's bedroom, Sa'd ābād
Palace. Photograph by the author,
2007

Iranian architects who had been educated in Europe and had returned home to hone their skills by designing homes for Tehran's upper- and middle-classes.⁴⁴ Indeed, their efforts helped in constructing a new identity for the middle-class, white-collar population. These architects also published their ideas in the first and only national journal of their profession, *Ārshītki* (*Architect*), which was published from 1946 to 1948 by the Society of Certified Iranian Architects.⁴⁵ Such approaches dovetailed neatly with Reza Shah's program of reforming the Iranian family for the sake of quickly creating a modern nation.

The modern nuclear family home and its discontents

Throughout Reza Shah's reign, urban transformations had been coupled with women's forced and later voluntary unveiling,⁴⁶ which allowed for more open forms of urban interaction. Forced unveiling created a "liberated" Iranian woman, an "enlightened" housewife who was supposed to live in a modern house. There were similarities between the ways in which the press portrayed the "new" Iranian woman vis-à-vis the "new" Iranian house. Both were subject to a cult of rationalization, and both were often judged against their modern Western counterparts. Such a theme is the subject of an image in a 1925 issue of *Khalq* (*The Masses*), in which an Iranian family is compared with a European one (figure 2.6). While the caption and the image of the European family indicate that the European woman is a professional housewife working within her neat residence, the caption of the Iranian family scene indicates that the Iranian man is the sole contributor to the traditional household.⁴⁷

Other newspapers ran articles detailing the practices of foreign housewives within their homes, thus drawing a direct relationship between the collective character of different nations and the behavior of their housewives. In 1948,



Figure 2.6
Comparing Iranian and European families. The top caption reads: "Oh, Dad's back! One person whose beard is in the hands of seven people." The bottom caption reads: "In a European family, his wife (the woman of the family) also works!" in *The Making of the Modern Iranian Woman: Gender, State, Policy, and Popular Culture 1865–1946*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003, p. 77. Reprinted from the original in *Khalq* (*The Masses*) by permission of MEDOC, University of Chicago

Khāndanīhā (*Enjoyable Readings*), for example, explained the character of women of different nations: American wives were seen as good cooks and experts on raising children; Chinese women were regarded as lazy and gluttonous; Japanese women were considered the most patient; and British women were thought to be more interested in politics than their husbands.⁴⁸ By providing such a diverse global picture of housewives, *Khāndanīhā* most likely aimed to create “both a sense of connection to the world and a sense of what was distinctly Iranian.”⁴⁹

A similar logic, it may be thought, could be applied to the ways in which the Iranian home was portrayed in the press. However, the mass media placed so much emphasis on ideas of the modern European home that what was local and Iranian in residential architecture was left largely ignored.⁵⁰ Some elements of the traditional courtyard house survived in modern homes designed by professional architects, but these features were not explicitly identified according to the germane local terminology.

The architectural characteristics of the traditional courtyard house had so receded from middle-class consciousness that by the last decades of the twentieth century, popular nineteenth- and early twentieth-century terminologies associated with the courtyard house—*sufrahkhānah* (dining room), *sardāb* (cool summer room), and *hashī* (vestibule)—had to a large extent lost their meanings in daily life and language.⁵¹ Meanwhile, new words were introduced to Iranians by popular publications. *Ittilā’āt-i haftigī* (*Weekly News*), for example, in one of its late 1940s issues, provided an encyclopedic classification of the rooms of a modern house: *utāq-i pazīrayī* (guest room or entertaining room), *utāq-i nishīman* (living room), *utāq-i khāb* (bedroom), and *utāq-i nahār khurī* (dining room). The authors of *Ittilā’āt-i haftigī* not only defined the function of each room, but also provided suggestions regarding the furniture, color combinations, and materials to be used in these rooms. For example, they prescribed that the dining room be linked to the kitchen via a door. They also suggested picture windows to provide beautiful views for the living room; flower boxes were said to lend charm to living rooms, while framed modern paintings were deemed essential for decorating the walls. The colors light-gray and white were recommended for the bedrooms and tiles were seen as essential for the dining room and kitchen floors. The pictures that accompany these definitions were taken from contemporary Western publications with designs that embodied, more than any other style, the features of minimalistic interior design with simple color schemes. *Khāndanīhā* advised its readers about color choices within the home with explanations of how certain colors could affect—positively or negatively—the psychology of the inhabitants.⁵²

Along the same lines, focusing extensively on modernist ideas of domesticity that dominated interwar Europe, the professional journal *Ārshītki* (*Architect*) propagated modern European styles.⁵³ The works of Mohsen Furughī (1907–83), Gabriel Guverkian (1900–70), and Vartan Avanesian (1896–1982, also known as Vartan) received significant attention in the journal. The journal highlighted simplicity in design through the works of the architect Vartan, who looked down on traditional decorative styles such as tilework and plaster reliefs, referring to them as “useless” and “tasteless” additions.⁵⁴ What’s more, Vartan criticized the

popularity of the neo-Achaemenid style with its focus on Persepolis's column capitals of animal torsos. These columns, which embellished the facades of governmental institutions such as banks and police stations, provoked Vartan to write in the first issue of *Ārshītki* that Iranian architects must not only free themselves of the old styles, but also avoid reviving historical motifs and styles. He added: "The sensible mind shouts: Stop this! Are you going to turn Tehran into a zoo with all these statues of cows and lions?!"⁵⁵

In all likelihood, Vartan and others writing in the inaugural issue of *Ārshītki*, who sought to rid Iranian cities of their old neighborhoods and start afresh, were influenced by the ideas of the modernist Austrian architect Adolf Loos, as expressed in his influential 1908 article "Ornament and Crime."⁵⁶ Restoring old houses was deemed purposeless—it was as if "one intended to turn an old woman into a young lady by putting so much makeup on her face."⁵⁷ Simplicity was indeed an essential characteristic of the (future) modern Iranian home, according to the opening editorial of *Ārshītki*. These views even affected the advertising of homes in *Ārshītki* as well as in other less professional magazines, where simplicity became the hallmark of the featured houses (figure 2.7). The houses designed by these European-trained architects may be categorized into three groups. First are the split-level, free-standing, single-family villas that were often located in the middle of a walled garden (see figure 2.7). The second are multiple-story, one-family homes facing main streets (figure 2.8). Finally, there are small-scale apartment houses with commercial units at ground level, which lined main streets (figure 2.9).

After the construction in 1934 of the Cement Factory (*kārkhānah sīmān*) in Ray—a town in southern Tehran—the use of cement and concrete became prevalent in residential homes. These materials allowed for a more nuanced aesthetic and structural flexibility, but their use was only possible under the supervision of professional architects. The plan of most of these new concrete houses is asymmetrical, showing closer affinities to the modern Bauhaus movement than to the classical Beaux-Arts.⁵⁸ In almost all of these houses the interior and exterior surfaces were left unadorned, and the kitchen and the toilet, previously located outside, were now incorporated within the home. Nonetheless, some aspects of the traditional home remained intact. Although they did not intend to revive the authentic architecture of Iran, architects who erected modern homes blended modern and regional features in subtle ways.⁵⁹ For instance, many villas shared some similarities with traditional Iranian aristocratic garden pavilions (*kūshks*).⁶⁰ All villas included an enclosed central hall, known as the *sarsarā*, which bore features of the traditional courtyard house. One had to pass through the *sarsarā* to go from one room to the other, as with the courtyard in a traditional house. The *sarsarā* certainly weakened the old prohibitions about sharing of space between the *nāmāhram*—not tied to the family—men and women. The new family living room (*nishīman*), which was often located on the first floor and was accessible from the *sarsarā*, resembled the *panjdarī* of the old courtyard house. Unlike the *panjdarī*, the *nishīman* was devoid of extensive decoration; nonetheless, the *nishīman* was furnished with glass doors that connected it to the garden, echoing a function of the *panjdarī*, which provided access to the courtyard through its



Figure 2.7
An advertisement for a house in Lālih-zār-i naw Avenue, Tehran, in *Ārshītkī* (*Architect*), Bahman/Isfand 1325/January/February 1946, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 117. The caption reads: “This house, which includes six bedrooms, kitchen and a bath with plumbing, costs only 30,000 tumān.” Courtesy of the Library of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran

Figure 2.8
An example of a multiple-story, one-family home facing Takht-i jamshīd (now Tāliqānī) street, designed by Vartan Hovansian. *Ārshītkī* (*Architect*), Murdād/Shahrīvar 1325/August/September 1946, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 228. Courtesy of the Library of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran



Figure 2.9
A type of residential/commercial complex with projecting terraces in central Tehran. Photograph by the author, 2007

moveable glass screens (*urusī*). The guest room (*mihmānkhānah* or *pazīrayī*) of the new house was inaccessible, often located on the second floor. This was not unlike the elaborate *tālār* of the *bīrūnī* section of the old courtyard house, which was only used for ceremonial purposes.

Apartments in complexes that accommodated commercial and office space consisted of three to five stories, and these were often erected on large corner lots (figure 2.9). Being concerned with privacy, the architects allowed for separate entries to public and private quarters of the complex. The residential units retained a negligible connection to certain aspects of the courtyard house via gardens that were now placed atop the roofs. Efforts to revive certain aspects of traditional Iranian dwellings and concerns over privacy—so prominent in the design of the courtyard house—are certainly apparent in some residential buildings. However, these concerns were dealt with in an altogether slipshod manner. The architect was on the one hand concerned with maintaining the residents' privacy, in line with the traditional culture of home life, and yet was also intent on incorporating features of the fashionable European house, such as the roof garden.

Perhaps the most important characteristic of these homes was the extent to which they provided new spaces for modern nuclear families.⁶¹ The marriage law of 1931 had encouraged—even though it did not legally mandate—monogamous marriages.⁶² It is no surprise, therefore, that throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the nuclear family became the focus of architects who designed modern homes for upper-class Iranians. As families became more compact, all the spaces within the home contributed to the welfare of the nuclear family. The pattern for the new Western floorplan was set by Mohsen Furughī, who replaced the traditional spatial divisions and gender-based *andarūnī-bīrūnī* sections of the house with functional rooms.⁶³ Similarly, the Villa Sīāsī (1935), designed by Gabriel Guverkian, was intended for a nuclear family and took its cue from Adolf Loos, who formulated a theory of design that became known as *raumplan*, in which boundaries were broken and all rooms, annexes, and terraces were connected in subtle ways. Dominant characteristics of these homes included bay windows, circular balconies, and projecting cylindrical stairwells. One obvious reason for the popularity of circular forms related to conformance to the site's shape. If the house were located on a corner lot, it would curve around the corner, and if it were located by a traffic circle, it undulated around the circular sidewalk.⁶⁴

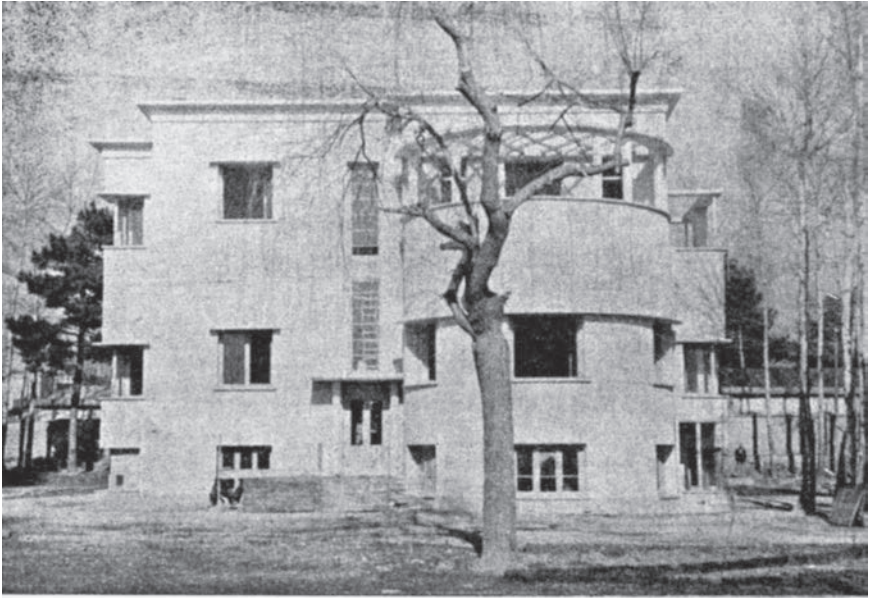
By the 1940s, the projecting semicircular balcony of Guverkian's Villa Sīāsī had become a prototype used by other architects. This balcony was often utilized as an open sleeping platform known as *bahārkhāb* (springtime outdoor sleeping space); it bridged "private" and "public" and thus worked as a liminal space. This balcony was not always designed to be used as a *bahārkhāb* and was at times only implemented as an aesthetic addition to the house. The spatial form of this projected semicircular balcony was sometimes highlighted through the beams and columns that came to frame the space it created. The round beam that projects from the bulk of a modern-looking Sa'd ābād Palace built by Vartan is a case in point. The semicircular beam extends over the landscape, allowing the building to expand into nature horizontally and to reflect the desire of the architect to integrate the interior and exterior (figure 2.10).⁶⁵



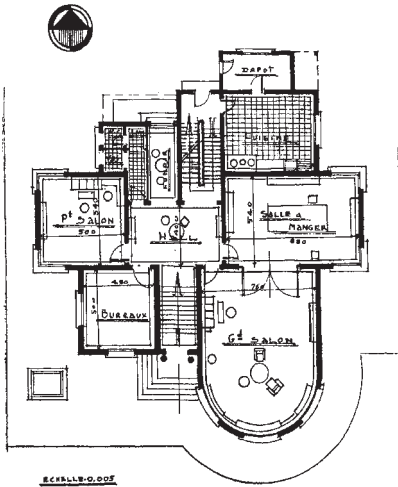
Figure 2.10 View of a palace built by Vartan Hovansian in the Sa'd ābād Royal Complex, *Ārshūtiqt* (Architect), Murdād/Shahrīvar 1325/ August/September 1946, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 4. Courtesy of the Library of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran

This concept was carried through in most residential architecture of the middle class, where the semicircular living room jutted out of the bulk of the building. The curved wall of this living room was often interrupted by multiple windows, with the whole structure projecting out into the space of the street, or garden; those inside could be seen from the street, breaking taboos against mixing the public and the private. As the use of large windows increased, the boundary between inside and outside broke down. This set-up also allowed the residents more visual freedom. A photograph from the interior of the round living room of the Qashghāi house in Tehran—designed by the Armenian-Iranian designer known as Architect Boudaghian—shows how the concept of the enclosed courtyard house has given way to an outward look, one that allows broader vistas of the street, sky, earth, and the “public world” in general (figures 2.11a–2.11c).⁶⁶

These expanded views were also popularized in newspaper articles and advertisements. Nowhere was this characteristic more extensively featured—both through written descriptions and photographs—than in the palaces of the young Pahlavi king, Muhammad Reza Shah. The lavish landscapes of the Sa'd ābād Palace complex are often pictured from above, as if someone were looking at them from a large glass window of an elevated room. This aerial vision is captured in a photograph published in a 1950 issue of *Monthly News* (figure 2.12). Such a view was intended to reflect notions of order and progress within the Shah's residence, but also to allude metaphorically to the order and progress of the nation as a whole.⁶⁷ The anonymous author of the article describes the Sa'd ābād complex:



نمای جنوبی



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پلان اشکوب اول



تهران - منزل قشقایی

Figures 2.11a, 2.11b and 2.11c

Top: Qashghāi House (view from the south), Tehran. Bottom left: plan of the first floor of the Qashghāi House, Tehran. Right: interior of the Qashghāi House, Tehran. Designed by the Armenian–Iranian architect Boudaghian, *Ārshūikt (Architect)*, *Murdād/Shahrīvar* 1325/August/September 1946, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 104–5, 28. Courtesy of the Library of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Library, Tehran

Before visiting the complex I had an idea about it. I used to think of it as a small garden with a series of pavilions around it. I used to think that these pavilions all faced the garden from one side and that one could easily walk from one building to the other. The Sa'd ābād complex, however, is a world unto itself. For one thing, the complex is not designed for pedestrians. One has to drive a car to get from one building to the next. While having features of both, the complex is neither a city nor a village. It is green, quiet, and calm—reminiscent of all villages—but unlike an Iranian village which is filled with unhealthy people and contaminated by filth, the complex is clean; it is technologically advanced like a modern city, but very different from the busy, crowded cities that we know of. Sa'd ābād is truly a heaven on earth. It is like no other place one may have seen in one's life. It is quiet and beautiful, yet advanced and modern; with its tall trees and vast landscapes, it resembles the most beautiful and natural scenes in the world; and yet it is ordered and advanced like the most modern of all cities.⁶⁸



Figure 2.12
 “Sa'd ābād yilāq-i shāhānshāh-i Iran (Sa'd ābād, the Summer Palace of the Shah of Iran),” *Ittilā'āt-i māhiyānah, Shahrīvar/September 1329/1950*, vol. 6, no. 30, p. 27. Courtesy of the National Library of Iran, Tehran

The desire for broader vistas and Western lifestyles—fully achieved within the precincts of the Sa'd ābād Palace complex—also became a theme for commercial advertisements that targeted the middle class. Numerous issues of *Tehran musavvar* from 1950, for example, featured homes designed by professional Iranian architects with captions that read: “These homes are not built in Switzerland or America, but could be found around Tehran” (figure 2.13). The primary purpose of these advertisements was to create a market for the materials—brick and concrete—used in these homes.⁶⁹ Ironically, the keynote of the text accompanying the image is the exotic quality of these homes, thus stimulating the readers to desire that which is foreign. Advertisements for furniture also suggest new modes of interior design—such as one from a December 1951 issue of *Taraqqi* (*Progress*).⁷⁰ Although the advertisement seeks to draw the reader's attention to the dining tables and chairs made by the Rangīn Industrial Designers, it also displays a picture window, a new Western addition to the Iranian home (figure 2.14).



Figure 2.13
The caption reads: “Pay close attention. These homes are not built in Switzerland or America, but could be found around Tehran.” Advertisement in *Tehran musavvar*, 11 Farvardīn 1329/March 1950, vol. 347, n.p. Courtesy of the National Library of Iran, Tehran



Figure 2.14
Advertisement for dining tables and chairs manufactured by Rangīn Industrial Designers. *Taraqqi* (*Progress*), December 10, 1951, vol. 9/28, no.465, n.p. Courtesy of the National Library of Iran, Tehran

When it came to improving the condition of working-class homes, those in charge dismissed such aesthetic concerns and instead focused on how to accommodate as many people as possible in the most efficient way. Albeit with certain inadequacies, public architecture, as well as royal palaces and aristocratic homes were professional imitations of Western architecture and traditional styles of the past.⁷¹ However, the architecture and décor of most lower-middle and working-class homes saw less and less professionalism. There were many reasons for this marginalization. For one thing, most residential areas in the capital were modernized so rapidly that local builders were left with no time to develop an appropriate method of design that could incorporate regional elements. In 1931, Charles Calmer Hart, an American attaché to Iran, reported:

The municipality, urged on by the Shah, is trying to modernize the capital of Persia so rapidly that property owners find it almost impossible to keep up with the progress which is wiping out liberal areas of their real estate, for most of which they receive limited or no compensation. Property owners, besides having to give up much real estate, have been compelled to see the demolition of their houses and to replace them at their own expense by better structures constructed on designs prescribed by the municipal planning commission.⁷²

Just as many public monuments and palaces were destroyed to allow for the new Pahlavi architecture, many traditional courtyard houses were also demolished to make possible the building of wider streets and more modern residences. In 1940, the American embassy estimated that the number of homes destroyed by the state ranged from fifteen thousand to thirty thousand. In a letter, the embassy noted that “Tehran looks as if it has been destroyed by an earthquake,” and that “(t)he ruthlessness of its methods is bewildering to anyone not used to the ways of modern Iran.”⁷³ Along the same line, Rosita Forbes, an American traveler to Iran in the early 1930s, described Tehran as “slightly Hollywoodesque,” adding:

The new streets looked as if they had not quite settled where they were going, and the rows of new houses, one room deep, were all frontage. They seemed to have no backs at all and they ended suddenly in space as if they were part of an unfinished set which would never be used in filmland.⁷⁴

This wholesale demolition was also at odds with the taste of some. Many objected to these developments. Members of the conservative anti-Pahlavi clergy, for example, voiced their concerns about the building of wider streets, which demanded the confiscation of people’s property. The cleric Sayyid Hasan Mudarris condemned Reza Shah’s ideas concerning urban renewal projects during a speech that he delivered in parliament: “modernization had to be distinguished from such lawless acts against the people and their possessions.”⁷⁵

The devastating lack of safe, adequate housing in southern parts of the capital gradually became an indicator of Iran’s “housing problem,” which festered until

the revolution of 1979.⁷⁶ Southern Tehran and the fringes of most large cities became host to an urban underclass of squatters, slum dwellers, and unskilled migrant workers. These residents were from rural areas and had varied ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. *Khānah Qamar Khānūm* (*Ms. Qamar's House*), a satirical television series broadcast in 1972, captures this well. Qamar Khānūm owns a large courtyard house that provides rental space for families and individuals freshly moved to southern Tehran. The series found humor amid the chaos created by people of different backgrounds living together, as demonstrated in a scene where all the tenants insanely plunge into the central pool (figure 2.15); but the problem was far more serious than it appeared when viewed on television.

In the 1960s, rents ranged from 25 percent of the salary of an unskilled laborer to 50 percent of the salary of civil servants.⁷⁷ In the years that followed, these figures rose rapidly.⁷⁸ Throughout most of the 1960s, 96 percent of the supply of housing was provided by the private sector, which constructed 260,000 housing units in the urban areas.⁷⁹ To deal with the problem of housing a population as diverse as industrial workers, army officers, civil servants, and artisans, the government and private developers—often referred to as *bisāz bifrūsh* (literally, “builders and sellers,” see Chapter 3)⁸⁰—became involved in the design of homes. None of the parties involved provided good solutions. The housing complex Chāharsad dastgāh (literally, “400 units”), started in 1946, is one of the earliest projects devoted to this relocation. Occupying an area of 148,735 square yards (124,360 square meters), the complex was built with financial support from the Mortgage Bank (*bānk-i rahni*) and the National Bank of Iran (*bānk-i millī Iran*).⁸¹ The design of most housing in this complex is in fact a miniature version of the

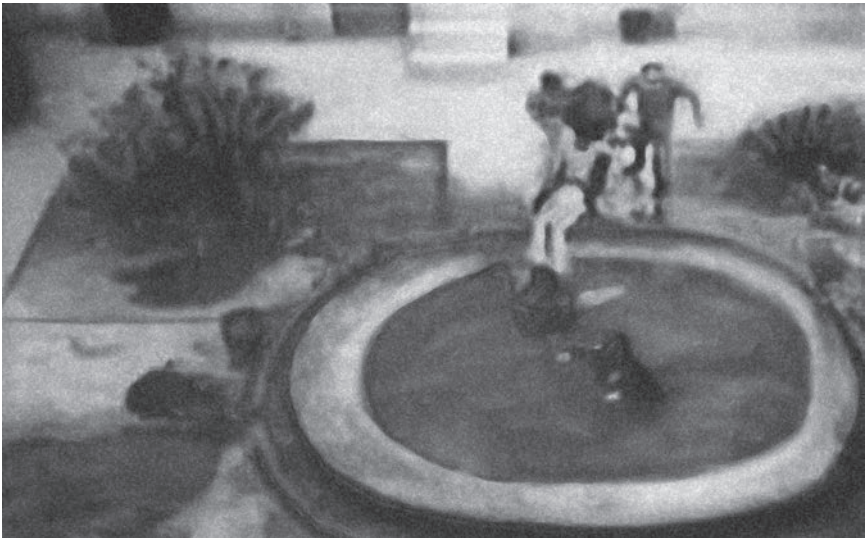


Figure 2.15 Still from *Khānah Qamar Khānūm* (*Ms. Qamar's House*), directed by Bahman Farman'ārā, 1351/1972

old courtyard house, with rooms lined up on one side and bathroom facilities and the kitchen on the other. Most units occupied an area of 57.4 or 113.6 square yards (48 or 95 square meters) and consisted of four rooms, a storage space, kitchen, and toilet. Chāhārsad dastgāh was one of the earliest mass housing projects to provide plumbing and electricity for all the tenants (figures 2.16a and 2.16b).⁸² Unlike the traditional courtyard house, the design of Chāhārsad dastgāh's courtyard-looking units was by no means ideal: all the windows were of the same size, regardless of whether they faced north or south; and the arrangement of rooms denied privacy to family members (figure 2.17).⁸³

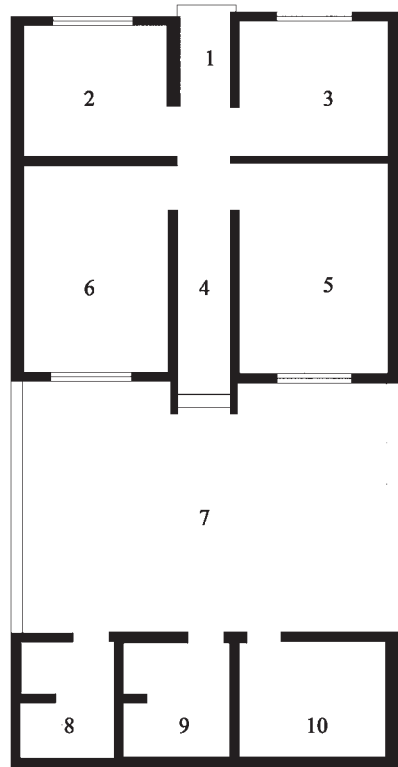
Figure 2.16a
Photograph showing Muhammad Reza Shah (middle, in uniform) reviewing the model of Chāhārsad dastgāh with chief architect Ali Sadiq (right)



Figure 2.16b The model of the Chāhārsad dastgāh residential complex. Both this image and the photograph above were published in *Ārshūkt* (*Architect*), Tīr 1326/June 1947, vol. 1, no. 4 (special volume on housing), p. 126. Similar images were published in the popular press, including *Bāz pūrs*, Shahrīvār 1325/September 1946, no. 168, p. 1. Courtesy of the Library of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Library, Tehran

Figure 2.17

Plan of a modern adaptation of the courtyard house in Chāhārsad dastgāh:
 1) foyer; 2) room; 3) room; 4) corridor;
 5) room; 6) room; 7) open courtyard; 8)
 toilet; 9) kitchen; 10) storage space. Plan
 reproduced by Parham Karimi (after
 Kīā-Kujūrī)



In most later government-sponsored complexes such as Shahr ārā (1956),⁸⁴ Kūy-i kālād (1958), Kan (1960), Kūy-i nuhum-i ābān (1965), Kūy-i mihrān (c. 1962), and Kūy-i Farah (1963),⁸⁵ the “hall” (or a large foyer) takes the place of the old exterior courtyard with the bedrooms, entertaining area, kitchen, and bathroom facilities surrounding it (figure 2.18). Some, like the houses of Kūy-i nuhum-i ābān, eliminated the entertaining area altogether to conserve space. Some flats, such as those of Kūy-i mihrān, also introduced the addition of an enclosed glass box known as the *pāssīu* (a variant of patio), which housed plants (figure 2.19). In many cases, the *pāssīu* with its glass ceiling was the only means for allowing natural light and air into the hall. In that sense, the house failed to correspond to the climatic conditions. Similarly, a backyard located by the kitchen accumulated rain, which caused mold to grow and was therefore not hygienic. In addition, most of these settlements suffered from poor services and the residents had to go out of their way to purchase their daily food from city centers.⁸⁶

Noting the dysfunction of these designs, the government then became directly involved in resolving the problems of “bad design.” Numerous studies⁸⁷ were conducted under the supervision of experts from the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development. One is entitled *Housing in Iranian Cities: Problems and Resolutions* (1971).⁸⁸ Basing its claim on a survey from 1969, this study revealed that at that time there were only 664 housing units per 1,000 families.

Accordingly, the study suggested methods for accommodating more families in efficient ways. One solution was to build apartments and high-rise buildings instead of one- or two-story family homes, in order to prevent the spatial expansion of cities and eliminate the inefficient distribution of resources and energy. The study also provided suggestions for better interior arrangements by introducing housing units designed around the climatic conditions applicable to each region, the number of family members, and the annual income of the household. Most are direct imitations of European and American models, with adjustments made to the size of the hall. Families with the least income were provided with homes that had no hall and consisted only of a series of rooms arranged around a corridor. Concerns with the traditional aspects of the courtyard house are eliminated altogether in almost all of these prescribed types. Compared to homes built by nonprofessional circles of the *bisāz bifrūsh* (see Chapter 3) the proposals suggested by the Ministry of Housing were more in tune with standards of modern life, but they were only partially realized by 1979. Examples include a series of high-rise luxury residential apartments that were built in Tehran throughout the 1970s; yet many of these luxury apartments built by professional builders remained vacant due to their prohibitive costs.⁸⁹

Bordering on the colonial: emerging industries and the rise of gated communities

If Iran's own expansion, commercially and politically, encouraged the Westernization of household interiors, the direct influence of Western powers in the region urged on this area's rise in ascendancy. Although never formally a colony of a Western country, Iran's strategic location and natural resources made it subject to indirect—what may be called “semicolonial”—political and economic intervention by the West.⁹⁰ While the study of all such semicolonial residential areas in Iran is beyond the scope of this book, their essence is revealed in the design and function of homes in residential neighborhoods of British and American workers in the southern oil city of Abadan, where the largest oil refinery of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was built.

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, concessions in these cities were held by foreign companies which, by controlling the rate of oil extraction, ran the refineries, supervised exports to the world market. The main task for Iranians was to supply cheap labor. Over time, these oil cities became worlds unto themselves that were segregated by nationality, occupation, and class.⁹¹ These social divisions, determined initially by the British, were deemed necessary because of the influx of a large number of rural Iranians seeking work. As early as 1910, a refinery had been established in Abadan, together with a collection of bungalows for British oil industry experts. The original British bungalow area,⁹² known as Braim, was expanded during the 1930s according to ideals of the “garden city” and the “city beautiful” movements initiated in 1898 by urban planner and visionary Sir Ebenezer Howard. The creation of Braim contributed to an emerging idealization of a suburban-looking space within the city, where the houses stood apart from one another, allowing for green space that came to define the private zone of each residence.

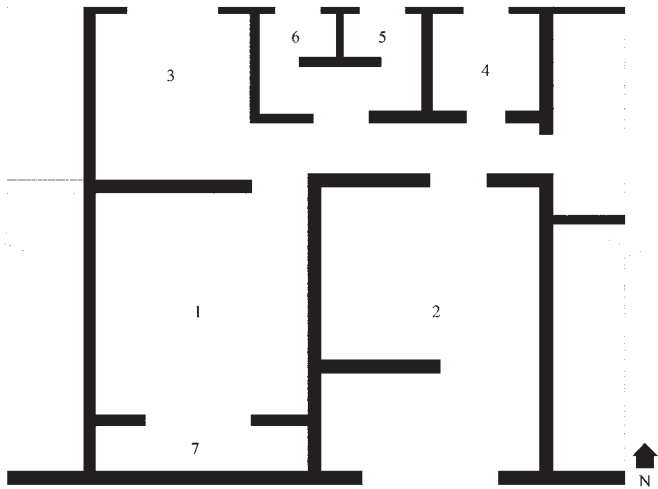


Figure 2.18 Plan of a three-bedroom apartment unit in Shahr ārā: 1) room with balcony; 2) living room and dining area; 3) bedroom; 4) kitchen; 5) shower area; 6) toilet. Plan reproduced by Parham Karimi (after KĀ-Kujūrī)

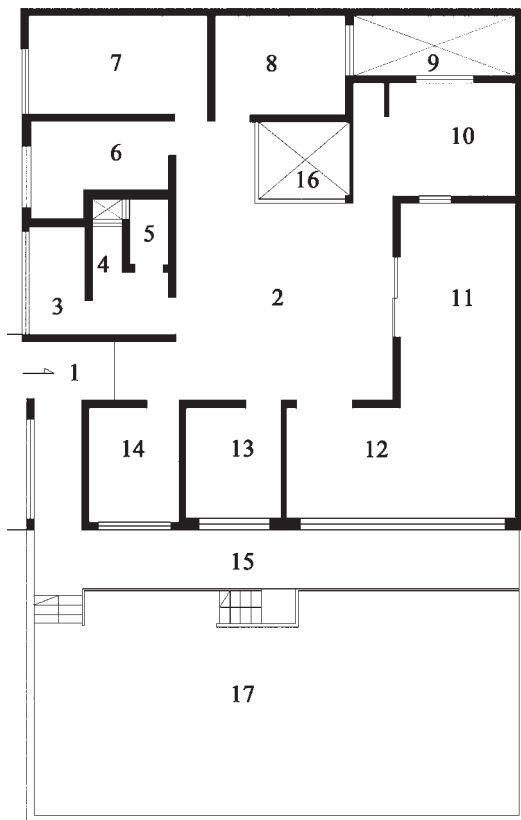


Figure 2.19
A one-story family-type house in Kūy-i mihrān: 1) foyer; 2) hall or family sitting area; 3) shower area; 4) closet; 5) toilet; 6) bedroom; 7) bedroom; 8) bedroom; 9) balcony; 10) kitchen; 11) dining space; 12) living room; 13) bedroom; 14) bedroom; 15) porch; 16) pāsū; 17) backyard. In K. KĀ-Kujūrī, "A Study of Nine Residential Districts in Tehran." Manuscript 2. 62 (1351/1972), n.p. Plan reproduced by Parham Karimi (after KĀ-Kujūrī)

Despite their location in the desert, the garden cities of Abadan were glorified in the popular imagination. In 1947, *Khāndanīhā* published a translated report by a French journalist in Abadan. This article, “Abadan, the City of Technicians: The City Where All Public Services Are Free,” emphasizes the glamour of the city at night with its British-style architecture glowing under neon lights and the flames of fire sputtering atop the oil refineries’ equipment. The author goes so far as to compare the refineries to ancient Zoroastrian temples. The flames, writes the author, “protect the land of ancient Zoroastrians, the land of fire worshippers. And indeed, everyone in Abadan is protected by the fire of the refineries that help guarantee all sorts of public services free of charge.”⁹³ The same year, an issue of *Ārshūtiikt* presented idealized aerial views of houses in Abadan’s Braim and Bawarda neighborhoods, as well as residences in Suleiman, with an article noting the importance of public gardens (*bāghāt-i ‘umūmī*) (figures 2.20 and 2.21).⁹⁴ Modeled after a trope in representations of cities in 1920s and 1930s American and European publications,⁹⁵ this aerial view of Abadan was in a sense useful for giving the manifestly false impression that progress in Iran’s industrial cities brought with it social order, discipline, and harmony.

Abadan, with its charming gardens in daytime and glamorous neon lights and refineries’ flames at night, inspired Iranians to think of their cities as measures of progress. Houses in Abadan were among the country’s most advanced residences, even surpassing the quality of upper-class homes in the capital (figures 2.22a and 2.22b). Abadan, as it was represented in the press, was for many a modern city with residential neighborhoods enjoying the benefits of electricity, plumbing, sewer systems, and air conditioners. *Abadan Today*—a weekly newspaper published for the employees of the National Iranian Oil Company—was particularly vigorous in boasting the high-quality houses and flats in more prosperous neighborhoods (figure 2.23).⁹⁶ This publication featured the British neighborhood of Braim more than other parts of the city. Indeed, Braim was the



Figure 2.20 “Aerial view of Abadan,” *Ārshūtiikt* (*Architect*), *Tir* 1326/ June 1947, vol. 1, no. 4 (special volume on housing) p. 141. Courtesy of the Library of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran



Figure 2.21 “Aerial view Masjid Suleiman,” *Ibid.*, p. 142. Courtesy of the Library of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Library, Tehran

gem of all residential neighborhoods in Iran, as reflected not only in *Abadan Today* but also in many memoirs, autobiographies, and reports written by both Iranians and expatriates who worked and lived in Abadan.⁹⁷ Even Reza Shah wrote in admiration of the degree of comfort in Braim during his early 1920s trips to the region.⁹⁸ This was, however, in sharp contrast with the lives of most locals on the ground.

An important feature of the homes in Abadan, and one ignored in the press, was that they embodied new modes of class divisions. In its overall plan, Abadan took the form of “nuclei of small townships in several ... distinct areas, well separated from one another.”⁹⁹ The quality and spaciousness of accommodations in the gated Braim environment were much higher than in other neighborhoods designed for the locals. Houses in Braim included several rooms meant for servants’ quarters, cramped living space often located at the back of the house (see, for example, figure 2.24). These were also known as “boy rooms,” a term that supposedly inspired the British to refer to their neighborhoods thus. Later, the term was changed to “Braim”—which is presumably “boy room” as pronounced by the locals.¹⁰⁰

As urban historian Robert Home has pointed out, “A major conflict of philosophy existed between the garden city ideal of efficient, harmonious, communal living and the segregation principles upon which colonial rule relied.”¹⁰¹ Abadan’s gated clusters were easier to control than a large sprawling town, and were intended to help prevent or minimize social upheaval (figures 2.25 and 2.26).¹⁰² In fact, the way in which the gated community of Braim developed within the urban context of Abadan exemplifies the colonial version of Howard’s garden city at the end of the British imperial era.



Figures 2.22a and 2.22b

Photographs showing a one-story house and the overall view of the residential neighborhood in Braim, 1958. Photography by Charles R. Schroeder. Color transparency on film, 35mm. Courtesy of Paul Schroeder and the Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University

Char Shaab, Oudhshahr 8, 1330

It was "moving in" week for those occupying the new flats at Palm Grove for some bachelor staff, and married couples without children. There are two blocks of flats, those for married couples adjacent to Flat 96, and those for bachelors opposite Flat 42.

The flats, built by Contractors with Refining Company labor, are grouped on the quadrangle style, looking out on what will eventually be pleasantly laid out grounds.

Each flat, tastefully furnished with new style furniture, comprises an entrance hall, with a built-in stand for hats and coats, living room, bedroom, kitchenette, bathroom with shower, and a built-in wardrobe and storage space.

Each flat is decorated in a different pastel shade, and the kitchenette is equipped with a stainless-steel sink, water-tight gas heaters for the hot water, for both kitchen and bathroom. There is a gas cooker and a refrigerator in the kitchenette, which also has ample cupboard space for foods and cleaning materials.

The system of individual cooling is so designed that it can be circulated throughout the flat by the opening of ventilators.

New Flats Occupied This Week

Exterior view of the new married flats shows the pleasing architecture of Abadan's latest living accommodations.

One can relax in comfort in the cool, spacious living room.

Plenty of light, cool air and pleasing furniture make the bedroom an attractive place.

A housewife's delight in this well-equipped kitchen.

The bathroom is an inspiring piece of compact planning.

Figure 2.23

A page from *Abadan Today*, featuring the newly built flats in Abadan. "New Flats Occupied this Week," *Abadan Today*, vol. 3, no. 51, Wednesday April 29, 1959, p. 3. Image reproduced with permission of BP Archive

Figure 2.24
 “Plan of junior houses in Braim, Abadan,” 1943. 1) terrace; 2) foyer; 3) dining room; 4) pantry; 5) kitchen; 6) backdoor entrance area; 7) toilet; 8) bath; 9) closet; 10) closet; 11) living room; 12) bedroom; 13) bedroom; 14) corridor; 15) storage flanked by toilet; 16) storage flanked by toilet 17) “boy room”; 18) “boy room”; 19) garage; 20) garage. Courtesy of the archives of the oil headquarters in Abadan, Iran. Plans reproduced by Parham Karimi



Figure 2.25
 “Aerial view of houses in Braim, Abadan,” 1943. Courtesy of the archives of the oil headquarters in Abadan. Photograph courtesy of the National Oil Company, Abadan, Iran

Figure 2.26
 Site plan after the existing plans from the 1940s. Available from the archives of the oil headquarters in Abadan. Courtesy of the National Oil Company, Abadan, Iran. Site plan reproduced by Parham Karimi



Manoucherhr Farmanfarmaian, an Iranian aristocrat who worked as an engineer for the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, described the division between the British and Iranian neighborhoods in Abadan (see figures 2.27a and 2.27b):

The workers lived in a shantytown called Kaghazabad, or Paper City, without running water or electricity, let alone such luxuries as ice boxes or fans. In winter the earth flooded and became a flat, perspiring lake. ... (In the summer) the dwellings of Khaghazbad, cobbled from rusted oil drums hammered flat, turned into sweltering ovens ... In the British section of Abadan there were lawns, rose beds, tennis courts, swimming pools, and clubs; in Kaghazabad there was nothing—not a tea shop, not a bath, not a single tree. The tiled reflecting pool and shaded central square that were part of every Iranian town, no matter how poor or dry, were missing here.¹⁰³

Architectural historian Mark Crinson elaborates further on this division:

Housing, like the company's employees, was divided into three classes: fully furnished accommodation for British staff and the few senior Persians; partly furnished accommodation for non-European junior staff; and unfurnished facilities for wage-earning labor. ... (T)here was also a fourth class: the large numbers of contract laborers who were not regarded by the company as its responsibility and lived in shanty towns like Kaghazabad on the edges of the company and municipal areas. In effect, though there was little formal segregation, racial segregation was exerted through zoning of residence.¹⁰⁴

Finally, in 1979 when the French philosopher Michel Foucault visited Abadan, Iran's largest oil city, did not seem so gifted. He described the city in these words:

It is a surprise to find (Abadan) to be so huge, yet rather old fashioned, surrounded by corrugated iron, with British-style management buildings, half-industrial and half-colonial, that one can glimpse above the flares and the chimneys. It is a colonial governor's palace, modified by the austerity of a big Manchester spinning mill. But one can see that (this) powerful institution ... has created (misery) on this island of sand between two yellowish rivers. The misery starts around the factory with a sort of subtropical mining village, then very quickly one enters the slums where children swarm between truck chassis and heaps of scrap iron, and finally one arrives at the hovels of dried mud bathed in filth. There, crouching children neither cry nor move. Then everything disappears in the grove of palms that leads to the desert, which is the front and the rear of one of the most valuable properties in the world.¹⁰⁵

Throughout its short history as a modern city, Abadan faced recurring socio-political turmoil over the disparity that was manifest partly in the differences between foreign residences and those of Iranian workers. Meanwhile, those in



Figures 2.27a and 2.27b

The gardens of the “boat club” and the public swimming pool in Braim, 1958. Photograph by Charles R. Schroeder. Color transparency on film, 35mm. Courtesy of Paul Schroeder and the Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University

charge also made efforts to improve the situation. The pro-communist Tudeh party of Iran joined labor unions in Abadan in demanding better living conditions, which were granted in 1933.¹⁰⁶ The following year James Mollison Wilson—the principle designer of houses in other company areas such as Masdjid-Suleiman, Agha Jari, Gach Saran, Kermanshah, and Bandar Mashahr—attempted to overcome housing disparities by proposing designs for intermediary neighborhoods (see an example of such developments as shown in the operating company’s report, figure 2.28). In defense of his proposal for the neighborhood, Bawarda, he wrote: “(S)ince the war a very great and widespread spirit of Nationalism has been introduced and fostered throughout the Middle East. ... Though the company probably incurs less of this (jealousy) than the political services do elsewhere, it must introduce measures to meet it.”¹⁰⁷ Wilson’s Bawarda became “an experiment in non-segregation whose very design would ... bridge over the present gulf between locals and foreigners.”¹⁰⁸

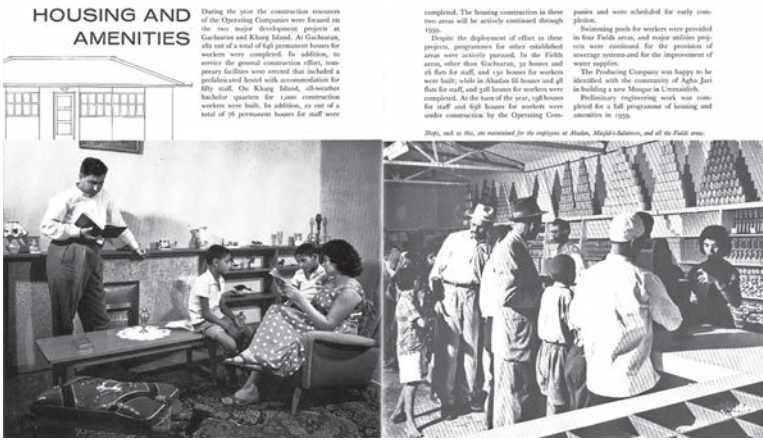


Figure 2.28
The 1957 and 1958 operating company reports featuring examples from the newly built houses and related amenities in the industrial cities of Gachsaran, Kharg, and Masdjid Suleiman, n.p.d. Image reproduced with permission of BP Archive



Figure 2.29
Exterior detail (stair-case shaft) from a house in Bawarda. Photograph by author, 2007

Unlike the bungalows in British sections of Abadan, the houses in Bawarda were distinguished by a Persian style that included flat roofs with belvederes, high-ceilinged rooms, decorative tilework, and brick detailing (figure 2.29).¹⁰⁹ However, Bawarda housed only Iranian families whose members had received education in British universities. Wilson assumed that “any Persian living in Bawarda would desire British conventions of domestic life.”¹¹⁰ He wrote, “In all my considerations on this matter, I have assumed that the *purdah* (harem) system will be abandoned and the houses in the new area will be designed along the lines of European houses with such modification as climatic conditions impose.”¹¹¹ Abadan thus epitomized both the semicolonial ambition of Westerners and the desire of many Iranians to reproduce its concept in other cities.¹¹² It is indeed a fine example of the ambivalence of the colonial discourse as formulated by Homi Bhabha, a discourse indicating that the colonizer and the colonized are not dialectally opposed, but rather linked in a relationship of difference and repetition.¹¹³

While class divisions in Iran had long existed and were hence not simply by-products of the growing industry, new notions of class were introduced through settlements that grew around the expanding industries—the most important of which was the oil industry, these reconfigured older, local class divisions. Beyond the division between foreigner and local, industrial and oil cities introduced, perhaps for the first time, communities that were divided along status lines and by professional degrees, rather than the age-old hierarchical system that divided the community according to kin relations and blood ties. Such attitudes towards housing came to be employed in other parts of the country, even where there were no significant industries. Gated communities were often developed in the vicinity of Iranian factories, and these gated neighborhoods housed only a limited number of engineers and high-ranking personnel of the factories. Unskilled laborers and low-rank employees were pushed outside the gated community with its Western-style design, just as in Abadan.

One of the best examples of such a Western-style neighborhood is the housing for the sugar factory of the city of Karaj, designed and built by Russian architect Nikolai Markov (1882–1957). Unique to the neighborhood is the factory manager’s house, built in 1932, with its monumental Doric-temple front entrance. Markov created a façade using the language of classicism—comparable with Andrea Palladio’s Renaissance villas—with an exterior design in accordance with proportions laid out by Western classical architecture, so that the overall structure remained symmetrical. The building sits on a pediment, its bulk emphasized by crisp and precise stonework that wraps around its main corners, in the style of Western Renaissance buildings, a vertical extension through the roof cornice is highlighted by balustrades (figures 2.30, 2.31 and 2.32).¹¹⁴

The novel look of these homes probably attracted the attention of contemporary onlookers. But, located within the walls of gated neighborhoods, where “otherworldly” activities occurred, such homes also projected a particular air of exotic inaccessibility. In the sugar-producing city of Fasa (figure 2.32), Iranians were surprised to learn that behind the walls of the sugar factory’s gated community, young girls could freely bike around the neighborhood. These “biking girls with their miniskirts” were considered *bīhayā* (shameless).¹¹⁵ Such activity



Figure 2.30 The house of the head of the sugar factory of Karaj, front view



Figure 2.31 The house of the head of the sugar factory of Karaj, rear view. Both this image and the one above are from Victor Daniel, Bijan Shafei, and Sohrab Soroushian, eds., *Mi'marī nīkulāy mārkuḥ* (Architectural Projects of Nikolai Markov), Tehran: Dīd Publishers, 2004. Images courtesy of Victor Daniel, Bijan Shafei, and Sohrab Soroushian



Figure 2.32 The gated neighborhood of the sugar factory of Fasa. Photograph by the author, 2007

discouraged the more religious and traditional families who were affiliated with the factory from residing inside these gated towns.

These accounts show that state-run projects and foreign initiatives, which were powerful in many ways, attempted to shape people's identities and their use of space. But as I will show next, Iranians neither wholly embraced the ideas propagated in the press, nor did they completely adjust to the homes built by state-run institutions. Instead, acting as active agents, the inhabitants adapted these designs to make them more suitable to their daily life, while also remaining at times very critical of what was offered to them. Most of these undertakings took place in the post-World War II period, during the early years of the Cold War.

3 The Cold War and the economies of desire and domesticity

Introduction

(T)he calendar date in Iran today is 1337, so that the minute you leave the cities of Iran, you are in the fourteenth century. Things have changed very little from Biblical times, and as you drive along these very poor roads, and some of them just trails, you can just picture that this is the way the country lived during the time of Christ One of the first villages we worked at was the village of Khushkī-rūd or dry river on a road-less road ... I drove in my jeep to this village ... and when they heard that there was a possibility that we would send our ... first mobile unit (or mobile hospital) to their village, they were so happy that they criedWhen we finally left the village, the people said to me “you have given us hope and ... life.¹

These were the impressions of public health nurse Helen Jeffreys Bakhtiar as stated in a 1958 interview with a radio station in Charlottesville, Virginia. Bakhtiar worked for President Harry S. Truman’s Point IV Program. Although recast in the development strategies of the post-World War II era, the opinions and impressions of Point IV workers echo the language of America’s civilizing mission that had been formulated decades earlier.² In this sense, Bakhtiar’s description is not very different from those put forward by American missionaries who expressed their contributions through similar narratives. Nonetheless, those who worked for the Point IV Program were cognizant of the stigma of colonialism when doing their work, thus meeting the requirements of the avowed agenda of Point IV:

(G)overnments, which have only recently emerged from colonial subjection, still are suspicious and even resentful of outside aid ... If our people and these newly freed people are to find a common basis of cooperative understanding (.) that cannot come by rehashing old memories, or by invoking traditions which do not exist. It can come only by working together towards the future.³

“Working together” and “understanding each other” were essential rhetorical tools. Local customs had to be respected:

The major effort in such a program must be local in character; it must be made by the people of the underdeveloped areas themselves. It is essential, however ... that there will be help from abroad ... (P)eoples (in) these areas will be unable to begin their part of this great enterprise without initial aid from other countries.⁴

In reality, however, the political and economic concerns of the United States were more important than the affairs of the Iranian people. In the past, missionaries had justified their intervention by citing humanitarian motives, while the Point IV Program was presented to the American public mainly on political and economic grounds. The Cold War was certainly a driving impulse, and it is clear that the initiative sought to prevent Iranian society from falling under the influence of the Soviet Union.⁵

As Iranians struggled to come to terms with their identity on the brink of widespread Westernization, the house and its contents became one focus of the clash of traditional ways with the pressure to modernize and achieve a better standard of living. This topic gave rise to much fervent political debate and also to many discussions about moral and ethical problems within Iranian society. Although Western ideas were certainly catalysts and influences in the movement to bring Iran into step with up-to-date and possibly beneficial technology in the home, Iranians themselves were actively engaged on a local level in figuring out which aspects of contemporary Western home life actually worked for them and which did not. The outcome depended on the question of adjusting a national and personal identity to rapidly changing times, something that only the people of Iran themselves would ultimately be able to do.

Not at home: the home economics of the left

Reza Shah was forced to abdicate in 1941, an event that led to increased freedom of expression for the people of Iran and also to free elections. Mohammed Mosaddeq (1882–1967) was elected prime minister in 1951 and presided over a fledgling democracy until 1953, when he was ousted in a coup sponsored by the American CIA and the British MI6. During this period, the Marxist Tudeh Party was quite prominent, involved in both political and cultural activities. The Party's women's bimonthly publication, *Bīdārī mā* (*Our Awakening*) (figure 3.1),⁶ charged that coveting new fashions and the latest household commodities was irrational and encouraged women to “go local” rather than rely upon imported medicines and cosmetics. They stressed the healing properties of water, for example: drinking plenty of water was seen as the key to beauty, and water was said to be able to heal most bodily ailments, including nervousness and anxiety. The publication presented creative ways in which women could recycle disposable household materials and also encouraged women to work outside the home. “Home and its Limits in the Modern Age” (by Farah Laqā Alavī, in the October 1944 issue) propounded that most of women's traditional responsibilities—such as training children, preparing food, etc.—should now

be assumed by society at large, beyond the confines of the home.⁷ Echoing early Soviet ideology, *Bīdārī mā* encouraged women to move beyond the private sphere of the house.



Figure 3.1 The cover of a 1944 issue of *Bīdārī mā* (*Our Awakening*), 1323/1944, vol. 1, no. 2, displaying a “liberated” Iranian woman. Courtesy of the Center for Studies of Modern Iranian History, Tehran

To underscore this rejection of domesticity, the magazine symbolically represented the nation as a house inimical not only to women but to all Iranian citizens. The front page or the cover of some of the journal's issues featured the headline, "We (Iranian women) also have Rights in this House." The very first issue of *Bīdārī mā* (June 1944), carried an article by Maryam Firūz (1913–2008; founder of the women's branch of the Tudeh Party) entitled "*Bīdār shavīd!* (Wake Up!)," which portrayed Iranian society as a dark house filled with cigarette and opium fumes. These drugs trapped the people in this house and rendered them so listless and lazy that they did not even bother to open windows to let in fresh air. Sometimes the home's residents caught a glimpse of the beautiful outside through the window but were usually too tired to actually get outside. Men could sometimes move close to the window and get some fresh air, but women were always forced away from it and had no opportunity to access the outer world.⁸ The house and its tasks were seen to constrict female life.

The magazine thus rejected domesticity altogether and saw Soviet society as the most advanced with regard to the affairs of women and families. Quoting the Iranian Marxist and Tehran University professor Said Nafīsī, who periodically attended cultural events in Russia, the magazine portrayed Soviet women in a rosy light. They were praised as open-minded and active in the public sphere, but also, despite their simple look and modest outfits, as possessing a greater natural beauty than women of any other nation:⁹ "Hard work has allowed these women to stay fresh and in shape. There is hardly any fat or out-of-shape woman and most of the time you see young women around you. It seems as if the Soviet woman never gets old ..."¹⁰ In this portrayal of women, Nafīsī seems to have been influenced by the Bolshevik activist Aleksandra Kollontai (1872–1952), who depicted the ideal Communist woman as very simple and slim.¹¹

The more popular Iranian newspapers of this period were less positive about Soviet life. The popular bi-weekly *Taraqqī* (*Progress*), for example, reported in a 1952 article entitled "Love in the Soviet Union" on the difficulties of married life in Russia. A picture portraying a family jammed into a small bedroom bore the caption, "Family life in Russia: most families have no more than one or two bedrooms" (figure 3.2).¹² The newspaper found domestic issues such as these to be problematic. Featuring passages from Kollontai and referring to the time of Lenin, when free love, anti-marriage, and anti-monogamist thoughts were advocated by some,¹³ the newspaper opined that ideas such as these not only endangered the country's needed population increase but also caused high rates of abortion and single-motherhood in the Soviet Union.¹⁴ Such criticisms of the USSR even occupied the pages of *Ārshūtikī*. Architect Vartan Hovanesian, while proclaiming the benefits of mass housing projects in 1946, reassured the journal's readers that the ideas behind such projects were more in line with those of the West rather than the Soviet Union.¹⁵

That same year, the Soviets had threatened to overstay their wartime occupation of parts of Iran. This "Azerbaijan Crisis" was one of the major catalysts propelling the United States to a Cold War mindset.¹⁶ The CIA's joint sponsorship of the coup against Mosaddeq was part of the American struggle to keep Iran from communism and marked the beginning of strong U.S. support for the

Figure 3.2

“In Russia marriage is very easy but divorce is extremely difficult,” *Taraqqi* (*Progress*), Bahman 1331/February 1952, 9, vol. 37, no.473, pp. 6, 22. Courtesy of the National Library of Iran, Tehran

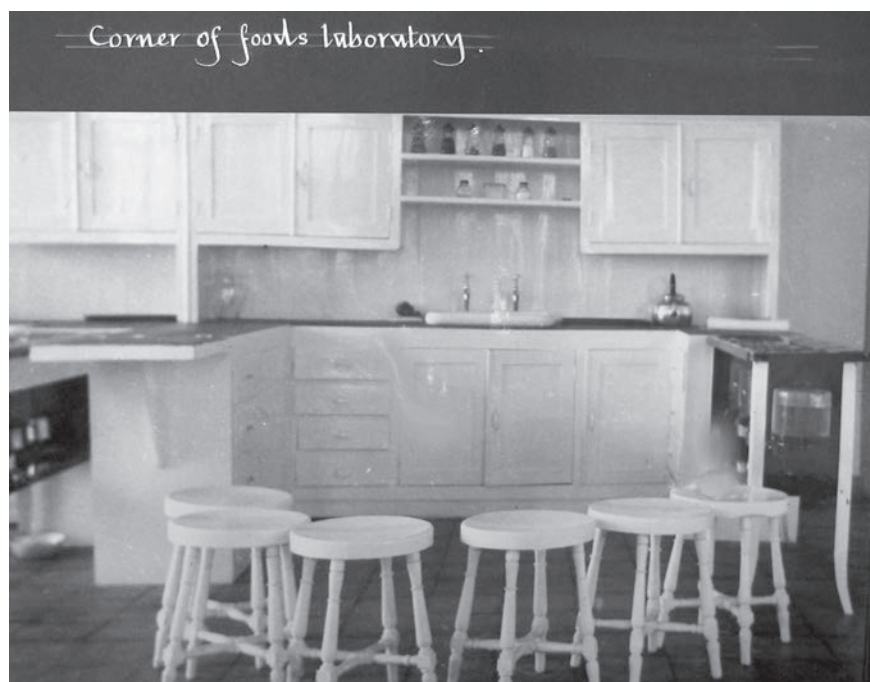


Pahlavi monarchy.¹⁷ The American government hoped that a “quiet diplomacy,” instead of war and violence, would produce the desired results. A short American film made soon after the Azerbaijan Crisis includes the statement: “You should not start to fight if you cannot win, sometimes just to be right is enough.”¹⁸ This documentary opens with a speech by Harry Truman about Iran and goes on to celebrate America’s success in saving “a small nation” from becoming Communist. Interestingly, Iran is personified in this film as a bride at a village wedding. The ceremony is upset by the approach of Russian soldiers, but after help from the U.S. arrives and the Soviets are driven away, the ceremony takes place and the whole village comes to life. Spring replaces the dark winter, and nature’s beauty blossoms.

Despite American efforts, though, economic and political relations between Iran and the Soviet Union were already reestablished by 1951, and a Soviet–Iranian joint commission signed a demarcation agreement in Tehran. This Soviet–Iranian rapport prompted Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the U.S. Supreme Court to assert that “we (the U.S.) will write their history instead of letting Soviet Russia do it.”¹⁹ America would do this by importing into Iran ideas, commodities, and technologies that could integrate the underdeveloped country into the global capitalist economy. In this sense, Truman’s Point IV Program of economic aid to Iran followed the pattern of the broader post-World War II discourse of international development, which sought improvement in such sectors as health care, education, agriculture, housing, and urban planning.

Model homes: reforming domestic skills

The Point IV Program for Iran built dams and roads, improved rural life, and eradicated numerous contagious diseases. It also established a home-economics department supervised by the U.S. Department of Education. Women's affairs, along with their families and homes, were a key part of American intervention in Iran.²⁰ The program's goal was to improve the domestic situation of Iranian women; by helping young women create a less labor-intensive way of life and develop "good taste" in decorating and furnishing their homes, the program sought to lead the country to an improved economy (figures 3.3a, 3.3.b and 3.3c).²¹ Inevitably, of course, this indirectly stimulated a desire for Western commodities.



Figures 3.3a and 3.3b
Photographs of the kitchen laboratory at a home-economics school in Isfahan. The U.S. Department of Education, *The Album of the Home Economics Department*, Division of Education and Training, 1954. Courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, DC



Figure 3.3c

Photograph of the kitchen laboratory at a home-economics school in Isfahan. The U.S. Department of Education, *The Album of the Home Economics Department*, Division of Education and Training, 1954. Courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, DC

Certain of the program's topics, such as hygiene and domestic improvements, were not in and of themselves unique; as discussed earlier, Iranian reformers and missionaries to the country since the second half of the nineteenth century had focused on the same topics. The program's novelty was that the changes it advocated indirectly reoriented the Iranian economy toward mass-market consumption. According to Bernice W. King, attaché to the U.S. Department of Education and head of its Home Economics Department in Iran,²² the introduction of Western domestic furnishings and Western models of living "gave a real opportunity ... to raise the level of living for the country as a whole."²³ The link between home economics and the national economy was underscored in the 1959 Moscow "Kitchen Debate" between U.S.S.R. Premier Nikita Khrushchev and U.S. President Richard Nixon. This debate demonstrated that Cold War animosities did not extend only to missiles and spheres of interest but also to automobiles, washing machines, and toaster ovens.²⁴

The first unit for home economics in Iran was established by the Point IV Program's Division of Education and Training in the capital, but similar units later were established in other cities.²⁵ Programs were designed for high-school girls. Model houses were built for the program, and girls spent an allotted number of hours there learning homemaking, then returned to their high schools



Figures 3.4a, 3.4b and 3.4c
Interior of a model home in Shiraz. The U.S. Department of Education. *The Album of the Home Economics Department*, Division of Education and Training, 1954. Courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, DC

for their other classes. The goals of the Point IV specialists in this matter were to help young Iranian women: refine their domestic skills; improve the quality of their food and cooking methods; consider their family's health and hygiene; and develop "good taste" in decorating and furnishing their homes. These goals would enable them to create more labor-saving kitchens and living rooms of their own, along the lines of the model houses (figures 3.4a, 3.4b and 3.4c). These models, intended to serve as preliminary blueprints for future Iranian homes, included attention to landscaping, color combinations for each room—furnishings, walls, floors, and ceilings—as well as the china, wood, silver, and glassware to be used. Each model house was furnished with upholstered sofas, coffee tables, armchairs, and such. Rooms with specific uses, such as the "dining room," were designed and decorated according to the American notion of a small nuclear family (figures 3.5 and 3.6). The modes of familial interaction and privacy in these model homes were quite different from those prevalent in the traditional Iranian courtyard house that housed an extended family.



Figure 3.5 (above)
Students learn how to use Micro ovens at a school in Tabriz. Courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, DC

Figure 3.6 (right)
A student learns how to serve the man of the house. Tabriz Division, The U.S. Department of Education. *The Album of the Home Economics Department*, Division of Education and Training, 1954. Courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, DC



The traditional plan for an Iranian home included an open rectangular courtyard with rooms on two or four sides (figure 3.7a). These rooms often housed members of an extended family in single-family units. Each single-family unit ate in “their” room and at night slept there on cushions and blankets. The traditional Iranian house did not have immediately identifiable single-purpose spaces such as a dining room or living room; it was more of an amorphous communal unit wherein multiple functions often took place in a single room. The courtyard house evolved from the geographic, topographic, and climatic conditions of various regions in Iran, and the overall arrangement of the interior of such a house was based on kin relations. Herbs and vegetables often were grown in the courtyard, and much of the comestible meat and dairy products came from animals raised on the premises. Many of these homes included an isolated courtyard (*nārinjistān*) whose small size and four thick walls retained the warmer daytime air and thus allowed the growing of citrus fruits in an otherwise cold and arid area (figure 3.7b). The traditional house was a self-sufficient micro community in and of itself, and new recipes and rituals in meal preparation and dining demanded changes in spatial arrangements. As new products became available to fill these new spaces, the economic self-sufficiency of the traditional household unit was eroded, and the household unit became a fledgling unit of consumer spending.

In addition to the topics of food preparation, spatial arrangement, and the choice of furniture, the Point IV curriculum also addressed the subject of body position, through the “Table Service and Etiquette” portion of the program. In photographs taken by staff members of the Point IV Division of Education and Training, the disciplined female figures stand out.²⁶ These females had abandoned “mindless routines” and replaced them with “rational habits,” as the American educational reformer John Dewey’s (1859–1952) expressed it.²⁷ These women no longer performed typical household chores in “inefficient” traditional ways, for example, sweeping the floor with a short broom or cooking while squatting on the floor (figure 3.8). No, these women followed Dewey’s principle of developing critical self-awareness in order “that habits be formed which are more intelligent, more sensitively percipient, more informed with foresight, more aware of what they are about, more direct and sincere.”²⁸ It is difficult to trace the actual ways in which Point IV specialists adapted Dewey’s educational principles, but it is not far-fetched to draw a connection between U.S. educational policies abroad and contemporaneous pedagogical themes espoused by important American didacts. In fact, the desire to inculcate “rational habits” in a traditional society represents a microcosm of the Point IV Program’s larger agenda: “Nations, like men, must learn to crawl before they can walk.”²⁹

Training included efforts to make Iranian women rethink their “place” within the home, in a quite literal sense. Every step of women’s activities within the kitchen was recorded. Mopping the floor or cleaning the windows—activities that undoubtedly had existed before—took on new meanings as performed by women dressed in Western attire (figures 3.9a and 3.9b). In fact, what in many cases may have been “mindless routine” suddenly became a “rational habit” when performed within the confines of the model house. The whole program



Figures 3.7a and 3.7b
Interior views of a courtyard house in Yazd, showing the *bādgīr* (wind catcher) and central pool, and the *nārinjīstān* (isolated courtyard). Photographs by the author, 2007



Figure 3.8 An Iranian woman cooking at a traditional stove while in a squatting position. The U.S. Department of Education. *The Album of the Home Economics Department*, Division of Education and Training, 1954, n.p. Courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, DC

was bound to new environments, garments, furniture, and appliances.³⁰ Without encountering this new economy, Iranian women could hardly become modernized, and soon the model and its contents became a new “habitus” (in French anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu’s sense of the term). The program seems geared toward women, at first glance, but in fact the rhetoric of masculinity and femininity worked powerfully to reconstruct the identity of both sexes. For example, changes in cooking, hygiene, and other domestic activities that were taught at school led to a new desire among women for Western products in modern kitchens and houses. And these innovations tended to inspire a new desire among men concerning both the house and the housewife. Not long after the program began, some Iranian men remarked that they “would not marry any girl who had not received some of the new training in the Home Economics.”³¹

Morphing homes: household consumption patterns in transition

For obvious reasons, the Point IV Program tried to keep its rhetoric innocuous, speaking of “official home life” and “healthier life-styles” rather than of market transformation. But the rhetoric was often transparent. Take something as simple as readymade ice cubes. People in rural areas and smaller cities used to collect natural ice from the bases of mountains. Point IV specialists first introduced ice cubes to a large majority of Iranians in the early 1950s, ostensibly for health purposes. But more than health was at stake: the introduction of ice cubes fostered a market for ice storage devices and other related facilities for the mass



Figures 3.9a and 3.9b
Students learn how to clean the house at a home-economics school in Shiraz. The U.S. Department of Education. *The Album of the Home Economics Department*, Division of Education and Training, 1954. Courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, DC



production of ice for household consumption. When Point IV specialists had a hard time convincing people not to use this naturally occurring ice, as in Isfahan, they made the easily accessible free sources undesirable by contaminating them with colored liquids.³² Meanwhile, the American York Corporation expressed an interest in introducing facilities for manufacturing ready-made ice cubes and ice storage devices.³³

But the introduction of ice cubes was just “the tip of the iceberg.” Commercial exchange between Iran and the U.S. goes as far back as the early twentieth century when missionaries, American merchants, and financial advisors³⁴ were present in Iran. The advertisements in the popular newspaper *Mihriḡān* illustrate American imports that included, above all, cosmetics and beauty supplies.³⁵ And the quantity of these imports was considerable enough to have influenced some aspects of the Iranian urban middle-class material culture. In 1945, five million American articles of clothing reached Iran and, according to the weekly *Khāndanīhā* (*Enjoyable Readings*), this amount was, surprisingly, double the demand for such items.³⁶

However, these early imports were sporadic, and it was only after 1950, when The Office of Foreign Commerce (*shirkat-i saḥāmī-ya mu'āmilāt-i khārājī*) was established by the Iranian government, that a wide variety of American and other Western products reached Iran in a more regular manner. This office determined standards for the quantity and quality of all imported goods³⁷ and in 1953 it helped remove bans on the importation of some American products.³⁸ Meanwhile the government sent Iranian experts to the U.S. to learn methods of marketing consumer goods.³⁹ These systematic initiatives increased the demand for foreign and American household supplies even further. At first this demand came from above: the government determined the priority of certain appliances over the others. Radios, for example, were seen by the government as an important component of every household, especially those in distant villages and other outlying places. The first radio station was installed towards the end of Reza Shah's reign in 1938,⁴⁰ and on July 12, 1951, the Iranian government sent a letter to the U.S. Office of International Trade, insisting that radio batteries were an essential need of the country for operating radio sets in remote areas without electricity. The letter stated: "It is most important for the inhabitants of these places to have radio receivers to keep in touch with the capital. Consequently, the government of Iran considers radio batteries an essential need."⁴¹

Before the arrival of television sets, radios were considered important devices for keeping the—mostly illiterate—Iranian society up to date and they were crucial for uniting the nation. The press featured several advertisements depicting rural people next to radio sets. Unlike previous advertisements, in which Iranian or Western figures were sketched, one advertisement from the May 1949 issue of *Tehran musavvar* (*Illustrated Tehran*) broke new ground, with a photograph of an Iranian woman (figure 3.10). Until the late 1940s, advertisements rarely included images of Iranian people and especially not of Iranian women. Instead, these advertisements placed emphasis on the objects: cars, soaps, and kitchen appliances were often set against blank backdrops. In *Tehran musavvar*'s ad for the American F.A.D.A. radio, the focus is turned on the Iranian user—not the images of foreign consumers on the advertisements. A photograph shows a rural-looking woman busy washing the dishes out of doors, while also listening to her F.A.D.A. radio. Ironically, this woman even has a name. The caption reads: "Our devout maid Sakīnah Sultān says: 'I can continue to wash dishes for even thirty years, as long as an F.A.D.A. plays by my side'."⁴² This new, realist advertisement presents a product that caters to the needs of "real people," rather than serving some vaguely defined Western figures, and the emphasis has shifted towards the needs of the Iranian consumer—rather than the function of the radio itself. Nowhere was the depiction of the Iranian consumer more effectively shown than in the advertisements for radios and radio batteries. While other advertisements often addressed the upper-middle classes, these radio advertisements targeted the rural population who would understand the message in the most direct way possible.

Between 1956 and 1966, two million of these villagers, whose connection to the capital and other bigger cities had been mainly through radio, actually moved to settle in urban centers—especially Tehran.⁴³ This trend was in



Figure 3.10

The caption reads: “Our devout maid Sakīnah Sultān says: ‘I can continue to wash dishes for even thirty years, as long as an F.A.D.A. plays by my side.’” *Tehran musavvar*, Urdūbihisht 1328/ May 1949, vol. 23, p. 10. Courtesy of the Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

part due to the regime’s Plan-Organization’s industrialization strategy, which ultimately encouraged the migration of these villagers to cities.⁴⁴ As Ervand Abrahamian reminds us in *Iran between Two Revolutions* (1982), during the last fifteen years of the Shah’s reign, the salaried middle class doubled in size, while the urban working class increased even more as a result of the massive rural-to-urban migration. While many rural migrants simply tried to survive in the cities, many strove to improve their lives. Needless to say, although the former could only dream about a better life condition; the latter became consumers of imported goods from the West.

While in 1956, only 31 percent of the Iranian population lived in urban centers, by 1976 this figure rose to 47 percent.⁴⁵ And these new urban inhabitants were

more than happy to enjoy the economic benefits that came with the rising price of oil in the early seventies. Oil revenues rose from \$1.27 billion in 1970–71 to \$2.56 billion in 1972–73 and then jumped to \$21.01 billion in 1974–75. This dramatic increase in revenues led to a rise in consumption throughout the country.⁴⁶ But in the mid-1970s, 40 percent of all national investment and 60 percent of all industrial establishments were in the capital.⁴⁷ The primacy of Tehran made it an ideal nexus for foreign products. Tehrani citizens were consequently the first to use the new products, making them both favored consumers and the considered target audience when foreign companies sought to introduce new products. Degrees of consumption and levels of open-mindedness often went hand in hand in the eyes of those who ran the advertising industry and those who advocated the more “civilized” Western way of life.

Imported home appliances found a growing number of consumers as American companies—more than any other Western companies—such as General Electric, Carrier Corporation, Hoover Company, McGraw Edison, Electric Bond and Share Company, Coleman, International Harvester, Emerson Electric, and CertainTeed introduced their building materials, cooler chests, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, ovens, dishwashers, and shiny utensils into Iranian kitchens. By the final months of the Pahlavi regime (late 1978), the Public Service Company of Iran (*shirkat-i sirvīs-i hamaganī Iran*), which distributed appliances from companies ranging from the American Philco, Hoover, and General Electric to the British Indesit, had established itself in twenty-two Iranian cities.⁴⁸ The distributor encouraged its regular customers to buy even more appliances by launching a lottery competition whose winner would receive a round-trip ticket to England along with ten days’ accommodation at a quality London hotel.⁴⁹ In 1970 the value of U.S. exports to Iran amounted to \$326 million, while from 1970 to 1973 this figure increased significantly before more than doubling over the next five years.⁵⁰ By the second half of the 1970s, American exports to Iran had expanded many times over and had saturated the Iranian market: from Kentucky Fried Chicken to Westinghouse refrigerators. The demand for these commodities, as anthropologist Arjun Appadurai put it in another context, eventually became a “socially regulated and generated impulse, not an artifact of individual whims or needs.”⁵¹

Already in 1966, this consumerist approach had altered how future residential neighborhoods in the capital were envisioned. Victor Gruen, an Austrian-born commercial architect known for introducing gigantic malls into American cities—thus earning him the moniker “the architect of the American dream”⁵²—proposed a new design for Tehran, a sure indication that consumerism had gained a firm foothold in the Iranian capital. A utopian project, Gruen’s comprehensive or master plan⁵³ for Tehran, not surprisingly, included residential complexes developed around shopping malls (figure 3.11). These complexes were also best suited for “an automobile society,” and Gruen saw Tehran as a rapidly growing regional business and holiday center.⁵⁴ The diagrams and illustrations of his master plan of the revamped city presented an ideal life. His design for Tehran was neither geometricized nor smothered in strategies for order and control; instead, it was designed to accommodate commercial markets and facilitate the movement of automobiles.⁵⁵

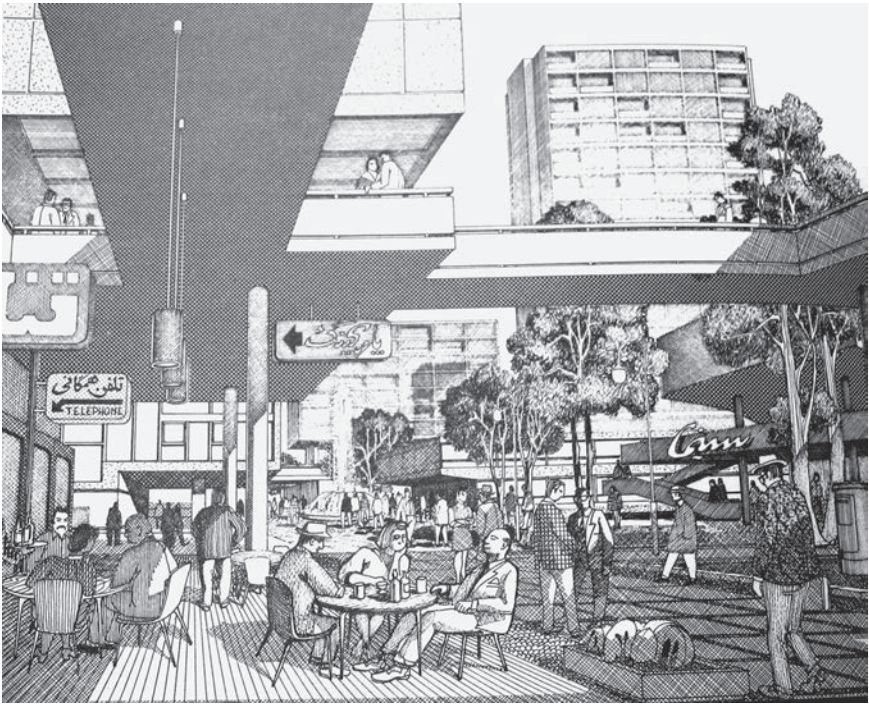


Figure 3.11 A sketch of an upper-class neighborhood—with the shopping mall at the center—from the proposed Master Plan for Tehran from a consultancy report produced by Victor Gruen and Abdol Aziz Farman Farmaian of Tehran, 1966, n.p. Courtesy of the library of the Organization of Finance and Planning (Sāzmān-i barnāmah va būdjah), Tehran

Gruen's plan was only partially realized by the time Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi's regime ended in 1979, but as early as 1950, many Iranians—including those in smaller cities—had begun to remodel their homes based on recently available commodities and technologies. The introduction of new appliances, furniture, and building materials led to the construction of modern neighborhoods and houses and also to the refurbishing of extant traditional domestic structures. But we must be wary of understanding home modernization as merely a top-down imposition dictated by Cold War politics. Iranian notions regarding domesticity were actually evolving, as rhetoric about a more hygienic environment persuaded Iranians to alter the configuration of their homes. Large glass windows replaced dark-colored windows, allowing natural light into rooms. Cement tiles or mosaics (*muzāik*) paved muddy courtyards. Western appliances further altered the physical appearance of the house.

Iranian architect Ali Sārimī has traced this transformation in a single courtyard family house built in 1921 in the northwestern city of Zanjan.⁵⁶ Sarimī described what he considered five distinct stages that this particular house went through from 1950 to 1960. New building materials and appliances either

transformed the rooms serving traditional functions into new spaces with novel purposes or eliminated other spaces altogether. First, iron beams replaced the old wooden beams that had earlier been topped with a gabled metal roof—the addition of the gabled roof itself was a Western phenomenon and had become popular at the beginning of the twentieth century. Second, conversion to gas cooking and heating allowed the house owners to remove the old stone charcoal-burning oven in the kitchen and gain space for a new electric refrigerator. Third, the addition of a washing machine, vacuum cleaner, and other time-saving appliances eliminated the need for a maid; thus the vacated maid’s room became another bedroom. The fourth step involved the plumbing. The toilet formerly had been in a corner of the home’s courtyard, and the neighborhood’s public baths had obviated any need for a shower in the house. New plumbing brought both the toilet and a shower inside the precincts of the house. The *huzkhānah*,⁵⁷ the traditional summer room with its small pool—and a ventilation wind tower or wind catcher⁵⁸ in eastern cities—was turned into a simple shower area. But plumbing also rendered the pool in the middle of the courtyard useless, so it was filled and covered with mosaic, providing parking space within the yard for an automobile. Finally, bringing the car into the yard also required the removal of little flower boxes and the widening of the traditional vestibule, as well as the replacement of the small wooden double entry doorway—with its two different-sounding door-knockers to indicate the visitor’s gender—by a large metal gate.

The popular media of the period contained a surfeit of modernizing—even Westernizing—tropes. For instance, an article entitled “How do you sit?” from a 1946 issue of *Taraqquī* emphasized that use of a chair, a piece of furniture that did not exist in traditional homes, demonstrated a certain level of sophistication (figure 3.13). The author claims that the people featured in the article are genuine Americans,⁵⁹ and he encourages his readers to model their sitting habits after the gentlemen and ladies of New York city. One picture shows an Iranian man with his legs crossed on the desk in front of him; the caption explains that the “newly Americanized Iranian youth” who sits like this does not realize no well-cultivated New Yorker would ever assume such a position.⁶⁰ Advice such as this, with accompanying visuals, nurtured specific habits with regard to using imported furniture. The modernizing vision pertained to more than the mere acquisition of Western furniture and appliances; it also modelled the proper use of such furniture and fostered social fears about potential faux pas in any encounter with a new material environment. In the postwar era, Iranians sought to keep up both with Western consumers and with compatriots who had earlier acquired foreign products.

An ad from a 1950 issue of the popular magazine *Tehran musavvar* illustrates this quite well (figure 3.19). It portrays a woman standing by a wide-open Electrolux refrigerator filled with food and saying, in Farsi, “My Electrolux refrigerator, which works with both electricity and gas, has made my friends envious.”⁶¹ This advertisement becomes even more interesting when contrasted with some of the post-war American literature on the subject of economic development. In *Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries* (1953),

Figure 3.12
 The caption reads: "How do you sit? Manners of sitting are markers of one's identity," *Taraqqi*, December 30, 1946, vo. 5/31. no. 207, p. 6. Courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress, Collection of Middle Eastern periodicals, Washington, DC

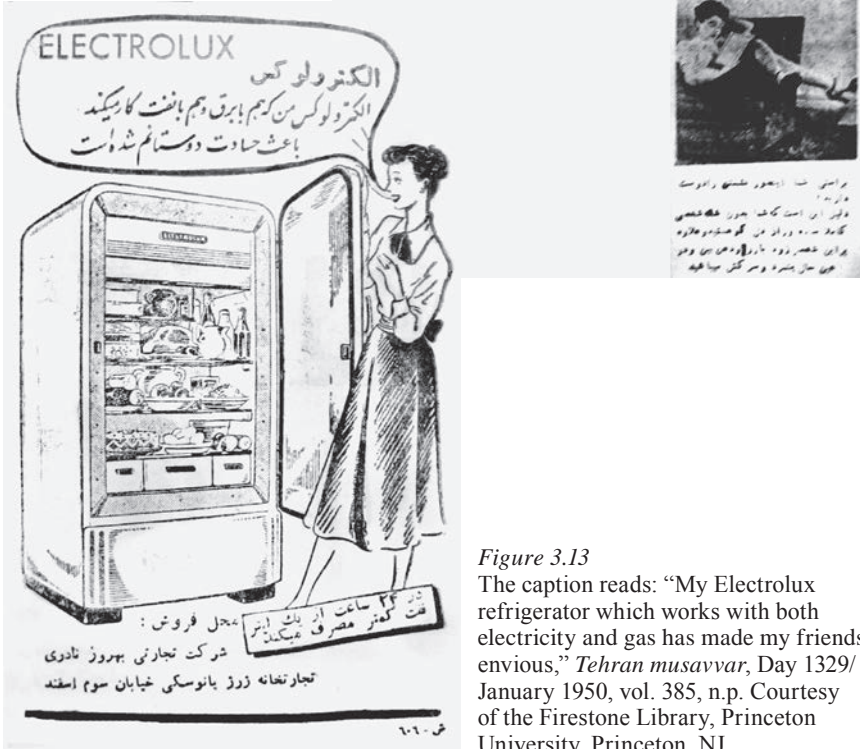


Figure 3.13
 The caption reads: "My Electrolux refrigerator which works with both electricity and gas has made my friends envious," *Tehran musavvar*, Day 1329/ January 1950, vol. 385, n.p. Courtesy of the Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

Estonian-American economist Ragnar Nurkse wrote that “in developing countries, the growing awareness of advanced living standards does not depend on the idea of ‘keeping up with the Joneses’.”⁶² He added that, “the propensity to spend ... depends on ... demonstration leading to imitation. Knowledge of or contact with new consumption patterns opens one’s eyes to previously unrecognized possibilities. It widens the horizon of imagination and desires. It is not just the matter of social snobbishness.”⁶³ In the Iranian case, Nurkse’s pronouncement falls somewhat short.

Traditional Iran was certainly not devoid of “Joneses”-type expressions, in fact. The well-known saying “*chishm u ham chishmī*” (“being concerned about one’s appearance and status after seeing those of others”) could well be an equivalent of “keeping up with the Joneses.” What Nurkse’s account helps us understand is how, at least in part, the desire for consumption of foreign goods in Iran explicitly used such socializing devices. The Electrolux refrigerator ad exemplifies this production of desire; it shows how both the idea of “keeping up with the Joneses” and the imitation of foreign modes of living epitomized the Iranians’ desire to be modern. The push for change within the domestic milieu was thus driven by two coterminous “envies”: by Iranians’ social and economic standing in relation to their neighbours and by Iran’s position vis-à-vis the more technologically advanced Western countries.⁶⁴ Pierre Bourdieu has described this petit-bourgeois tendency well: “In order to survive in the world of their aspirations they are condemned to ‘live beyond their means’ and to be constantly attentive and sensitive, hypersensitive, to the slightest signs of the reception given to their self representation.”⁶⁵ Iranian advertising in the mid-twentieth century seems to suggest that Iranians were encouraged to follow the path of the West and, like the European petit bourgeois, to “live beyond their means.” The desires that were projected onto these “exotic” images are remarkable in and of themselves. But more illuminating are the forms that these desires took as they were projected back at the viewers, seducing them to feel and act in specific ways.⁶⁶ We must also consider these images beyond their fictional operations; they are indeed important in their physical realities—as items that were circulated, exchanged, and accumulated. As technology for reproducing images expanded, high-school home-economics textbooks, just like popular periodicals, started using even more pictures than before. Just as most of the textual content of these books⁶⁷ was drawn from such magazines as *Good Housekeeping*,⁶⁸ so, too, their illustrations came from Western publications and presented mostly characters and settings that resembled Anglo-Americans. Whatever their previous dissemination, these imported images—either facsimiles or imitations of the original—now occupied the pages of Iranian publications “frequently enough to enter into the nation’s visual vocabulary and assume a place within what Clifford Geertz has called ‘the social history of imagination.’”⁶⁹ A 1961 ninth-grade home-economics book includes illustrations of members of a hypothetical middle-class nuclear family that are set against perfectly organized and simple environments. The figures are engaged in real activities, albeit perhaps unfamiliar to students (figures 3.14a, 3.14b and 3.14c).



Figures 3.14a, 3.14b and 3.14c

Images from a ninth-grade home-economics book. Maryam Daftari and Nahid Fakhray, *Our Daughters and Homemaking*, Tehran: Iran-Webster Publishers, 1961, pp. 5, 57, 66. Courtesy of the archives of the Ministry of Education, Tehran, Iran

Signs of active Iranian family life—even upper- and middle-class—are absent in these illustrations. It seems that just as in the context of post-World War II America—when advertisements, home-economics books, women’s magazines, and the popular press did not represent “anything other than white, middle-, or upper-class environments”⁷⁰—Iranian home-economics books also aimed at promoting the Anglo-American vision of home life. These drawings were meant to provide a kind of promise, showing “standard” spaces, gestures, and activities that—if emulated—were expected to allow young Iranian girls to become happy and fulfilled women.

Illustrations included in school textbooks were thus determined by home life as it ought to be, not as it was at the time. This phenomenon is also reflected in contemporary press images. The American middle-class nuclear family was overtly depicted in advertisements such as that for General Electric's Norge heater, which appeared in a 1953 issue of *Ittilā'āt-i māhiyānah* (*Monthly News*).⁷¹ The image, as well as parts of the written message that appear in English, could well have been cut from an American magazine and pasted onto a page of the Iranian publication (figure 3.15). When considering this collage technique, no advertisement could be more revealing—especially in the context of the Cold War—than the one from the May 1952 issue of *Taraqqī*, where a Western woman is calling for a lottery competition for a luxury house on Tehran's Shahrizā Avenue (figure 3.16). The teeming masses in the background look as if they could be gathered for some revolutionary rally, except that they are listening to the near-hysterical shouts of the woman.⁷² The readers were probably not meant to see themselves as members of this undifferentiated conforming crowd, but were still expected to identify with the people who had turned toward a woman who looks as if she belonged in Hollywood.⁷³ The use of massive crowds of tiny people was not popular in Iranian commercial advertisements,⁷⁴ but the clichéd image of the masses later became an essential part of all revolutionary and post-revolutionary propaganda. Nonetheless, this particular advertisement shows the extent to which Iranians looked up to the Western model of life.

Images in press advertisements and school home-economics books were similar in the sense that they cut images from Western publications and pasted them onto their own pages on a large scale. The way such images were described in school textbooks, however, is certainly different from that in the press advertisements. Those who wrote these schoolbooks were mindful of the fact that not all Iranian girls would grow up to live in modern environments, and become consumers of the distinctive foreign furniture and appliances shown in the books. Advice given in a 1972 ninth-grade home-economics book (based on a 1952 edition) bears witness to this fact. Beneath the picture of an open refrigerator given an otherworldly appeal as it floats in space, a sentence reads: "Of course not everyone can afford such beautiful, perfect, and valuable appliances, but we all should make an effort to always keep whatever equipment we have available to us neat and clean."⁷⁵ While the image contributes to the desire for fantasy and wish-fulfillment, the caption emphasizes that neatness and cleanliness are just as important as advanced appliances. Indeed it is difficult to say what message the textbook's authors intended to give, since advice on keeping things clean could obviously be given without referring to a fully stocked luxury refrigerator. This example shows that efforts to improve the lives of average Iranians, whether carried out by the missionaries, the Point IV Program or the Iranian government, brought with them subtle but definite links between the improvement of health and hygiene and the creation of new material desires and consumption habits.

Of course, in the commercial domain advertisers sought to make these links explicit, and there can be little doubt that selling products took precedence over improving people's lives. As historian Camron Michael Amin asserts regarding the 1920s and 1930s: "Nowhere was the conflation of modernization and

داشتن يك بخاری نفتی نورژ برای هر خانواده ضروریست

Enjoy the Cheery Warmth of Quick Automatic Oil Heat

Say Goodbye to Old-Fashioned Heating Drudgery



بخاریهای نفتی نورژ کم مصرف و باصرفه بوده ضمناً هوای داخل اتاق را پاک و آسود و باورهای گرم نگاه میدارد ش . ۴۰۷۹

در هر اتاقی که بخاری نورژ باشد شما میتوانید بدون استاده از بالا پوش در کمال راحتی استراحت کرده و کوچکترین احساسی از سرما ننمایید

نماینده انحصاری در ایران فروشگاه نورژ لاله زار نو

Figure 3.15 The caption reads: "Owning a Norge gas heater is essential for every family," *Ittilā'āt-i māhiyānah* (*Monthly News*), December 1953, vol. 72, n.p. Courtesy of the Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ

آمی! مردم



برای چه معطلید! سهفته دیگر انتظار صد هزار ما نترک منتظر تنه قرعه کشی آسیای جوان هستند بیابان میرسد قرعه کشی آسیای جوان

یک خانه شریک وار کس نوساز در خیابان شاهرضا با تمام لوازم به قیمت ۶۰ هزار ریال تقدواشاید دیگر تانانس که را خواهد و میلتس بکه باشد

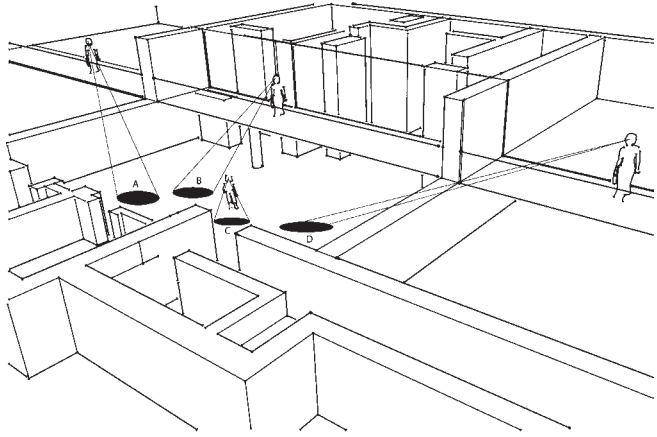
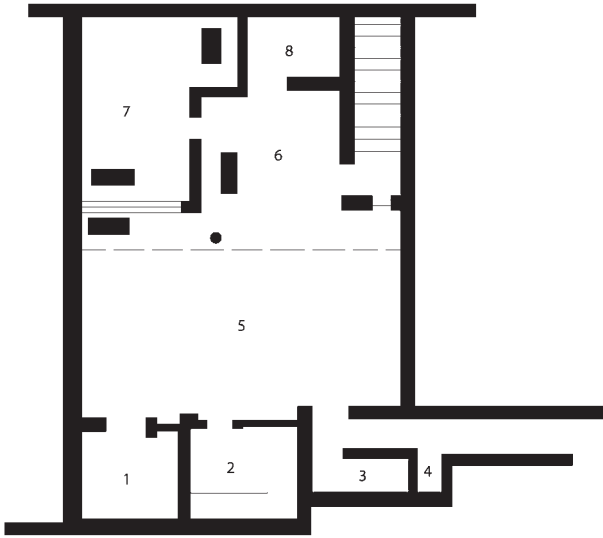
Figure 3.16 A Western woman is calling for a lottery competition for a luxury house on Tehran's Shahrizā Avenue, *Taraqī*, May 5 1952, p. 23. Courtesy of the National Library of Iran, Tehran

Westernization more apparent than in the conflation of health and beauty for Iranian women.⁷⁶ Such women's beauty products as perfumes were advertised as if they were some sort of healing medication. For example, in 1932 a Tehran company, Suhrāb Perfume Factory, advertised its own lemon "eau de cologne" as able to "relieve your nerves of stress."⁷⁷ Decades later, there was less of a focus on linking consumption and health. In 1958, in a piece entitled "A Letter from Tehran," one writer observed: "Thanks to American technical assistance and the fall of Musaddiq, the Iranian economy has flourished like never before." Iranians, he continued, would have to change old habits: "(W)hile other nationals go to Europe for ... visiting historical sites and monuments, affluent Iranians only travel to Europe for medical care and spending time in hospitals." The letter called for embracing "signs of Western civilization (*mazāhir-i tamaddun-i gharbī*)," including taking leisure trips, watching TV, travelling by airplane, and drinking Coca Cola.⁷⁸

Records from this period certainly show us that Iranian home life had conformed to what Nurkse had already written in the early 1950s: that even though there may have been "people of ascetic bent who have no use for American gadgets, most people seem to like them The goods that form part of American consumption patterns are 'superior'."⁷⁹ The process of transforming a house through the introduction of Western ideas and products in post-World War II Iran did not remain unchallenged; Iranians adjusted to these phenomena in their own way.

Adjusting to the modern house

As early as the late-1950s many large courtyard homes were demolished to make way for smaller domiciles for less privileged and working-class households. A notable example was the sizeable historic neighborhood of Shah Chiraq Mausoleum in downtown Shiraz (figures 3.17a, 3.17b, 3.17c). Although these homes were planned with a nuclear family in mind, many poorer households maintained extended family arrangements, despite the limited space. The design of these homes was an amalgam of the old courtyard domicile and the modern split-level home with large glass windows and Art Deco-inspired decorative reliefs in the interior. All homes followed the same floor plan, were constructed in rows, and the properties were divided by low walls. Their large glass windows and second-floor balconies allowed direct visual access to the courtyards—and even parts of the interior—of the neighboring homes, thus flouting traditional taboos against mixing the public and the private areas.⁸⁰ Many families blocked this visual access by using curtain barriers outside. Others most likely conformed to the dictates of public life in "private" spaces; for example, the women in more traditional households would wear the veil all day, even at home. Traditional habits are also evident in the general layout of the homes, in which the idea of communal units and single rooms with multiple functions—as seen in the traditional courtyard house—was continued in these semi-modern homes. While a common room on the first floor was often used as a communal bedroom at night, a similar room on the second floor was used as a guest room or entertaining area (*mihmānkhānah* or *pazīrayī*), complete with chairs and coffee tables. Because of the value of the



Figures 3.17a, 3.17b and 3.17c

Top to bottom: plan of a typical modern semi-courtyard house in the Shah Chirag neighborhood of Shiraz, Iran; axonometric view of the row houses with direct visual access to neighbors' courtyards: drawings by author; view from the upper level of the row houses. Notice that to ensure visual protection, some balconies are covered with curtains: photograph by author, 2007

Western furniture—expensive and exotic products for the lower and working classes—this guest room was often locked, particularly to keep the household's children out. This house in Shiraz exemplifies many other similar homes that were built by the *bisāz bifrūshs* ('builders and sellers'). The goal of *bisāz bifrūshs* was to provide housing in the shortest time possible and in the most economical fashion. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, many *bisāz bifrūshs* built row houses that were poor imitations of the traditional courtyard house. Anthropologist Jane Khatib-Chahidi describes one such home in Tehran (see also figure 3.18):

The entertaining area, like the *bīrūnī* of the wealthy man's house, is situated near the front entrance on one side of an enclosed courtyard that may thus have rooms on three sides opening into it. The family area is situated at the furthest end, opposite the main entrance. The rooms to the left will serve as extra sleeping areas for unmarried children, and married ones with their families if still living in the parental home. All these rooms might be raised from ground level by a few feet to allow for a semi-basement storey to the house. Here would be the kitchen, storage rooms for the water and provisions, and the lavatory. The entertaining area in this house would be used by both men and women if the guests were members of the extended family. In past and present times, for more religious families, *nā-mahram* (stranger) male visitors to the house would be entertained in this area, although the women of the family might use it when they were entertaining larger numbers of female visitors who were *nā-mahram* to the men of the household.⁸¹

The courtyard remained the family's entertaining area and sleeping platform in the summer time, and the pool was still used for washing dishes and clothes. In many homes the pool was the only place where a tap could be found.⁸² These features also existed in apartment units—albeit in subtler fashion. Like the traditional courtyard house, the main aspect of the modern Tehran apartment was a central hall with rooms opening into it.⁸³ What was known as the courtyard in the traditional home and the *sarsarā* in the well-to-do house is referred to as the "hall"—a large foyer—in lower-income apartments; but unlike the *sarsarā*, which functioned mostly as an intermediate space, the hall served as a TV room, the main living quarter where the family spent most of their time. This hall was often furnished with traditional cushions and carpets, devoid of Western furniture that had often been placed in the guest room (or entertaining area; see figure 3.19). Khatib-Chahidi provides a description of the hall vis-à-vis the entertaining area:

(I)t has features of the old courtyard, in that it is through the hall that one must pass to go from one room to another and through which guests must pass to gain access to the entertaining area. The latter area contains all the best furniture, carpets and bric-a-brac. It is often larger and always more luxurious than the family living area of the hall but it will only be used for more formal or large-scale entertaining. Although the prohibitive cost of land in Tehran has meant that most young couples can only aspire to renting a flat, the necessarily more limited physical space of the flat still reflects traditional ways of living.⁸⁴

Figure 3.18

Plan of: 1) Pool in courtyard;
2) storage; 3, 4, 5) rooms;
6) kitchen; 7) water storage;
8) entertaining area;
9) family living room;
10) street. Plan reproduced
by Parham Karimi (after
Khatib-Chahidi)

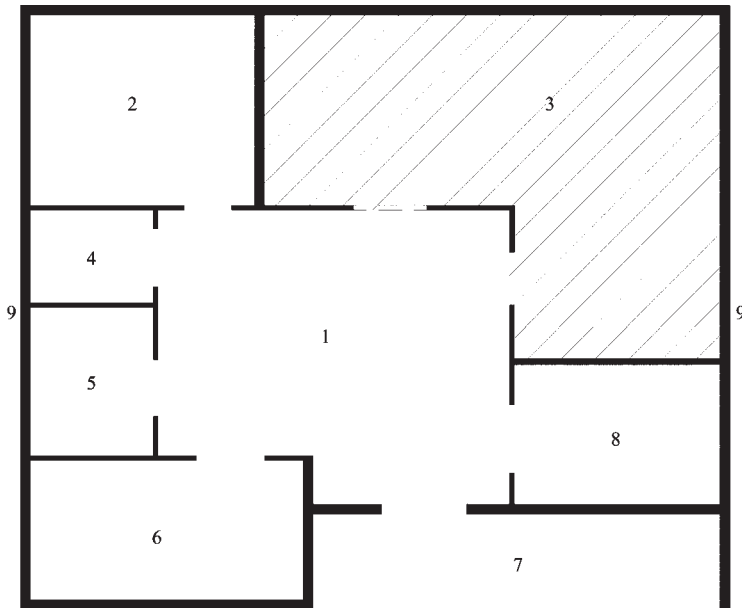
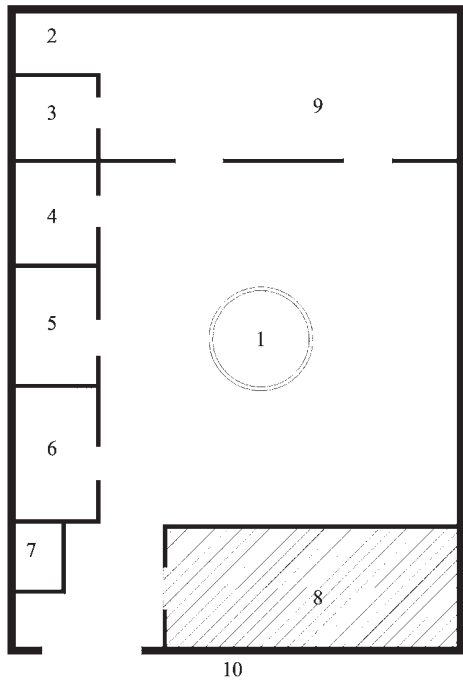


Figure 3.19 Plan of: 1) Hall or family living area; 2) kitchen; 3) dining room; 4) cloak room; 5) bathroom; 6) bedroom; 7) landing and stairs; 8) bedroom; 9) street. Plan reproduced by Parham Karimi (after Khatib-Chahidi)

Despite being a cozy place for friends and family, the hall, as in the traditional courtyard, is easily accessible to the *nāmahram* or male strangers. In this sense, it “exhibits the weakening of the prohibitions over the sharing of space between *nāmahram* and women since, whereas the courtyard enabled the family to see the visitor to the house without the visitor seeing them, the family living-area of the hall means the seeing is reciprocal.”⁸⁵ The hall thus remained on the border of the public and the private.⁸⁶ To reiterate, when there was not a sufficient number of rooms in the house, the hall could also function as a bedroom at night.

This strategy of combining modern and traditional and foreign and local forms and practices also appeared among the middle class and upper classes. The Khudādād residence in northern Tehran is a case in point. Hossein Khudādād was an affluent merchant. In the mid-1970s—with the help of a local craftsman—he designed a house for his family that was a hybrid of traditional Iranian and Western architecture. The exterior seems to have been inspired mainly by older European styles. Triglyphs and metopes derived from ancient Greek temples appear on an architrave band that adorns the edge of the roof. Corinthian capitals decorate the columns, and rococo stucco reliefs replete with convoluted scrolls, tendrils, and other pliant forms shape the window frames. The windows themselves are screened by star-patterned openwork wood frames that hold panels of dark-colored glass, as used in traditional Iranian courtyard homes to minimize both the intense natural light and direct visual access from outside (figure 3.20a).

The same mixed approach was used in the first-floor interior, where a traditional music room, used to receive occasional visitors, is embellished with rococo stucco reliefs and furnished with Western-style furniture. This music chamber is a replica of that in the early seventeenth-century Ali-Qapu Palace in Safavid-dynasty (1501–1736) Isfahan. Khudādād’s music room exemplifies a plan utilized in many Iranian middle- and upper-class interiors: one traditional room contrasts strongly with the rest of the more modern house. Thus, while the overall plan and interior form—including furniture—of many houses were borrowed from the West, an “Iranian room” helped preserve the grand heritage of both pre-Islamic and “Islamicate” Iran. This room was typically furnished with traditional cushions and carpets and was frequently occupied by male guests, who were often entertained with *qaliāns* (hookahs) and traditional music. By restricting their heritage to a single room, Iranian householders simultaneously celebrated and marginalized their traditional customs. In Khudādād’s house, the custom of floor-sitting is limited to its so-called Iranian room (figure 3.20b).

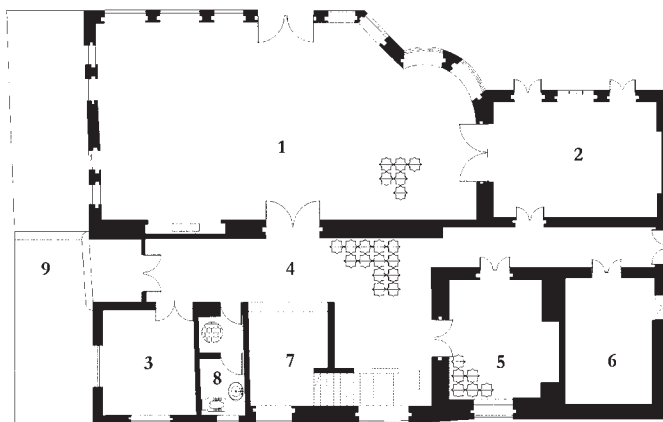
The Khudādād residence contains another room that was popular among the upper class and perhaps unintentionally mixed modern and traditional thinking. The study or office of the man of the house is itself a Western concept, but it also helped to perpetuate the importance of the male within the domestic setting. While modern homes, unlike the traditional courtyard house, certainly allowed for more interaction between men and women, they also reinforced the male’s dominant family role by dedicating certain spaces to him—and his male companions; although this arrangement was often contested and then negotiated depending on the family’s dynamic (figure 3.20c).

Figure 3.20a
Exterior of the Khudādād house



Figure 3.20b
The interior of the music room, a replica of the music chamber of the seventeenth-century Ali-Qapu Palace

Figure 3.20c
First floor plan:
1) living room;
2) man's study;
3) closet;
4) hallway;
5) music room;
6) pantry;
7) to the second floor;
8) bathroom;
9) street



Photographs by the author, 2007. Floor plan courtesy of the archives of this complex (formerly the Khudādād house, now Tehran Museum of Clocks). Plan reproduced by Parham Karimi

Domesticity, the discourse of the deprived

By the 1970s, an individual's class status was defined not so much by the ways in which he or she used a chair, as in the aforementioned 1946 article in the newspaper *Taraqqi* but by whether one actually owned a chair. In Tehran, those who owned better homes, Western-style furniture, and luxurious commodities lived in *shumāl-i shahr* (north of the city), while traditional homes or shanties were located primarily in *jonūb-i shahr* (south of the city). Large numbers of poor Iranians encountered, but could not possess, Western-style material goods. They had no access to what cultural historian Jordan Sand has described within the context of domesticity in modern Japan as a "culture of abundant knowledge."⁸⁷ Sand noted that the highly literate population of late-twentieth century Japan could connect with Western appliances and furnishings—without necessarily possessing them—through women's magazines, architectural journals, and similar publications. In contrast, most illiterate lower-class Iranians and the really poor merely witnessed the passing flow of Western commodities with no ability to discern anything about the culture associated with them. Even those who found some connection confronted great difficulties in actually acquiring and possessing these Western goods.

Under the Skin of the Night (1974), a movie by Iranian filmmaker Faraydūn Gulé (1942–2005), vividly demonstrates this phenomenon. An underprivileged young Iranian man who sells tickets at a Tehran movie theatre meets a young American tourist who is to depart Iran that evening. The man offers to accompany her throughout her final day in the city, and by the late afternoon the two wish to make love; but as a fresh migrant to the city, he spends his nights in public shelters and so has no place to take her. In their wanderings they eventually stop by a furniture shop where they stare at a king-size bed behind the display window. The camera captures the imagination of the man as he envisions the American girl lying naked on the bed with himself at her side shortly thereafter. A group of street men watch them through the window (figures 3.21a–e).

By the time of the film's release, the new master bedroom for married couples—as opposed to the common sleeping room of the traditional extended family—had altered the most intimate exchanges between men and women. Sexual relations among Iranian couples had become more private and romantic. The film turned the notion of the sheltering bedroom into a stage set for public voyeurism. The scene encapsulates what German sociologist Georg Simmel once alluded to in his *Philosophy of Money* (1900). It is the remoteness of the object of desire that gives it greater attraction.⁸⁸ By the end of the movie, the two main characters have separated, having had no chance for fulfillment. For the underprivileged Iranian, the attractive American female—and also, perhaps, other foreign objects of fantasy such as the fancy furniture in the shop—functions as an icon of what is present and within reach, but ultimately inaccessible.⁸⁹ *Under the Skin of the Night* perfectly expresses the frustration of a disadvantaged class that has been torn from the security of traditional life but denied the riches of a modernized society.

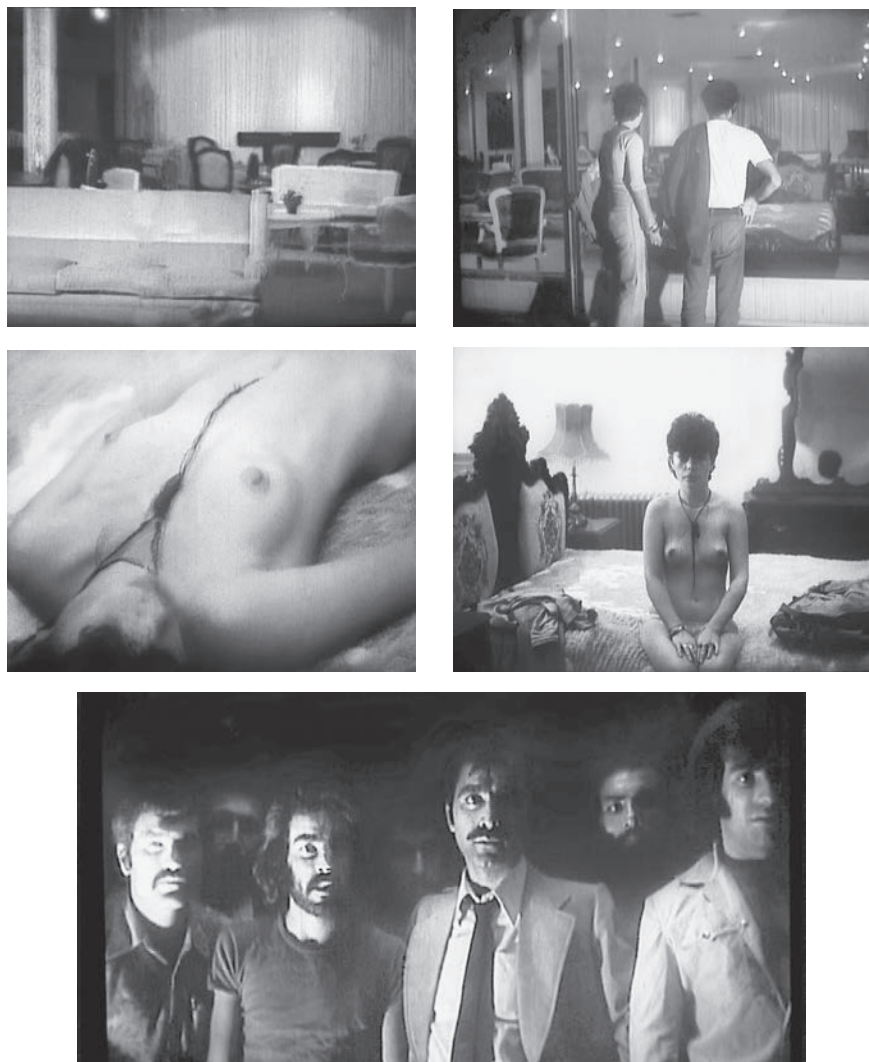


Figure 3.21

Stills from Faraydūn Gulé, *Under the Skin of the Night* (1974): showing a) and b) the inside of a furniture shop in Tehran with fancy furnishings, c) and d) the imagined naked body of an American woman lying and sitting on a king-sized bed; and e) men in the street peering in. Courtesy of Nader Takmil Homayoun (film director/producer), *Iran: A Cinematographic Revolution* (Tehran, 2006)

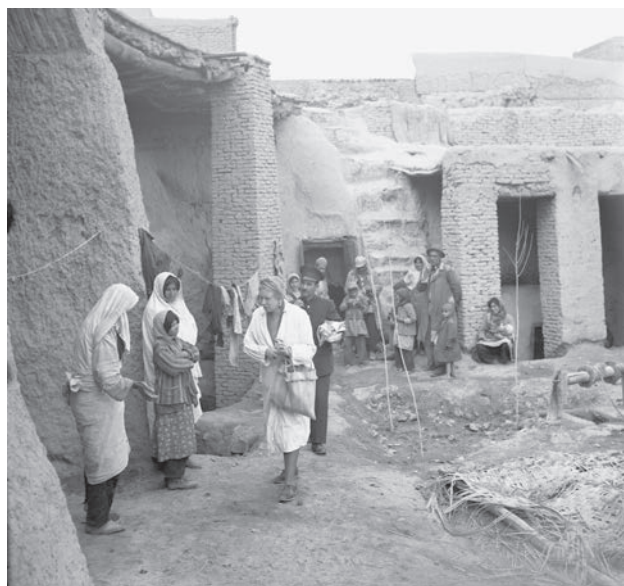
Indeed, this crisis of cultural identity with its feelings of anomie was not confined to the urban poor. Iranian intellectuals also opposed the society that represented the Shah's regime. Critical voices on the subject of housing had started to be voiced much earlier; soon after World War II, newspapers began to upbraid the government for being incapable of resolving housing problems.

“The Despair of High Rent: The Government is Not Concerned at all,”⁹⁰ was the title of an article in a 1946 issue of *Taraqī* that railed against the excessive rents in Tehran and disapproved of the poor performance of the Rahnī (Mortgage) Bank,⁹¹ which had left unfulfilled promises to accommodate more families.⁹² The article also mentioned the dire condition of homes in southern Tehran; located near brick ovens, the dwellings of the poor were referred to in the article as *bīghulaha-yi kūrah paz khānah* (scary brick ovens). Among professional architects, concerns regarding the housing problem were also raised as early as 1946, when Muhammad Ali Shiybānī, the founder of Bihsāz Architectural Consultancy, drew the attention of *Ārshītki*'s readers to some of the mud houses in southern Tehran that to his mind resembled huts for animals (for an example of such residences, see figures 3.22a and 3.22b).⁹³

The housing problem (as we saw in Chapter 2) continued to be a major concern, especially after significant land reforms took place as part of the socio-economic reforms of the White Revolution. The reform brought a decline in agricultural output and forced migration to large cities.⁹⁴ Many of these immigrants were unable to own—or even rent—a property in large cities. Between 1968 and 1972, the construction boom led to a considerable increase in the price of land, which accounted for 30–50 percent of the cost of housing in Tehran and other major cities.⁹⁵ The problem surfaced in the capital in more visible ways, given that 36 percent of Iran's poor were living in Tehran.

At the height of the country's economic boom—after oil prices quadruped in 1973–74—the population of slum dwellers grew in southern Tehran, and the quality of life in the neighborhoods was quite miserable. These dwellers were chiefly viewed as *zāghahnashīnān* or *alūnaknīshīnān* (settlers of shacks and shanties) with some regarding them as a “fourth class.”⁹⁶ The popular press labeled them as *ghārnīshīnān* (cave settlers) and *gowd nīshīnān* (settlers of the ditches) but also expressed the hope of improving their condition. An article in a 1962 issue of *Tehran musavvar* featured a government promise to evacuate more than 72,523 residents of these neighborhoods, to accommodate them in decent dwellings, and to put a large lake where the shanties had been.⁹⁷ The existence of these people was impossible to ignore;⁹⁸ the upper-middle class of Tehran used such derogatory terms as *amalah* and *hammāl* (unskilled construction laborers and porters) to refer to them.⁹⁹ These poor communities gradually took over the imagination of intellectuals, who sympathized with their plight through more literary works, films, and speeches.¹⁰⁰ Sociologist Asef Bayat provides a list of such works:

Khosrow Golsorkhi's moving recitation, during his court trial, of his poem “Under the Javadiyeh Bridge,” expressed a sense of ... pity Short stories by Samad Behrangī and Gholam Hussein Sa'edi focused chiefly on the misery of the underclass and their wretched life. Anomie and rootlessness among urban migrants was a principal theme in Jalal al-i Ahmad's social criticisms. And Saedi's “Garbage Place” (*Āshghāldūnī*), which (later) became the movie *Dāyarah Mina*, dealt with the social psychology of the lumpen proletariat whose life, according to Ali Akbar Akbari, did not differ much from that of the ... urban underclass.¹⁰¹



Figures 3.22a and 3.22b

Mrs. Louis Dreyfus, wife of the U.S. ambassador to Iran, distributing food and medicine to poor children in Tehran, 1943, photographed by Nick Parrino, LC-USW3-028487-E; LC-USW3-028489-E, the Press and Photograph archives of the Library of Congress. Courtesy of the Press and Photograph Department of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC

Even the Soviets commented on the poor conditions of life in Iran, seeing it as a result of America's failure. They asserted that instead of being concerned with the lives of people, Americans were merely arming Iran's military establishment. In its issue of February 16, 1948, the prominent Soviet newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* (*Red Star*) published an article entitled "This is the Way America Helps Iran." The article sees impoverished Iranian life—such as "living in shanties"—as a consequence of American technical assistance (Truman's Point IV Program).¹⁰² The Soviets saw Iranian society as poor, makeshift, and in need of modernization, and they considered themselves to be more capable of improving it than their American counterparts. The Iranian government was mindful of this Russian attitude and tried its best to keep that aspect of Iranian life out of sight by censoring the media. Farrukh Ghaffari's debut film, *South of the City* (1958), a motion picture that took a critical look at impoverished life in downtown Tehran, was banned for three years.¹⁰³ Nonetheless, the Soviets did their best to exert influence in Iran. Just as with the modernization of the Islamic Central Asian regions, Moscow desired development in Iran that would favor Soviet objectives.¹⁰⁴

While American intervention was often criticized in the Tudeh Party's publications, American personnel and Point IV employees were subject to several assaults, both organized and unorganized. These attacks came from various groups, including Tudeh members and the religious fundamentalists from *Fada'iyyān-i Islam*.¹⁰⁵ There are numerous reports—all from 1952—of such activities in a variety of forms, ranging from a taxi driver in Shiraz who verbally abused a Point IV employee and a factory worker in Isfahan who distributed anti-Point IV banners, to more organized actions such as a public rally held in Tehran by the Iran Party (*hizb-i Iran*), at which members described Point IV as a means of colonizing the Iranian economy.¹⁰⁶ The Society for Fighting Colonialism (*jam'īyyat-i mubārazah bā isti'mār*) also distributed anti-Point IV propaganda, calling it the Point IV Spy Organization.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile the pro-Nazi National Socialist Party of Iran (SUMKA, 1950–52) published anti-Point IV cartoons in its short-lived publication, *Mard-i āhanī* (*Iron Man*).¹⁰⁸ Resistance to the American initiative sometimes came from secular, even pro-Shah, nationalists. Ardeshir Zahedi, then the minister of foreign affairs, for instance, rejected the request of Point IV¹⁰⁹ for installation of a sign at the entrance gate of the Kan residential apartment district indicating the involvement of Point IV in the construction of the complex.¹¹⁰

Despite efforts to distance itself from the appearance of colonial aspirations, the Point IV Program and other American-initiated efforts were denigrated by many activists and nationalist political figures as neo-colonialist and little different from earlier intrusive reform missions. The contribution of Point IV workers came to be valued by many ordinary people. The Bakhtiari tribe of the Khushkī-rūd village went so far as to commemorate their favorite Point IV public health nurse, Helen Jeffreys Bakhtiar, by naming a mountain near their village after her (known as *kūh-a Helen* or Helen's Mountain); but in daily life practices the changes Americans brought, remained somewhat marginal.

This notion is vividly articulated by historian Jeffrey W. Cody (author of *Exporting American Architecture, 1870–2000*), who taught English in Shiraz from 1976 to 1978.

(W)e were stunned ... to find ourselves surrounded by American-style split-level houses—towering above opaque walls—in a patrician neighborhood on the outskirts of (the) historic city (of Shiraz) ... Ribbons of sidewalks snaked between houses and streets. The exteriors of the lavish residences were decorated with Western architectural details. The houses were separated by green lawns that were nourished with precious water from the southern Iranian desert. When the dentist’s wife greeted us at the front door, she proudly gave us a tour of the house. We were surprised by the American-ness of the house’s interior, an emotion further fueled by what we witnessed in the kitchen. There, seated on the floor next to a gigantic American refrigerator that dispensed ice cubes from its door were two women in ... chador bent over and plucking feathers from several dead chickens ... The contrast between the suburban American nature of the kitchen and the activities of the old women, which might have just as easily taken place in the dirt outside a tent, could not have been starker ... (I)t was only much later that I realized that I had ... witnessed a fascinating example of the exporting of American architecture.¹¹¹

Cody’s account shows how, despite all Western influences, even as late as 1976 many Iranians were still accustomed to their traditional ways of doing things around the house. As mentioned before, it took quite a while for more traditional Iranians to get used to the new commodities and domestic devices, and many eventually developed their own unique ways of coping with imported objects and ideas. At first many people rejected the imported commodities, for the new products interrupted the habitual routine and even challenged certain beliefs about the physical world. Western definitions of “cleanliness” and “filth” and how these concepts influenced everyday activities, often differed from those held in Iran, a point that has been made—in the context of other pre-modern communities—most effectively by anthropologist Mary Douglas in her seminal book, *Purity and Danger*.¹¹² When doing laundry, many Iranians preferred a certain alkaline soil to soaps, simply because the great medieval poet of Iran, Sa’di, had expressed admiration for its aroma in his writings. People in the cities of Kashan and Isfahan rejected laundry detergents on the grounds that “its disgusting odor would remain with their clothes.” In addition to the use of the alkaline soil, the power of repeating out loud the *salavāt*—expressing praise and greetings to God, Mohammad, and his descendants—while scrubbing the clothes was believed to be efficacious as a major cleansing factor.¹¹³

Such practices might give the impression that more religiously minded Iranians had no interest in the Western commodities that more secular Iranians embraced. In fact there were many religious figures who, rather than rejecting imported commodities outright, borrowed those things they saw as useful and adapted them to local conditions; but as average people gained a more informed

understanding of cleanliness and hygiene, and as the new house and its novel additions—e.g., washing machines, refrigerators, indoor plumbing—challenged traditional and, most importantly, Shiite conceptions of purity and filth, religious thinkers sought to reconfigure traditional domestic rules to curb the influence of Western standards that were being so widely disseminated.

4 Selling and saving piety in modern dwellings

Introduction

In *The Wild Rue: A Study of Muhammadan Magic and Folklore in Iran*,¹ the American Presbyterian missionary Bess Allen Donaldson who served in Iran from 1910–1940, traced in religious doctrine the roots of superstition in the everyday life of Iranians. Despite some exceptions² this observation resonates with the views of many foreigners—who identified the nature of Islamic practices, when it came to introducing change, as problematic. It should then come as no surprise that Western intervention into such a private and religiously grounded space was a particularly sore spot for radical Islamists. A 1967 publication entitled *Bihdāsh-t-i Shahr (Urban Hygiene)*, written by medical doctor and Shiite scholar Sayyed Riza Pāknijād perfectly exemplifies such frustrations.³ Although it is impossible to estimate its extent of readership and popularity, this particular publication is significant in demonstrating the extent to which religion, hygiene, architecture, and the body were intertwined. In *Urban Hygiene*, the author uses the human body as a metaphor for the functioning of modern cities and for societal health. Each body part is associated with a particular function within the metropolis. Because of their “warmth,” the mosques, monuments, and hospitals are the liver,⁴ and the king’s palace marks the heart. Parks and public green spaces help to enhance the supply of oxygen and so are considered as lungs; and governmental institutions are viewed as the brain. The sewage system represents the kidneys; the roads and highways, arteries. This analogy between the city and the human body is much like that proposed by the medieval philosopher Abu Nasr al-Farabi’s text, *al-Madīna al-fādila (The Virtuous City)*,⁵ in which a happy and healthy city is compared in its function to the limbs of a perfectly healthy body. In *al-Madīna al-fādila*, al-Farabi identifies four different types of corrupt cities: “... the ignorant city (*al-Madīna al-jāhiliyyā*); the dissolute city (*al-Madīna al-fasiqā*); the turncoat city (*al-Madīna al-mubaddalā*); and the straying city (*al-Madīna al-dallā*). The souls of many of the inhabitants of such cities face ultimate extinction, while those who have been the cause of their fall face eternal torment.”⁶ Like al-Farabi’s formulation, Pāknijād’s typology of cities is explicitly ethical. In both philosophies, the body is used as a metaphor, but Pāknijād goes beyond mere ethical comments to tackle political issues. He attacks nonreligious monuments

that symbolize democracy and justice in cities such as London, Moscow, and New York. How, he asks when writing during the time of segregation in the U.S., can an American city symbolize democracy through its monuments when “Native Americans and blacks are not welcome in white schools, cafés, and restaurants?”⁷⁷ The metaphorical “livers,” the monuments of these three cities—e.g., Buckingham Palace, the Kremlin, and the Statue of Liberty—are considered sick, while the “liver” of Islam, the *ka’bā* in Mecca, is seen as healthy, a place to which “all Muslims are welcome to turn.”⁷⁸ The author refers to Mecca not only as “the most prosperous city in the world,” but also as “the mother of all cities.”⁷⁹

In fact, many Shiite scholars of the Shah’s era attempted to revise their traditional doctrines in the face of modernization. This approach is apparent in a series of volumes published in the 1960s and 1970s by Ayatollah Abdul Karīm Bīāzār-Shīrāzī—hereafter called Shīrāzī. Shīrāzī spent five years in the West—the United Kingdom and Canada—in the 1970s, but even before his departure from Iran, he sought to bridge the gap between Western knowledge and traditional Shiite Islam. His books, which were designed for youngsters, include the *Qur’ān va tabīa’t* (*The Qur’ān and Nature*, 1960); *Khudā va ikhtirā’āt az dīdgāh-i ‘ilm va Qur’ān* (*God’s Creation and Manmade Inventions from the Point of View of Science and the Qur’ān*, 1975); and *Din va dānish* (*Religion and Knowledge*, 1982).



Figure 4.1 Two facing pages from Shīrāzī’s *Religion and Knowledge*. While the textual content aims to educate the readers about the meanings of two verses from the *sūrā* (chapter) *al-An’ām* and *Nahl* of the *Qur’ān*, the images portray human adventures in space and on the moon. Courtesy of the Husseinīyyah Irshād Library, Tehran

Shīrāzī employed illustrations, thinking that mere text might have been less appealing to his intended audience, who had been exposed to Western-style publications and illustrated books. Consider two pages from *Religion and Knowledge* meant to educate readers about the content and meaning of two verses from the sūrā (chapters) *al-An'ām* and *Nahl* of the Qur'ān (figure 4.1). While Arabic verses appear at the top of each page, the word-for-word Persian translations, as well as the “scientific” interpretations of the verses, serve as captions for images taken from encyclopedias read by children in the West.¹⁰ This juxtaposition of old and new, Western and traditional, scientific and Qur'ānic was implemented in another publication by Shīrāzī, his *Imām Khomeini's New Rasalah (Tawzīh al-Masā'il)*,¹¹ hereafter also referred to as the *Tawzīh*. The *Tawzīh* is literally, “guide to problems” or “handbook of behavior governing home life,” among other issues, and is written by the *mujtahids*, the highest-ranking authorities of Shiite Islam. The book first published in Najaf, Iraq, in 1947 and was available only in Arabic, as *Tahrīr al-valsīlah*. In the late 1970s, Shīrāzī edited, designed, illustrated, and translated *Tahrīr al-valsīlah* into the Persian language. This new edition was approved for publication by Khomeini himself and was released between September 1980 and summer 1982 in four volumes: Worship and the Development of Self; Commerce and Economic Issues; Family Matters; and Political Responsibilities and Government Roles.

Each volume also carried the title of *Imām Khomeini's New Rasalah* and featured portraits of Ayatollah Khomeini, diagrams and scientific tables, and illustrations that by Shīrāzī's own account were intended for a modern Iranian audience.¹² Because of its focus on matters of hygiene and home life, the book was primarily read by young educated housewives who preferred to resolve their daily religious quests through written sources, perhaps unlike their mothers, who lacked formal education and sought answers from local *imams*. Although developed before and during the revolutionary years (1977–9), the illustrated *Tawzīh* was first published in September of 1980. The *Tawzīh* embodies Shiite scholars' modernization of daily religious practices in the last years of the Pahlavi era.

The *Tawzīh* addresses everyday consumer behavior and residential spaces. It blends “modern” household organization and behavior with traditional Islamic teaching in an attempt to classify certain behaviors and appliances introduced from the West as either acceptable or not, according to the traditional dichotomy of purity versus filth. It uses illustrations similar to those in Pahlavi-era publications with a significant alteration: the illustrations are annotated with Islamic captions and quotes from the Qur'ān in order to advocate religious conservatism. To understand the *Tawzīh* it is important to examine the ways in which an ethical domestic life was presented in traditional Shiite texts.

Home etiquette in classical books of ethics and Shiite literature

Twentieth century Shiite literature on ethics can be described as an extension of and response to writings from the late 1600s, when the Safavid dynasty established a state-approved Shi'ism. Many ideas contained in modern writings hark

back even further in time. While a full account of these sources is beyond the scope of this book, it is appropriate to classify the two types of literature that expounded on the ethics of home life. One kind presented religious themes derived predominantly from *hadith* literature—the sayings of the prophet, *imāms*, and saints¹³—and was written by medieval religious scholars. The second included both religious and secular subjects in books written by educated people who held respected positions in society but who often lacked religious authority. A sampling of books of ethics from the medieval and early modern periods allows a clearer picture of their significance in the twentieth century.

In the tenth century, the Baghdadi author Abu'l-Tayyib Muhammad al-Washashā in his book *Kitāb al-Muashasha* wrote about proper habits concerning eating, dressing, and general behavior within the home. Afterward, social etiquette became the focus of many medieval books in the Arabic and Persian languages, including the *Qabusnāma*, compiled around 1082 by a member of the Persian Zyarid dynasty, Keikavūs ibn Wushmgīr. In a chapter on the etiquette of eating the author states that the “rule of Islam” (*shart-i Islam*) dictates that, while eating with others, one must take time from consuming food to converse with one’s fellow diners.¹⁴ This point is reiterated in a later medieval Persian book, *Kīmīyā-ya sa’ādat* (*The Alchemy of Happiness*), written by theologian Abu Hamid Muhammad Ghazālī (d. 1111). The book also addressed such proper hygiene as washing one’s hands before and after dining and making use of toothpicks. In *Ihya’ U lum al-Dīn* (*Revival of Religious Sciences*), Ghazālī reminds his readers that the prophet was a stern advocate of hygiene and refers to one of his sayings from the *hadith*: “Why do you come before me with yellow teeth? ... Use the toothpick. It is a purifier for the mouth and well pleasing unto God.”¹⁵

In subsequent centuries, texts on the ethics of everyday life addressed similar topics.¹⁶ Although written in different eras, each of these works considered behavior within the home. The philosopher Nāsir al-Dīn Tūsī (d. 1274), in his book *Akhlāq-i Nāsirī*, wherein he dedicates a whole chapter to household management, confirms this point:

What I mean by home is not the (physical) house built of sun-dried bricks, dirt, wood and stone, but rather the relationships among husband and wife, child and the person who nurtures him ... be it all in a house built of wood or stone, a simple tent, or even a mere shelter in nature.¹⁷

The commentaries in these books are often of a religious nature and so discuss ethics. All were written by Muslim men for other Muslim men and, even though women’s actions were the dominant topic, it is men who formulate both questions and solutions. Finally, many commentaries were derived from the *hadith* and the Qur’ān, the two main texts that had already acquired normative status in Islam and used as sources for Islamic law (*shari’ā*). Indeed, although various historical writings and traditions influenced literary works, themes from the Qur’ān and the *hadith* had the most weight.

In the seventeenth century, Shiite Safavid rulers sponsored a collection of new scholarly work on the ethics and etiquette of everyday life. Most of these works

were written in the Persian language. Economist and author Afshin Molavi argues that just as the Reformation pastors of Europe used vernacular languages as opposed to Latin in their preaching and writing, many religious figures of the Safavid era—Sheykh Bahayī and Mulla Muhammad Taqī Majlisī, for example—chose to communicate in Persian to reach beyond the limited audience of religious scholars who were well versed in Arabic.¹⁸ Such works included those of Muhammad Baghir Majlisī or Majlisī II (d. 1698), who was extraordinarily influential in his own time and well into the twentieth century. The historian Moojan Momen asserts:

Up to (Majlisī's) time ... Shi'ism had sat lightly on the population of Iran, consisting mostly of mere expressions of love for Ali and hatred of the first three caliphs. Majlisī sought to establish Shi'ism firmly in the minds and hearts of people. Majlisī was the first to write extensively in Persian on such a wide range of subjects and in a manner that could be understood by the ordinary people.¹⁹

While Majlisī's Arabic encyclopedic collection *Bahār al-ʿanvār* (*Oceans of Light*) became a respected classic reference for contemporary seminaries in Iran, his Persian *Hilyat al-muttaghīn* (*Countenance of the Pure*) was meant to be read by average people.

The latter included an astonishing array of topics, from complex theological matters to the proper way for the believer to enter or leave a house. Most of his commentaries on personal conduct are covered in his *Countenance of the Pure*, in which he wrote about sexual intercourse, clipping fingernails, plucking nasal hairs and playing with one's beard; proper ways of sneezing, belching, and spitting; entering and leaving the house; and curing diseases and internal ailments, including colic, gas, stomach ache, and coughing. Many of Majlisī's remedies for illnesses, solutions for hygiene, and suggestions for improving personal conduct are irrational by modern standards. For example, when he refers to the sayings of Imam Jafar Sadiq (d. 765),²⁰ Majlisī writes that when putting on shoes, one must first put on the right shoe and then the left. He adds that, "if one walks in public with only one shoe on, Satan will haunt one."²¹ He also suggests that reciting certain verses from the Qur'ān will cure one's eye infection.²²

Literary critic Shahrokh Maskoob asserts, "(W)ith great efforts and diligence, (Majlisī) introduced to Shi'ism, amongst other things, a mass of superstitions."²³ The reprinting of Majlisī's *Countenance of the Pure* well into the twentieth century in some ways turned it into a hallmark of religious backwardness and a subject of humor—especially its commentaries on sexual conduct—in the popular imagination. This negative response to the *Countenance of the Pure* was even seen in contemporary Shiite books on ethics of life and personal conduct, in particular the various versions of the *Tawzīh*.²⁴ Literary historian Ahmad Karimi Hakkak writes, "By addressing all of the hypothetical situations a true believer could or might face, leaving little to individual common sense, they opened themselves to harsh ridicule from their opponents, especially secular ... intellectuals of the twentieth century."²⁵ In response to such

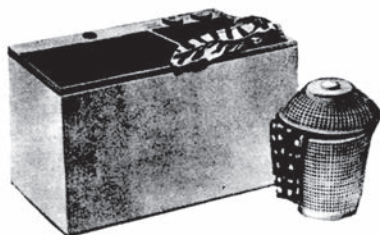
reactions Shīrāzī discerned the need for a new *Tawzīh* “that would appeal to a large audience” in the mid-1970s.²⁶

Dwelling purified: from the body to the home

An important theme in all four volumes of *Imām Khomeini’s New Rasālah*—especially in *Worship and the Development of Self and Family Matters*—is the opposition of *tahārat* and *nijāsāt* (purity and filth), which defines bodily functions and habits. Religious activities such as praying and reading the Qur’ān are prominent features of traditional Iranian domestic life; to prepare for such rituals, one must be pure. Cleanliness as defined by the Qur’ān and the *hadīth*, however, is different from cleanliness according to modern science and medicine. In the updated book, these traditional ideas are applied to modern products, settings, and activities. Foreign toilets, washing machines, and even a home’s large plate-glass windows were all subject to classification based on the old system of opposites.

Shiite regulations governing water (*ahkām-i āb*) fill a lengthy chapter. Water is considered to have the power to purify objects that are not inherently filthy. This cleansing water must, however, have certain qualities to be considered “clean” itself: rain water (*āb-i khālis*), spring water (*āb-i jārī*), fresh well water (*āb-i qalīl*), or water from a drain pipe with a capacity of three square feet (*āb-i kur*) may be used to wash filthy materials.²⁷ In the nineteenth century, classifications of water changed when Western medicine drew attention to waterborne epidemics that came predominantly from public baths. Nevertheless Shiite scholars continued to consider, “rules governing water” applicable to daily life. *Imām Khomeini’s New Rasālah* applied these rules to such modern appliances as washing machines. According to the *New Rasālah*, the purity of clothes washed in the washing machine was determined by the amount and source of water used in the machine. Detergents have no place in this process of cleansing.²⁸ Likewise, the use of foreign toilets is legitimate if one brings a bottle of water to use for washing after visiting the toilets (figure 4.2).

Despite notions of cleanliness as defined by medicine and science, religious leaders have demanded that the faithful follow rules of cleanliness as written in the Qur’ān and the *hadīth*. Mary Douglas provides insight into this logic: “In chasing dirt, in preparing, decorating, tidying, we are not governed by anxiety to escape disease, but are positively re-ordering our environment, making it conform to an idea.”²⁹ Shiite regulations concerning dirt and cleanliness are likewise resplendent with symbolic meanings. According to Shiite belief, natural settings—e.g., vegetation and earth³⁰—are often considered clean unless manipulated by humans or affected by “inherently filthy”³¹ animals—e.g., carnivores, dogs, and pigs.³² When Shiites come in contact with unclean substances or animals, they must observe the rules governing impure (*najīs*) and pure (*tāhir*), especially before they prepare to say their daily prayers. In the past, these rules were taken even more seriously. For example, a toilet, even if cleaned, was considered dirty and could not be inside the house. Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, and those who had had contact with “inherently filthy” animals, were not allowed to



قلیل به روی آن در صورتیکه در مرتبه اول آب از آن خارج گردد پاک می‌شود و باید بعد از هر دفعه با فشار آب آن خارج شود.
در مورد پیشاب کودک شیرخوار یک بار کافی است.

توالتهای خارجی

کسانی که در کشورهای خارجی اقامت دارند و یا به خارج سفر می‌کنند و مجبورند در راه، در هواپیما و در شهرهای اروپایی از توالتهای فرنگی استفاده کنند. تکلیفشان چیست؟

در چنین توالتهای می‌توان از بیده، یا شلنگ یا ظرف لوله‌داری مانند ظرفی که برای آب دادن گلدان مصرف می‌شود، استفاده کرد و خود را با آب شست و یا با کاغذ توالت خود را پاک کرد همچنانکه می‌توان حتی با سنگ، کلوخ، پارچه پاک خود را تمیز کرد. و میزان برطرف شدن آلودگی و پاک شدن است و همانطور که در رساله تحریریه وسیله آمده:



Figure 4.2 A page from Khomeini's *Tawzīh al-Masā'il* that shows how to use washing machines and foreign toilets. Ayatollah R. Khomeini, A.K.B. Shīrāzī (ed.) *Imam Khomeini's New Rasālah*, vol. 1: *Worship and the Development of Self*, Tehran: Mu'assasay-a anjām-i kitāb, 1980, p. 54. Courtesy of the Husseiniyah Irshād Library, Tehran

drink from water fountains used by Muslims, nor were they accepted in the same bathhouses as observant Muslims; but as historian Kevin Reinhart reminds us, “impure persons are not necessarily dangerous or contagious to the community because impurities are transient and can be transformed or concealed through the performance of ritual acts.”³³ For example, the ritual of ablution only requires the washing of a person's face, hands, and feet. Thus the symbolic demonstration of the act of cleansing, rather than the actual cleanliness as measured by modern scientific standards, is what is vital in Islam.³⁴ The embedded metaphorical meanings in religious rituals and performances lead to yet another aspect of modern Shiite approaches to cleanliness and filth, those that surpass toilets and washing machines to encompass broader subjects.³⁵

Indeed, the commentaries in all four volumes of *Imām Khomeini's New Rasālah* go beyond the four walls of one's home to define the entire world from an Islamic perspective. Prayer, pilgrimage, and the ethics of commerce acquire new meanings in the larger geographical setting. The whole world is simplified in a drawing that at first glance might seem appropriately childlike: one's place on the planet is defined by one's orientation toward the sacred structure, *Ka'bā*, in Mecca (figure 4.3). In addition to supplementing the text, this illustration suggests the ways in which *Imām Khomeini's New Rasālah* attempts to bridge the gap between a Muslim's daily life and abstract global realities, a theme that is further emphasized through the choice of images selected for the volume on family life.

An illustrated Tawzīh al-Masā'il for a modern Muslim housewife

Shīrāzī's illustrated *Tawzīh* immediately became a best-seller and influenced the youth in exactly the same way that colorful magazines of the Shah's period had captivated them.³⁶ Still, the bland layout of his *Tawzīh* makes one wonder how it could have competed with dozens of attractive alternatives, such as Western pop culture. Whether the work would have held any interest for those people

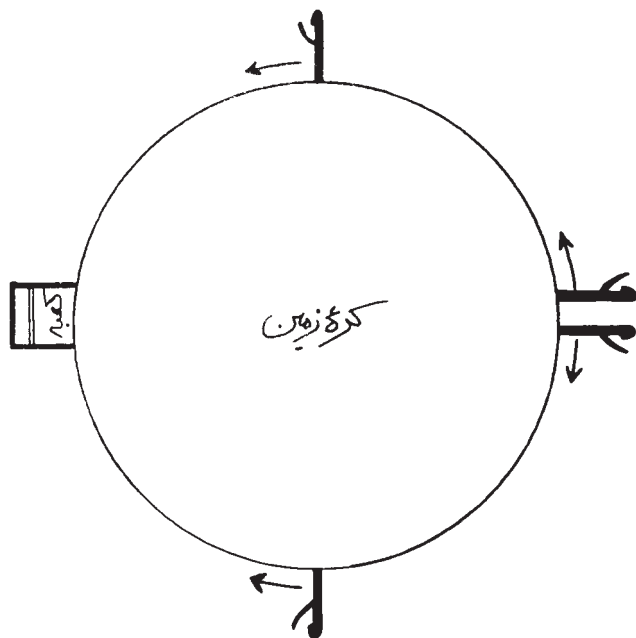


Figure 4.3 A guide to the *Qibla*. Ayatollah R. Khomeini; Abdol Karim Bīāzār-Shīrāzī, *Imām Khomeini's New Rasālah*, vol. 1: *Worship and the Development of the Self*, Tehran: Mu'assasay-a anjām-i kitāb, 1980, p. 54. Courtesy of the Husseiniyyah Irshād Library, Tehran

not already “committed to the faith,” would be difficult to determine, but those with religious backgrounds found the *Tawzīh* captivating.³⁷ The most interesting aspect of the book is that it invites the reader on a visual journey very similar to that presented in the commercial representations in the consumer-interest magazines of the 1970s.

Pahlavi periodicals were extraordinarily rich in colorful advertisements. Like popular illustrated advertisements, most of the images in Shīrāzī’s volumes are, by his own account, cut from North American—mostly Canadian—publications and pasted onto the pages of the *New Risaleh*, creating a montage that depicts Western objects and lifestyles. In addition, just as the commodities of the advertisements are labeled, so are some of the objects that Shīrāzī displays. In the *Family Matters* volume, for example, the section that prohibits alcohol opens with a labeled bottle of wine. Just like the two labeled advertisements, from the mid-1960s and 1970s respectively, for Smirnoff Vodka and Canada Dry, the wine bottle in Shīrāzī’s book is labeled by a passage from the *sūrāh Ma’idah* that associates alcohol consumption with satanic deeds (figures 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6).



Figure 4.4
An advertisement from *Tehran musavvar* (*Illustrated Tehran*), Farvardīn 1353/March 1974, vol. 14, no. 1586. Courtesy of the National Library of Iran, Tehran



Figure 4.5
A page from Ayatollah R. Khomeini, A.K.B. Shīrāzī (ed.) *Imām Khomeini's New Rasālah*, vol. 3: *Family Matters*, Tehran: Mu'assasay-a anjām-i kitāb, 1980, p. 54. Courtesy of the Husseiniiyyah Irshād Library, Tehran



Figure 4.6
An advertisement from the weekly *Zan-i ruz* (*Women of Today*), 'Urdūbihisht 1344 / April 11, 1965. Courtesy of the National Library of Iran, Tehran

The techniques for making the product look more desirable—such as juxtaposing the Canada Dry bottle with a pretty woman and multiplying the Smirnoff bottle in the backdrop—are not in use on Shīrāzī’s pages. Neither is the composite nature of the advertisements—which accommodate several simultaneous but different readings, e.g., associating sexual engagement with quenching thirst—a matter of concern on Shīrāzī’s pages. By manipulating the original images taken from Western publications, Shīrāzī reverses the meanings associated with them in their primary publication, thus he gives new meaning to the functions of certain objects through both textual descriptions and pictures.

That Western advertisements acquire contradictory meanings when incorporated into Shīrāzī’s work is also apparent in his description of the importance of curtains and the enhancement of visual privacy at home. Typical curtain advertisements in the late-Pahlavi popular press often gave an aura of fantasy to the home. A good example of such an approach is an ad from a 1966 issue of the popular women’s magazine *Zan-i rūz* (*Woman of Today*), in which Trevira curtains are advertised. The audience is forced to appreciate the curtain’s appearance from the exterior of the house: translucent, placing the interior and its contents, specifically the woman of the house, on display (figure 4.7). This focus on the home’s exterior appearance is strengthened by a long caption that supplements the image: “The curtain is where the first impression from your house and work place is given to the visitor.” Thus, the primary function of the curtain in this advertisement is neither to create privacy nor to block the harsh sunshine. The curtain is used to give a more desirable and inviting image of the interior to outsiders. Such a function is reversed in the *Tawzīh*, where the author draws a link between women’s bodies, the home, and visual barriers. In the volume that considers family life, two facing pages feature an image of women’s jewelry—as well as a shell and pearl—on one side and a master bedroom on the other. The master bedroom resembles one found in a Western suburban home, while the jewelry seems to demonize the materialism of the Shah’s regime. The caption for the first page reads: “Which one is more valuable? A pearl in a shell or what is deemed an ideal woman as described by the Qur’ān? Or cheap jewelry that can be found everywhere?” The image on the opposite page comes with this caption: “Which one is more decent and appealing? A house with covered (curtained) windows? Or a veil-less and curtain-less home?” (figure 4.8). The two illustrations recall Juan Eduardo Campo’s interpretation of a passage from *sūrā Nūr* of the Qur’ān:

(R)ules governing access to domestic space are regarded as similar to rules governing exposure and access to the human body. The very presence of these rules in the *Qur’ān*, together in one place, lends itself to the creation of a perduring linkage between the house, the human—especially female—body, and sexual relations. Following the rules entails purity, goodness, and blessing in the eyes of God. To violate them is as good as following in “the footsteps of Satan” (v. 21, *Nūr*).³⁸

Figure 4.7
An advertisement from weekly *Zan-i rūz*, no. 67, Khurdād 1345/
June 1966. Courtesy of the National
Library of Iran, Tehran

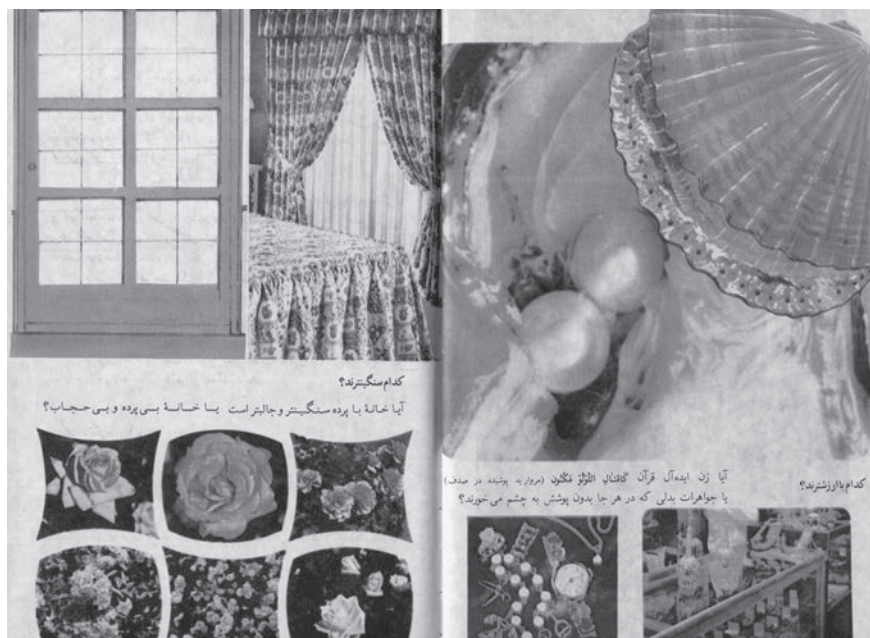


Figure 4.8 Two pages from Ayatollah R. Khomeini, A. K. B. Shīrāzī (ed.) *Imām Khomeini's New Rasālah*, vol. 3: *Family Matters*, Tehran: Mu'assasay-a anjām-i kitāb, 1980, p. 54. Courtesy of the Husseiniyyah Irshād Library, Tehran

Following this Qur'ānic tradition, the pearl in a shell might symbolize a woman's virginity and a protective enclosure, while the curtain could stand in for the veil that covers her body. As Campo states, "confinement within domestic space thereby becomes a substitute for a woman's control of her body,"³⁹ and within this restricted space, the "sequence of practices and actions one is engaged in," notably daily rituals and prayers as well as other acts of piety, "determines one's desires and emotions."⁴⁰

Contrary to this world view—i.e., displaying an interior from an insider's perspective—the contemporary popular press presents interior and domestic schemes from the point of view of outsiders. By displaying familiar colorful images, Shīrāzī delivers the religious information in a way that reflects trendy advertisements and magazines. In this sense, the reader is encouraged to "buy" the religious information as if it were a commodity. The strong emphasis on the "visual" demonstrates the extent to which Shīrāzī attempted to marry the traditional with a new paradigm of sensory experience. Customarily, Muslims obtained religious information orally; they brought their questions to the mosques, where the *imāms* offered solutions. *Imāms* also provided regular sermons that, in the words of the anthropologist Charles Hirschkind, "demanded a particular affective-volitional responsiveness from the listener."⁴¹ By shifting from the traditional discipline of listening to that of viewing, Shīrāzī breaks new ground. It seems to be an appropriate approach for the age of "mechanical reproduction" of images and a time of high rates of literacy among young Iranians. After all, Shīrāzī's design was an attempt to attract a literate young audience with enthusiasm for visual pleasure.

Above all, the book seems to have been designed for a female readership. Multiple interviews conducted during 2006 and 2007 reveal that young educated Iranian women who believed in Islam and the fundamentals of the Islamic Revolution used the book more than their male counterparts. But there are other reasons to believe that Shīrāzī established a paradigm for how Shi'ism could be modified for a modern Muslim homemaker. The choice and arrangement of images are revealing. Most of them portray domestic settings, homes, natural environments, and food. In the manner of scrapbooking, they were cut from popular publications and pasted onto the pages of the *Tawzīh*. The making of scrapbooks by cutting images from newspapers and magazines and then pasting them into diaries and journals was extremely popular among young women of the 1960s and the 1970s (figure 4.9). In comparing Shīrāzī's book to Iranian women's scrapbooks from the Shah's era, it becomes clear that the *Tawzīh* was assembled in this manner in order to appeal to the tastes of young women of the Pahlavi era. Further, the diagrams and flow charts are reminiscent of the nutritional charts that had been used by American and European home economists in their attempt to reform the Iranian home in the first half of the twentieth century. These educators had come from a generation that utilized charts and graphs, and these were the now rather dated materials that Shīrāzī also incorporated into his work.

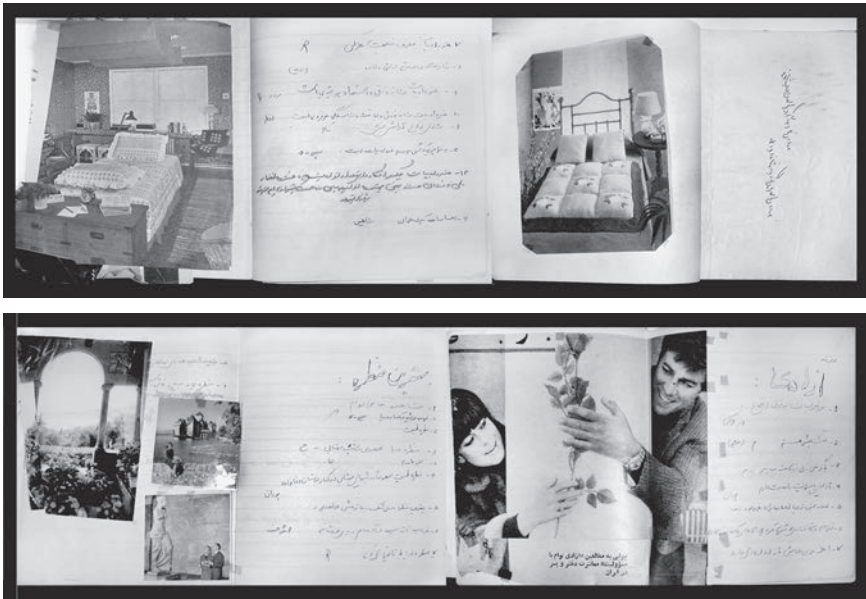


Figure 4.9 Scrapbook made by a 19-year-old Iranian woman, 1969. Courtesy of the creator, Khadijah Talatof

On Shiite orderliness and the overlap of modern and medieval

Shīrāzī's maps and charts can be categorized in the "scheme of sacred geography,"²⁴² to borrow a term from historian David A. King. Shīrāzī's map of the direction that a Muslim should face when praying (*qibla*) reminds us of the medieval *qibla* maps that exaggerated the size of the *ka'ba* and frequently depicted Mecca larger in scale when compared to other cities in the region. One may notice a similar quality in both abstract medieval Islamic maps and the diagrams and maps presented by Shīrāzī in the *Tawzīh*. Both are intended to give a sense of discipline to Muslims' daily lives. Just as in some reductive, schematic medieval Islamic maps, the over-simplification of the diagrams of the *Tawzīh* (figures 4.10 and 4.11) is purposeful and not due to ineptness.⁴³ After all, as King reminds us, medieval Islamic maps "showed a sophisticated grid of a kind not known on any other map prior to the twentieth century."⁴⁴ Like the medieval Islamic maps, the diagrams presented in the *Tawzīh* are in fact more useful for organizing one's everyday existence according to Islamic beliefs than for representing any physical reality. Above all, these diagrams call for the purposeful adherence to an Islamic everyday life.⁴⁵

The diagrams and charts of the *Tawzīh* attempt to bring the time and space of classical Islam into the daily routine of contemporary Iranians. They are an effort to standardize and rationalize religious information. In a sense, they embody the Western orderliness and discipline that had long been encouraged by the Pahlavi

خوراکیهای حلال و حرام	
<p>۱ - حلال</p> <p>۱ - مواد پاک و بی زلفه (کرمها بی الارض حلال است)</p> <p>۲ - مواد طبیعی و دارویی</p> <p>۳ - معادن در صورتیکه بی ضرر باشد (مانند سنگ)</p>	<p>۲ - مواد کاذب و مصنوعی</p> <p>۱ - مواد پدید آورنده و بی ضرر طعمی (مانند شکر)</p> <p>۲ - مواد زایل کننده</p> <p>۳ - موادی که احتیاج ضرر داشته باشد</p> <p>۴ - افزودنی به مواد معطر</p> <p>۵ - گلی</p> <p>۶ - گیاه و خاک</p>
<p>۱ - حلال</p> <p>۱ - حریمات و لذات</p> <p>۲ - سرچرات</p> <p>۳ - سوچرات</p> <p>۴ - سایر فرآورده های پاکیزه و بی ضرر</p>	<p>۳ - مواد بیابانی</p> <p>۱ - شراب انگور و سایر مستکرات</p> <p>۲ - خمر</p> <p>۳ - تصادفاً مخلوطه کشندی و عریا</p>

خوراکیهای حلال و حرام	
<p>۱ - حلال: انواع ماهیهای پرنده از جمله ماهی سفید، کپور، بزمه و بستر آنها</p> <p>۲ - حرام: ماهیهای که عمداً پرنده، مانند ماهی بزمی و بستر آنها</p>	<p>۱ - دریاها</p> <p>۲ - زمینی</p> <p>۳ - غذاهای حیوانی</p>
<p>۱ - حلال</p> <p>۱ - گوسفند</p> <p>۲ - گاو</p> <p>۳ - شتر</p> <p>۴ - گاو</p> <p>۵ - گاو</p> <p>۶ - گاو</p> <p>۷ - گاو</p> <p>۸ - گاو</p> <p>۹ - گاو</p> <p>۱۰ - گاو</p> <p>۱۱ - گاو</p> <p>۱۲ - گاو</p> <p>۱۳ - گاو</p> <p>۱۴ - گاو</p> <p>۱۵ - گاو</p>	<p>۱ - حلال</p> <p>۱ - گاو</p> <p>۲ - گاو</p> <p>۳ - گاو</p> <p>۴ - گاو</p> <p>۵ - گاو</p> <p>۶ - گاو</p> <p>۷ - گاو</p> <p>۸ - گاو</p> <p>۹ - گاو</p> <p>۱۰ - گاو</p> <p>۱۱ - گاو</p> <p>۱۲ - گاو</p> <p>۱۳ - گاو</p> <p>۱۴ - گاو</p> <p>۱۵ - گاو</p>
<p>۱ - حلال</p> <p>۱ - انواع گوزنهای صحرایی، کبک، مرغابی، اردک، قوچون، اردک، قناری، مرغابی، مرغابی</p> <p>۲ - انواع مرغ جنگلی، مرغ وحشی</p> <p>۳ - انواع گوسفند، خوک، مان، کبک</p> <p>۴ - انواع ریزگی که پهنک و ریزگیهای خود را بشمار حرکت می دهند.</p> <p>۵ - انواع ریزگی که دارای جبهه آلت هستند.</p> <p>۶ - انواع ریزگی که دارای سبک هستند.</p> <p>۷ - انواع ریزگی که دارای سبک (مخارجه) هستند.</p>	<p>۲ - حرام</p> <p>۱ - حرام</p> <p>۲ - حرام</p> <p>۳ - حرام</p> <p>۴ - حرام</p> <p>۵ - حرام</p> <p>۶ - حرام</p> <p>۷ - حرام</p> <p>۸ - حرام</p> <p>۹ - حرام</p> <p>۱۰ - حرام</p> <p>۱۱ - حرام</p> <p>۱۲ - حرام</p>

Figure 4.10 A chart classifying *halāl* and *harām* food. Ayatollah R. Khomeini, A.K.B. Shīrāzī (ed.) *Imām Khomeini's New Rasālah*, vol. 3: *Family Matters*, Tehran: Mu'assasay-a anjām-i kitāb, 1980, p. 54. Courtesy of the Husseiniiyah Irshād Library, Tehran

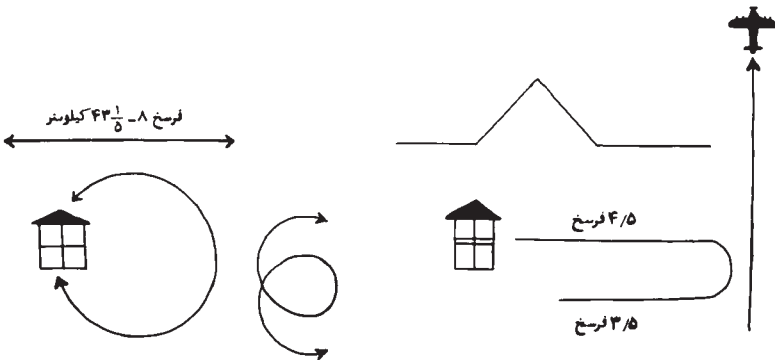


Figure 4.11 Diagram showing rules of prayer while away from one's home. Ayatollah R. Khomeini, A.K.B. Shīrāzī (ed.) *Imām Khomeini's New Rasālah*, vol. 2: *Economic Issues*, Tehran: Mu'assasay-a anjām-i kitāb, 1980, p. 54. Courtesy of the Husseiniiyah Irshād Library, Tehran

state; but at the same time, the *Tawzīh* may be perceived as competing with the thought of Western-educated Shiite intellectuals such as sociologist Ali Shariati and essayist Jalal al-i Ahmad.

Shariati and al-i Ahmad both came from Shiite clerical backgrounds. Al-i Ahmad located the cultural roots of Iranians in Islam and was more critical of secularism and Westernization than Shariati. After Ali-i Ahmad's death, Shariati further expanded this sentiment and aimed to construct a popular and modernist Shiite society.⁴⁶ Shariati advocated a "return to one's roots," and his efforts were directed toward reconciling modernity not only with "Iranian-ness"—as often encouraged by more secular intellectuals—but also with "Shiite-ness."⁴⁷ Both Shariati and al-i Ahmad espoused appreciation of Islamic values, but they were ultimately seen as Western-type individuals in the eyes of the clerics who came to power after the revolution.⁴⁸ Indeed, the commentaries in the *Tawzīh* would have seemed trivial to Shariati, who argued against people blindly obeying clerics as the *Tawzīh* encourages. Shariati believed that this blind submission had begun during the Safavid period—he termed it "Safavid Shi'ism"—and contrasted it with the pure "Alid Shi'ism"—from Ali, the first Shiite *imām*.⁴⁹

Nonetheless, similarities between Shariati's ideas and the concept behind the illustrated *Tawzīh* exist. Just as Shariati had called for a popularization of Shiite Islam,⁵⁰ the diagrams and charts of the *Tawzīh* helped translate the language of Shiite rituals into a popular form. It is thus safe to suggest that the *Tawzīh* borrowed selected ideas from more intellectual Shiite political discourses and secular Western ideas, casting aside the rest. It represented more than just remembering Islam through such means as the "Iranian room" discussed in the previous chapter, which revolutionaries at best viewed as sheer cultural nostalgia or "Westoxified Islam" (*islam-i gharb zadah*) or "American Islam" (*islam-i āmrīkāyī*).⁵¹

Khomeini, who had grown up in the large courtyard house of his wealthy stepfather, explained his early life in these terms:

In the past when we had not yet become westoxified, we would place the kitchen in the foremost section of the house. The purpose for this positioning of the kitchen was not comfort. It was rather to prevent the smell of some of the more expensive food such as kebab from spreading out into the street; the residents of the house did not want to show that they ignored the poor and the hungry. There was no culture of façade making as is the case today; the exterior of the courtyard house was plastered over with mud. If the house was large, its entrance was instead small to avoid showing off one's wealth and status. The house was inverted because people wanted to live a more humble life.⁵²

Islamic revolutionaries drew a sharp distinction between local and imported goods, a view that specified the appropriateness of household objects according to traditional views. Oppositions such as *halāl* versus *harām* (accepted by versus forbidden by God) and *tahārat* versus *nijāsāt* (purity versus filth)—terms once applied primarily to the human body and its environment—were more strongly

applied to imported commodities by conservatives. Joint Iranian-Western enterprise—so-called “montage”—was considered *harām*, as described in early post-revolutionary books such as Hasan Tavānīyanfard’s *Karkhanijāt-i muntaj, ‘ulavīyyathāy-i iqtisādī Iran: iqtisād-i shirk* (*Montage Factories, Economic Priorities of Iran: the Sinful Economy*). Tavānīyanfard claims that montage products give rise to a montage culture that affects the society and, most importantly, religion itself. Thus, it is no surprise that later editions of Khomeini’s “montage” *Tawzīh* excluded all “collaged” images of Western household furniture—including those produced during his lifetime and after the revolution. In the following decades, the Iranian state media frequently showcased the “humble” home life of Khomeini, where everything looked bland and simple. Even the chairs were covered with white sheets—perhaps to conceal the “foreignness” of their form. Since Khomeini’s death in June 1989, students are taken to his house every year to witness the simplicity of his home life, as well as, on occasion, to participate in a painting competition called “illustrating Khomeini’s chair” (figure 4.12).

Khomeini’s New Rasālah has been reprinted several times since Shīrāzī’s first edition in 1980, but the subsequent editions never incorporated images. On the other hand, the model established by Shīrāzī lived in on other publications. Unlike the early post-revolutionary period, today one finds an abundance of illustrated religious volumes on the ethics of daily life in bookstores across Iran. By using images, Shīrāzī empowered religious messages and reached greater numbers of people. Before the ability to disseminate visuals was readily available, printed lessons or arguments were one-dimensional and limited in scope. The *Tawzīh* transformed, albeit perhaps moderately, the conventional forms of religious cultural production in Iran. In a broader sense, the illustrated *Tawzīh* confirms that Islam and modernity have in many ways become attuned to one another.⁵³ The focus of the *Tawzīh* on religious practices and the myriad forms of religious cultural production should not be regarded simply as a reactionary rejection of



Figure 4.12
Khomeini’s chair, Jamārān, Tehran. The Organization for the Cultural Heritage, Tehran. Fol. 1854. Courtesy of The Organization for the Cultural Heritage, Tehran

modern ways of life, but rather as a key factor in the creation of a different form of modernity in twentieth century Iran. In this regard, we may not dismiss the influence of the intellectual trend informed by spiritual-minded elites.

The home according to “spiritual” elites

In the 1960s and 1970s, an attempt to project an idealistic portrait of Islam was made by a group of Iranian intellectuals, among them Sayyed Riza Pākniyād, although his influence was marginal. Ali Shariati’s voice was dominant. He called for curriculum reform in theological seminaries. In his proposal, he asked for the study of an idealized concept of the Islamic city.⁵⁴ These intellectuals were allowed to express their thoughts openly, thanks to the Pahlavi regime’s “co-option” of Islam. This was the time when Mohammad Reza Shah’s land reform laws of the White Revolution were in the making, and those reforms reduced religious endowment revenues. Meanwhile, the Shah was declared both secular and religious leader of Iran, and the Muslim calendar was replaced with the royal calendar.⁵⁵ Iran’s Islamicate history during the 1960s and 1970s was thus co-opted⁵⁶ in a number of ways. The state tried to adopt the characteristic discourse of left-leaning intellectuals of the 1960s through several means. These included the romantic appropriation of Iran’s Islamic heritage and art, culminating in art events, among them the Festival of Culture of Art, and the Shiraz Arts Festival—both initiated in 1967. Under the same banner, the state assumed sponsorship of a series of publications and architectural projects, all praising Iran’s Islamic heritage.⁵⁷

The artistic manifestation of this “co-option” of Islam was informed by a Sufi-oriented discourse advanced by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, the Dean of the faculty of literature at Tehran University. In the 1970s, Nasr emerged as one of the world’s leading experts on conceptions of Islamic spirituality,⁵⁸ especially Sufism (*tasawwuf*) and Mysticism (*irfān*).⁵⁹ He also served as the cultural advisor to Farah Pahlavi, Empress of Iran, who in 1973 appointed Nasr to establish the Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy under her patronage. Quickly becoming one of the most important and vital centers of philosophical activity in the Islamic world, it was housed at the finest library of philosophy in Iran; and attracted distinguished international scholars in the field, such as Henry Corbin and Toshihiko Izutsu.⁶⁰ The Academy also organized important seminars and lecture series and offered fellowships for short- and long-term research in Islamic and comparative philosophy.⁶¹ The influence of Nasr on Iranian artists and architects has been immense, although largely underestimated in today’s Iran because of his reinterpretation of Islam through the lens of mysticism. Nasr’s concept of “the traditional society,” “the traditional man,” and “the traditional space” filtered into the discussion of the revival of traditional styles in architecture.⁶² Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar’s seminal book, *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*—published with funding from Iran’s Ministry of Science and Higher Education on the occasion of the twenty-fifth centennial of the foundation of the Persian Empire—is one of the most significant manifestations of such an influence. The book begins with a foreword by Nasr, who sets a spiritual tone for this study of Iranian Islamic architecture.⁶³

Like *New Tawzīh al-Masāī'l* and *Urban Hygiene*, Ardalan and Bakhtiar's *The Sense of Unity* offers perspectives on the relationship between one's own body and one's built environment. Unlike the other two books, however, the authors of *The Sense of Unity* do not highlight the distinctions between private and public or "us" and "others," but rather between the material and the spiritual. The main point of *The Sense of Unity* is the transcendental qualities of the material—the body, the home, the built form or architecture—that allow us to arrive at a more spiritual life.⁶⁴ In his foreword to the book, Nasr writes:

The body of the man is the temple wherein resides the spirit (*rūh*), just as is the cosmos, which is animated by the same *rūh* (T)he architecture of the house . . . , which in Islam is inspired by sacred architecture (the house being in a sense the extension of the mosque) . . . is therefore also a replica of the cosmos and the locus of the encounter of man and the Divine Word or Logos.⁶⁵

The chapters that follow the foreword afford idealistic and spiritual interpretations of the courtyard house, rather than actual facts regarding its social and historical specifics: a theme that, in fact, shapes the structure of the book as a whole. *The Sense of Unity* is not organized chronologically. Conforming to the basics of Perennial Philosophy that had so heavily informed Nasr's discourse, the book hardly differentiates the evolving stylistic approaches of various dynasties.⁶⁶ Instead, it is organized into thematic topics that include pure architectural elements and concepts: space, shape, surface, color, order, and boundary.⁶⁷ Using these formal themes—as opposed to employing a case specific approach—the authors construct a heavenly image of an introverted house, complete with a large pool surrounded by plants in the midst of its courtyard:

The courtyard plan, which generates a centripetal force, is . . . capable of providing that basic contact with nature so essential to Iranian life. This plan dominates the architectural activity of "place making" and within the Islamic period becomes the model of *makān*,⁶⁸ unifying . . . the individual parts with the whole Space as the place of the "hidden treasure" of the house, is enclosed by shape, just (as) . . . the body encloses the soul, which encompasses the spirit. Walls are thus perquisite for defending . . . this sacred place within which the soul can be sensed and its spiritual quest fulfilled. The interaction of shape and surface must create a space that is totally at rest, devoid of tensions Such a solidified shape is to be found in the cube, a perfect form whose symbolic essence is stability, man, and the earthly paradise. Within this tranquil space, the placement of the traditional pool provides a center as a positive direction for the creative imagination . . . (this is where the) recapitulation of paradise is complete.⁶⁹

The illustrations accompanying this passage (figure 4.13)⁷⁰ accentuate the importance of the symmetry. The authors also infer that the courtyard plan is a prototype of the concept of *tawhīd* (divine unity): " . . . geometrical forms which are symmetrical with respect to their center and which symbolize "unity within

unity,” the first principal of Islam (*tawhīd*),”⁷¹ This notion is more clearly reiterated in one of Nasr’s later publications, wherein the courtyard house is deemed the manifestation of *tawhīd*:

The (courtyard house) create(d) a whole out of which the spaces necessary for everyday life would grow. ... (it) possessed a wholeness which predominated over its parts. There were, to be sure, distinct components, elements, and features ... but unity always predominated over multiplicity ... prevent(ing) the parts from becoming realities independent of the whole.⁷²

The architecture of residential buildings, the scene of early communal experiences and childhood socialization, needed to reflect the principle of unity if the individual’s feelings were to be subservient to the interests of the extended family or even the society as a whole.

The ideas proposed by the spiritual elites and their followers throughout the last decades of the Pahlavi regime were increasingly sentimental and remained within the limited circles of the elites. While the modern *Tawzīh al-Masā’i’l* and *Urban Hygiene* attempted to apply religion to the modern home, *The Sense of Unity* granted a modern and avant-garde quality to the traditional home. If, for the authors of the modern *Tawzīh* and *Urban Hygiene*, the tradition of Islam served as an authentic alternative to the “vacuum” that had overwhelmed modern life, the authors of *The Sense of Unity* turned tradition into an object in a museum—a source of pride, but not necessarily a part of everyday life. If such a critique comes to mind after reviewing this literature, complaints to this effect were rife in the writings of Left-leaning and secular essayists of the late-Pahlavi era, most notably Daryush Ashuri.⁷³

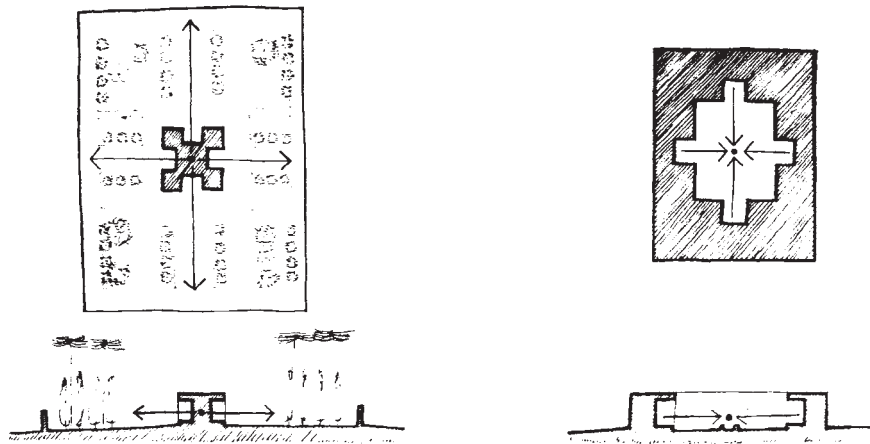


Figure 4.13 “The Concept of Garden.” Note that the garden, in the drawing to the right, is located within a courtyard house. N. Ardalan and L. Bakhtiyar, *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1973, p. 68. Courtesy of Nader Ardalan

Ardalan and his cohorts saw themselves as modern designers who were deeply invested in tradition.⁷⁴ There are only a few built examples that bear witness to this assertion, but a plethora of references within architectural reports tie design and spirituality. These references are evident and widespread, although the buildings themselves rarely made it to the construction phase due to a year of socio-political unrest that ultimately culminated in the Islamic Revolution of 1979. In particular, the reports by Mandala Collaborative Architects Planners—headed by Nader Ardalan—are inclined towards the aforementioned spiritual concepts. Notable among them are Mandala Collaborative’s preliminary proposal for the Tehran Center for the Performance of Music (1975), which addresses the “unifying organizational conceptions of Persian place making,” especially the “hidden garden,” an open courtyard surrounded by indoor spaces.⁷⁵ Likewise, the Mandala Collaborative’s reports on the design for the Center for Management Studies (built in 1972) and the Atomic City of Isfahan or Nūrān (proposed in 1978) stressed the importance of conceptions of “unity” and “place making,” and the courtyard house—and courtyard model, in general (figures 4.14a and 4.14b).⁷⁶

Despite the scarcity of built examples, the meeting of conceptions of “place making,” spiritual orientations, knowledge of traditional styles, and avant-garde design can be hypothesized to have reached its mature expression in a large residential complex partially completed in 1977 by the Iranian firm DAZ, headed by the architect Kamran Diba. Located on 270 hectares near the old city of Shūshtar in the south, the residential complex known as Shūshtar New Town is a remarkable example of the revival of the traditional courtyard homes of southern Iran. Like old neighborhoods in the deserts of Iran, the inverted courtyard houses of Shūshtar New Town are built in close proximity to each other with parapet walls surrounding roofs that were meant to provide both privacy and shade for individual units. DAZ created apartment complexes that included intricate brickwork, courtyards, and rooftop entertaining spaces in line with the local architectural culture, while simultaneously emulating modern design in its attempt to push residents to coexist in similar spaces and to even share parts of their habitats with their neighbors. Although photogenic (figure 4.15), the mere fact that inhabitants of these units altered them to allow for more privacy in their homes—blocking balconies and dividing shared entrance thresholds—attests to the failure of the idealistic revival of traditional Iranian architecture (figures 4.16 and 4.17). However, the rhetorical aspects of these designs came in handy as the revolutionaries justified their inclination towards more traditional lifestyles.

Ultimately, *tawhīd*, as historian Gregory Rose puts it, was the watchword of almost all of Khomeini’s pronouncements after the revolution: “(U)nity of expression and the expression of God’s oneness, which is the fountainhead of the greatness of the Islamic community, will guarantee victory.”⁷⁷ Nowhere was this so-called “unity of expression” so vividly manifested as in the revolutionary crowd,⁷⁸ which Gustave Le Bon masterly described as the “magma of human beings gathered from every quarter.”⁷⁹ The chanting crowds became the hallmark of the revolution;⁸⁰ thus, the unity that was quietly embodied in a courtyard house, eventually roared from radios and TVs worldwide.

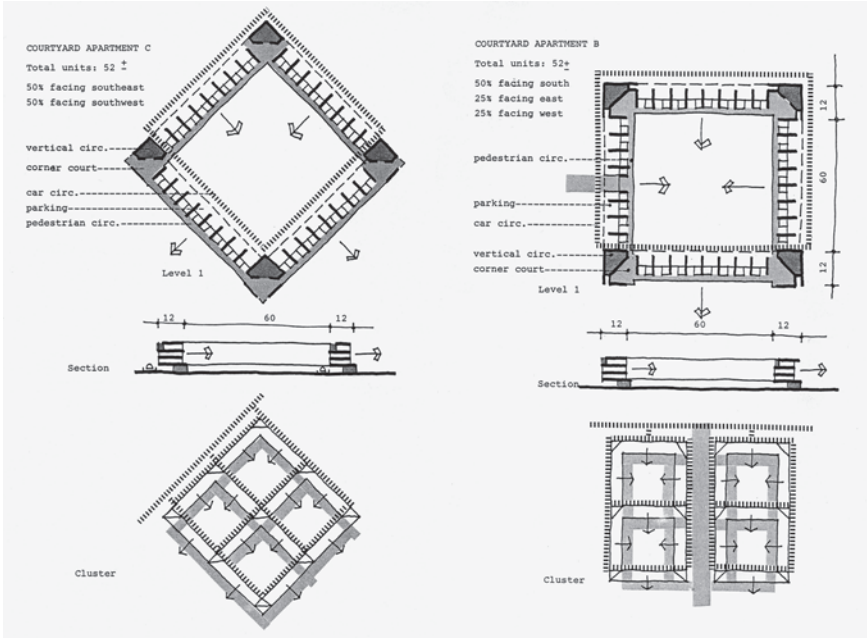


Figure 4.14a Preliminary sketches of courtyard homes, determining optimum solar/air building orientation for the Atomic City of Isfahan. Courtesy of Nader Ardalan

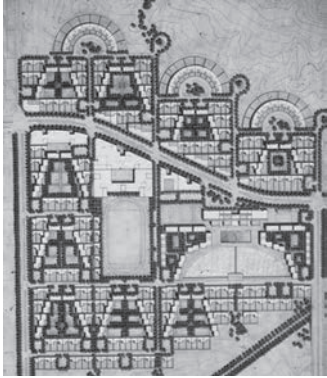


Figure 4.14b Courtyard house clusters of Nūrān (the Atomic City of Isfahan), master plan. Nader Ardalan and Mandala International, llc. Courtesy of Nader Ardalan

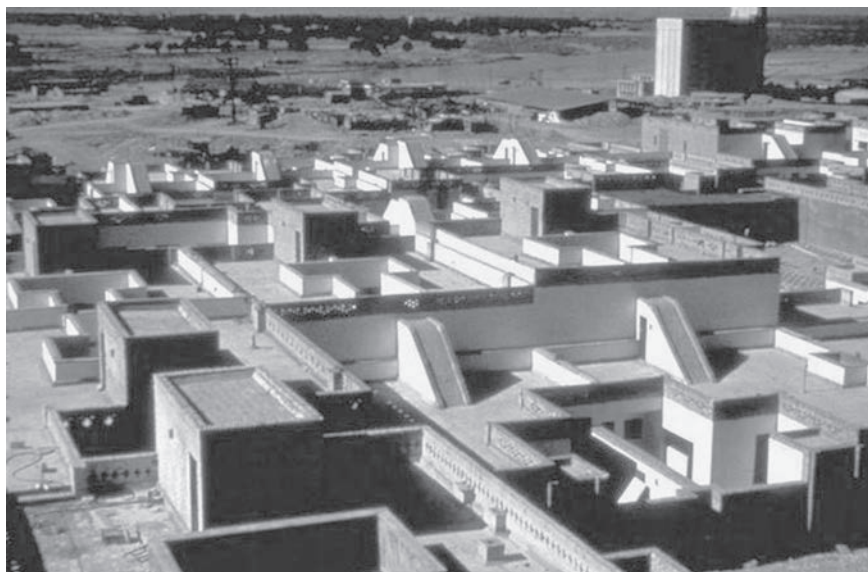


Figure 4.15 Parapet walls surround the rooftops of Shūshtar New Town and provide shade for interior courtyards. Courtesy of Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Geneva

Figure 4.16
Higher barriers added to the rooftops of Shūshtar New Town and partitioned entrances to some of its apartment complexes (bottom left). Photograph courtesy of S. Urdübādī, 2010



Figure 4.17
Altered façade with blocked veranda in Shūshtar New Town. Courtesy of S. Urdübādī, 2010

5 Gendered spaces and bodies out of place

Introduction

During the last twenty years of the Pahlavi regime, the influx of foreign enterprises, as well as domestic industry, commerce and services grew at such a pace that more cultural centers and entertainment venues were built in Tehran and other Iranian cities than at any other period in the entire history of the nation. The fourth Pahlavi development plan (1968–72) focused on housing construction: architectural styles, building materials, planning and implementation of apartments and other types of complexes, and renovation of older quarters.¹ The activities of the newly established High Council of Urban Planning and Architecture (*shurā-ya ālī sahrsāzī va mi'mārī*)² were included in the fifth and final Pahlavi development plan, which coincided with the increased oil revenues of the early 1970s and further strengthened structural standards and regulated aesthetics for such projects.³ Many reports, all from the 1970s, advocate design solutions for better and more efficient future homes.⁴ Multifarious symposia and conferences on the issue of housing in Iran were held throughout the 1970s, which produced a plethora of journal articles and proceedings.⁵

As early as 1960, the Iranian press envisioned the future of Tehran as a city of skyscrapers. One of the issues in the 1960s of *Tehran musavvar*, for example, lauded the past and future of tall buildings in Tehran and reassured readers that future new construction would turn the capital into a Western-looking city. These *āpārtamānhāy-a vatanī* (national high-rises), the article stressed, would be of special appeal to those who have not traveled abroad (figure 5.1).⁶

As the article foresaw, these residential high-rises were built in the north of Tehran during the second half of the 1960s and throughout the 1970s with the help of European, American and Israeli architectural firms. While some were realized before the end of the Pahlavi era, among them the 1970 Sāmān development on Kashāvarz Boulevard and the ASP towers of circa 1975 (figures 5.2 and 5.3), others remained incomplete or in the blueprint stage as the country underwent a period of socio-political turmoil that led to the revolution. These high-rises included small family units that were often good only for families with one or two children; most units were designed with little concern for privacy; and the whole complex was furnished with Western-style facilities and services,



Figure 5.1 The caption reads: “*Tehran shahr-a āsmān kharāshhā mīshavad* (Tehran Will Be the City of Skyscrapers)”; *Tehran musavvar*, Bahman 1339/ February 1960, no. 908, p. 7. Courtesy of the National Library of Iran, Tehran

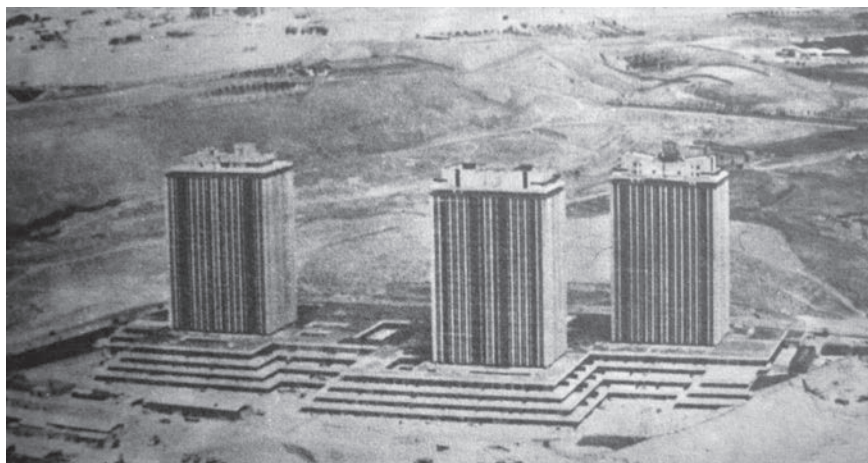


Figure 5.2 ASP residential towers, Shiraz Avenue, Tehran. Image from *Hunar va mi'mārī* (*Art and Architecture*), 1357/April–July 1978, vol. 11, nos. 47–48, p. 11. The photo, which provides a view of the towers from the south, is captioned: “High-rise building in the desert.” Courtesy of the University of Tehran, the Library of the College of Fine Arts



Figure 5.3 Sāmān residential towers, Kashāvarz Boulevard. Image from *Hunar va mi'mārī*, 1356/1977, vol. 10, nos. 41–2, p. 13. Courtesy of the University of Tehran, the Library of the College of Fine Arts

such as swimming pools, cafes, and food-supply stores that sold packaged food. Unlike DAZ's project in the southern city of Shushtar (see Chapter 4), which did not fully satisfy the needs of the more traditional community it served, the north Tehran residential high-rises were built only for the rich and the upper class, who had presumably adapted to Western lifestyles.⁷ But even these designs were not effective. Old problems remained unresolved and new ones arose. The renowned American architect Louis Kahn, who was invited in 1970 to Iran for a symposium of architecture and whose work received ample attention in the Iranian professional press, was assigned in 1973—in conjunction with the Japanese architect, Kenzo Tange—to redevelop the Abbasabad neighborhood, which entailed the (re)building of houses and related services. Following his first visit to the Abbasabad site, Kahn, who apparently admired the “strength and beckoning of ... ancient [Iran],”⁸ began by relying on the design of classical structures in both Iran and Europe, including Persepolis; Isfahan's *maydān-a* Shah (The Shah square); and Rome's Vatican City and Palazzo dei Congressi (figure 5.4).⁹ With the death of Kahn in March 1974, the preliminary sketches for this project were never realized. Nonetheless, the preliminary study and its accompanying visual records attest to a culture of home design that prevailed in the closing years of the Pahlavi period: a somewhat superficial approach to local architectural characteristics, stemming from mere fascination with images and formal features of such an architecture rather than serious involvement with the processes of production and use of it.

Additional reports from other architectural consultants involved in these residential high-rises show that those in charge tried their best to combine Western and local models; above all, they revolutionized the age-old divide between the public and the private. Further to the north of the capital, on a sloping site at the foot of the Alborz Mountain in the prosperous neighborhood of 'Ilāhīyyah, another residential complex known as Tehran Habitat was under construction by the Israeli–Canadian architect Moshe Safdi.¹⁰ In designing the habitat, Safdi had in mind the home culture of Iran. Accordingly, all 184 family units, regardless of whether they were close to the ground or higher up the structure, were arranged around atrium-courts; and each unit was afforded access to one or two roof gardens, thus resembling at once an aspect of modern Western architecture and the traditional Iranian *bahār khāb* (springtime outdoor sleeping space) (figures 5.5a and 5.5b).¹¹

The balconies, shared entrances, and large glass windows of high-rise residential apartments placed them in the space between the public and the private. The breaking down of public and private was not just an aspect of luxurious high-rise buildings. In some cases, and especially when a whole apartment complex of four or five storeys was the property of one owner, the old extended-family model of courtyard homes prevailed; it was arranged in vertical form, where several smaller families of an extended family lived in multiple-storey apartment buildings.¹²

These new designs did not always lead to more open and comfortable lifestyles. In fact, in many cases, they pushed their inhabitants further into the confines of the home. Older residential architecture had offered spaces of privacy and

homosocial neighborhood sociability, such as rooftops, but the new apartments, which permitted visual access to the passersby and the neighbors, reinforced the seclusion of women, who were forced indoors as their home was visually accessible to strangers.¹³ Despite efforts to change them, the traditional notions about segregation of men and women were prevalent. Mindful of these shortcomings, the Pahlavi regime endorsed women architects and their solutions for better home design. But the views of women architects were often influenced by those of their male counterparts.

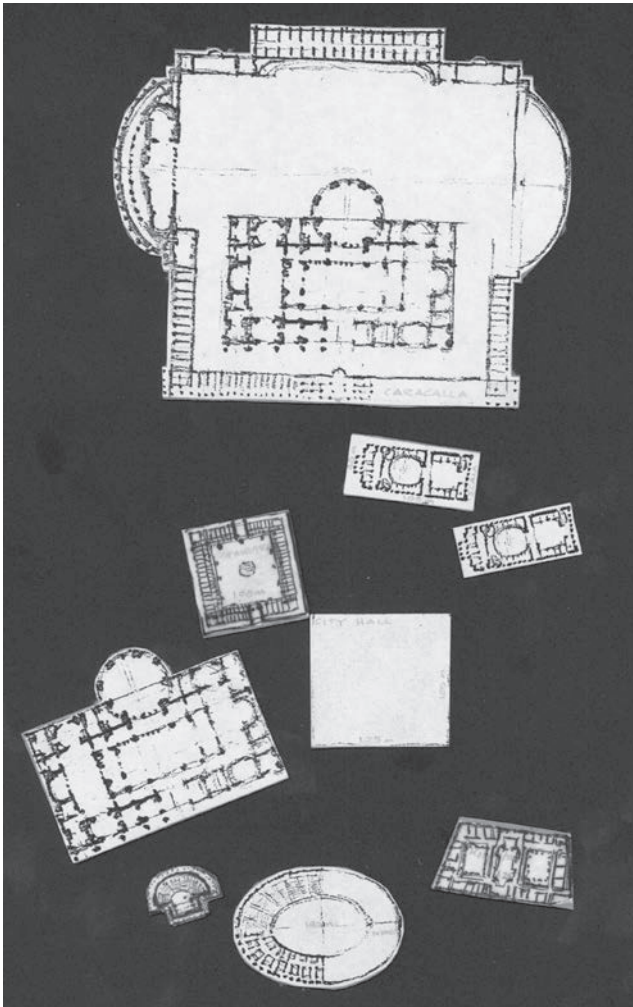
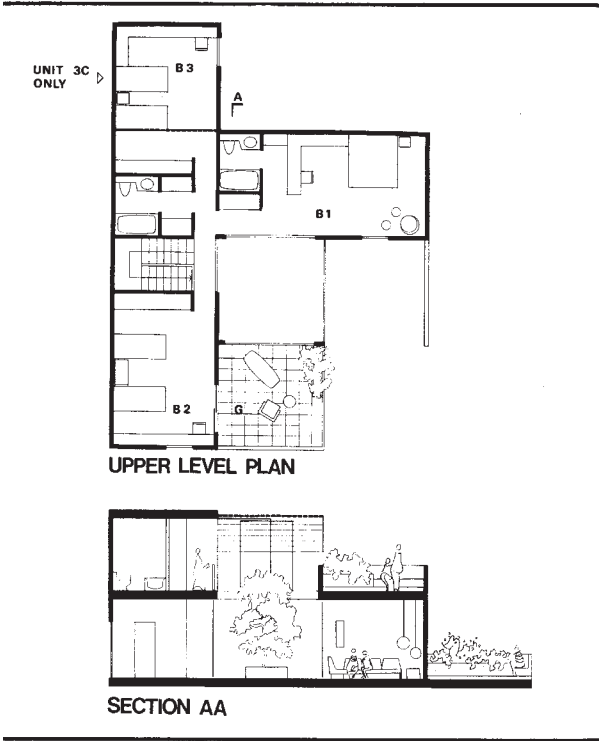


Figure 5.4 Plans compiled by Louis Kahn for Abbasabad preliminary design investigation. "Abbasabad Redevelopment," Box K12, 7 p. 2. Courtesy of August Komendant Collection, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia



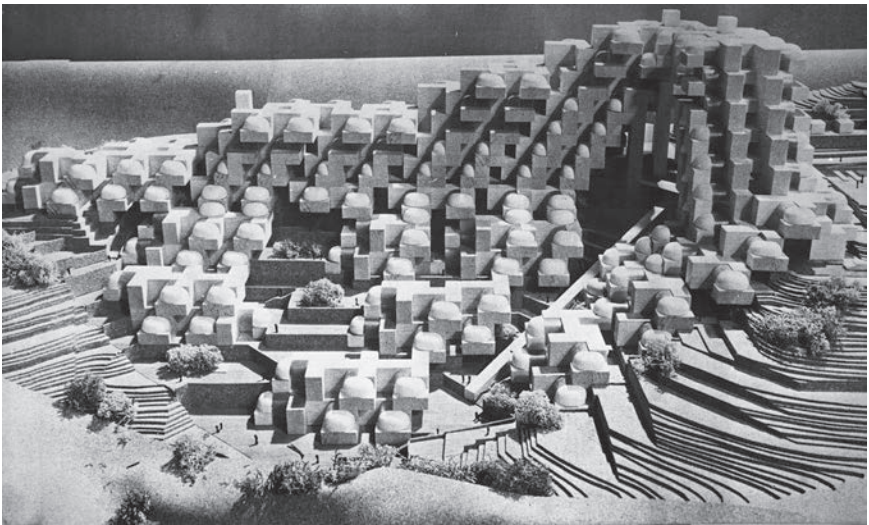
K KITCHEN
 D DINING
 L LIVING
 G ROOF GARDEN
 F FAMILY ROOM
 B BEDROOM
 A ATRIUM COURT
 S SERVICES

2A 192m²
 3C 208m²

0m 1 2 4

**2A, 3C
 HOUSE
 PLANS**

13



Figures 5.5a and 5.5b

Plan, section, and model of Tehran Habitat by Moshe Safdi and Associates, Architects and Planners, Montreal, September 1976, Tehran Habitat Report, p. 6. Courtesy of August Komendant Collection, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Women and home design at the end of the Pahlavi era

The interest in promoting the status of female architects was spurred by the wife of the Shah of Iran, Queen/Empress Farah Pahlavi, who was educated in Paris at the *École Spéciale d'Architecture*. In the 1970s, she took a direct interest in the Ministry of Culture and Art, which supervised museums, the tourist industry, and historic preservation. She became an international sponsor of the arts and supported various philanthropic associations.

The women's college, *Madrasah ālī dukhtarān* (The Advanced School for Girls, now al-Zahra University), opened in 1964 under her patronage.¹⁴ Disciplines within the curriculum ranged from the social sciences to the liberal arts, but the college was also known for its unique program in women's home economics and interior design, initiated in 1967 (figure 5.6).¹⁵ Following the addition of this program, interior design became a major division in several architecture schools and was popular with many college students.¹⁶

The role of women in the field of design and architecture was further acknowledged in more considerable ways. In 1976, only three years after the American Institute of Architects (AIA) initiated what was to become known as its Task



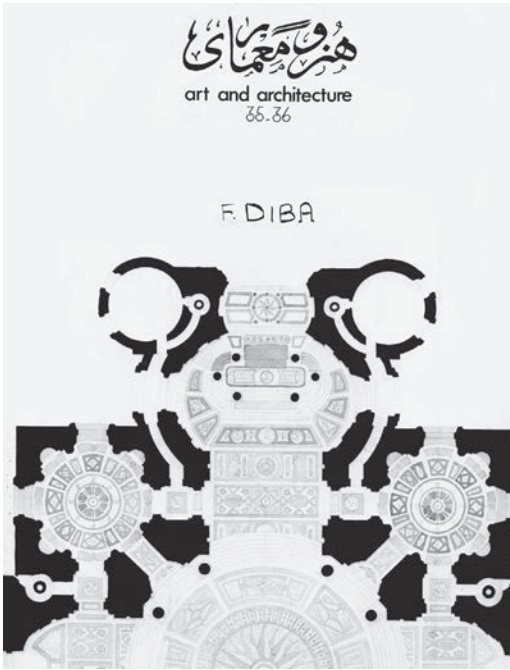
Figure 5.6 Queen Farah Pahlavi visiting the work of students in the homemaking school of *Madrasah ālī dukhtarān* (The Advanced School for Girls). *Kitāb-a rāhnamā va karnāmah madrasah ālī dukhtarān* (*The Guidebook and Reports of The Advanced School for Girls*), 1970–71, p. 28. Courtesy of the library of al-Zahra University, Tehran, Iran

Force on Women,¹⁷ and a year before the publication of the seminal book, *Women in Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective*, edited by feminist architect Susana Torre,¹⁸ Iran hosted the International Congress of Women in Architecture—organized in collaboration with the International Union of Female Architects. Many women architects from around the world were invited to Iran’s Caspian resort of Rāmsar, where they were greeted by Queen Farah. Participants included famous female designers from around the world, including Anna Bofill of Spain, America’s Denise Scott Brown and Anne Tyng, and Allison Smithson of Great Britain.¹⁹

The event was advertised months in advance in a 1976 issue of the Iranian journal *Hunar va mi’mārī* (*Art and Architecture*) and was dedicated to women and architecture.²⁰ In addition to being the bearer of the good news about the congress to be held in Iran, the volume—whose cover was animated by an architectural drawings done by Queen Farah during her studies in Paris—was entirely dedicated to the work of women architects outside and inside Iran (figure 5.7a and 5.7b). It featured the work of legendary Western architects Allison Smithson and Barbara Neski. Both Smithson and Neski worked as professional partners with their architect husbands, Peter Smithson and Julian Neski respectively, and were perhaps meant to be role models for female Iranian readers of the journal. The featured Iranian women architects were carefully selected for this purpose as well. Architect Leila Farhad, for example, was introduced as the wife of architect Sardar Afkhami, and her selected projects were those that had been jointly designed with her spouse.²¹

The special issue of *Hunar va mi’mārī* for the most part depicted participation by women in domestic architecture, although this was not explicitly stated. Indirectly, such an editorial strategy encouraged women to identify themselves as housewives by including first-hand accounts of women’s experiences with home-building and encouraging professional designers to take the initiative in creating an ideal dwelling space for their families. Because the journal issue limited women’s participation in public discourse to domestic architecture, their identification as housewives was strengthened.²² Viewed within the context of the attention given to the Shah of Iran and his family in images appearing in the popular press—and meant as an example for Iranian citizens²³—this interpretation of the impact of the *Hunar va mi’mārī* special issue becomes even more convincing. Queen Farah always maintained the outward image of a happy royal couple, while the Shah’s affairs with attractive women did not appear in the Iranian press.²⁴

Correspondingly, while Iranian women professionals were featured in the press, their contributions were attributed partially to their supportive husbands and to their happy family life. Indeed, fully mindful of such cultural milieu surrounding the role of women professionals in Iranian society, *Hunar va mi’mārī*’s editorial appeared somewhat apologetic as it alerted its readers that the volume had no intention to motivate competition between male and female designers.²⁵ “Men and women are equally talented,” the editorial confirms; “the only thing that keeps women from being more productive is a woman’s compassion (towards her family).”²⁶ By the end of the same year as the special issue of



Figures 5.7a and 5.7b
Hunar va mi'mari (Art and Architecture), August–November 1976, vol. 8, nos. 45–6 (special issue on Women Architects), pp. 14–15. Above: cover with Farah Pahlavi/Diba's blueprint; Right: top caption reads: "Woman + Architecture." Courtesy of the University of Tehran, the library of the College of Fine Arts

Hunar va mi'mārī, the first international women-in-architecture congress had been concluded. Although the event made international news, the local community was oblivious. The queen's contributions did not amount to genuine reform but instead the appearance of reform.²⁷ Her patronage resulted in the building of a series of important monuments and institutions, including Tehran's Museum of Contemporary Art—designed by Queen Farah's favorite architect cousin, Kamran Diba—but her contributions to modernity in Iran were disjointed when compared to the overall masculinist view of modernization.²⁸

Other efforts of the Pahlavi regime in improving women's lives likewise remained marginal. As early as 1963, a referendum was held on women's suffrage; and in 1966, the Women's Organization of Iran (WOI) was founded by the twin sister of the Shah, Princess Ashraf, and was headed by female activist Mahnaz Afkhami; but neither helped elevate women from their subordinate place in society. By 1979, the WOI, which inclined towards reforming urban middle-class women,²⁹ had 400 branches and 70,000 members and had set up centers for literacy and vocational training, health care, and legal consultations on marriage and divorce.³⁰ In an effort to present a better image of the female gender in society, the WOI also facilitated research on the media's sexist and derogatory portrayal of women.³¹ Despite this, broadcasting of Western and local films that focused on women's sexuality continued, and the popular press gradually began to focus on soft pornography.³² While some celebrated women's sexuality, others—such as the popular satirical magazine, *Tawfiq*—“ridiculed modern urban women in semi-pornographic cartoons.”³³ The “commodification of women's sexuality,”³⁴ was indeed a trope in the Iranian media at large.

Meanwhile, advertisements, especially in the women's press, increasingly targeted women—rather than men—to desire better and more luxurious homes. Once commercial advertisements for consumption inside major cities reached their peak, the women's press pressured its readers to buy properties in coastal areas and vacation destinations. An advertisement in one late-1970s issue of the women's magazine *Zan-i rūz* (*Women of Today*) captures this well. Featuring villas in some newly built Caspian resorts (Daryā shahr and Sāhal-i qū), the advertisement is accompanied by a caption that reads: “You have a home for everyday life, but do you have a home for your leisurely life?” (figure 5.8).

The Pahlavis invited women to participate in architectural practice and public discourse as designers, consumers, and users, but these endeavors were mere images of reform and modernity.³⁵ The traditional gendered spaces lingered well into the late 1970s within the context of less-privileged families—especially those who emigrated from rural areas to cities. Despite all the aforementioned changes, and forty years after Reza Shah's 1936 ban on women's veiling, many Iranian men and women still felt uncomfortable socializing together.³⁶ Anthropologist Janet Bauer notes that these anxieties persisted especially among those who migrated to large metropolises from villages and small towns. “In this process of urbanization,” Bauer writes, “women's control over their own movements (became) comparatively restricted as they (were) confined to the domestic and inter-domestic spheres of the migrant neighborhoods.”³⁷ These women had

برای زیستن خانه دارید
برای آسوده زیستن کجا را؟

در بهترین نقطه شمال، مکان
آمنه‌آل برای آسوده زیستن است

در دانه‌شهر
شهرک مدرن ساحلی در بهترین نقطه شمالی
شمال باو بلایه‌های امیر مکتبی، بزرگ‌ترین اسپورتیو

ساحل قو
شهرک ساحلی در بهترین نقطه جنوب باو بلایه‌های مدرن
تازه‌نیا و نمازگاه‌های مختلف با امکانات کامل و پارک

برای بازدید و کسب اطلاع: دفتر فروش ویلاهای در دانه‌شهر در محله شهرک، کیلومتر ۴۰
نوشهر به محمود آباد، دفتر فروش ویلاهای ساحل قو در محله شهرک، ۴ کیلومتر
علاوه بر این، شماره تلفن‌های ۳۴۴۱ و ۳۷۵۰

Figure 5.8 An advertisement in a late-1970s issue of *Zan-i ruz* (*Women of Today*); the caption reads: “You have a home for everyday life, but do you have a home for your leisurely life?” Courtesy of the National Library of Iran, Tehran

had more opportunities to appear in public in the rural areas. There, seclusion was neither practical nor necessary, as almost everybody in a given village was familiar. The larger number of strangers in the city was an inclination for women to remain at home: “The ideology of space dictates that women veil themselves, remain close to home, and not travel alone if at all possible.”³⁸ This commentary captures the mood of the public and private lives of many urban women during the last years of the Pahlavi era, but this order came to be highly contested as Iran pitched into its revolutionary moment.

The politics of public and private in revolutionary and post-revolutionary Iran

During the revolutionary period (1979–80), the boundaries of public and private were temporarily broken; many poor families took advantage of the collapse of police control, appropriating “hundreds of vacant homes and half-finished apartment blocks, refurbishing them as their own properties.”³⁹ The revolutionary youth took over traffic regulation and law-enforcement duties. Meanwhile, Iran’s new “public” spaces drew squatters among the destitute, reversing the intended function of the spaces’ elite creators.⁴⁰ Many Tehrani poor people rushed from the south to the north in order to occupy houses, villas, unfinished apartment blocks, and vacant lands that had belonged to the upper class and the aristocracy, who by then had either rushed to the West or gone into hiding.⁴¹ One newspaper reported that more than 4,500 villas had been taken over by the poor in the first months of the revolution.⁴² Meanwhile, the Islamic Republic authorities “were ... caught up between threats of disorder and chaos, of losing their legitimacy as the ‘servants of the dispossessed’ and of being irrelevant.”⁴³ The *Bunyāda mustaz‘afīn* (Foundation of the Dispossessed), a vast charitable endowment that had been the Pahlavi Foundation before being nationalized in 1979, took over about 150,000 housing units—palaces, hotels, villas, and unfinished apartment blocks—in order to prevent chaos.⁴⁴ After 1982, in providing housing, it was assisted by such quasi-official groups as *Jahad-i sāzandagī* (The Construction Crusade), which also helped displace persons from the southern cities during the early stages of the Iran–Iraq War (1980–8). By 1982, 62 percent of Tehranis owned homes, compared to 53 percent just before the revolution.⁴⁵ Home ownership—especially in wealthy neighborhoods—helped bridge the socio-cultural divide between classes and resulted in a certain degree of egalitarianism.

Concurrently, the economist Abdul-Hassan Banisadr aimed to close the gap between pious views and the realm of economy in his 1978 book, *Iqtasad-i tawhīdī* (*The Economy of Divine Unity*). Banisadr wished equality for all⁴⁶ and so highlighted the importance of *tawhīd* (divine unity). Similarly, Ayatollah Khomeini declared that “no one must remain without a dwelling” and that water and electricity should be supplied free of charge to the poor⁴⁷ and advocated the elimination of *kūkh-nashīnī* (residing in shanties) and *kākh-nashīnī* (residing in palaces).⁴⁸ However, accommodating the homeless and creating an egalitarian society resulted in a far stricter side to the reform of domesticity; indeed, the

state served not only as the guardian of homes but also as the foe of the private sphere. It determined when and how the private sphere could be more open to the public. For instance, the revolutionary leaders allowed women to participate in a variety of political ways, such as in public urban demonstrations; but once women's political participation was no longer effective, walls again enclosed them.⁴⁹ Gender discrimination increased while spatial distinctions of class and status diminished.⁵⁰

The spatial segregation of the sexes was forcefully implemented in public spaces. Most government institutions, staircases, and corridors became gender-segregated. On university campuses, in sports stadiums, and on public transportation, new rules either limited or barred inter-gender interactions. Civil codes as they related to spatial privacy—for example, tall buildings and windows that overlooked other houses—were transformed by the revolutionary elite to correspond to Islamic regulations from *hadīth* and other traditional sources.⁵¹ Later, even public transportation became segregated. Bars in buses separated the space for women at the back of the bus from that of men at the front.⁵² Meanwhile, workplaces and other public institutions upheld sex segregation and instituted daily collective prayers. Ample blank walls by the side of tall buildings became animated by revolutionary slogans and murals, and loudspeakers spread religious thoughts in main urban centers.⁵³ Many street names were changed to the names of the *shahīds* (martyrs) as the war with Iraq produced victims and martyrs from almost every street, dramatically altering the symbolic landscape of the city.⁵⁴ Accordingly, the names of upper-class residential suburbs built during the Pahlavi era changed: *Shahrak-i gharb* (Suburb of the West) became *Shahrak-i Quds* (Suburb of Jerusalem). In the meantime, the Iranian press bragged about the harms of the life and culture of high-rise residential buildings (*zandagī va farhang-i āpārtamān nashīnī*) and condemned the high-rise residential spaces built during the Pahlavi era.⁵⁵

Those who penned these articles thought that Iranian families were ill at ease with the imported modern life and, further, completely alienated from it. Indeed, the reality of the “Westoxification” had long raised the anger of the revolutionary elites and now they had the means to do something about it. The Islamization of both public and private lives of Iranians was expressed not only through the mass media, but also through professional publications, and this tendency towards Islamization was increasingly vigorous and sustained during Iran's eight-year war with Iraq (1980–8).

As early as 1982, a host of new architectural and art journals and books attempted to define the Islamic Republic's spatial sensibilities. In these overtly Westernized “public space” was defined as alien. A framework was provided to establish a new approach to artistic endeavors, and to condemn what were called “morally offensive and ethically corrupting” outside influences. In the early 1980s, a group of revolutionary elites founded *Faslnāmah hunar* (*The Quarterly Journal of the Arts*) and *Sūrah* (*Quranic Verses*), which became two of the most prominent art journals of that time. Article after article in these journals advised Iranians to reconsider art and architecture from an Islamic point of view.

Each issue of *Faslnāmah hunar* opened with a section containing one or more long quotations from one of the revolutionary leaders on the subject of art.⁵⁶ Ayatollah Khomeini's thoughts, in particular, were frequently quoted:

(During the Pahlavi regime) ... the media art (cinema and theatre) was corrupted. This was particularly because of the Western influence ... Now, our responsibility is to open up the minds of our youth and show them that we don't need to follow the West in our cultural achievements and artistic productions.⁵⁷

As the Islamic Republic of Iran developed, its leaders and ideologues reacted strongly against the Western-based Pahlavi reforms and global influences.⁵⁸ Whether focused on women or buildings, their ideas were often based on dichotomies of “public” and “private” and “foreign” and “local.” These ideas were not always put forward by artists or architects, nor were they verbalized in the context of the built environment, but they were often articulated in spatial terms and are hence of interest for this study. These are best manifested in two books from the early 1980s: *The Culture of Nakedness and the Nakedness of Culture* by Gholam Ali Haddad-Adel—cultural critic and a former chairman of the Iranian parliament—and *The Concealment of Beauty and the Beauty of Concealment* by Zahra Rahnavard—artist, critic, and the wife of Mir-Houssein Moussavi, erstwhile prime minister of the Islamic Republic from 1981 to 1989. While tackling space in a conceptual manner, both authors advocated the concealment of women's bodies as a way to protect the larger society from the manipulation of capitalism and imperialism.⁵⁹ The use of such rhetorical devices was very much in line with how they were employed by authors like Bīāzār-Shīrāzī and Pākniyād (discussed in Chapter 4). In all of these works, bodies and spaces come to serve as “vehicles of power,” creating new systems of knowledge and expertise for governing the subject.⁶⁰ Above all, Rahnavard and Haddad-Adel were perhaps inspired by Ali Shariati's pioneering book, *Fatima is Fatima (Fātamah, fātamah ast)*, published in 1971.⁶¹ Although focused on the life of the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad (Fatima)—as a devoted daughter, wife, and mother as well as an active member of her community—Shariati commented on the status of women in Pahlavi Iran and addressed the importance of the feminist movements in the West.⁶² Similar to Shariati, Rahnavard and Haddad-Adel strove to “catch up with modernity and yet indigenize it through Islam.”⁶³

The readership of these books in post-revolutionary Iran might have been scant—especially when compared to texts that were mandatory reads for school and university students. Nevertheless, they both acquired international appeal as they were translated into multiple other languages.⁶⁴ These two texts can indeed be considered barometers for the ideology of the elite of the Islamic Republic concerning issues of gender and space. Both authors were exceedingly active in the field of education and other cultural endeavours—for example, Rahnavard showcased her art in major museums and galleries;⁶⁵ she became the president of al-Zahra University (the aforementioned Madrasah ālī dukhtarān). Haddad-Adel,

for his part, supervised multiple revisions of school textbooks to make them suitable for the children of the Islamic Republic.

As their titles suggest, both books are centered on issues of veiling and clothing, but the authors examine these topics in relation to other subjects ranging from art history and architecture to economics. The gist of Western civilization, Haddad-Adel argues, is the mentality that gives priority to the material life and finds no value in anything beyond materialism. In the West, he writes, “anything beyond the material life is perceived as hallucination and fantasy.”⁶⁶ Haddad-Adel believes that this materialistic worldview began with the Renaissance formulation of humanism. To support this claim, he turns to art and compares a pre-Renaissance painting of the Virgin and Child with another one from the post-Renaissance period (figure 5.9). He asserts that the pre-Renaissance version depicts the Madonna in such a manner that “she does not look like any woman you would see on the street or in the bazaar ... The artist has granted her a heavenly appearance.”⁶⁷ The post-Renaissance artist, in Haddad-Adel’s words, “brings the Madonna from the sky down to the earth and depicts her like an ordinary woman of the street and the Bazaar.”⁶⁸ Haddad-Adel goes on to criticize this so-called post-Renaissance materialistic view even further by referring to Michelangelo’s David with these words: “His naked chest and arms and even genitals ... that are so carefully sculpted.”⁶⁹ According to Haddad-Adel, perfection in artistic representation exemplifies Westerners’ obsession with the material life. Under the image of David’s torso, there are two photographs showing a relief and a statue of a veiled woman from pre-Islamic Iran. These photographs are to establish yet another point: that veiling had been manifest in Iranian civilization even before the country’s conversion to Islam.

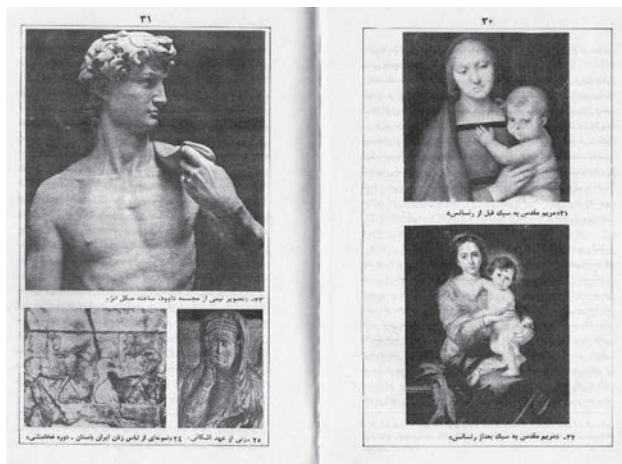


Figure 5.9 Facing pages from Gholam Ali Haddad-Adel, *The Culture of Nudity and the Nudity of Culture*, Tehran: Surūsh Publishers, 1989, pp. 30–1. Courtesy of the National Library of Iran, Tehran

The images on these two facing pages of Haddad-Adel's book are juxtaposed to facilitate visual comparison. Not only the images but also the main concepts are arranged as pairs of opposites throughout the book: private versus public, material versus spiritual (*māddīgarāyī va ma'navīyyat*), and veiled versus nude (*muhajjabah va barahna*). This format allows Haddad-Adel to couple veiling with spatial separation, enabling the parallelism between the body and the house—a topic that was also noted by some contemporary Iranian architects. Mehdi Hojjat, who was at the time dean of the Architecture School at Tehran's Science and Technology University, compared a traditional introverted courtyard house with a woman's body. In a 1984 issue of *Faslnāmah hunar* (*The Quarterly Journal of the Arts*), he wrote: "A good house is like a good Muslim woman. The beauty of such a woman in public is not shown through her physical appearance; similarly, the beauty of a courtyard house is not displayed on its façade."⁷⁰ This assertion demonstrates a desire for re-defining the body—as a site where culture acts upon individuals to turn them into subjects⁷¹—as well as re-mapping the home—as a venue that brings space under control and defines the infrastructure of the community.⁷² Both the female body and the home become allegorical means for reinterpreting gender roles, re-defining femininity, and re-constituting new architectural idioms and spatial orders.

This parallelism of the body and the house is further addressed by Haddad-Adel as he uses a linguistic analysis for the French word *habitat*: "In the French language, the word *habit* means dress and clothing, while the word *habiter* means dwelling and *habitat* translates as a shelter (Thus) clothing is a personal home of one."⁷³ In contrast, the word "clothing" (*labās*) in Farsi—which has its roots in a similar word in Arabic—stands for, the author reminds his readers, "the transformation of one's appearance."⁷⁴ Haddad-Adel's claim is this: that the veil helps alter the physical features of an Iranian woman's body and thus turns her into a moral being; in an opposite way, the author asserts, the short, tight skirt of a Western woman (in this case, perhaps the French), which is her dress as well as her personal home, turns her into a mere object of male voyeurism.⁷⁵

Elsewhere, he portrays the woman as one who constitutes the home; he constructs a "naturalized image of women as guardians of tradition, keepers of home."⁷⁶ Referring to *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*,⁷⁷ first published in 1884, he condemns Engels's analyses of the traditional role of women within the household, which gives the impression that instead of contributing to the household economy, women should take over more public responsibilities and join the larger economy. To support his criticism, Haddad-Adel presents statistical data concerning high rates of divorce and the rise of children born out of wedlock in early Soviet Russia. He then draws attention to the important role of women inside the home.

Zahra Rahnavard's criticism of the treatment of women in the "East" and the "West"—in her book *The Concealment of Beauty and the Beauty of Concealment*, which was based on a 1986 address to the Seminar for Studying *Hijab* (woman's veil/headscarf, or woman's veiling in general)—presses a similar point even more intensely.⁷⁸ She writes of the imported economic system of the West and

the East (Soviet Union)—two variants of the same materialism—that had stolen the souls of their own people and threatened to do so to Iranians.⁷⁹ Addressing Reza Shah's Western-influenced forced unveiling project (1936–41), Rahnavard provides an explanation for the development of imperialism and its relation to women.⁸⁰

Reza (Shah) who was a stooge of the West, ... abolish(ed) *pardah* (*hijab*/veil) by force, so that firstly, women who, as a result of their dress, which had been an obstacle to their easy movement, had become inactive, should be free to work in the factories run by Western capital, and secondly, by the abolition of *pardah*, there could be some activity in the consumption of the commodities exported by the West, and at the same time the women through their beauty and sex-appeal could be used for the publicity of Western commodities A washing machine is advertised along with a (half) naked woman. The choppers, mattresses, blankets, carpets, garments, furniture are all advertised through women, that too for a society where the best mental entertainment of a large number of its individuals constitutes sexual entertainment.⁸¹

According to Rahnavard, despite the attempts of capitalist countries to create wasteful and consumerist societies, at some point, surplus comes to outweigh demand. To profit from surplus production, the West has looked for markets in the East, first through colonialism and later via neocolonialism.⁸² Viable markets require that Eastern women be both consumers and alluring tools for advertising directed at men.⁸³ Islam and Islamic *hijab* thwarted the imperialists in the attempted realization of their goals.⁸⁴ “The beauty of (this) concealment,” according to Rahnavard, “lies in the elimination of the physical values in order to revive the values of the real self of a woman ... ”⁸⁵

The celebration of the hidden self and its attendant derogation of the physical—as expressed by Rahnavard and Haddad-Adel—is indeed the microcosm of the revolutionary discourse on issues of private and public life and their ensuing effects on all aspects of society. It is worth reiterating, however, that these ideas are not inspired exclusively by the Qur'an and the *hadith*. Both Rahnavard and Haddad-Adel seem to be informed by the Leftist Western literature, but they are very selective in terms of what they choose from this body of literature to their own ends. They offer a critique of Marxism and capitalism and yet they also end up adopting Western ideology such as feminist criticisms of Marx and Engels and feminist Marxist analyses of the role of women in the public sphere. At stake for Rahnavard and Haddad-Adel is not the idea that the house is a primary site for women's oppression, the locus of a “feminine mystique,” a term famously coined by Betty Friedan; but rather the idea that the public sphere may turn women into objects of consumption, the locus of what Thorstein Veblen, in his 1899 book *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, had identified as “conspicuous consumption.”⁸⁶ Indeed, both Rahnavard and Haddad-Adel do not shy away from either acknowledging or indirectly referring to some Western critics—especially those who attack capitalist systems of marketing and the gendering of consumer products—to justify their own

claims.⁸⁷ Eventually, though, they return to a call for “true” Islamic values. In this sense, the Leftist and feminist critiques of capitalism blend, in these texts as elsewhere, with Islamic ideas. Despite highlighting the binaries of “public” and “private” and “us” and “them,” Rahnavard and Haddad-Adel formed a somewhat hybrid ideology regarding gender and space, confirming that, in many instances, the link between Islamism and liberal secularism in Iran has been one of juxtaposition, rather than discord (see also Chapter 4). They also demonstrate that the private in the minds of most revolutionaries was not essentially in opposition to the public. More often than not, matters of private life became matters of public concern. However, the intellectual underpinnings of the ideas put forth by the revolutionary elite often remained elusive in their narratives. Moreover, instead of using this body of knowledge to produce a sociological study of people’s lives in post-revolutionary Iran, these authors focused their attention on metaphorical aspects of body and space, albeit rebutting moral and mystical implications cited earlier. It should come as no surprise that the scholarly and intellectual dimensions in these works were largely ignored, then, when they were applied to real life circumstances by Islamists of numerous other persuasions.

Women were often blamed for not covering themselves properly. If rules regarding the separation of public and private life were broken—such as walking hand-in-hand with *nā-mahram* men; or those regarding gendered spaces—for example, using the “wrong-sex” university stairwell, women were the ones subject to accusation rather than their male counterparts. Women were constantly harassed by the *basāj*—the paramilitary volunteer militia established in 1979—for improper behavior or incorrect wearing of the *hijab*.⁸⁸

A new phase in the life of the Islamic Republic began after the war with Iraq ended in 1988 and after Ayatollah Khomeini died a year later.⁸⁹ Compared to his predecessors, Gholamhussein Karbaschi was less intent on bringing ideology to the physical space of the city.⁹⁰ During his time as the mayor of Tehran, some billboards with revolutionary slogans were replaced with commercial advertisements. Flowers were planted, the former Pahlavi gardens (Nayavarān and Sa’d Ābād) were opened to the public, six hundred new green spaces were built; and thousands of acres of forest were established on the outskirts of the city.⁹¹ He demanded that homeowners act more responsibly regarding their areas within public view, such as by adorning their doorsteps with flower boxes.⁹² Modern and efficient, new shopping malls and numerous chains of *Shahrvand* (Citizen) department stores also served as public spaces in which men and women could socialize.⁹³ By 1997, when Mohammad Khatami took office as president of the Republic, many things had already changed. Khatami presented himself as a man of reform, and through his call for “the dialogue of civilizations” he helped create a peaceful image for Iran until 2005, when Mahmoud Ahmadinejad took over the presidency.⁹⁴ While a new and a more open culture was in the making, the official media made sure that Iranians were reminded of their authentic past. The press constructed a nostalgic image of the courtyard house. An article from *Rūznāmah Iran* (*Iran Newspaper*) entitled “Living in apartments out of necessity! A look at life in

Tehrani apartments” describes the old courtyard houses and their beautiful *panjdarīs*, rooms with five wooden-framed multicolored glass doors facing the courtyard.⁹⁵ Regretting that this beautiful lifestyle no longer existed, the author then goes on to explain the problems of *farhang-i āpārtamān nashīnī* (the culture of residing in apartment complexes) in Tehran. By mourning the loss of the courtyard, which in the mind’s eye always had a happy housewife in it, the article clearly depicts a gendered image of the past, one that keeps men and women in their traditional roles.⁹⁶ Such sentimental rhetoric, which was rife in the Iranian press throughout the late 1990s, took on a new weight as Ahmadinejad began to implement his Islamization plans in the physical landscape of Tehran while he was mayor of Tehran from 2003 to 2005.

Once in office as the president of the Islamic Republic, Ahmadinejad altered Tehran’s socio-cultural landscape by re-introducing revolutionary posters, placards, and murals. About four hundred drinking fountains (*saqqā-khānah*) were installed throughout the city, newly built but in the traditional style and bearing images of neighborhood war victims.⁹⁷ Ahmadinejad pledged that the memories of *basījī* and *pasdarān* martyrs would be preserved by having their remains reburied in strategic locations throughout the city. Reportedly, around four-hundred million dollars from the municipality’s budget intended for road and other construction was given to mosques and *hay’ats* (spaces for traditional Shiite rituals during the month of Muharram).⁹⁸ He had a giant new mosque built across from the City Theatre (*Ta’atr-i shahr*) to overshadow this symbol of modernist culture.⁹⁹ Colossal artificial palm trees—harking back to landscapes of the so-called “golden age” of early Islam in Saudi Arabia—were installed at the center of some Tehran rotaries.¹⁰⁰ Verses from the Qur’an, with moral messages, came to embellish the giant columns supporting highways in the city.¹⁰¹ Even venues for display of professional art changed drastically, as Alireza Sami-Azar was removed from his position as the director of Tehran’s Museum of Contemporary Art. “We are in very grave danger of retreating back to the post-revolutionary days, when only those artists who were deemed as expressing so-called Islamic values were displayed Culturally it was the Dark Age for Iran,” said Sami-Azar soon after his resignation in 2005.¹⁰² But each time the Islamic Republic regime effected a spatial change, that site would become a platform for myriad negotiations, as when the state tried to institutionalize public religious events. The results were counter-productive. Communal Friday prayers traditionally took place in small neighborhood mosques, which encouraged active participation and much sociability. Since these Friday prayers have become institutionalized and take place at the Tehran University campus, the sense of local community has been gradually lost, and attendance has declined. Only 12 percent of young Iranians now visit mosques for religious purposes, according to a recent survey, and 25 percent of Tehranis have never been to one.¹⁰³ Likewise, many have challenged gender-segregated spaces. On university campuses, young male and female students have long flouted such rules by communicating with one another across physical barriers. Public transportation has at times become a site of sexual transgression, where neither the bars that separate the male and female sections nor women’s veils fulfill their intended purposes, except perhaps

as a marker of futile injunction to orthodoxy.¹⁰⁴ This form of resistance has more effectively surfaced in the way people live their private lives, as this is a sphere that is not controlled by the state.¹⁰⁵ However, as I will show in the following pages, this resistance has not always been that of outright rejection of regulations and “norms.”

6 Epilogue

At home in the Islamic Republic

Introduction

For over a century, private spaces went through multiple transformations that were not necessarily linear: certain spaces, at some point been overtly Westernized, were at other times modified again to serve their original, traditional purposes. At any given moment, tradition and modernity often “took turns” alternately, defining public and private spaces. When public space became Westernized and secular, the private became more conservative, and vice versa. In 1892, the *andarūn*, which had been stigmatized by Westerners as a place of imprisonment and women’s oppression, turned out to be a site of political activism. In response to a monopoly awarded to the British entrepreneur G.F. Talbot to cultivate and sell Iranian tobacco, there were large-scale protests; but it was a tobacco boycott by the women of the palace harem that finally forced Nasser al-Din Shah of the Qajar dynasty to withdraw the concession.¹

More than four decades later, when public space had become more secularized through Reza Shah’s Unveiling Act of 1936, the private space of the *andarūn* became again a much more isolated, detached space. Women who were committed to their religious beliefs and to the veil were barred from the main streets and forced to walk along side streets. If they did not, these women who had spent their entire lives wearing the veil would have had to remain in the *andarūn*. In the words of sociologist Homa Hoodfar, “Women became even more dependent on men since they now had to ask for men’s collaboration in order to perform activities they had previously performed independently. This gave men a degree of control over women they had never before possessed. It also reinforced the idea that households without adult men were odd and abnormal.”²

The above episodes foreshadowed the complexity of the dialogue of “public” and “private” in later decades. During Mohammad Reza Shah’s reign, as public space was becoming progressively more secular, the private space of the home became the place where people could exercise their religious rituals more freely. In those days, Fariba Adelhah observes:

The (Qur’an) was a rare “presence.” It was shelved high up, wrapped in a piece of cloth, to avoid its being soiled by contact with unclean hands or dust, and to keep it out of children’s reach. People arranged their movements

around the room in relation to the holy Book; you did not turn your back to it, you avoided any rude (and) any immoral attitude, you did not stretch your legs out in the direction of the Book It was considered unfitting to get up when the Qur'an was open for reading Daily life itself was placed under (the Qur'an's) protection; the pediments of houses were often decorated with ceramic or wrought in iron verses. The sacredness of the Qur'an was so well understood, and implied so many obligations.³

As the post-revolutionary regime made public spaces more religious, people made the private domain more secular. There, men and women would freely mingle, away from the watchful eyes of the state's police. This social behavior, in the words of the sociologist Masserat Amir-Ebrahimi, existed " . . . especially in settings outside the direct control of the state. In private . . . modern appearance, behavior and speech (have been) the socially expected norm."⁴ At first, such behavioral modes were present in people's daily lives, but nowhere in official representations. Gradually, however, the media began to address the reality of these forms of sociability. Even fine artists, filmmakers, and novelists captured aspects of this culture and architects accommodated the prerequisites of such a lifestyle in their respective oeuvres.

Inhabiting and resisting the "norm"

Although after the Islamic Revolution economic redistribution helped to lessen the gap between classes, deep ideological differences continued to divide the inhabitants in large cities like Tehran. Well-to-do and Westernized residents who had formerly dominated the city's main public places were pushed into their enclosed private spaces.⁵ Many artists, especially female artists, used still life and the domestic sphere as their subject matter in order to avoid engaging with territories that were political, politicized, or claimed by the government.⁶ Parvaneh Etemadi, whose pre-revolutionary work (see Prologue) included still life with signs of capitalism—e.g., Coca-Cola bottles—turned to the most mundane and traditional of objects found in Iranian homes. Set against a white background, Etemadi's *Hidden* (1991) depicts what seems to be a white embroidered coffee-table cloth—or handkerchief—wrapped around a mysterious object (figure 6.1). Representing domestic craftwork—rather than consumerist products—, Etemadi's still life paintings were enthusiastically received in various galleries across Tehran. Her extremely detailed paintings gave the illusion of real lacework and embroidery, which entranced gallery-goers and projected a trouble-free proposition. The female artist, too, was obedient in turning to her "spaces of femininity"⁷ and her proper role as mother/homemaker, one who would metaphorically "sew" and "knit" with a colored pencil. However, the choice of the title *Hidden*, together with the mystery of the wrapped object, inspires another reading that may have been missed by the reviewers at the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, who issued permission for the display of Etemadi's work.⁸ People could only hide their attitudes and desires within the spaces of their domestic life, the only place "hidden" from the watchful eyes of the state police;

the only place where people could openly display what might be considered inappropriate by the authorities: a home culture drastically dissimilar to what the regime had envisioned for the people. Etemadi fashions the mood of daily life in the Islamic Republic by coercing the political through the personal and by demonstrating how identity is shaped by both private life and public rules. Her work epitomizes the dual life that people had (and still have) to lead in order to survive the harassment of the state police, a concept that is also well captured in the cinema and the architecture of the 1990s.

Dariush Mehrjui's internationally acclaimed *Leila* (1997), a film about challenging aspects of marriage as a universal social institution by a middle-class Iranian housewife—the film's main protagonist, Leila—can be interpreted as an oeuvre that simultaneously obeys and challenges the status quo. Through the representation of private life in dark and small spaces, Mehrjui “creates a sense of suffocation. . . . Leila's complicity with her bitter fate makes the audience feel claustrophobic: We are as trapped in her story, and in the limitations of her choices, as she is.”⁹ Examples of such careful condemnation of the status quo can be found in the work of other Iranian filmmakers whose struggle to balance state regulations and the expression of their views has turned their films into springboards from which alternative dispositions and protocols emerge.¹⁰ Although the work of Iranian artists and filmmakers is often elusive, the way they challenge the norm can be regarded as a means of setting limits to suppression.

Architects have also played a part in this ethos. By appropriating the already existing principles of the physical segregation of the sexes and the palpable separation of the public and the private, they have achieved a unique style that is neither in conformity with the rules and regulations of the Islamic Republic nor



Figure 6.1 Parvaneh Etemadi, *Hidden*, 1991, pastel on paper, 80 × 60 cm. Reproduced in J. Mujābī and J. Damija, eds., *Barguzidah āsār-i Parvaneh Etemadi 1345–1377 (A Selection of Parvaneh Etemadi's Artwork, 1966–1998)*, Tehran: Nashr-i hunar-i Iran, 1999, p. 45. Courtesy of the artist and the Museum of Contemporary Art, Tehran

an emulation of the architecture of more open and Western societies. A case in point is Dowlat II Residential Complex—completed in 2007 by the Tehran-based firm Arsh Design Studio—a multi-level residential complex of only 535 square meters in size that was nominated for the 2010 Aga Khan Award for Architecture. The main façade is covered by an external wall cladding, which allows changeable configurations decided by the inhabitants.¹¹ While carefully separated from the public, the private life of the inhabitants can be made visible to passersby if the wooden lattice screen, which cloaks the building like a veil, is altered (figure 6.2). One may posit that the architect, while not wishing to change or disrupt the sanctioned way of life, aimed nonetheless to suggest an alternative lifestyle using the system’s own dictates. Through concealing and revealing their interiors from and to the outsider’s gaze, the inhabitants take control of their private lives. At the same time, they make a public pronouncement of their variance from a seemingly imposed design. In the words of cultural theorist Michel de Certeau, the designers as well as those who occupy this building inhabit the “text” like a “rented apartment.”¹² They build on the existing sanctioned status quo and create new meanings in response to it, making it their own. In short, many artists, designers and architects in Iran have asserted agency in changing their own lives as well as those of others, but this “agentival capacity is entailed not only in those acts that resist norms but also in the multiple ways in which one inhabits norms.”¹³

White, tall, and monumental: residential high-rises of Tehran

The television series *Pidar Sālār (The Patriarch)*—which was broadcast once a week in 1995 over the national television channel—took a new, bold look at the concept of the traditional courtyard home. The story is set in an extended



Figure 6.2 Dowlat II Residential Complex by Alireza Shirafati of Arsh Design Studio, 2007. View of the façade with opened wooden lattice screens. Photographs by Arsh Design Studio. Courtesy of Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Geneva

family courtyard house in south Tehran. The men and women of the family—the patriarch’s sons, the sons’ wives as well as the patriarch’s wife—all conform to the patriarch’s rules, as he is the head of the household. As the series progresses, this conventional setting is interrupted by the wife of the youngest son of the family, who upon marriage wishes to rent an apartment in preference to moving into the courtyard house. This is the beginning of an ongoing argument between the young bride and her strict father-in-law. It eventually spreads to others in the extended family, and through a chain of events, all the other wives follow the new bride’s path. In a broader sense, these young women rise up against the age-old patriarchal system and strive for separating themselves and their husbands, as autonomous units of private desire and life, from the extended family. This decision agitates the old man. Eventually, the patriarch loses his self-control and frantically throws out the belongings of those family members who are still residing in that house (figures 6.3a and 6.3b). Despite many challenging situations, such as the sons being accused by their own father of not being “men” enough to control their wives, the young men go along with their wives and eventually all move into modern apartments, freeing themselves from the restrictive atmosphere of the old dwelling. The series projected the idea that the new generation—even those descending from conservative and religious backgrounds—was in search of a sense of individuality.



Figures 6.3a and 6.3b
Stills from *Pidar Sālār* (*The Patriarch*), directed by Akbar Khājavi (1374/1995)

The younger generation's search for individuality is more vigorously projected in a number of works by Iranian women novelists who challenge the traditional role of women as the housewife and instead call for her identity as an independent individual.¹⁴ Zoya Pirzad's stories stand out from those of other authors. Pirzad writes about women in search of spaces exclusive to their own living. In her short story "*Āpārtamān*" ("The Apartment"), she writes of a woman who wishes to leave her husband and uses her inheritance to buy a one-bedroom apartment just for herself. As the story unfolds, the reader is introduced to many details regarding the character's actual living space vis-à-vis the desired apartment.¹⁵ While the protagonists of Pirzad's novels—which were set in the 1990s—were dreaming of spaces that might give them a sense of individuality and autonomy,¹⁶ the architects of Tehran were busy making their dreams come true. Even in the strict atmosphere of the 1980s, professional designers and architects played a part not only in contributing to the creation of a sense of individuality, but also in exercising their own individual tastes in design. As a consequence of the restrictions imposed upon public matters, for many architects the private house, financed by local private corporations and freelance contractors, became a key locus where they could freely exercise their creative skills.

In the late 1990s, numerous high-rise buildings were built in the capital, especially in the affluent north, where real estate was much more profitable. The display of wealth that was so vigorously prohibited in the early years of the Islamic Revolution was gradually reinvented again, against all odds.¹⁷ As in the past, Tehran's north/south spatial divide was apparent, this time in the form of lavish white high-rises (figure 6.4) that towered condescendingly over the spreading settlements of the southern lands where poor, working-, and



Figure 6.4 Residential apartments of north Tehran, 'Ilāhīyyah district. Photograph courtesy of Parham Karimi, 2008

middle-class Tehranis dwelt if they could not afford to live within the city limits.¹⁸ Architects developed their individual tastes in domains that oscillated between revulsion toward the pre-revolutionary period, and nostalgic desire for resurrecting it, between the burdens of an “isolated” homeland and “free” places far beyond reach.¹⁹ Throughout the 1990s, images of the latter were manifested in the vestibules of residential apartment complexes, which replicated the grandiose entrances of hotel lobbies or casinos from movie scenes—mostly Hollywood—and Western magazines.

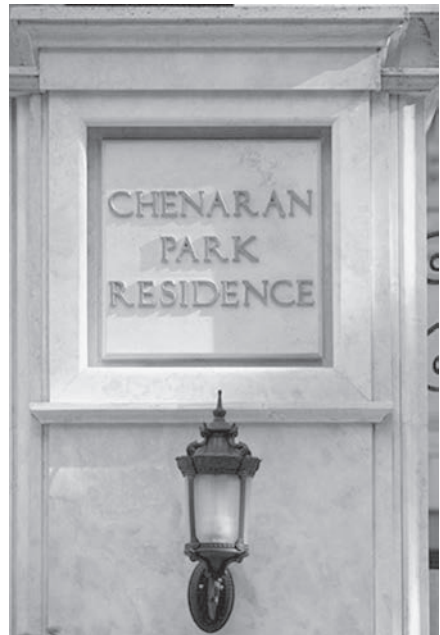
Now, with the abundance of available Internet images, architectural journals, and books, this image-inspired architecture has reached its peak. Visitors to northern Tehran’s neighborhoods are often surprised by the glamour and monumentality of the neoclassical-style residential buildings. The residential high-rises of architect Farzad Dalīrī stand out (figures 6.5a–c and 6.6a–c). Sturdy and monumental, the lobbies of these buildings are adorned with elements from classical Greek and Roman architecture. Some are embellished with frescoes that resemble Victorian-era fairy paintings (figure 6.7). The imagery allows residents to distance themselves from the rigors of daily urban life. Oscillating between ancient Greek temples, Las Vegas casinos, glamorous hotels, and Victorian fairy paintings, these structures have become a sort of escapist arcadia for both the Islamic Republic’s middle-class and top bureaucrats in the Revolutionary Guard or the judiciary.



Figure 6.5a Afrā Tower, Firishtah District, Pārsā – Latfī Avenue, 2000. Designed by Farzad Dalīrī. Photograph courtesy of Farzad Dalīrī



Figures 6.5b and 6.5c
Afrā Tower, Firishtah
District, Pārsā – Latīfī
Avenue, 2000. Designed by
Farzad Dalīrī. Photograph
courtesy of Farzad Dalīrī



Figures 6.6a, 6.6b and 6.6c
Chenaran Park Residence, 'Ilāhīyyah District, Chinārān Ave., 2010. Designed by Farzad Dalīrī. Photographs courtesy of Farzad Dalīrī

“The 3.5 million dollar apartment in Tehran” is the title of a 2007 report on the Persian site of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which features the opinions of some residents.²⁰ “Living in the heights (*zandagī dar ‘artafā’*)” helps to remove oneself from the polluted, crowded streets down below. Some owners have even created their own “private parks” on the rooftops of these apartment towers.²¹ Under the Islamic Republic even public architecture has been individualized, resulting in novel interior designs unique to post-revolutionary Iran.

Although Iranians have created a distinct lifestyle within their private space, the fact that it is private has not prevented the governing regime from trying to control it. In recent years, the Islamic Republic’s moral police force (*Pulīs-i Akhlāqī Nājā*) has raised concerns about the mixed-gender parties that take place in people’s homes—and that are reportedly organized via Facebook on the Internet. These concerns are reflected in a *Mehr News* article from January 2010 that provides not only an account of recent happenings, but also a brief history of mixed-gender parties (*pārtī-hā-ya mukhtalat*), in which men and women mingle freely and unlawful (*harām*) alcoholic beverages are frequently served. The article brackets together these gatherings and those that took hold in the 1970s among the high-class society *mufsads* (nonbelievers) of the Pahlavi era. Calling for eradication of such unethical and immoral happenings in people’s homes, the article reassures the readers that those in the Naja moral police take note



Figure 6.7 Ceiling detail, the lobby of Kūh-a Nūr Residence, Kāmrāniyyah District, 2000. Designed by Farzad Dalīrī. Photograph by author, 2007

of all gatherings, even those of the exclusive Armenian community in Tehran, which frequently meets in public reception halls. The article goes on to state that Armenians accused of drinking too much (*badmastī*) are allowed to leave these halls only once they are sober.²² Still, the most serious threat to private space—beginning in the late 1990s—is the official view of satellite dishes (*mahvarah*), which are considered illegal by Iran’s security police force (*Pulis-i amniyat-i Iran*).²³ Youths in residential clusters alert others via telephone of the whereabouts of the police, and usually by the time the police reach the spot in question, the dish has been taken down. But these activities might seem trivial when compared to women’s group efforts to enter all-male football stadiums, to students lobbying for the introduction of sex-education courses into the curriculum or to the mixed-gender gatherings in hidden natural outdoor spots, or to the organizing of demonstrations during and following the Green Movement in summer 2009.²⁴

There has been controversy every step of the way towards modernization of domesticity in Iran. The private domain provided a place for religious Islamists to implement their ideas during the increasing secularization of public space under the Pahlavis. Similarly, post-revolutionary Iran’s strict mores regarding “public” and “private” spaces inadvertently amplified the intermingling of the two, rather than controlling it.²⁵ One may, perhaps, argue that any form of dominance in modern Iran has necessarily promulgated what it has sought to forbid.²⁶ Reconciled, Iranians simultaneously continue to undermine their peripheral status in the pervasive power/knowledge scheme. Indeed, the copious aspects of everyday life, domesticity, and consumer culture discussed in this book ensure that power in Iran has worked not just in negative and restrictive ways, but also in positive ways, ensuring innovative systems of knowledge and edifying discourses.²⁷

Notes

Prologue

- 1 Paul Schroeder, personal interview with the author, May 30, 2009.
- 2 Based on several interviews conducted by the author with the staff of air conditioner companies in Iran, May 10, 2007.
- 3 See further J. Mujābī and J. Damija, eds., *Barguzidah āsār-i Parvaneh Etemadi 1345–1377 (A Selection of Parvaneh Etemadi's Artwork, 1345–1377/1966–1998)*, Tehran: Nashr-i hunar-i Iran, 1378/1999; Mujābī, J., Y. Imdādīan and T. Malikī, eds., *Pīshgāmān-i hunar-i naw garāy-i Iran: Behjat Sadr (Pioneers of Contemporary Art in Iran: Behjat Sadr)*, Tehran: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1382/2003. I have referred to the work of these artists as well as the aforementioned accounts about the cooler, in, “The Cooler,” *Bidoun*, 2008, vol.14, n.p.
- 4 A. Milani, “The Lajevardi Family,” in idem, ed., *Eminent Persians: The Men and Women Who Made Modern Iran, 1941–1979*, vol. 2, New York: Syracuse University Press and Persian World Press, 2008, pp. 645–60; quoted on p. 645. See also “An Entrepreneurial Elite that Came up from the Bazaars,” *Fortune*, October 1974, p. 148. Cited in Milani, *ibid.*, 645 and 1100. For further information regarding the activities of the company (as narrated from the point of view of the Islamic Republic’s historians), see A.A. Sa’idī and F. Shirin-Kām, *Muq’iyyat tujjār va sahibān-a sanāyi’ dar Irān durān-i pahlavī: Sarmāyah dāri khānivādagī khāndān-i Lādjivardī (Merchants and Company Owners under the Pahlavis: The Business of the Lajevardi Family)*, Tehran: Gam-i naw, 1384/2005.
- 5 Lajevardi, personal interview with the author, May 2, 2008.
- 6 Ali Lajevardi adds: “While we were photographing all the paintings and trying to catalogue them, the revolution took place and all our companies were nationalized. So, the work was never completed. After that I lost complete track of the collection until last year when the Ministry of Industry decided to auction the paintings. With the help of several journalists, we managed to stop the auction. All together, it was the largest collection of contemporary Iranian painting. One can say that it was a pioneering approach for its time.” Ali Lajevardi, personal interview with the author, July 10, 2008.
- 7 K. Gulsurkhī, *Sīyāsāt-i hunar, sīyāsāt-i shī’r (The Politics of Art and Poetry)*, p. 31; part of the underground publication series called *Jild sifīd*, manuscripts or blank-cover books; the pamphlet was first distributed in June 1978.
- 8 The term was coined by Jalal al-i Ahmad (1923–1969) who was first a member and supporter of the Tudeh Party—or, party of the masses of Iran, which was an Iranian communist party—and later became a proto-Islamic critic.
- 9 H. Tavānīyanfard, *Karkhanijāt-i muntaj, ‘ulavīyathāy-i iqtisādī Iran: iqtisād-i shirk (Montage Factories, Economic Priorities of Iran: The Sinful Economy)*, Tehran: Qist Publishers, 1980, pp. 18–34.

- 10 D. Little, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945*, Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002, p. 221.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 I am referring to ideas put forth by such scholars as D. Lerner, in idem, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*, New York: Glencoe, 1964.
- 13 A similar argument has been made by S. Bozdogan in "Democracy, Development, and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Culture in the 1950s," in S. Isenstadt and K. Rizvi, eds., *Modernism and the Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2008, p. 118. I refer to Bozdogan's discussion of Turkey's modernization, citing Lerner's arguments (Lerner, *ibid.*: 412). For further critique of modernization theory, see D. Eickelman and J. Piscatori, *Muslim Politics*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- 14 For further information on the topic see, for example, L. Martell, *The Sociology of Globalization*, Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press, 2010 and J. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- 15 B. Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1963; R. Schwartz Cowan, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave*, New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1983.
- 16 W. Benjamin, "Louis-Philippe or the Interior," in idem, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, London: Verso Books, 1973, p. 167; cited in C. Reed, ed., *Not at Home: The Suppression of Domesticity in Modern Art and Architecture*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1996, p. 7.
- 17 C. Reed, "Introduction," in *ibid.*, p. 7.
- 18 H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991; E. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: the Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, London and New York: Verso, 1989; idem, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994.
- 19 S. Ardener, *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, London: Croom Helm, 1981; D. Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labor*, London: Routledge, 1995; idem, *Space, Place and Gender*, University of Minnesota Press, 1994; D. Spain, *Gendered Spaces*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- 20 See, for example, E. Collins Cromley, "Transforming the Food Axis: Houses, Tools, Modes of Analysis," *Material History Review*, Fall 1996, vol.44, pp. 8–20; D. Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820–2000*, New York: Pantheon Books, 2003; idem, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods and Cities*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1982; idem, *Redesigning the American Dream: Gender, Housing, and Family Life*, W.W. Norton & Company, 2002; G. Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago 1873–1917*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980; idem, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1983.
- 21 bell hooks (aka Gloria Jean Watkins), *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*, Boston: South End Press, 1990; S. Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands*, London and New York: Granta Books, 1992; Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, 1994. Also see, A. Blunt and G. Rose, eds., *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Post-Colonial Geographies*, New York and London: The Guilford Press, 1994, in which the authors present a series of colonial and postcolonial case studies to explore issues of race and gender as they overlap with spatial configurations.
- 22 J. Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880–1930*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003, p. 6.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.
- 24 F. Mernisi, *The Veil And The Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation Of Women's Rights In Islam*, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1991; idem, *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society*, London: Al Saqi, 1985; M.

- Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, c1986; N. Göle, *The Forbidden Modern*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996. All cited in "Introduction," in M. Booth, ed. *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010, pp. 1–20. References to these authors appear on pages 9 and 16.
- 25 See, for example, M. Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism*, Cambridge, U.K. and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998; I.C. Schick, *The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alteritist Discourse*, London and New York: Verso, 1999; R.B. Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
 - 26 A. Duben and C. Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991; J.E. Campo, *The Other Side of Paradise: Explorations into the Religious Meanings of Domestic Space in Islam*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991; F. Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation, and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2002.
 - 27 S. Bozdogan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.
 - 28 C. Bertram, *Imagining the Turkish House: Collective Visions of Home*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.
 - 29 L. Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt 1805–1923*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2005.
 - 30 R. Shechter, ed., *Transitions in Domestic Consumption and Family Life in the Modern Middle East: Houses in Motion*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
 - 31 A similar criticism has been expressed by C.M. Amin; see "Introduction," in idem, *The Making of the Modern Iranian Woman: Gender, State Policy and Popular Culture, 1865–1946*, Tampa: University of Florida Press, 2003, p. 211.
 - 32 These points have been brought up by C. Schayegh in idem, "Recent Trends in the Historiography of Iran and the Pahlavi Dynasty 1921–1979," *History Compass*, 2008, vol. 6, no. 6, pp. 1400–16. For studies of modern urban development conducted before the Islamic Revolution see, for example, B.D. Clark and V. Costello, "The Urban System and Social Patterns in Iranian Cities," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, July 1973, vol. 59, pp. 99–128; for a comprehensive study of urban development and its connection to the life conditions of the poor after the Islamic Revolution, see, for example, S. Lloyd, *Housing the Urban Poor in Iran: A Vicious Circle*, Occasional Papers, Center of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. 10, February 1993, p. 9.
 - 33 See also H. Hoodfar, "Devices and Desires: Population Policy and Gender Roles in the Islamic Republic," *Middle East Report*, 1994, vol. 24, no.190; idem, "Volunteer Health Workers in Iran as Social Activists. Can 'Governmental Non-governmental Organizations' be Agents of Democratization?" *Occasional Papers*, 1998, vol. 10, pp. 3–30.
 - 34 Amin, op. cit., 2003; A. Najmabadi, "Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran," in L. Abu-Lughod, ed., *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, pp. 91–125; F. Kashani-Sabet, "The Politics of Reproduction: Maternalism and Women's Hygiene in Iran, 1896–1941," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, February 2006, pp. 1–29; idem, "Hallmarks of Humanism: Hygiene and Love of Homeland in Qajar Iran," *American Historical Review*, October 2000.
 - 35 N. Naghibi, *Rethinking Global Sisterhood: Western Feminism and Iran*, Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 2007; M. Zirinski, "A Presbyterian Vocation to Reform Gender Relations in Iran: The Career of Annie Stocking Boyce," in S. Ansari and V. Martin, eds., *Women, Religion, and Culture in Iran*, London: Curzon Press, 2002, pp. 51–6; idem, "Onward Christian Soldiers: Presbyterian Missionaries and

- the Ambiguous Origins of American Relations with Iran,” Proceedings of Altruism and Imperialism: The Western Religious and Cultural Missionary Enterprise in the Middle East, Middle East Institute Conference: Bellagio (Italy), August 2000; J. Rostam-Kolayi, “Foreign Education, The Women’s Press, and the Discourse of Scientific Domesticity in Early-Twentieth-Century Iran,” in N.R. Keddie and R. Matthee, eds., *Iran and the Surrounding World: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politics*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2002, pp. 182–202; G.E. Francis-Dehqani, “CMS Women Missionaries in Iran, 1891–1934: Attitudes Towards Islam and Muslim Women,” in Ansari and Martin, 2002, pp. 27–50.
- 36 As shown, for example, in Mohammad Gholi Majd’s *The Great American Plunder of Persian Antiquities, 1925–1941*, Lanham: University Press of America, 2003.
- 37 C. Schayegh “‘Seeing Like a State’: An Essay on the Historiography of Modern Iran,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 42, 2010, pp. 37–61. Quote on p. 38. Other scholars of modern Iran have raised similar concerns. Referring to the history of post-revolutionary Iran, the anthropologist Setrag Manuoukian, for example, has mentioned that some scholars are wary that “writing a (‘true’) history would put the writer at risk” S. Manuoukian, “The City of Knowledge: History and Culture in Contemporary Shiraz,” PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2001, p. 179. Cited in Schayegh, op. cit., p. 48.
- 38 “Importing ‘Beauty Culture’ into Iran in the 1920’s and 1930’s: Mass Marketing Individualism in an Age of Anti-Imperialist Sacrifice,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 2004, vol. 24, no.1, pp. 18–35.
- 39 See, for example, K. Abdi, “Nationalism, Politics, and the Development of Archaeology in Iran,” *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2001, vol. 105, no. 1, pp. 51–76.
- 40 T. Grigor, “Of Metamorphosis: Meaning on Iranian Terms,” *Third Text*, 2003, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 207–25.
- 41 P. Sparke, *As Long As It’s Pink: The Sexual Politics of Taste*, London and San Francisco: Pandora, 1995, p. 8.
- 42 L. Auslander, “Beyond Words,” *The American Historical Review*, 2005, vol. 110, no. 4, p. 53.
- 43 A.A. Bakhtiar and R. Hillenbrand, “Domestic Architecture in Nineteen Century Iran,” in E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand, eds., *Qajar Iran: Political, Social, and Cultural Exchange, 1800–1925*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983, pp. 383–92; T. Grigor, “Orient oder Rom? Qajar ‘Aryan’ Architecture and Strzygowski’s Art History,” *The Art Bulletin*, 2007, vol. 89, no. 3, pp. 562–90; M. Marefat, “Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran, 1921–1941,” PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988; idem, “The Protagonists Who Shaped Modern Tehran,” in Ch. Adle and B. Hourcade, eds., *Téhéran, Capitale Bicentenaire*, Paris and Tehran: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 1992, pp. 105–8.
- 44 For an extensive study on how the issue of taste (Farsi: *zawq*) was defined during the late-Qajar and early Pahlavi period, see T. Grigor, “Recultivating ‘Good Taste’: The Early Pahlavi Modernists and Their Society for National Heritage,” *Iranian Studies*, 2004, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 17–45.
- 45 Similarly, Bakhtiar and Hillenbrand suggest that the concept of “public” and “private” prevailed within the four walls of the traditional Iranian courtyard house. Ironically, these characteristics persisted in the more traditional working-class homes of the late-Pahlavi era, as described by the anthropologist Jane Khatib-Chahidi and discussed in Chapters 3 and 5 of this book.
- 46 J. Khatib-Chahidi, “Sexual Prohibitions, Shared Space and Fictive Marriages in Shiite Iran,” in S. Ardener, ed., *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1981. Other such studies that deal with people’s daily life include, E. Friedl, *Children of Deh Koh: Young Life in an Iranian Village*, Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1997; R. Loeffler, *Islam in Practice: Religious Beliefs in a Persian Village*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press,

- 1988; R. Tapper, *Pasture and Politics: Economics, Conflict, and Ritual among the Shahsevan Nomads of Northwestern Iran*, London: Academic Press, 1979; E. Hooglund, *Land and Revolution in Iran, 1960–1980*. Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1982. All cited in C. Schayegh “‘Seeing Like a State’: An Essay on the Historiography of Modern Iran,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 42, 2010, pp. 37–61.
- 47 Inside Iran some architectural historians, such as Mustafā Kīānī and Nigār Hakīm, have revisited the modern house during the Reza Shah formative years. M. Kīānī, *Mi'mār ī durah Pahlavī avval: dīgargūnī andīshahā, paydāyash, va shikh gīrī mi'mārī durah bīst salah mu'āsir-i Irān, 1299–1320 (Architecture Under the First Pahlavi Period: The Formation of Modern Iranian Architecture, 1920–1941)*, Tehran: Mu'assasah Tārīkh Mutalī'at-i Mu'āsar-i Iran, 1383/2006; N. Hakīm, “*Tahavvul-i mi'mārī maskan-i Irānī dar dahihāy-a nakhusta qarn* (The Transformation of Iran's Residential Architecture at the Turn of the Century),” *Mi'mār (Architect)*, Bahār 1379/Spring 2000, vol. 8, pp. 65–8. With the exception of studies by the aforementioned scholars, Iranian publications on residential architecture, such as books and articles by Muhammad Karīm Pīrnā, Ghulām Hussein Mi'mārīān, and Zuhrih Buzurgnā have mainly focused on the formal aspects of the traditional urban courtyard house. While valuable, these works often organize different forms of the Iranian home into typological categories that ignore the impact of socio-political events and dynastic shifts—from Qajar to Pahlavi, for example. See further, M.K. Pīrnā, *Ashnā-yī bā mi'mārī islamī Iran: gūnih shināsī darūngarā (Introduction to Islamic Architecture of Iran: Inverted Types)*, Tehran: Science and Technology University Press, 1371/1993; G. Mi'mārīān, *Ashnāy bā mi'mārī maskūnī Irān (Introduction to Residential Architecture of Iran)*, Tehran: Science and Technology University Press, 1375/1996; Z. Buzurgnā, “*Mi'mārī maskan-i shahrī dar ustān-i markazī* (Residential Architecture in Markazī Province),” *Mi'mār*, Ordībihisht 1383/May 2004, vol. 24, pp. 109–22.
- 48 V.R. Schwartz and J.M. Przyblyski, *The Nineteenth Century Visual Culture Reader*, New York and London: Routledge, 2004, p.6–7. On the perception of Qajar art by both contemporary and nineteenth-century commentators, see Finbarr Barry Flood “From the Prophet to Postmodernism? New World Orders and the End of Islamic Art,” in Elizabeth Mansfield, ed., *Making Art History: A Changing Discipline and its Institutions*. London & New York: Routledge, 2007, pp. 31–53. Reference to perception of Qajar art appears on 39–41. It is noteworthy that by the “visual economy” of the images of women in the Qajar period I mean the cultural and discursive systems through which these images are produced, consumed and circulated.
- 49 H. Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” in idem, *The Location of Culture*, London: Routledge, 1994, p. 86.
- 50 It is ironic that very little scholarly works have addressed the question of feminine taste and the role of gender in consumption. Indeed, the over-emphasis on the world of production in most studies of this period has subordinated the feminine culture, thus marginalizing the role it played in consumer practices.
- 51 In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Pierre Bourdieu maintains that taste is used by individuals to define their position in a social order; “distinction” is the means through which they express their taste as different from that of others. This is largely due to “owning” the “cultural capital” or having access to institutions and resources that instill in people a sense of what is tasteful and valuable and what is not.
- 52 Rashid Khalidi, *Sowing Crisis: The Cold War and American Dominance in the Middle East*, Boston: Beacon Press, 2009.
- 53 In *Exporting American Architecture, 1870–2000*, London and New York: Routledge, 2003, J.W. Cody looks at where and why American architects and building-material exporters marketed architecture overseas. A.J. Wharton's *Building the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture*, Chicago and London:

- University of Chicago Press, 2001, examines how, from 1953 to 1966, the Hilton Hotel chain was introduced into the major cities of Europe and the Middle East as an effective representation of the United States. While useful, these studies rarely look at what happened in the regions into which American projects were transplanted.
- 54 N. Brenner, "Beyond State-Centrism? Space, Territoriality, and Geographical Scale in Globalization Studies," *Theory and Society*, February 1999, vol. 28, no.1, pp. 39–78.
- 55 As described by scholars like Jurgen Habermas. See, for example, J. Habermas, "Modernity: An Incomplete Project," in Hal Foster, ed., *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Post-Modern Culture*, Townsend, Wash Bay Press, 1983, pp. 3–15. Similar assertion has been made by F. Ghannam, op. cit., p. 137.
- 56 My position here is similar to that of K. Talattof in his book, *Modernity, Sexuality, and Ideology in Iran: The Life and Legacy of a Popular Female Artist*, Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2011.
- 57 Here I am referring to a form of resistance that has been articulated by writers such as Michel de Certeau. He allows us to understand the role ordinary people, artists, and architects play in challenging the status quo, by appropriating the already existing cultural artefacts and by giving them ironic meanings. See further, M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 53.
- 59 My study is informed by Leila Abu-Lughod's analysis of the Bedouin women and their resistance toward the dominant culture, in which she claims that resistance should not be read merely as a sign of ineffectiveness of a certain system of power. See further, L. Abu-Lughod, "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power through Bedouin Women," *American Ethnologist*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 41–55. Quote on p. 53.
- 60 M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. R. Hurley, New York: Vintage, 1990, vol. 1.
- 61 It is noteworthy that this issue is less evident in Chapter 2, wherein I place emphasis on the role of architects, builders and the decisions made by the government and do not elaborate on how ordinary people reacted to these changes.

1 The hovel, the harem, and the hybrid furnishing

- 1 With the installment of telegraph lines in the 1860s, the government was able to communicate with the provinces and react more rapidly and effectively to unrest and rebellion. It also enabled the Shah and his statesmen to be in touch with European capitals for diplomatic relations. For more information regarding how these technologies transformed multiple aspects of the socio-political system of Qajar Iran, see A. Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir al-Din Shah and the Iranian Monarchy*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2008, 2nd ed.; M. Ekhtiar, "Nasir al-Din Shah and the Dar al-Funun: The Evolution of an Institution," *Iranian Studies*, 2001, vol. 34, nos. 1–4, pp. 153–63.
- 2 Around 1860, Nasir al-Din Shah had the road in front of his palace lit up, in European fashion, with many lanterns equipped with tallow candles. C. Serena, *Hommes et choses en Perse*, Paris: Charpentier, 1883, p. 53; cited in G. Neshat, *The Origins of Modern Reform in Iran, 1870–80*, Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1982, p. 159. Also see E.B. Eastwick, *Journal of a Diplomat's Three Years' Residence in Persia*, London, 1864, vol. 1, Tehran, 1976, p. 235. In 1892, a Belgian company installed gas pipes and meters in Tehran; but the high cost and inferior quality of the coal used to produce the gas made the entire undertaking very expensive and inefficient. It was not until 1908, when Amin al-Zarb (1872–1932)—Persian businessman and vice-president of the first *majlis* (Parliament)—established his electric plant in Tehran that public lighting became available. W. Floor, (2005) "Lighting Equipment and Heating Fuel" in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/lighting-equipment-and-heating-fuel>.

- iranica.com/articles/lighting-equipment-and-heating-fuel (accessed June 20, 2010); idem, *Traditional Crafts in Qajar Iran*, chapter 4: “Public and Residential Lighting in Safavid and Qajar Iran,” Costa Mesa, CA.: Mazda Publishers, 2003, pp. 89–112.
- 3 In 1759, Agha Mohammad Khan commissioned an architect from Tabriz to build an audience chamber, administrative buildings, and private quarters within the citadel of Tehran—known as Arg. The Gulistān Palace was later expanded by Fath Ali Shah and his successors. See further, J.M. Scarce, “The Royal Palaces of the Qajar Dynasty; A Survey,” in E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand, eds., *Qajar Iran: Political, Social, and Cultural Change, 1800–1925*, Costa Mesa, CA.: Mazda Publishers, 1992, pp. 329–51.
 - 4 Amanat, op. cit., p. xix. On Nasir al-Din Shah’s interest in importing European gadgets and related stories, see ibid. p. 77. Also see A. Amanat, “Qajar Iran: A Historical Overview,” in L.S. Diba and M. Ekhtiar, eds., *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch 1785–1925*, Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum and I.B. Tauris, 1998, pp. 14–29.
 - 5 Nasir al-Din Shah’s interests in palace life were in a sense built upon those of Fath Ali Shah, whose court was “noted for its dazzling display of royal opulence, official patronage of art and literature, lavish spending, and extensive harem memories ... which were at the time still very fresh in the minds of all Qajar nobility.” Amanat, op. cit., p. 69.
 - 6 Nasir al-Din Shah, M. Ismā’il Rizvānī and F. Qāzīhā, eds., *Rūznāmah-i khātirāt-i Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar dar safar-i sivvum-i farangistān (Travelogues of Nasir al-Din Shah During his Third Trip to Europe)*, Tehran: Sāzmān-i asnād-i millī-i Iran, pazhūhishkadah-i asnād, 1377/1998; Nasir al-Din Shah, M. Ismā’il Rizvānī and F. Qazīhā, eds., *Rūznāmah-i khātirāt-i Nasir al-Din Shah dar safar-i duvvum-i farangistān (Travelogues of Nasir al-Din Shah During his Second Trip to Europe)*, Tehran: Sāzmān-i asnād-i millī-i Iran, pazhūhishkadah-i asnād, 1379/2000.
 - 7 This meant that the details regarding the particular styles of these furnishing products were not featured in Iranian newspapers or any other public media. In this sense, one could assume that the taste for foreign and local furniture was determined by the price of it; the more expensive, the closer to the aristocratic taste.
 - 8 W. Floor, *Traditional Crafts in Qajar Iran (1800–1925)*, Costa Mesa, CA.: Mazda Publishers, 2003, p. 97. At this time, local crafts were often deemed imperfect. In 1908, L.J. Olmer reported: “The glass industry has been primitive and its importance diminishes every day. This is fault of the Persian workers. The paste is made without bothering about the right proportions. Molding is completely unknown, and the processes are such that the losses are high.” In idem, “*Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Perse*,” *Nouvelle Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*, Paris: 1908, vol. 16, pp. 1–110. Also see, H. Wulff, *Traditional Crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1966.
 - 9 For more on the development of the Persian carpet industry, see H. Maktabi, “Lost and Found: The Missing History of Persian Carpets,” *Hali*, 2007, vol. 153, pp. 68–79.
 - 10 M. Rudner, “The Modernization of Iran and the Development of the Persian Carpet Industry: The Neo-Classical Era in the Persian Carpet Industry, 1925–45,” *Iranian Studies*, January 2011, vol. 44, no. 1, pp. 49–76; cited on p. 51.
 - 11 J. M. Scarce, “The Architecture and Decoration of the Gulistān Palace: The Aims and Achievements of Fath Ali Shah (1797–1834) and Nasir al-Din Shah (1848–1896),” *Iranian Studies*, 2001, vol. 34, nos. 1–4, pp. 104–16; this content appears on p. 116.
 - 12 On these techniques, see further, A. Hutt and L. Harrow, *Iran*, London: Scorpion Publications, 1977.
 - 13 This volume was published in Edinburgh in 1888 by the Museum of Science and Art; cited in M. Ekhtiar and M. Sardar, “Nineteenth-Century Iran: Continuity and Revivalism,” *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, October 2004. Available at http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/crir/hd_crir.htm (accessed June 10, 2010).

- 14 See further, J.M. Scarce, "Function and Decoration in Qajar Tileworks," in J.M. Scarce, ed., *Islam in the Balkans: Persian Art and Culture of the 18th and 19th Centuries. Papers arising from a Symposium held to celebrate the World of Islam Festival at the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 28–30 of July 1976*, Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Museum, 1979, pp. 75–85.
- 15 Scarce, op. cit. (2001), pp. 104–16; this content appears on p. 116.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ekhtiar and Sardar, op. cit. Available at http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/crir/hd_crir.htm, October 2004 (accessed July 10, 2010).
- 18 L.S. Diba, "Images of Power and the Power of Images: Intention and Response in Early Qajar Painting (1785–1834)," in Diba and Ekhtiar, op. cit. (1998), p. 31.
- 19 Amanat, op. cit. (1998), p. 27.
- 20 In 1872, the Iranian government ceded the concession for the construction of railroad, along with a monopoly for the development of the country's natural resources, mines, banking, and industrial potentials, to Baron Julius Reuter. The bargain was canceled due to pressure from the palace and the 'ulamā'. It took the British another decade to negotiate other Iranian economic investments—including the navigation of Karūn River in the south and the establishment of the British-controlled Bank of Persia. Amanat, op. cit. (1998), pp. 25–6.
- 21 E. Orsolle, *Le Caucase et la Perse*, Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1885; cited in the Persian translation: idem, *Safarnamah Ernest Orsolle (Travelogue of Ernest Orsolle)*, A.A. Sa'īdī, trans., Tehran: Zavar Press, 1353/1974, p. 184.
- 22 Going back as early as the mid-sixteenth century; see further S.R. Peterson, "Chairs and Change in Qajar Times," in M.E. Bonnine and N.R. Keddie, eds., *Modern Iran: The Dialectics of Continuity and Change*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981, p. 384.
- 23 William Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, London: Rodwell and Martin, 1819, vol. 3, pp. 128–9; cited in Peterson, op. cit., p. 385.
- 24 J. Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the Years 1808 and 1809*, London: Longwell, 1812, p. 39; cited in Peterson, op. cit., p. 385.
- 25 On this topic, see further P. Soucek, "Solomon's Throne/Solomon's Bath: Model or Metaphor," *Ars Orientalis* 1993, vol. 23, pp. 104–34.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 See A. Behdad, "The Power-ful Art of Qajar Photography: Orientalism and (Self)-Orientalizing in Nineteenth-Century Iran," *Iranian Studies*, (2001), vol. 34, nos. 1–4 pp. 141–52.
- 28 C.C. Rice, *Persian Women and their Ways*, London: Seeley, Service and Co, 1923, p. 171.
- 29 Peterson, op. cit., pp. 383–90.
- 30 Ibid., p. 388.
- 31 For more information about Shams al-'Imārah and other palaces built in this style, see K. Bakhtiar, "Palatial Towers of Nasir al-Din Shah," *Muqarnas* vol. 21, 2004, pp. 33–43. Bakhtiar explains these palaces as such: "these towers were generally four to six stories high and formed part of an ensemble of buildings in a garden setting. The upper story generally was an open gallery, or *jahān-namā*, with the penultimate floor being used as a *shāh-nishīn*, the private quarters of the shah. There was usually a small pool, or *hawz-khādna*, on the ground floor. Each of these elements can be recognized as a staple part of the architectural vocabulary of Iran since Timurid times. European architectural elements were also grafted onto these traditional structures, which thus present a curious amalgam of both the traditional and the modern in terms of their architecture, building methods, and materials." Ibid., p. 33. Bakhtiar further points to the influence of East Asian structures (e.g., Japanese pagodas).
- 32 This function was later terminated due to a complaint put forwards by residents of neighboring courtyard homes. The families who lived in these homes argued that the Shah

- had visual access to their interiors. Subsequently, the clerics convened and encouraged the Shah to avoid ascending Shams al-'Imarah. The tower was later solely reserved for women of the harem; they could see the city from above, but from behind its grilled windows so that they were not to be seen themselves. See further J. Feuvrier, *Trois ans à la cour de Perse*. Nouvelle édition, illustrée de nombreuses gravures, Paris: 1906.
- 33 G.N. Curzon, *Irān va qaziyah Irān*, (Persia and the Persian Question), Tehran: Markaz-i intishārāt-i 'ilmī va farhangī, 1362/1984, pp. 432–33; cited in H. Shahīdī Māzandarānī, *Sarguzash-t-i Tehran*, Tehran: Intishārāt-i dunyā, 1383/2005, p. 228.
 - 34 Amanat, op. cit. (2008), p. 436.
 - 35 For a detailed description of these events, see Taj al-Saltana, *Growing Anguish: Memoirs of a Persian Princess from the Harem to Modernity*, A. Amanat, ed., Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 1993.
 - 36 *Sharaf (Honor)*, 1300/1882, no. 2, pp. 9–10, image on p. 9. It is noteworthy that Reza Shah's antagonism towards the harems of the Qajars led to the destruction of the building in the late 1930s, which also allowed ample room for the construction of a new Ministry of Finance. For more information regarding the activities that took place inside this structure, see Taj al-Saltana, op. cit., p. 197. The architectural aspects of this palace are further described in D. Khan Muayyir al-Mamālik, *Rijāl-i asr-i nāsirī (Nasirid Men)*, Tehran: Nashr-i tārikh-i Iran, 1361/1982.
 - 37 Feuvrier, op. cit.
 - 38 Scarce, op. cit. (1983), p. 341. For more information on palatial towers see, Bakhtiyar, op. cit. (2004).
 - 39 Such arrangement was materialized in Fath Ali-Shah's *andarūn* in Gulistān (destroyed by Nasir al-Din Shah) and *Qasr-i Qajar* in Shimīrānāt. For images, see Scarce, op. cit. (1983), p. 346; and Amanat, op. cit. (2008), p. 123.
 - 40 *Sharaf*, 1300/1882, no. 2, pp. 5–6.
 - 41 *Sharaf*, 1888, no. 65; cited also in Y. Zoka, *Tārikhchah sākhtimānhāy-i arg-i saltanatī Tehran (A Brief History of the Buildings in the Royal Qajar Palatial Complex of Tehran)*, Tehran: Anjuman-i āsar-i milli, 1350/1971, p. 250.
 - 42 *Sharaf*, 1300/1882, no. 2, p. 5.
 - 43 Shams al-'Imārah is featured in *Sharaf*, 1302/1884, no. 27, cover image. Sahibqarāniyyah is featured in *Sharaf*, 1301/1883, no. 19, p. 4. The palace of Kām-rāniyyah is featured in *Sharaf*, 1305/1887, no. 61, cover image. The Khābhāh is featured in *Sharaf*, 1306/1888, no. 65, cover image. The Amīriyyah Palace is featured in *Sharaf*, 1306/1888, no. 69, cover image. Yāghūt is featured in *Sharaf*, 1307/1889, no. 77, pp. 3–4.
 - 44 Y. Zoka, *Tārikh akkāsi va akkāsan-i pīshgām dar Irān (The History of Photography and Pioneers of Photography in Iran)*, Tehran: Offset Press, Inc., 1376/1997, p. 5; cited in Behdad, op.cit., p. 144.
 - 45 R. Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, R. Howard, trans., New York: Hill & Wang, 1982, p. 98; quoted in J. Aynsley, "Graphic Change, Design Change: Magazines for the Domestic Interior, 1890–1930," *Journal of Design History* (2005), vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 43–59; quote appears on p. 50.
 - 46 Behdad, op. cit., pp. 141–51; quote appears on p. 149.
 - 47 Amanat, op. cit. (2008), pp. 436–7.
 - 48 Ibid.
 - 49 J. Afary, *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 105.
 - 50 C. Texier, *Description de l'Armenie, la Perse et la Mesopotamie*, Paris: 1842, p. 127; cited in L.S. Diba, "Lifting the Veil from the Face of Depiction: The Representation of Women in Persian Painting," in G. Neshat and L. Beck, eds., *Women in Iran: From the Rise of Islam to 1800*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003, pp. 225–6.
 - 51 On the importance of portraiture for Fath Ali Shah, see M. Ekhtiar, "From the Workshop and Bazaar to Academy: Art Training and Production in Qajar Iran," in Diba and Ekhtiar, op. cit. (1998), pp. 50–65; quote appears on p. 51.

- 52 Boré was a religious scholar, language teacher, and member of the Asiatic Society, who spent some time in Constantinople and Armenia before going to Iran. In 1841, he secured Lazarist missionaries for Persia. See further A.W. Taylor, *The Original Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XVI, 1914, San Diego: Catholic Answers, c. 2008, p. 11. Online edition distributed by Catholic Answers (accessed 10 June 2010).
- 53 E. Boré, *Correspondence et Mémoire d'un voyageur en Orient*, vol. 2, Paris: Olivier-Fulgence, 1840, pp. 118, 122; cited in W. Floor, *Wall Paintings in Qajar Iran*, Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2005, p. 40.
- 54 Q. M. S. 'Iyn al-Saltanah, *Rūznāmah-i Khātirāt (The Journals)*, M. Salur and I. Afshar, eds., vol. 1, Tehran: Asāmīr, 1376/1998, p. 223; cited in Floor (2005), op.cit., p. 41. It is noteworthy that some of these images were later detached from the English and French newspapers and pasted onto the interior walls of the Shah's palaces. Such forms of display could be found on the walls of the Dushan tappeh Palace. Black and white photographs in multiple personal archives confirm this. Personal interview with Manoutchehr M. Eskandari-Qajar, June 19, 2012.
- 55 For example, in the mid-1840s, the Austrian traveler Moritz Friedrich Wagner wrote that he once saw lithographs of Mohammad-Shah at a bazaar in Tabriz. See further M.F. Wagner, *Travels in Persia, Georgia, and Koordistan*, London: Hurst and Blacket, 1856 (Westmead, 1971), vol. 3, p. 103; cited in Floor, op.cit. (2005), p. 41.
- 56 One prominent artist who worked in various media was Abd Allah Khan. He was both a painter and an architect and executed life-size portraiture of Fath Ali Shah in various media and also was responsible for multiple buildings at Gulistān. See Ekhtiar, op. cit., 1998, p. 52.
- 57 The contemporaneity of these images added to their exoticism. As Ali Behdad has argued, photography replaced painting in the time of Nasir al-Din Shah as a means to create images of dynastic power. With the assistance of Ghulam Hussein Khan, Nasir al-Din Shah took photographs of himself early in his rule and gave them to *rijāl* (respected men) and local chieftains as tokens of his kingly descent. The erotic photographs of his wives he kept to himself. Behdad, op. cit., p. 146–149.
- 58 T. Grigor, "Cultivat(ing) Modernities: the Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-century Iran," PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005, p. 567.
- 59 The Qajars reunified the country, which had been torn apart and controlled by competing factions since the fall of the Safavids in 1722. To celebrate this achievement, the earliest Qajar kings identified themselves with the Achaemenid dynasty (559–330 BCE) and the Sassanid dynasty (224–651 CE), the ancient kings who had established the foundations of the Persian nation and its culture. The second Qajar ruler, Fath Ali Shah (r. 1797–1834) commissioned rock-cut reliefs that resembled these ancient kings. By doing so, he publicly linked the Qajars with their legendary predecessors. He also commissioned the poet Fath Ali Khan Saba of Kashan (1765–1822/23) to compose the *Shāhanshāhnāma*, modeled on the great national epic poem of Ferdowsi (940–1020), the *Shāhnāma*, which celebrates the ancient and legendary kings of Persia. Ekhtiar and Sardar, op. cit. Available at http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/crir/hd_crir.htm 2004 (accessed May 20, 2010).
- 60 Grigor, op. cit., p. 567. On these changes, see also M. Ettehadieh, "Patterns in Urban Development: the Grown of Tehran (1852–1903)," in E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand, op. cit., pp. 199–203.
- 61 Pseudo-classical Russian-influenced architecture became fashionable in the northern part of the country, including Tehran, while the British Raj style of India influenced buildings in the south. A.A. Bakhtiar and R. Hillenbrand, "Domestic Architecture in Nineteenth Century Iran: Manzil-i Sartip Sidhi Near Isfahan," in Bosworth and Hillenbrand, op. cit., pp. 383–392.
- 62 This point has been affirmed by many scholars, including Jennifer M. Scarce in her study of Qajar royal palaces. See Scarce, op. cit. (1983), pp. 329–51.

- 63 R. Mottahedeh, *The Mantle of the Prophet, Religion and Politics in Iran*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985, p. 26; on these separations see also C.C. Rice, op cit., pp. 168–9.
- 64 Mottahedeh, op. cit., p. 27.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Bakhtiar and Hillenbrand, op. cit. (1992), pp. 383–92. The point about the late-Qajar function of the *bīrūnī* appears on p. 390.
- 67 The fact that these reception rooms were decorated was not something new. After all, the design and decoration in the *bīrūnī* section of the Persian home were often more splendid than in the *andarūn*, as the *bīrūnī* section served the men of the household and their guests. See Bakhtiar and Hillenbrand, op. cit. (1992), p. 387.
- 68 A. Najmabadi, *Women with Moustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005, p. 26. Prior to this time, gender, like social and class identities, was represented primarily through other means, such as headdresses and clothing.
- 69 Ibid. A similar assertion has been made by the historian of nineteenth-century France, Abigail Solomon-Godeau. She argues that during the nineteenth century the idealized and erotic male body was all but supplanted by the female. See further idem, *Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1999.
- 70 Ibid., p. 41.
- 71 The story appears in a collection of essays in a volume known as *Mantiq al-tayr* (*The Logic of the Birds*) by Abu Hamid bin Abu Bakr Ibrahim (b. Nishapur, Iran, 1145/46-c. 1221). The original story is about a Sufi who was a keeper of Mecca's holy shrine. He falls in love with a beautiful and fair-skinned Christian girl (*dukhtar-i tarsā*).
- 72 Najmabadi, op. cit., p. 43.
- 73 M. Tavakoli-Targhi, “*Nigarān-i zan-i farang*,” *Nimaye Digar* (1991), vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 3–71; the point appears on p. 25. See also M. Tavakoli-Targhi, “Eroticizing Europe,” in L.D. Elton, ed., *Society and Culture in Qajar Iran: Studies in Honor of Hafez Farmayan*, Costa Mesa, CA.: Mazda Publishers, 2002, pp. 311–46. Art historian Layla S. Diba writes that the earliest representations of the female body in Islamic Iran can be found in the art of the Seljuqs (1030–1190). But it is apt to say that the overwhelming focus on *farangī* women takes place in the Qajar era. For a detailed discussion of the historic development of the representation of women in arts and crafts, see Diba, op. cit. (2003), pp. 206–36.
- 74 A. Najmabadi, “Reading for Gender through Qajar Painting,” in Diba and Ekhtiar, op. cit., pp. 76–89, quote on p. 77.
- 75 It is also noteworthy that oleographs were the most popular method of color reproduction—especially for commercial purposes—until the end of the nineteenth century, when more efficient techniques rendered it obsolete.
- 76 At this time lithography—invented at the turn of the nineteenth century in Vienna by Alois Senefelder—was a popular form of print in Iran. Unlike other print techniques, lithography allowed for actual calligraphic letters to be printed on page—a perfect form of inscription for the eyes of the Iranian reader who did not favor the movable type. Indeed lithography assured the smooth continuation of calligraphy. According to Ulrich Marzolph lithographed books corresponded to facsimile paintings of manuscripts and at the same time allowed the integration of both illumination and illustration. U. Marzolph. “The Pictorial Representation of Shi’i Themes in Lithographed Books of the Qajar Period,” in P. Khosrownejad, ed., *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shi’ism: Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shi’i Islam*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2011, pp. 74–103.
- 77 Other examples are to be found in numerous houses in Isfahan, such as the Shahshahānī House, the Labbāf House, and the Sūktassīan House—all from the late-Qajar period. For photographs of the interiors of these homes, see J. Ghazbanpour, *Mi’mārī jadīd, kālbud-i qadīm* (*New Architecture, Old Structures*), Tehran: Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, 1377/1998.

- 78 Rooms of the courtyard house were designated by physical attributes of size and shape. There were *sidarī* (three-door rooms) and *panjdarī* (five-door rooms). They were referred to in these terms due to their number of openings onto the courtyard. See further M. Marefat, “Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran, 1921–1941,” PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988, p. 166.
- 79 Personal interview with architectural historian Mohammad Iranmanesh at the University of Kerman, Iran, May 20, 2009.
- 80 In addition to being hung or plastered on the wall, prints were also inserted into paintings, in particular on ceilings. Rice further reported: “in these old houses elaborate decoration is found. The walls and ceiling of a room may be covered with pictures and small pieces of looking-glass. The pictures used are ... cheap oleographs of well-known European pictures, many copies of the same picture being used, and they and the mirrors are embedded in the plaster, which is often highly colored.” C.C. Rice, op. cit., p. 170.
- 81 The German traveler Moritz von Kotzebue confirms this theme in his book, *Narrative of a Journey into Persia, in the Suite of the Imperial Russian Embassy, in the Year 1817*, Philadelphia: Carey & Sons, 1820, p. 154; cited in Floor, op. cit. (2005), p. 39.
- 82 The term is borrowed from O. Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, London: B. Quaritch, 1868.
- 83 D. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection*, New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2005, p. 123. A similar approach was taken up in Qajar books: “Most astonishing features of Qajar lithographic books is the range and variety of the drawings which fill the triangular thumb-pieces formed half way down the outer margin of each page by the alteration of the angle of the diagonally-written marginal column—a device that was familiar to anyone who read Persian poetical manuscripts of earlier centuries,” B.W. Robinson, “The Tehran Nizami of 1848 and Other Qajar Lithographed Books,” in Scarce, op. cit. (1979), pp. 61–5.
- 84 This house was built in 1833 in the Ūdlājān neighbourhood of Tehran. Although the original shape of the house may have differed from what exists today, it is clear from the two courtyards that the house was divided based on the *andarūnī/bīrūnī* model. According to Mina Marefat, the *tālār* in this particular house, which belonged to a minister, was also used as a business office or “the domain of the head of the household.” A complete description of the house, its history, and the multiple spaces within it is provided by Marefat in her doctoral dissertation, op. cit., pp. 168–74. For more photographs as well as architectural drawings of Qavam and Shahshahānī houses see, Jassem Ghazbanpour, *Khānah Iranī (Iranian House)*, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Tīs, 1380/2001, pp. 116–224.
- 85 They were sometimes referred to as “Persian rooms,” “oriental rooms,” “Moorish dreams,” and “rooms that housed wonders of the world,” among other terms.
- 86 J. Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture, 1500–1920*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 189.
- 87 Years later, when much of the Iranian home was Westernized and male/female segregation (*andarūnī/bīrūnī*) was no longer in vogue, the occidental room gave way to the Iranian room, where traditional decorative art and furniture were displayed. Often used by the male host and his counterparts, this Iranian room helped refresh the traditional notion of male dominance within the mixed-gender house (see Chapter 3).
- 88 T.J. Clark interprets pictures of nudes in this way. See idem, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999, chapter 2; also see A. Solomon-Godeau, “The Other Side of Venus: The Visual Economy of Feminine Display,” in V. de Grazia and E. Furlough, eds., *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, pp. 113–50.
- 89 J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, London: Penguin, 1972, p. 55.

- 90 C. Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of the Modern*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987, p. 89. Campbell aspires to complement Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Just as Weber provided an historical account for the rise of "instrumental rationality" that determines the sphere of production, Campbell offers an historical account of the rise of "imaginative hedonism" (or selfish momentary pleasures) that energizes the sphere of consumption.
- 91 This peculiar back and forth exchange of exotic images from the realm of interior décor to mass market promotion, and vice versa, was also in vogue in nineteenth century Europe and America. Art historian Holly Edwards draws a similar connection between these three spheres through such examples as a General Electric advertisement that used an image of the "Lamp Seller of Baghdad" and a "Garden of Allah" Lamp. H. Edwards, *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870–1930*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000, pp. 42–3.
- 92 Tavakoli-Targhi, op. cit. (2002), p. 342.
- 93 O. Watson, "Almost Hilariously Bad: Iranian Pottery in the Nineteenth Century," in D. Behrense-Abu-Yousof and S. Bernoit, eds., *Islamic Architecture in the Nineteenth Century: Tradition, Innovation, and Eclecticism*, Leiden: Brill, 2008, p. 340.
- 94 T. Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1914*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990, p. 90.
- 95 Examples of such commentaries may be found in the writings of the Assyrian clergyman Isaac Malek Yonan. See idem, *Persian Women*, Nashville: Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, 1898, p. 24; Rice, op. cit., p. 170.
- 96 He further adds: "somewhat incongruous and out-of-place, yet more numerous than truly Persian shops, are the semi-European stores, with cheap glass windows displaying inside highly dangerous-looking kerosene lamps, badly put together tin goods, soiled enamel tumblers and plates, silvered glass balls for ceiling decoration Small looking-glasses play an important part in these displays, and occasionally a hand sewing-machine. Tinned provisions, wine and liquor shops are numerous, but unfortunate is the man who may have to depend upon them for his food. The goods are the remnants of the oldest stocks that have gradually drifted, unsold, down to Baku, and have gradually been shipped over for the Persian market where people do not know any better." S.H. Landor, *Across Coveted Lands*, New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1903, vol. 1, p. 35.
- 97 H. Brugsch, *Die Reise der K.K. Gesandtschaft nach Persien 1861–1862*, vol. 2, pp. 287–8; cited in Floor, op.cit. (2005), p. 40.
- 98 Ibid., p. 38.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 Rice, op. cit., pp. 170–6; cited in W. Floor, op.cit. (2005), p. 45.
- 101 Similar argument about women, consumption and modernity has been made by historian Rita Felski: "... if women could be seen as objects of consumption, some women were also becoming consuming subjects." Idem, *The Gender of Modernity*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995, p. 64, cited in Mary Louise Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture," *The American Historical Review*, 1998, vol. 103, no. 3, pp. 817–44. Quoted on p. 818.
- 102 Cited in S. Mahdavi, "Reflections in the Mirror-How Each Saw the Other: Women in the Nineteenth Century" in Neshat, G. and L. Beck, eds., *Women in Iran: From the Rise of Islam to 1800*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003, pp. 70–1. Cited in J. Afary, op. cit., p. 119. For a discussion of a similar attitude towards the rejection of European fashions and costumes in Ottoman Turkey see, Elizabeth Brown Frierson, "Mirrors Out, Mirrors In: Domestication and rejection of the foreign in late-Ottoman women's magazines (1875–1908)," in D. Fairchild Ruggles, ed., *Women, Patronage, and Representation in Islamic Societies*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000, pp. 177–204. See also E.B. Frierson, "'Cheap and Easy': Patriotic consumer culture in the late-Ottoman era," in D. Quataert, ed., *Consumption in the Ottoman Empire*, New York: SUNY Press, 1999, pp. 243–260.

- 103 For an extensive account of how these styles were reinforced by some Qajar men, see J. Afary, *op. cit.*, pp. 118–25. For commentaries about the adaptation and adaptation of Western taste among late-Ottoman women, see E. Frierson, *op. cit.*
- 104 C.C. Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
- 105 These interiors and the architecture and taste of the Qajars were later criticized by the early Pahlavi elites. For more on this topic see Chapter 2 and T. Grigor, “Recultivating ‘Good Taste’: the early Pahlavi Modernists and their Society for National Heritage,” *Iranian Studies*, 2004, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 17–45.
- 106 See further B. al-Moluk Bamdad, *From Darkness into Light: Women’s Emancipation in Iran* F. R. Bagley, trans., New York: Exposition Press, 1977; also M. Bayat-Philipp, “Women and Revolution in Iran 1905–11,” in L. Beck and N.R. Keddie, eds., *Women in the Muslim World*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978, pp. 295–308; J. Afary, “On the Origins of Feminism in Early Twentieth-Century Iran,” *Journal of Women’s History*, Fall 1989, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 65–87.
- 107 The constitutional revolution of 1906 also brought public awareness of the conservative religious groups (*‘ulamā*) and the foreign intrusion. The revolution put an end to the Qajar personal rule and to some extent reduced the privileges of the nobles. See Amanat, *op. cit.* (1998), p. 28.
- 108 Between 1906 and 1911, more than two hundred newspapers began publication. Afary, *op. cit.* (2009), p. 126.
- 109 Iran’s first parliament (1906–8) restricted the authority of the Qajar kings and instead allowed the provincial councils (*anjumans*) to have some administrative and financial autonomy. These *anjumans* supported the establishment of secular elementary schools for girls throughout the country. See further Afary, *op. cit.* (2009), p. 127.
- 110 *Ibid.*
- 111 *Akhlāq-i Nāsiri (Nasirean Ethics)* by Nasir al-Din al-Tūsī, written in 1232, is a fine example.
- 112 Nasir al-Din al-Tūsī *Akhlāq-i Nāsiri (The Nasirean Ethics)* G. M Wickens, trans., London: George Allan & Unwin, 1964, p. 136; cited in A. Najmabadi, “Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran,” in L. Abu-Lughod, ed., *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, pp. 91–125; cited on p. 92.
- 113 *Ibid.*
- 114 Najmabadi, *op. cit.* (2005), p. 183.
- 115 Discussions surrounding the education of girls and women in matters of house care developed from the latter half of the nineteenth century onward. See A. Najmabadi, *op. cit.* (1998), p. 107. For a brief history of early women’s magazines, which started with *Dānish (Knowledge)* in 1910, see E. Sanasarian, “Characteristics of Women’s Movement in Iran,” in A. Fathi, ed., *Women and Family in Iran*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985, pp. 86–106.
- 116 J. Rostam-Kolayī, “Foreign education, the women’s press, and the discourse of scientific domesticity in early-twentieth-century Iran,” in N.R. Keddie and R. Matthee, eds., *Iran and the Surrounding World: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politics*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, pp. 184–5.
- 117 Rostam-Kolayī, *op. cit.*, pp. 182–204; quote on p. 185. Rostam-Kolayī’s point is abundantly illustrated in archival sources. Moreover, archival American missionary records, which include both textual and visual materials, provide detailed information about the conditions of traditional domestic life and architecture in Iran of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They even reveal Iranians’ reactions to modernization processes, something that is rarely reflected in the press or Iranian state archives. In comparison, even British missionaries’ contributions were less systematically implemented. As Rostam-Kolayī reminds us, although the British had a major political and economic presence in Iran, their missionary educational activities were not as extensive as those of Americans. See Rostam-Kolayī, *op. cit.*, p. 183. By 1940, all private and missionary schools were controlled by the Iranian

- Ministry of Education. See further D. Menashri, *Education and the Making of Modern Iran*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- 118 The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), based in Boston, sponsored Presbyterian missionaries from America to Iran as early as 1829. This happened when two missionaries explored Iran's Azerbaijan province for the first missionary station, established in Urumiyyah. Subsequent stations were established in Tehran in 1872, Tabriz in 1873, Hamadan in 1881, Rasht in 1902, and Kermanshah and Mashhad in 1911.
- 119 It is noteworthy that non-Muslim girls exercised more freedom in both attending schools and expressing their views about homelife in the press. Muslim girls, on the contrary, were subject to criticism from clerics and their strict families. Sheykh Fazl Allah Nouri (1843–1909), a cleric who opposed the constitutional revolution of 1906, went so far as to associate girls' schools with the "spread of houses of prostitution." See H. Rizvānī, ed., *Lavayah-i āqā Shaykh Fazlallāh Nūrī (The writings of Shaykh Fazlallāh Nūrī)*, Tehran: Nashri tārikh Iran, 1983, pp. 28, 62; cited in Najmabadi, op. cit. (2005), p. 200.
- 120 Some earlier missionaries had criticized Islam. One evangelist went as far as saying: "We are put here to fight Mohammedanism"; but such ideas were not put into practice. East Persia Mission Microfilm, Presbyterian Historical Society (hereafter, PHS) 189.1; cited in Y. Armanjani, "Sam Jordan and the Evangelical Ethic in Iran," in R.J. Miller, *Religious Ferment in Asia*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1974, p. 29. Quoted in M. Zirinsky, "Render Therefore unto Caesar the Things which Are Caesar's: American Presbyterian Educators and Reza Shah," *Iranian Studies*, Summer and Fall 1993, vol. 26, nos. 3–4, pp. 337–40; quoted on p. 338.
- 121 J. Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1931, pp. 37–9. Missionaries did not perceive themselves as imposing foreign mores on people who were unwilling to accept them; indeed many Iranians welcomed their contributions. When visiting a patient, foreign doctors had to relax for half an hour with the patient's friends and relatives. This custom was an obstacle for the poor because they did not have nice homes and food to offer to these doctors. Missionary writer Mrs. Napier Malcolm once stated, "Sometimes this deters the very poor from calling even the mission doctor, who, they know, would treat them free. It was a great relief to more than one poor person, when it was discovered that the mission ladies were fond of broiled turnips, for a plate of turnips was within the reach of the poorest. ... The news spread, and several sick people were able at once to have a doctor." Idem, *Children of Persia*, Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1911, p. 88; quoted in W. Floor, *Public Health in Qajar Iran*, Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 2004, p. 112.
- 122 Boyce began her missionary career in Iran in 1906, at the time of the Iranian constitutional revolution. Subsequently, she worked as a teacher and principal of the American Girls' School in Tehran and then as a teacher and a housemother in the capital's Alborz Boys' School, a missionary-sponsored school at which her husband served as dean. See M. Zirinski, "A Presbyterian Vocation to Reform Gender Relations in Iran: The Career of Annie Stocking Boyce," in Sarah Ansari and Vanessa Martin, eds., *Women, Religion and Culture in Iran*, Richmond, UK: Curzon Press, 2002, pp. 51–6.
- 123 M.M. Ringer, "Rethinking Religion: Progress and Morality in the Early Twentieth-Century Iranian Women's Press," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 2004, vol. 24, no.1, pp. 47–54. It was inevitable that some Iranians would see this as a sign of a foreign religion being promoted, even if this occurred under the guise of improving living conditions.
- 124 Addressing the work of missionaries in South Asia, historian Kumari Jayawardena has brought up a similar point. See further idem, *The White Woman's Other Burden: Western Women and South Asia during British Rule*, New York: Routledge, 1995, p.

- 22; cited in N. Naghibi, *Rethinking Global Sisterhood: Western Feminism and Iran*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007, p. 3.
- 125 M. Zirinsky, "Onward Christian Soldiers: Presbyterian Missionaries and the Ambiguous Origins of American Relations with Iran" (paper delivered at Columbia University's Middle East Institute Conference at Bellagio, Italy in August 2000) in E. H. Tejirian and R. S. Simon, eds., *Altruism and Imperialism: The Western Religious and Cultural Missionary Enterprise in the Middle East*, Columbia University Occasional Papers Series, New York: Columbia University Middle East Institute, 2002. Available at <http://www.ciaonet.org/conf/mei01/zim01.html#tx6> (accessed July 20, 2007).
- 126 L. Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt (1905–1923)*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2005, p. 106.
- 127 E.S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1982, p. 32.
- 128 Ibid.
- 129 S. Capen, *Laymen's Missionary Movement*, New York: 1907. Cited in Rosenberg, op. cit., 32–33.
- 130 American Consulate, "post report": Embassy, legation file, 124. Consulate File, 125, January 18, 1934, (PHS) RG 91–19–16, pp. 11–12. Another 1916 report by Annie S. Boyce indicates similar problems: "Plumbing has not yet been introduced into Teheran so our consideration of (w)ater (s)upply and waste did not involve an exposition of traps and model closets. The water supply of the city comes down in underground canals from the mountains, a dozen miles to the north. Some of these canals open on the surface outside the city and on certain days of the week supply water to the houses and gardens of certain districts. Nearly every Persian house has a water cistern, below the level of the ground, which is filled from this water supply, and for many people this is the only drinking water: As the water flows through the city in open courses on either sides of the street where women . . . wash clothes and everything else in the stream. It is hardly pure when it reaches the cisterns. Probably the only reason that there is not more diseases from polluted water is because the people drink very little water in comparison with the amount we Americans drink. They drink much more tea and in tea fortunately the water is boiled." A.S. Boyce, "Household Arts for Teheran Girls," July 1, 1916 (PHS) RG 91, Box 18, Fol. 1, Alborz College. P. 1 of 3.
- 131 These reports were regularly written and sent to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. "Regular meeting of Rasht Station held at Frame home," May 14, 1928. "Rasht station meeting papers," (PHS) RG 91–19–6. P. 1 of 2.
- 132 "The American Mission, Mashed, 23 April 1948," The Mission property committee letter (PHS) RG 91–19–2.
- 133 C. Keeling, *Pictures from Persia*, London: Robert Hale Limited, 1947, pp. 166–9.
- 134 Rostam-Kolayi, op. cit., p. 187.
- 135 Iran Bethel was later expanded to include both middle and high schools. Until 1888, it enrolled only European and Iranian Christians; after that, a small number of Jewish and Zoroastrian girls were also admitted. Later, Muslim girls were matriculated in the school, and, by 1913, half of the student body was Muslim. The first instructors were Americans. Later, Iranian Muslim women joined the faculty. See further *ibid.*, p. 185.
- 136 Ibid.
- 137 Boyce, op. cit. (1916); (PHS) RG 91–18–11. Quoted in Rostam-Kolayi, op. cit., p. 188.
- 138 Boyce, op. cit. (1916); (PHS) RG 91, Box 18, Fol. 11. P. 1 of 3.
- 139 References to both books are made in the curricula of Bethel; Boyce, op. cit. (1916). Both books were published by New York's Macmillan Press. It is worth mentioning that there were many other books that were available to American housewives at this

- time that addressed more elaborate issues such as interior decoration. Examples of domestic advice treating interiors from this period include I.M. Beeton, ed., *Beeton's Book of Household Management*, London, 1859–61; E.B. Duffey, *What Women Should Know: A Woman's Book about Women, Containing Practical Information for Wives and Mothers*, Philadelphia, 1873; C.L. Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste, in Furniture, Upholstery and Other Details*, Longman's Green & Co., London, 1868. It seems that the missionaries decided on the modest publications that were more suitable for an Iranian audience.
- 140 G.E. Berry, "A Minute in Memory of Grace Murray Frame," in "Rasht station meeting papers" (PHS) RG 91–19–6. P. 1 of 2.
- 141 Sewing classes attracted many of the upper-class women of Tehran, during which, stories of Christ were presented to the women. See "Quarterly Letter of Tehran Station for April, May, June 1918." (PHS) RG 91–19–11: "Mashed (sic) station meeting papers." July 1, 1918. P. 5 of 5.
- 142 The city of Mashhad had long been one of the most important centers of Shiism. Being the home of the sacred site of Imām Reza's shrine, the city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attracted many pilgrims and tourists from Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Central Asia, among other places. The international character of the city made it desirable for missionaries. A missionary station in Mashhad provided the opportunity to convert a more diverse group of people; moreover, the densely populated city had a great need for missionary doctors and health practitioners.
- 143 G.E. Von Grunebaum, *Islam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1991; cited in M. Kheirabadi, *Iranian Cities: Formation and Development*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000, p. 71.
- 144 See S. Isenstadt, *The Modern American House: Spaciousness and Middle-Class Identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006; chapter 1: "The Small House Era."
- 145 In later years, the piano became a status symbol for upper-middle-class households and piano lessons became important signs of good breeding for both Iranian men and women.
- 146 Although missionaries and colonizers were often interested in buildings that resembled Greek and Roman styles, there are many examples (in and outside Iran), indicating that, more often than not, these structures turned out to be a hybrid of local architectural styles and Western motifs. See T. Metcalfe, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*, London: Faber & Faber, 1989.
- 147 M.L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London: Routledge, 1992, p. 4.
- 148 A.S. Boyce, *Chapters from the Life of an American Woman in the Shah's Capital*, chapter 1: "Besides the Samovar"; A.S. Boyce (PHS) RG 91–18–11. P. 10 of 11. The missionaries even supervised their Persian cooks, who were dealing with American recipes. Boyce writes: "Some of the missionary women ... coached the ... cook in the art of making Johnny-cake and waffles and biscuit, and the whole thing was a grand success," *ibid.*, chapter IV: "Songs of the Foreign Colony and the Shah's Salaam," p. 1 of 9.
- 149 A.S. Boyce, *ibid.*, chapter 1: "Besides the Samovar"; A.S. Boyce (PHS) RG 91–18–11, p. 10 of 11.
- 150 *Ibid.*
- 151 "Record of Minutes of Meshed (sic) Station." Meeting, January 1943, Sheet Number, 293, "Mashed (sic) station meeting papers" (PHS) RG 91–19–2.
- 152 *Ibid.*
- 153 "Record of Minutes of Meshed (sic) Station." Meeting, January 1954, Sheet Number, 409, "Mashed (sic) station meeting papers" (PHS) RG 91–19–2.
- 154 See further H.E. Chehabi, "The Westernization of Iranian Culinary Culture," *Iranian Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1 (March 2003), pp. 43–61. In wintertime, traditional

- Iranian households used the *kursī*, a low table with a brazier of hot coals underneath and the table covered with an overhanging thick cloth that kept the sitters' feet and legs warm by holding in the heat.
- 155 S.G. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, New York: Fleming Revel, 1899, p. 304; cited in Peterson, op. cit., p. 389.
- 156 The group was the first Islamic fundamentalist organization in Iran, some of whose leaders rose to power in the Islamic Republic after 1979.
- 157 Informal threatening note from Fadāīn-i Islam. (PHS) RG 91–19–2, pp.11–12.
- 158 The photographs are from PHS visual archives: RG 231–3 Khānūm & Co (1922) and RG 280–1–41 Zoeckler Family (c. early 1920s), respectively.
- 159 Michael Zirinsky, “Onward Christian Soldiers: Presbyterian Missionaries and the Ambiguous Origins of American Relations with Iran.” Proceeding of *Altruism and Imperialism: The Western Religious and Cultural Missionary Enterprise in the Middle East* (Middle East Institute Conference: Bellagio Italy, August 2000), pp. 1–36; cited on page 9. Available at <https://www.wapp.cc.columbia.edu> (accessed 20 May 20, 2007).
- 160 Rostam Kolayi, op. cit., p. 189.
- 161 CMS Archives and journals and annual letters, London Missionary House, G2PE/O: 67, in Gulnar E. Francis-Dehqani, “CMS Missionaries in Iran, 891–1934: Attitudes Towards Islam and Muslim Women,” in Sarah Ansari and Vanessa Martin, eds., *Women, Religion, and Culture in Iran*, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2002, pp. 34–5.
- 162 Rostam-Kolayi, op. cit., p. 188.
- 163 It is indeed unclear how much the missionary education affected the lives of Iranians as a whole, but archival records provide some clarifications. In one of her reports, Annie S. Boyce shows how educated young Iranian men and women found themselves out of place when confronting real-life circumstances outside the context of the schools. She writes: “All of these young men go out with ardent patriotism, with highest ideals of service to their country. How often they meet discouragement as they run up against the wall of corruption existing in official circles. Last year one of our boys returned, from a position he had held in the Post Office Department in one of the provinces. “It is no use,” he said when he dropped in one day for a friendly chat, “The training you give us in this school unfits a man for attaining success afterwards. You teach us that dishonestly and bribery are all wrong and we go out to find there is no advancement for us without their use. We stay behind while others pass us by.” Despite this, Boyce remains hopeful as she writes: “But the situation is going to change some day, when enough men get right ideas.” A.S. Boyce, Preliminary (unpublished) draft of a manuscript entitled *Chapters from the Life of an American Woman in the Shah’s Capital*, quote from Chapter 3: “The Missionary’s Job”; (PHS) RG 91–18–11. P. 3 of 6. For more information on how missionary education affected the middle- and upper-classes, see Setreh Farmanfarmaian’s autobiography in which she writes in detail about how her scientific knowledge superseded her mother’s superstitious views when dealing with bodily hygiene. S. Farmanfarmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman’s Journey from Her Father’s Harem to the Iranian Revolution*, New York: Doubleday, 1992, pp. 104–5; cited in Rostam-Kolayi, op. cit., p. 191.

2 Renewing the nation’s interiors

- 1 S. Bakhtash, *Iran: Monarchy, Bureaucracy, and Reform under the Qajars: 1858–1896*, London: Ithace Press, 1978, pp. 305–73; also cited in C. Schayegh, “Sport, Health, and the Iranian Middle Class in the 1920s and the 1930s,” *Iranian Studies*, Fall 2002, vol. 35, no. 4, p. 342.
- 2 A. Amanat, “Qajar Iran: A Historical Overview,” in L.S. Diba and M. Ekhtiar, eds., *Royal Persian Paintings: the Qajar Epoch 1785–1925*, Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum and I.B. Tauris, 1998, p. 28.

- 3 D.N. Wilber, *Iran: Past and Present*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948; cited in N.R. Keddie, *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981, p. 99.
- 4 H.S. Villard, "Film Imports Face Difficulties in Persia," *Commerce Reports*, April 6, 1931, vol. 14, p. 37; cited in M.A. Issari, *Cinema in Iran 1900–1979*, Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1989, p. 64.
- 5 A.M. Ansari, *Modern Iran: The Pahlavis and After*, London: Pearson, 2007, pp. 99–100. According to Ansari, widespread illiteracy ensured that many pamphleteers would ask readers to inform others who could not read.
- 6 This topic is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.
- 7 E. Ehlers and W. Floor, "Urban Change in Iran, 1920–1941," *Iranian Studies*, Summer/Fall 1993, vol. 26, nos. 3–4, pp. 252–75; the report from the Ministry of the Interior appears on p. 255.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 256.
- 9 These activities are listed in vol. 1 of J. Shahri, *Tarīkh ijtema'ī Tehrān dar qarn-i sīzdahum: zandagī va kasb u kār (The Social History of Tehran in the Early Twentieth Century)*, Tehran: Entishārat-i Ismā'iliān, 1368/1989; cited in the review of the book by A. Ashraf in *Iranian Studies*, Summer/Fall 1993, vol. 26, nos. 3–4, p. 413.
- 10 A.S. Boyce, *Chapters from the Life of an American Woman in the Shah's Capital* quote from Chapter 2: "Down in the Big Bazaar" (PHS) RG 91–18–11. Page 1 of 5. In the writings of local authors, the dandy of Tehran is referred to as *fukulī* (a man with a bow tie). In his book, *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran*, Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 2004, Abbas Milani compares the *fukulī* with the nineteenth century dandy of Paris, or *flâneur* (stroller), as per Walter Benjamin. For references to the *fukulī*, see, for example, S.F.D. Shādmān, *Taskhūr-i tamaddun-i farang (Conquering the Foreign Civilization)*, Tehran: 1326/1947, p. 156; referred to in Milani, *op. cit.*, p. 71. I have used this quote in another publication. See P. Karimi, "Westoxification," *Perspecta: The Yale Architectural Journal*. Summer 2010. Vol. 43: *Taboo*, Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 43–53.
- 11 Boyce, *op. cit.*, p. 3 of 5. For more information on the history of electricity in Iran see, W. Floor, "Lighting Equipment and Heating Fuel" in *Encyclopedia Iranica*. Available at <http://www.iranica.com/articles/lighting-equipment-and-heating-fuel> (accessed June 20, 2010). For more on the history of Lālihẓār Avenue, see M. Amīrī, "Yah tihrūn bud u yah Lālihẓār (Once Up On a Time There was One Great Avenue in the Capital and it was Lalihzar)," BBC Persian, June 30, 2007. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/iran/story/2007/06/070629_h_tehran_Lālihẓār.shtml (accessed July 10, 2007).
- 12 Boyce, *op. cit.*, Chapter 3: "The Missionary's Job," p. 1 of 6. For more on ideas of clean and unclean, see Chapter 4.
- 13 Referring to Henri Lefebvre in H. Lefebvre, *the Production of Space*, Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991.
- 14 For further changes that took place in the early Pahlavi era, see T. Grigor, "Orient oder Rom? Qajar 'Aryan' Architecture and Strzygowski's Art History," *The Art Bulletin*, 2007, vol. 89 no. 3, pp. 562–90.
- 15 J. Afary, *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 75.
- 16 L.S. Diba, "Images of Power and the Power of Images: Intention and Response in Early Qajar Painting (1785–1834)," in Diba and Ekhtiar, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
- 17 Schayegh, *op. cit.*, p. 342.
- 18 D.M. Rejali, *Torture and Modernity: Self, State, and Society in Modern Iran*, Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1994, p. 52; cited in Schayegh, *op. cit.*, pp. 341–69.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 342. This was reflected in women's magazines of the late Qajar period. I have elaborated on some of these debates in the previous chapter through the work of missionaries; but there are several other studies that explain how these debates appeared in the late Qajar popular press. See, for example, A. Hemmati, "Die

- abendlandische Medizin in Persien, Dissertation Medizinische Fakultät,” Universität Bonn, 1960, p. 102; cited in Schayegh, *op. cit.*, p. 344.
- 20 As historian Cyrus Schayegh observes, this strategy entailed even more rigorous improvements in medical treatment, bodily hygiene, and public health. See *idem*, *Who Is Knowledgeable Is Strong: Science, Class, and the Formation of Modern Iranian Society, 1900–1950*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.
 - 21 The Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC) built most of Abadan in 1909, and it changed its name to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) in 1935. See “Oil and architecture” in M. Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire*, Aldershot, Hampshire, and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2003, p. 53.
 - 22 See, for example, “The Houses of the Khuzestan Railroad Company in Ahvaz,” The Organization for the Cultural Heritage of Iran, Tehran. Fol. 2587.
 - 23 After 1972, the name of the Ministry of Development and Housing (*ābādānī va maskan*) was changed to the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (*Vizārat-i maskan va shahrsāzī*).
 - 24 H. Zanjani, “Housing in Iran,” *Encyclopedia Iranica*, 2004. Available at <http://iranica.com/articles/housing-in-iran> (accessed June 10, 2010).
 - 25 *Ibid.* It is noteworthy that the main goal of these development plans was to create adequate housing for as many families as possible. The third development plan (1968–72) was the first to propose regulations for different types of housing, styles of architecture, construction materials, and even the renovation of old neighborhoods. See further Chapter 5.
 - 26 T. Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, New York: Periscope Publishing Ltd, 2009, p. 18. It is important to note that it was Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau who first wrote about Aryans roots of Persia in 1865. Those who emphasized Aryanism under the Pahlavi regime drew on his assertions.
 - 27 This antique imagery had already appeared in the revetments of late-Qajar aristocratic residential buildings, including the Narijstān and Afīfābād palaces of Shiraz. See Grigor, *op. cit.* (2007), pp. 567–70. Unlike most Qajar structures in Tehran, which emphasized the street façades, the architectural monuments of Reza Shah’s era acquired volumetric qualities. Likewise, many residential buildings began to stand apart from one another, emerging as villas in the midst of private gardens. The façades of residential apartment complexes became increasingly delineated, with projected balconies and curvilinear walls that distinguished them from surrounding buildings.
 - 28 S.A. Arjomand, *The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran* (Studies in Middle Eastern History), New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 26–7.
 - 29 T. Grigor, “Recultivating ‘Good Taste’: the early Pahlavi Modernists and their Society for National Heritage,” *Iranian Studies*, 2004, vol. 37, no. 1, p. 43.
 - 30 The largest building destroyed by Reza Shah was *Takīyyah dawlat*, built in 1857 and used for Shi’a passion plays (*ta’ziyah*). The building was regarded as regressive by the Pahlavi state; T. Grigor, “Cultivat(ing) Modernities: the Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda and Public Architecture in Twentieth-century Iran,” PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005, p. 131.
 - 31 See further, Grigor, *ibid.*
 - 32 Hearing Arthur Upham Pope’s minor remark on the missing tiles on the mosque of Sheikh Lotfollah in Isfahan, Reza Khan ordered their immediate replacement. He also ordered the duplication of the mosque’s dome and drum in the newly built Marble Palace in Tehran. H. Bahr al-Ulumī, *Karnamah anjuman-i āsār-i millī az aghāz ta 2535 shāhanshāhī (Activities of the National Heritage Society 1929–1976)*, Tehran, 1355/1976, p. 12; cited in Grigor, *op. cit.* (2004), p. 32.
 - 33 Grigor, *op. cit.* (2007), p. 580.
 - 34 The palace’s decoration was a product of multiple traditional craftsmen: wood inlay work was carried out by ustād Muhammad Hussein Sanī Khātām, while tileworks

- were produced by ustād Izadī; mirrorwork was executed by ustād Hiydar and murals were painted by ustād Bihzād. See further, the Organization for the Cultural Heritage. Fol. 1606/19: "The Marble Palace," Tehran. For more information on woodwork, see W. Floor, "The Woodworking Craft and Its Products in Iran," *Muqarnas*, vol. 23 (2006), pp. 159-189.
- 35 "Kākh-i marmar (The Marble Palace)," *Ittilā'āt-i māhiyānah (Monthly News)*, Mihr 1329/ September 1950, vol. 3.7, no. 31 pp. 27-34, 50. A French official noted the gracefulness and elegance of the furnishings and the details of the interior décor.
- 36 For more details on Reza Shah's forced unveiling policy, see H.E. Chehabi, "The Banning of the Veil and its Consequences," in S. Cronin, ed., *The Making of Modern Iran: State and Society under Reza Shah, 1921-1941*, London and New York: Routledge, 2003, pp. 193-210.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- 38 *Ibid.*
- 39 Similarly, the Nayyib al-saltanah Palace gave way to the Justice Ministry. See further Grigor, op. cit. (2005), p. 131.
- 40 "Ruzī kih shah isti'fā' dād va raft (The Day the Shah Resigned and Left)," *Tehran Musavvar*, Shahrivar 1328/September, 1949, vol. 25, no. 319, pp. 3-5. In August 1941, the Allied powers of Britain and the Soviet Union occupied Iran, subsequently forcing Reza Shah to abdicate in favor of his son Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. In addition to the article cited above, there were many more in the Iranian press that discussed the private life of Reza Shah, including "Zindigī khusūsī aliyyā' hazrat-i faqīd (The Private Life of his Majesty)," *Ittilā'āt-i māhiyānah (Monthly News)*, Isfand 1332/ December 1953, vol. 72, pp. 3-5.
- 41 *Ibid.*
- 42 A. Mu'tamadī, *Sifārish-i pārchah az hind (Ordering fabrics from India)*, 1327/7/17 (1948), Box 3421, Fol. 2/26, 266/127; archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran.
- 43 Official website of Hedayat. Available at http://www.sokhan.com/hedayat/tarik_khaneh.pdf (accessed April 1, 2009). Page 2 of 5. Also see S. Hedayat, *Sag-i vilgard (The Stray Dog)*, Tehran: Nashr-i Amīr Kabīr, 1342/1963.
- 44 The profession of architecture was institutionalized by European architects who practiced in Iran with the support of the Iranian government. The main figures of this group were Nikolai Markov, Andre Godard, and Maxime Siroux. The first generation of Iranian architects who collaborated with the government to materialize state-funded projects were Gabriel Gueverkian, Mohsen Forughī, Vartan Avanesian, Keyqobad Zafar, Ali Sadiq, Iraj Moshiri, Paul Akbar, Heydar Ghiai, Abdolaziz Farmanfarmanian, and Hooshang Seyhoun. Later, in mid-1960s, architects such as Ali Sardar Afkhami, Kamran Diba and Nader Ardalan were the leading figures of the late-Pahlavi architecture.
- 45 *Anjuman-i ārshūtikthāy-i Irani-i dīplum-i*. The society as well as the journal were initiated and led by Iranian architect Mohsen Forughī (1907-83).
- 46 This voluntary unveiling was often encouraged by the popular press, which looked down upon those who had remained committed to traditional veiling. An article from October 1945, for example, reports that just like men who checked in their hats upon entering a venue, women in downtown Tehran had to check in their black *chādor* upon arriving at a wedding ceremony. The article further reveals that some women, who entered one such ceremony with their prayer chadors (*chādor-i namāz*) and refused to check them in, were humiliated by others. "Numr-i giriftan-i bānuvān barāy-i chādur-i khud (The Check-in Procedure for Women's Chadors)," *Khāndanīhā*, Mihr 1324/October 1945, vol. 6, no. 7.
- 47 *Khālq (The Masses)*, December 11, 1925; cited in C.M. Amin, *The Making of the Modern Iranian Woman: Gender, State Policy, and Popular Culture, 1865-1946*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002, p. 77.
- 48 *Khāndanīhā (Enjoyable Readings)*, Urdūbihisht 1327/June 1948, vol. 8, no. 68, p. 12.

- 49 This comment has been offered by Camron Michael Amin in the context of a similar theme, but in reference to a different newspaper article. See Amin, *op. cit.*, p. 118. It is noteworthy that by 1948—the time of publication of the aforementioned article in *Khāndanīhā*—these comparisons had already become a common trope. Amin writes about such comparisons with regard to Iranian marriage vis-à-vis that of other nations. In particular, he refers to “*Tafsīl-i arūsīthay-i mamālik-i khārijih* (An Analysis of Marriage in Foreign Countries),” an article from *Dānish (Knowledge)*, January 1911, vol. 13, no. 14, p. 6.
- 50 It is ironic that many Iranian architects who eradicated or only subtly incorporated aspects of traditional design in domestic architecture did not shy away from explicitly referring to the traditional features in their public buildings. See further M. Marefat, “Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran, 1921–1941,” PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988, p. 112.
- 51 These spaces were even eliminated from courtyard houses as the owners began to modernize their traditional homes. For further information regarding the elimination of these functions from the traditional courtyard house itself, see Chapter 3 of the present book.
- 52 “*Ranghā rā bishināsīd: chigūnah rang-i surkh insān rā tahrīk mīkunad, rang-i zard yik khānih ra bīmār kard, fava'id-i rangi ābī* (Learn How Colors Can Affect your Mood: The Color Red Excites You, Yellow Can Sicken an Entire Household, and Blue has Much Positive Affect),” *Khāndanīhā*, Ābān 1324/October 1945, vol. 6, no. 11, pp. 27–8.
- 53 This professional journal did not utterly ignore the positive aspects of the traditional courtyard house, particularly its sustainability and its adjustment to different climatic conditions in different regions. In an article (originally an interview with Radio Tehran) Mehdi Bazargan, the dean of the College of Engineering—who was also a long-time pro-democracy activist, head of Iran’s interim government, and the first prime minister after the Iranian Revolution of 1979—indicated that air-conditioning systems and electric fans were only affordable in wealthy households. He reminded his audience of the traditional cooling systems that cost nothing to operate and required no machinery, and he encouraged designers to think of ways to bring the cool night air into the lower parts of the home using technologies similar to the *bādgīrs* (wind towers in traditional courtyard homes) which had served the same purpose for centuries. M. Bazargan, “*Rizāyat az khānah* (Satisfaction with the Home),” *Ārshūikt (Architect)*, Bahman 1326/ February 1947, vol. 2, no. 5, pp. 198–200.
- 54 *Ārshūikt*, 1325/1946, vol. 1, p. 5.
- 55 *Ibid.*, pp. 4–9.
- 56 A. Loos, “Ornament and Crime,” 1908; reprinted in U. Conrads, ed., Michael Bullock, trans., *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970, pp. 19–24.
- 57 “*Masā'l-i marbūt bih mi'mārī dar Iran* (Issues Concerning Architecture in Iran),” *Ārshūikt*, 1325/1946, vol. 1., p. 7.
- 58 M. Marefat, “The Protagonists Who Shaped Modern Tehran,” in C. Adle and B. Hourcade, eds., *Teheran capitale bicentenaire*, Paris: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 1992, pp. 95–125. Cited on page 118. Also see, Ardalan, N. (2001) “Architecture: Pahlavi, after World War II,” *Encyclopedia Iranica*. Available at: <http://www.iranica.com/articles/architecture-viii>
- 59 This was obviously not something unique to Iran. Le Corbusier’s *Vers une architecture*, Paris: Les éditions G. Crès, 1923, which was influential in Iran, expressed the notion of the return to the classical past in order to overcome the problems of modern architecture.
- 60 Marefat, *op. cit.* (1988), p. 220.
- 61 Although the desire to accommodate each nuclear family in an individual unit arose as early as the 1930s, it was not fully realized until the last two decades of the twentieth century. Ali Madanipour notes that between 1966 and 1986, in Tehran, the number

- of households per dwelling fell from 1.57 to 1.17. There was also a sharp reduction in the number of persons per room, from 2.04 to 1.4. In 1976, around 30 percent of all the dwellings in the city had multi-occupancy; this was reduced to 15 percent in 1986. A. Madanipour, *Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998, p. 140. See also M. Rafiei, *Maskan va darāmad dar Tehran: guzashtah, hāl, āyandah (Housing and Income in Tehran: Past, Present, Future)*, Tehran: Urban Planning and Architecture Research Center, Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, Tehran, 1368/1989, p. 6; D. Abidīn, *Darāmadī bih iqtisād-i shahrī (An Introduction to Urban Economics)*, Tehran: Iran University Press, 1372/1993, p. 145.
- 62 Amin, op. cit., p. 83. For details concerning the marriage law of 1931, see Keddie, op. cit., p. 92. On the modernization of the Iranian family, see P. Paidar, *Women and the Political Process in Twentieth Century Iran*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 152–7. Despite earlier reforms, in 1967 a bill was passed in parliament to ban men's practice of polygamy, which "damaged the stability and health of the family"; *ibid.*, p. 153. For interrelations of Iranian family politics and notions of national identity and modernism, see *ibid.*, pp. 114–41.
- 63 Marefat, op. cit. (1992), p. 112.
- 64 *Ibid.*, p. 215.
- 65 This palace, which is located in Sa'd ābād Royal Complex, is now the Museum of Natural History. For more information about this palace's interior design, see the archives of the Organization for Cultural Heritage of Iran, Fol: 1957: "Majmū'i a Sa'd ābād (The Sa'd ābād Complex)." Crinson, op. cit., p. 70.
- 66 "Tazi'nāt-i dākhlī (Interior Design)," *Arshūkt*, Murdād/Shahrīvar 1325/August/September 1946, vol. 1, p. 28.
- 67 "Sa'd ābād yilāq-i shāhanshāh-i Iran (Sa'd ābād, the Summer Palace of the Shah of Iran)," *Ittilā'āt-i māhiyānah*, Shahrīvar/September 1329/1950, vol. 6, no. 30, p. 27–30.
- 68 *Ibid.*, pp. 28–30.
- 69 The brick was, for example, advertised by the Bahmanī Brick Factory; *Tehran musavvar*, Farvardīn 1329/March 1950, vol. 347, n.p.
- 70 *Taraqqī (Progress)*, Day 1330/December 1951, vol. 9/28, no. 465, n.p.
- 71 For more information regarding the development of public architecture under Reza Shah, see Grigor, op. cit. (2004), pp. 17–45.
- 72 U.S. State Department Archives, Hart, dispatch 387, 891.5123/5, February 20, 1931, Tehran; quoted in M. G. Majd, *Great Britain & Reza Shah: the Plunder of Iran, 1921–1941*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001, p. 162; cited in Grigor, op. cit. (2005), p. 132.
- 73 U.S. State Department Archives, Engert, dispatch 1830, "Change in the City of Tehran," 891.101/3, May 10, 1940, Tehran; quoted in Grigor, op. cit. (2005), p. 132.
- 74 R. Forbes, *Conflict: Angora to Afghanistan*, London: Cassell & Co., 1931, p. 105; quoted in Grigor, op. cit. (2005), p. 132.
- 75 H. Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran: Despotism and Pseudo-Modernism*, New York: New York University Press, 1981, p. 120; cited in Grigor, op. cit. (2005), p. 132.
- 76 A. Bayat, *Street Politics. Poor People's Movements in Iran*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- 77 Mostashari, op. cit., p. 16.
- 78 The issue of high rent was reflected in the Iranian daily newspaper *Kayhān (Universe)* in these words: "The rent in Tehran has risen up to 15–20 percent in the course of one year. Middle-class families cannot afford to pay rent on an average-size house, with up to 40 percent of their disposable income going to rent"; *Kayhān*, April 27, 1977, p. 5; cited in Mostashari, op. cit., p. 16 (translation modified).
- 79 H. Amakchī, *Rahburdāy-i milli-ī maskan-i javānān (National Strategy for Housing of Youth)*, Tehran: Sāzmān-i milli-ī javānān (National Youth Organization), 1988, vol. III, p. 19; cited in H. Zanjani, "Housing in Iran," *Encyclopedia Iranica*. Available at <http://iranica.com/articles/housing-in-iran>, 2004 (accessed June 10, 2010).

- 80 Ali Madanipour points out that these private development sectors consisted of a whole array of agencies whose prime motive regarding housing production was to seek higher returns on their investments. He adds: "In addition to these agencies, who promote(ed) exchange value, there (were) agencies which develop(ed) for their own use, hence focusing on the creation of use value. In the process of developing a market economy, the amount of development for sale was rising, before the revolution (1979)." See further Madanipour, *op. cit.*, p. 178. It is noteworthy that other agencies associated with housing development outside the precinct of state control were involved in the illegal construction of sites outside the precincts of large cities. These agencies were referred to as *sudāgarān-i zamīn* or *zamīn khārān* (land traders). They bought cheap lands at the cities' margins, built on them, and sold the plots at higher prices to lower-class families and rural immigrants. These homes often lacked plumbing and electricity; but according to many sources, including *Kayhān's Yearbook of 1963*, the families who bought their homes from the land traders were satisfied with "just shelters"; *Kayhān's Yearbook of 1963*, Khurdād 1342/June 1963, vol. 2, p. 340.
- 81 K. Kīā-Kujūrī, *A Study of Nine Residential Districts in Tehran* (study conducted under the supervision of Building Research and Codes Division, Ministry of Housing and Development, Tehran). Manuscript 2.62 (1351/1972), p. 14.
- 82 For the history of plumbing in Tehran, see G.A. Maykadah, *Āb-i Tehran (Tehran's Water)*, Tehran: Tābān Press, 1334/1965.
- 83 These characteristics are listed by Kīā-Kujūrī, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- 84 This complex was developed on a purely speculative basis to respond to high demand for housing. See Madanipour, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
- 85 For more information regarding the history of these housing complexes, see Kīā-Kujūrī, *op. cit.*; *Ārshūtiqt*, Tīr 1326/June 1947, vol. 1, no. 4 (special volume on housing); *Hunar va mi'mārī (Art and Architecture)*, 1976, nos. 10–11. Both *Ārshūtiqt* and *Hunar va mi'mārī* showcase the projects as the extent to which the government cared for the living situation of the poor. *Hunar va mi'mārī* featured images of Kūy-i Farah with the bold title *imrūz* (today) against images of *zāghihnashinān* with the bold title *dīrūz* (yesterday), pp.122–123.
- 86 M. Badī, "Dalāyil-i piydāyish-i kūyhāy-i tāzah (The Motives behind the Emergence of New Housing Complexes)"; D. Gulistanī "Prujah yik hastih markazī barāy-i gharb-i Tehran (Exploring a Central Core for Inner Tehran)." Both appeared in *Masā'il-i 'ijtimā-yī shahr-i Tehran (Social Problems in the City of Tehran)*, proceeding of a colloquium organized by the Institute of Social Research and Study, University of Tehran and published by Tehran University Press, 1343/1964, pp. 210–18, 189–97; cited in Madanipour, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
- 87 See, for example, *Maskan dar manātaq-a shahrī Iran, mushkilāt va pīshnahādāt (Housing in Iranian Cities: Problems and Resolutions)*, 1350/1971, no. 266–68, the archives of Sāzmān-i maskan va shahrsāzī (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development), Tehran. I have referred to more studies of this kind in Chapter 5.
- 88 *Maskan dar manātaq-a shahrī Iran, mushkilāt va pīshnahādāt (Housing in Iranian Cities: Problems and Resolutions)*, 1350/1971, no. 266–68, the archives of Sāzmān-i maskan va shahrsāzī (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development), Tehran.
- 89 L. Khudāyār, "Barrissī siyāsāt āpārtamān sāzī dar Iran (A Study of the Politics of Residential Apartments in Iran)," PhD diss., Millī/National University of Iran, 1352/1973, p. 18. The objective of the government's fifth Development Plan (1973–8) was to provide at least one housing unit for every household. To do this, the government proposed allocation of state-owned land for housing projects, imposing levies on idle urban land and creating incentives for construction activities. Despite the fact that the growth rate of housing exceeded that of the population, this objective was not met. See further Z. Aharī, "Maskan-i hadd-i aqal, markaz-i tahqīqāt-i maskan va shahrsāzī (Minimum Housing Center for Research on Housing and Urban Development)," Tehran, 1988, p. 112.
- 90 Naghibi, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

- 91 J. Abu-Lughod, "Culture, Modes of Production and the Changing Nature of Cities in the Arab World," in J.A. Agnew, J. Mercer, and D.E. Sopher, eds., *The City in the Cultural Context*, Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1984, p. 109.
- 92 Anthony D. King, author of *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, has written on how the bungalow embodied the spatial division of labor within British colonial urban contexts.
- 93 J. De Couault, "*Abadan yā shahr-i mutikhassisān: shahrī kih utubūs va pizishk va mu'allim va bilakharah anvā' tafrihāt dar an majjānīst va bih tur-i kullī pūl dar ān ravāj nadārad* (Abadan, the City of Technicians: The City where All Public Services are Free of Charge)," *Khāndanīhā*, Urdūbihisht 1326/May 1947, vol. 7, no.73, pp. 5–6.
- 94 By the 1930s, the garden city was a well-established worldwide planning scheme. In many parts of the world, garden cities were implemented to serve certain political ideologies. In Haifa and elsewhere in Palestine, for example, garden cities were part of Zionist colonization strategies. According to Mark Crinson, these designs—including those implemented in Iranian oil cities—were different from the original British ones because they avoided the Arts and Crafts forms associated with the original garden cities of Sir Ebenezer Howard. See further Crinson, op. cit., p. 67.
- 95 A. Morshed, "Introduction" in "The Aviator's (Re) Vision of the World: An Aesthetics of Ascension in Norman Bel Geddes's Futurama," PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2002.
- 96 See, for example, "New Flats Occupied this Week," *Abadan Today*, vol. 3, no. 51, Wednesday April 29, 1959, p. 3. There are many more examples of such articles in *Abadan Today*. See, for example, "New Flats Near Completion," *Abadan Today*, vol. 2, no. 292, Wednesday, November 26, 1958.
- 97 See, for example, the published autobiography of Ali Farrukh Mihr, *Abādān khāk-i shūrāngīz, khāk-i damāngīr* (*Abadan: My Home*), Tehran: Nashr-i ābid, 1980/2001.
- 98 Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Safar nāmih Khūzistān*, Tehran: Markaz pajūhish va nashr-i siyāsī durān-i pahlavi, 2535/1974.
- 99 British Petroleum archives (BP), Fol. 59011; cited in Crinson, op. cit., p. 65.
- 100 This is based on several interviews with current Iranian residents of Braim.
- 101 R. Home, "Town Planning and Garden Cities in the British Colonial Empire, 1910–1940," *Planning Perspectives*, 1990, pp. 23–4; cited in Crinson, op. cit., p. 67.
- 102 Ibid.
- 103 M. and R. Farmanfarmaian, *Blood and Oil: Memoirs of a Persian Prince*, New York: Random House, 1997, pp. 184–5; also partially quoted in Crinson, op. cit., p. 52. Similar statements were published in the Iranian popular press. An example is a detailed report on living conditions for unskilled Iranian workers by a French journalist, "*Dar pāytakht naftī Iran zandagī khūbī nadīdam* (Life is not so Pleasant in Iran's Oil Capital)," in *Khāndanīhā*, 1326/1947, no. 88.
- 104 Crinson, op. cit., pp. 57–8.
- 105 M. Foucault, "The Revolt in Iran Spreads on Cassette Tapes," *Corriere della Sera*, November 19, 1978; reprinted in J. Afary and K.B. Anderson, *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005, pp. 216–20, quote on p. 217. For more information and images of the life condition of the poor in Abadan, see J.H. Bamberg, *The History of the British Petroleum Company: The Anglo-Iranian Years, 1928–1954*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 448.
- 106 For more information regarding the concession see Farmanfarmaian, op. cit., p. 186.
- 107 British Petroleum archives (BP), 49673; cited in Crinson, op. cit., p. 65.
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 A similar approach to design was taken up in other industrial cities. The most prominent examples are the houses of the employees of the railway station in the city of Ahvaz (southern Khuzistan region), built in 1948. These residential units exhibit flat roofs with belvederes, high-ceilinged rooms, and decorative brickwork. See further Archives of The Organization for the Cultural Heritage of Iran, Folder: 2587.

- 110 Crinson, op. cit., p. 70.
- 111 British Petroleum archives, 49673; cited in *ibid*.
- 112 The scholar of the Victorian era, Catherine Hall, has argued that race functioned as an important marker of and means by which working-class men were incorporated into a more inclusive British nation. C. Hall, "Review of Susan Throne: *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture*," *Victorian Studies*, Summer 2001, vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 695–7; cited in S. Mills, *Gender and Colonial Space*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2005, p. 129.
- 113 H. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *idem*, *The Location of Culture*, London: Routledge, 1994, p. 86.
- 114 Although this particular house remains more Western in its form and function, most houses built by Markov had a double character to them: both monumental—following the grand historic European villas; and vernacular—in step with traditional patterns and crafts; they are composites of detailed brickwork, pointed Islamic arches, and Corinthian columns. For the literature on such architectural styles that emerged in other parts of the Middle East as well as elsewhere in the colonized world, see Crinson, op. cit., pp. 26–51. See also A. Colquhoun, "The Concept of Regionalism," in G.B. Nalbantoglu and C.T. Wong, eds., *Postcolonial Space(s)*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997, p. 13. For a complete set of Markov's architectural design projects in Iran, see V. Daniel, S. Bijan and S. Soroushian, eds., *Mi'mārī Nikulāy Mārkuḥ (Architectural Projects of Nikolai Markov)*, Tehran: Dīd Publishers, 2004.
- 115 Personal interviews with the residents, tape recording, Spring 2007.

3 The Cold War and the economies of desire and domesticity

- 1 Radio interview available at <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=91207936> (accessed June 9, 2008).
- 2 Several scholars have acknowledged the similarity between the postwar development programs and previous (colonial) modernization methods. See, for example, M. Adas, *Machine as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990, pp. 402–18.
- 3 Rockefeller Report on Point IV, "Chapter One: problem," p. 13 of 15. Papers of Harry S. Truman: Box 5, Files of David D. Lloyd (Correspondence and General File). Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, Missouri.
- 4 Speech by President Harry S. Truman, The White House, June 24, 1949, p. 2 of 5. Papers of Harry S. Truman, Files of David D. Lloyd. Presidential Speech File. Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, Missouri.
- 5 This notion has been highlighted in numerous reports, newspaper articles, and official public speeches. See, for example, J.W. Ball, "Point 4 Declared Number 1 Hope for Peace," *The Washington Post*, May 16, 1949, p. 4; "U.S. Group Set Up to Develop Iran," *The New York Times*, August 26, 1958, p. 10.
- 6 The publication was that of the Association of Women of the Tudeh Party, edited by Zahra Iskandarī-Bayāt. Apart from the West and capitalism, *Bīdārī mā* strongly criticized the Pahlavi regime. The Tudeh Association of Women became a member of the International Democratic Foundation of Women in 1947 and was represented in conferences in Budapest (1948) and Beijing (1949). The association was outlawed in 1949, and two years later the Tudeh Party replaced it with the Democratic Association of Women. See further P. Paidar, *Women and the Political Process in Twentieth Century Iran*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 124–5.
- 7 F.L. Alavī, "Khānah va khānīvādah va hudūd-i ān dar asr-i kunūnī (Home and family and its limits in modern age)," *Bīdārī mā*, Mihr 1323/October 1944, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 13. In addition, the magazine criticized the harem in traditional Iranian dwellings and categorized any socio-religious ideas connected to this all-female space as superstitious; M. Fīrūz, "Khurāfāt-i ijtimā'ī (Societal Superstitions)," *Bīdārī mā*, Murdād 1323/August 1944, vol. 2, no.1, p. 10.

- 8 M. Fīrūz, “*Bidār shavīd!* (Wake Up!),” *Bīdārī mā*, Tīr 1323/June 1944, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 9–13.
- 9 ‘*Musāhibah ba Saīd Naḥṣī* (Interview with Said Naḥṣī),” *Bīdārī mā*, Shahrīvar 1324/September 1945, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 17–21.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 11 For further information about Aleksandra Kollontai’s depiction of the ideal Soviet female body, see, for example, E. Naiman, *Sex in Public: The Incarnation of Early Soviet Ideology*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, pp. 208–49. Inspired by Kollontai’s ideas in the 1920s, fashion designer Liubov Popova created outfits that intentionally obliterated the female body’s curves; see C. Kiaer, *Imagine No Possessions: The Socialist Objects of Russian Constructivism*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005, p. 132.
- 12 “In Russia marriage is very easy but divorce is extremely difficult,” *Taraqḡī*, Bahman 1331/February 1952, vol. 9/37, no. 473, pp. 6, 22.
- 13 Two other major advocates were philosophers, Vladimir Solov’ev (1853–1900) and Nikolai Berdiaev (1874–1948), for whom birth represented bad infinity of physical reproduction and the seeming inevitability of human decay. See further Naiman, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–31.
- 14 “In Russia marriage is very easy but divorce is extremely difficult,” *op.cit.* Under the Soviets, the main characteristic of the Russian city was its high population density. The vast majority of the urban population lived in cramped conditions. In 1926, per capita living space in Moscow was 5.7 square meters. In 1956, the figure had been reduced to 4.8 square meters. This decrease was generally duplicated throughout the country and was sometimes even more dramatic. For example, the corresponding figures for the city of Minsk were 5.9 and 4.1 square meters. See further, J. Bater, *The Soviet City: Ideal and Reality*, London: Arnold, 1980, p. 100; cited on p. 477 of R. Porter, “The City in Russian Literature: Images Past and Present,” *The Modern Language Review*, April 1999, vol. 94, no. 2, pp. 476–85.
- 15 Vartan Hovanesian, “*Masā’l mi’ māri dar Iran: az nazar-i ijtimāyī va buhrān-i manāzil* (Problems of Iranian Architecture: Social Issues and Housing Dilemmas),” *Ārshūtki*, Tīr 1326/ June 1947, vol. 1, no. 4 (special volume on housing), p. 140.
- 16 This mention of Azerbaijan refers to a Turkish province in northwestern Iran and not what was then a Soviet province or what is now the independent country of Azerbaijan. The crisis in 1946 stemmed from a Soviet refusal to relinquish Iranian territories occupied by the Red Army since 1942. For more information regarding the interest of the Soviet Union in Iran and the activities of the Iranian Left see, for example, S. Cronin, ed., *Reformers and Revolutionaries in Modern Iran: New Perspectives on the Iranian Left*, London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004.
- 17 Following World War II, oil and military deals as well as America’s technical assistance strengthened the contacts between Iranians and Americans. By 1979 some 30,000 Americans were living in Iran.
- 18 MP 72–65, Reel 1, Motion Picture Archives. Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, Missouri.
- 19 In his 1950 speech at the University of Tehran, Douglas said that Iran needed a reform program of “perhaps 10% communism, 15% capitalism, and 75% something else.” See further J. Donovan, *U.S. and Soviet Policy in the Middle East 1945–56*, New York: Facts on Files, 1972, pp. 97–8.
- 20 It is noteworthy that of the total budget of \$85,620,000 for the Point IV Program for the Near East and Africa, Asia and Far East, as well as the so-called American Republics (Latin America), \$17,306,400 was dedicated to health; \$8,998,950 was intended for education; and only \$1,200,600 was allocated for housing. The largest portion of the funding, \$18,389,550, was set aside for agriculture and forestry. See further “The Point IV Program,” Foreign Relations, Rockefeller Reports, Box 62, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, Missouri. See also, W.E. Warne, *Mission for Piece: Point 4 in Iran*, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956. On

- Farsi books and Iranian perspectives on this topic see, for example, M.H. Mūsavī, H. Khanikī, and A. Mašjīd-Jamay'ī, *Asnādī az asl-i chāhār-i trūman dar iran, 1325–1346*, vols.1–2 (*Documents on Truman's Point IV in Iran, 1946–67*), Tehran: Markaz-i Asnād-i Rīyāsāt-i Jumhūrī, 1382/2003; V. Hamrāz, *Barrasī ahdāf va amalkard-i asl-i chāhār-i trūman* (A Study of Truman's Point IV in Iran), Tehran: Markaz-i Asnād va Tārīkh-i Dīplumāsī, 1381/2002; A. Karbāsiyān, “*Tahlīlī bar natāyaji-i ijrā'ī asl-i chāhār-i trūman dar Iran* (An Analysis of the Consequences of Truman's Point IV Program in Iran),” *Guzārish (Reportage)*, Day 1378/ January 1999, no. 701 pp. 64–72.
- 21 Other initiatives included providing scholarships to support the education of young women at American colleges and universities. In addition, each year the Iranian Department of Education sent a high-school girl to attend the annual New York Herald Tribune Forum for High Schools. See The Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran, Iran. Box 72. File 23: “Americans' Promotion of Health and Culture of Other Nations,” no. 1/9, June 5, 1953. It is important to note that the main agenda of the Point IV Program was to help people to help themselves. As a 1949 article from *The Washington Post* reports: “Like the Marshall Plan, (the Point IV) has been a program of helping others to help themselves through cooperative effort”; Thomas K. Ford, “What the U.S. already is doing to help underdeveloped countries,” *The Washington Post*, June 12, 1949, p. 3.
 - 22 From 1952 to 1962, King served as a home economist educator in countries such as Iran, Egypt, Lebanon, and Turkey. See further *Who's Who of American Women*, fourth ed., Berkeley Heights: A.N. Marquis Company Inc., 1966–7.
 - 23 Bernice W. King, 1954, U.S. Office of Education, Home Economics, Division of Education and Training. LOT 9235 (G) LC P&P BOX 1of 3, Library of Congress. Prior to the program, extensive research was conducted by King and her crew. She writes: “The same basic needs were found everywhere . . . After countless interviews, much digging into grass root needs, close observation of girls' schools of secondary level and homes of the destitute, the very poor, and the average and the wealthy, I was able to dream a dream and was ready to try to make that dream come true,” *ibid*. At some point in the report King expressed her frustration towards Iranians' hygiene and wondered how to reform the entire country and not just a few students:

At the end of the first day, we reached Boroujerd, where we stayed for the night. We were so dusty and tired that nothing seemed to matter very much. However, a sponge and a fresh clothing convinced me that I should survive and I sat for an hour and observed the activities of the Jub (open ditches along most streets for running water). I shuttered to watch, but was fascinated to see an old man vigorously scrubbing his feet with a brush while beside him a young girl washed the black from a copper pan and a small boy rinsed and re-rinsed a family teapot. Nearby a weazend (sic) woman scrubbed her teeth with a cloth which she wet in the water, and a baby was held over the stream to urinate. I am sure I can educate school girls in homemaking, but sat by the hotel window in Boroujerd and wondered if one could change the people of the Jub.

See further Bernice W. King, “Trip Report to Khuzestan Area,” page 1 of 6. September 9, 1953, in U.S. Office of Education, Home Economics, Division of Education and Training. LOT 9235 (G) LC P&P BOX 1of 3, U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

- 24 For a detailed account of the “kitchen debate” and its ensuing deliberations in American, European, and the Soviet contexts, see R. Oledenziel and K. Zachmann, *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009, part 1: “Staging the Kitchen Debate: Nixon and Khrushchev, 1949–1959,” pp. 33–159. For another informative study on the overlap of the Cold War and architecture see, G. Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Mid-Century Design*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

- 25 The homemaking programs in Iran were modeled after instructions that, by the 1950s, had existed in the U.S. for over half a century. American homemaking educational programs in themselves dated back to the late 1860s. According to architectural historian Gwendolyn Wright, most home-economics specialists wanted to educate a great many consumers rather than a few good women designers. Moreover, greater standardization in American houses meant that greater similarity between individual dwellings would create a more homogenous community. Therefore, in the American context, the concern was not just to break with the “ornate stuffiness of the past or to break with the unprofessional and unhygienic environment of older houses but, rather, ideologically to effect change in larger aspects of culture.” G. Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980, pp. 164–6. In addition to these efforts, the Education and Training Division of Point IV offered courses in Tehran that intended exclusively to familiarize (Iranians) with life in the United States. This program included informal talks, panel discussions, and films. Attending the program was a requirement, especially for those students who were to be sent to the United States for university education. See further William E. Warne’s personal letter to Reza Djaffari, at that time Iran’s Minister of Education; Box 297019988, folder: 014S2AP1. Microfilm no. 121–144 (August 24, 1954); The National Archives of Iran, Tehran. It is also noteworthy that the Cultural Branch (*shu’bah farhangī*) of the Point IV Program in Tehran organized regular evening gatherings that allowed the interaction of Point IV workers with Iranian officials and their families; Box 290003684, folder: 888V5AB1. Microfilm no. 8–98 (1952/1331); the National Archives of Iran, Tehran. Other cultural activities took place at various events organized by the Iranian-American Society (*anjuman-i Iran va Āmrīkā*).
- 26 These photographs were probably shot as proof of the work undertaken in Iran with U.S. funds and destined to be archived at the U.S. Department of Education. There is no evidence that these documentary photographs were ever meant to be or were actually widely reproduced in any Iranian publications, whether home-economics books, women’s magazines, or otherwise.
- 27 M. Hollis, “The Self in Action,” in R. S. Peters, ed., *John Dewey Reconsidered*, London, Henley, and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977, pp. 56–75; quote appears on p. 61. It is noteworthy that at the end of the nineteenth century, the body began to be understood as a mechanical constituent of industrial productivity. “Scientific management” as promoted by Frederick Taylor, also known as Taylorism, sought to rationalize and standardize the body’s motions in order to harness its dynamic energy and convert it into efficient labor power. See further A. Rabinach, *The Human Motor*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- 28 John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct: An Introduction to Social Psychology*, New York: Holt, 1922, pt. II, sec. IV, p. 128; quoted in Rabinach, op. cit., p. 62.
- 29 Box 62. Milo Perkins, Point IV and U.S. Foreign Policy, p. 7; Foreign Relations, Rockefeller Reports, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, Missouri. It is noteworthy that this disciplining of the individual as well as the nation was different from the one at work in prior colonial contexts where there was “continuous supervision and control.” See T. Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, LA, Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1991, p. 100. The relationship between disciplining the body and creating an advanced state is also articulated by Arjun Appadurai: “... (T) he specific projects (however successful) of modern nation-state, ranging from sanitation to the census, from family planning to disease control, and from immigration control to language policy, have tied concrete bodily practices (speech, cleanliness, movement, health) to large-scale group identities, thus increasing the potential scope of embodied experiences of group affinity.” See further A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- 30 In *Experience and Education*, Dewey draws a connection between one’s living environment and experience: “An experience is always what it is because of a transaction

- taking place between an individual and what, at the time, constitutes his environment ... The environment ... is whatever conditions interact with personal needs, desires, purposes, and capacities to create the experience.” John Dewey, *Experience and Education*, New York: Collier Books, 1938, p. 43.
- 31 Bernice W. King, 1954, U.S. Office of Education, Home Economics, Division of Education and Training. LOT 9235 (G) LC P&P BOX 1 of 2, U.S. Library of Congress, Washington, DC. King’s assertion bears similarity to a commentary given by Henrietta W. Calvin, author of the 1918 American manuscript, *Home Economics Courses for Girls and Young Women*: “... at no time can he (the returned World War I soldier) replace the woman who is well trained in home economics”; quoted in P. Palmer, *Domesticity and Dirt: Housewives and Domestic Servants in the United States, 1920–1945*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989, p. 89. Although Point IV specialists did not provide such intense and structured programs for men, they nonetheless offered instruction for high-school boys in home economics. This included a preliminary manuscript to be later revised, published, and taught in schools for many years to come. Long considered part of a man’s homemaking duties, building-technology subjects such as patching cracks in plaster walls, repairing leaky faucets and clogged drains, designing walls and window treatments, as well as fixing electrical appliances were included in home-economics courses for boys. The instructions laid emphasis on advanced building methods. The report points out that there is no need for providing lessons on fine woodworking or other traditional crafts or decorative skills. Instead the focus must be on practical skills such as terminating electricity-related problems. See Box 297014855, folder 332R5AP. Microfilm no. 108–36 (1959), The National Archives of Iran, Tehran.
 - 32 A. Karbāsīyān, op. cit., p. 70.
 - 33 This fact was communicated in a letter written by Ezattollah Entezam, the Iranian envoy to the Iranian embassy in Washington DC, addressing the Iranian Ministry of Finance, “*Ravābit-i bazargānī Iran va Āmrīkā* (Iran-America Commerce Relations),” Box 29, folder. 26/2, letter no. 3410 (1330/1951), The Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran.
 - 34 Arthur Chester Millspaugh was the first American financial expert to undertake financial reform missions to Iran. The first extended from 1922 to 1927 and the second from January 1943 to January 1945. For further information regarding his activities, see A.C. Millspaugh, *The American Task in Persia*, New York: Century, 1925.
 - 35 C.M. Amin, “Importing ‘Beauty Culture’ into Iran in the 1920s and 1930s: Mass Marketing Individualism in an Age of Anti-Imperialist Sacrifice,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 2004, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 79–95; the selected content appears on p. 84.
 - 36 “Five Million American Outfits will Reach Iran,” *Khāndanīhā*, Bahman 1324/February 1945, vol. 6. no. 23.
 - 37 Box 2. File 26: “*Ravābit-i bāzargānī Iran va Āmrīkā* (Iran-America Commerce Relations),” Iranian-American Commerce, vol. 29, no. 65 (August 1, 1953). The Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran, Iran.
 - 38 Ibid.
 - 39 In 1953, for example, a number of businessmen with knowledge of the English language were to attend a conference at the University of Washington in Seattle, where they had the opportunity to be informed about business in the U.S. Ibid.
 - 40 *Mu’avinat-i Khadāmāt-i mudīrīyyat va ittil’āt risānī daftar-i raī’s jumhūr* (Information Data from the Office of the President), *Asnād-ī az tātārīkhchah radio dar Iran, 1318–1345* (Documents Related to the short History of Radio in Iran, 1938–1966), Tehran: Vizārat-i farhang va irshād-i islami, 2000, V.
 - 41 The Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran. Box 2. File 26: “*Ravābit-i bazargānī Iran va Āmrīkā* (Iran-America Commerce Relations)”: “A Letter from Tehran,” July 12, 1951.
 - 42 *Tehran musavvar*, Urdūbihisht 1328/May1949, vol. 23, p. 10.

- 43 A. Najmabadi, *Land Reform and Social Change in Iran*, Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1988, p. 106. Urban population increased by approximately 40 per cent in this period. Pertaining to this issue see also F. Ershad, "Rural-Urban Migration and Public Policies in Iran, 1960s and 1970s," paper given at the seminar on internal migration in Iran, Center of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, SOAS, June 1988, p. 1; cited in S. Lloyd, "Housing the Urban Poor in Iran : A Vicious Circle," Occasional paper (University of London. Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies), no. 10, London: Centre of Near & Middle Eastern Studies, University of London, 1993, p. 9.
- 44 M.H. Pesaran, "The System of Dependent Capitalism in Pre- and Post-Revolutionary Iran," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, November 1982, vol 14, no. 4, pp. 501–22. It is noteworthy that the government policy of importing food to meet shortages and prevent higher food prices in urban centers was also detrimental to the plight of farmers. *Ibid.*, p. 507.
- 45 M. Milani, *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution: from Monarchy to Islamic Republic*, London: Westview Press, 1988, p. 120. Tehran grew from a population of just over half a million in 1940 to 1.7 million in 1956, 2.7 million in 1966 and 4.6 million in 1976, increasing at a rate of 5.7 percent per annum between 1956 and 1966 and 5.3 percent per annum from 1966 to 1976. Tehran thus became one of the largest and fastest growing cities in the Third World. In comparison with other Middle Eastern states, Iran's capital alone contained more people than Israel, Lebanon, and Jordan. See further V.F. Costello, "Tehran," in M. Pacione, *Problems and Planning in the Third World Cities*, London: Croom Helm, 1981, p. 156. All cited in Lloyd, op. cit., p. 7.
- 46 A. Ikani, *The Dynamics of Inflation in Iran 1960–1977*, Tilburg: Tilburg University Press, 1987), p. 360.
- 47 H. Amir Ebrahimi and A. Kiafar, "Tehran: Growth and Contradictions," *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, Spring 1987, vol. 6, pp. 167–77; cited in A. Keshavarzian, *Bazaar and State in Iran: The Politics of the Tehran Marketplace*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 144.
- 48 "*Gird-i ham 'āyi buzurg va bāshikūh-i namāyandigān-i mahsulāt-i Philco Hoover va Indesit* (The Grand Forum of the Representatives of Philco, Hoover, and Indesit Products)," *Tehran Economist*, Urdūbihisht 1957/April 1, 1978, no. 1239, n.p.
- 49 *Ibid.*
- 50 F. Ahmed, "Iran: Subimperialism in Action," *Pakistan Forum*, March/April 1973, vol. 3, no. 67 p. 11.
- 51 A. Appadurai, "Introduction," in idem, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 32.
- 52 Architectural historian M. Jeffrey Hardwick, for example, entitled his book about Gruen as *Mall Maker: Victor Gruen, Architect of an American Dream*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- 53 The term "master plan" was first posited in 1955 by Charles M. Haar, a Harvard law professor who also collaborated with architects (it is noteworthy that the Iranian translation of this term is *tarh-i jāmi'* or "general plan"). For a detailed discussion regarding Haar's definition of "master plan," see C.M. Haar, "The Master Plan: An Impermanent Constitution," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Summer 1955, vol. 20, no. 3 (Urban Housing and Planning), pp. 353–418.
- 54 Box 45-Folder 14. III-B-1–7: Comprehensive Plan for Tehran, First Stage—Concept Development: The Planning Concept—Volume III; Library of Congress Victor Gruen Collection.
- 55 These concepts are emphasized throughout the text of Tehran's master-plan project: "traffic and transportation planning, whereby new street networks are provided as needed to serve the growing city." Comprehensive Plan for Tehran, First Stage—Concept Development: The Planning Concept—Volume III; Library of Congress Victor Gruen Collection. Box 45-Folder 14. III-A-I-4. Similarly, utilities and their service networks had to keep pace with economic growth: "Housing design,

- minimum yet satisfactory building standards suited to economic growth and provision of commercial, services, and recreational facilities.” Ibid., III-A-3-2. My arguments about Gruen’s Master Plan for Tehran are inspired by Wagner’s sharp analysis of Gruen’s Fort Worth Plan. See further G. Wagner, “The Lair of the Bachelor,” in D. Coleman, E. Danze, and C. Henderson, eds., *Architecture and Feminism*, Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, pp. 183–203; the above quote appears on p. 193.
- 56 A. Sārimī, “*Mudirnitih nātāmām dar mi’mārī Iran* (Iran’s Unaccomplished Modernization in Architecture),” *Mi’mār (Architect)*, Farvardīn/Urdībihisht 1385/March–April 2005, vol. 36, pp. 31–6.
- 57 The *huzkhānah* is a summer room located beneath the *tālār*—an open archway facing the courtyard. Another summer space is the *sardāb*: a large, deep basement also used as a family living area during the hotter hours of the day. Although these elements are the main components of the summer area of the house, not all of them are necessarily found in all homes. See further M. Kheirabadi, *Iranian Cities: Formation and Development* (Contemporary Issues in the Middle East), Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000, pp. 35–9.
- 58 This element is known as *bādgīr* (wind catcher).
- 59 The word used in this context is *nāb* (genuine).
- 60 “How do you sit? Manners of sitting are markers of one’s identity,” *Taraqqī*, December 30, 1946, vol. 5/31, no. 207, p. 6.
- 61 *Tehran Musavvar*, Day 1329/December 1950, p. 56.
- 62 R. Nurkse, *Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1953, p. 61. Between 1951 and 1952, the content of this book was delivered in the form of public lectures in Brazil, Boston, and Egypt.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Jordan Sand, in his book *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880–1930*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003, provides a similar argument regarding the Japanese perception of progress in housing and home ethics in relation to those of the West. See *ibid.*, pp. 366–7.
- 65 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984, p. 345; quoted in Sand, *op. cit.*, pp. 366–7.
- 66 W.J.T. Mitchell. *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005, p. 25.
- 67 Noteworthy subjects featured in these books, which were designed for nine consecutive years—from fourth to twelfth grade—include guidelines and illustrations for the physical organization of rooms, illustrated fashion and sewing techniques, moralistic commentaries on prevailing social practices, baby-care topics, nutrition and balanced diet, as well as health and personal well-being, all modeled on the content of Western and in particular British and American magazines. Such themes as profiles of successful female historical figures—both illustrated and textual—that were somewhat common in early-Pahlavi manuscripts are absent in the 1960s books. An example of these former publications is the second-grade text, *The Book of Art for Girls* by Mirza Sayyid Ali Khan Mua’llim published only until 1954 (4th edition). The famous women featured in this book include two pre-Islamic Iranian figures, Purandukht and Azarmidukht, the daughters of the Sassanian king Aushiravan, and Jeanne d’Arc, as well as the Virgin Mary. There are no mentions of heroic or successful Muslim women. See further, M.S.A.K. Mua’llim, *Kitāb-i hunar āmūz-i dūshīzagan (The Book of Art for Girls)*, Tehran: Nihzat-i mashriq, 1334/1954.
- 68 In addition, many books also based their content on those written in the early Pahlavi period by Badr al-Muluk Bamdad, a graduate of Columbia University’s Teacher’s College. She was also the founder of Iranian Women’s League (*jām’iyyat-i zanān-i Iran*), established in 1942, and the editor of the women’s magazine, *Zan-i imrūz (Today’s Woman)*.
- 69 C. Geertz, “Found in Translation: On the Social History of the Moral Imagination” in *idem*, *Local Knowledge*, New York: Basic Books, 1983, pp. 36–54; cited in R.

- Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, p. 238.
- 70 Dianne Harris, “Clean and Bright and Everything White,” in D. Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles, eds., *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007, p. 243.
- 71 *Ittilā’āt-i māhiyānah*, Isfand 1332/December 1953, no. 72, n.p.
- 72 An advertisement for a luxury furnished house on Shahriza Avenue in Tehran, *Taraqī*, May 5, 1952, p. 23.
- 73 It is worth mentioning that, in the U.S., “the use of massive crowds of tiny, undifferentiated figures paying homage to the heroically scaled product had appeared only infrequently since the early 1930s. This visual cliché may have faded as advertising leaders came to associate such images with totalitarian regimes.” See further, Marchand, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
- 74 At least in the education system, there was an emphasis on reforming the individual identity of students. “Lack of individualism among Iranians” was frequently reported by foreigners and especially educators who had worked in Iran. As early as the nineteenth century, Ella C. Sykes, who then traveled in Iran, had observed that Iranians reddened when they talked about themselves, their abilities, and achievements. E.C. Sykes, *Through Persia on a Side Saddle*, London: A.D. Innes & Company Ltd, 1898, vol. 1, p. 150. Professor Ann Lambton, who had lived and worked in Iran for many years, noted that this “lack” had its roots in the past. She wrote that throughout history Iranian rulers “found it convenient for the purpose of administration, and especially of taxation, to deal with the group rather than with the individual, and consequently fostered the corporate structure of society.” See A.K.S. Lambton, “The Impact of the West on Persia,” *International Affairs*, January 1957, vol. XXXIII, p. 15; cited in A. Banuazizi, “Iranian ‘National Character,’ A Critique of Some Western Perspectives,” in L.C. Brown and N. Itzkowitz, eds., *Psychological Dimensions of Near Eastern Studies*, Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1977, pp. 210–39; cited on p. 222. Another such commentary came from Richard W. Gable, who based it on his two years of observations (1955–57) as a member of the faculty team from the University of Southern California who helped establish the Institute for Administrative Affairs at the University of Tehran. He confirmed that a lack of individualism was “among the more cited traits of Persian Character”; R.W. Gable, “Culture and Administration in Iran,” *Middle East Journal*, 1959, vol. XIII, pp. 407–521; cited in Brown and Itzkowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 224. Other references to such phenomena may be seen in the work of scholar Michael C. Hillman, who believes that self-censorship and lack of autobiographical accounts are common tropes in modern Iranian literature, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. See further M.C. Hillman, *A Lonely Woman: Forugh Farrokhzad and her poetry*, Washington: Three Continents Press, 1987, p.109; cited in F. and F. Ahmadi, *Iranian Islam: The Concept of the Individual*, London: MacMillan Press, 1998, p. 104.
- 75 *A Guide to Cooking and Homemaking (Dastūr-i tabbakhī va tadbīr-i manzil)*, Tehran: Nashr-i Amīr Kabīr, 972, p. 30.
- 76 Amin, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- 78 Box. 471. File 35: “American Published Press on Iran,” no. 2/3: “A Letter From Tehran” (1337/1958), p. 3 of 3. The Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran.
- 79 Nurkse, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
- 80 In traditional courtyard homes, parapets, which surrounded the edges of the roofs, prevented visual access.
- 81 J. Khatib-Chahidi, “Sexual Prohibitions, Shared Space and Fictive Marriages in Shiite Iran,” in S. Ardener, ed., *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, London: Croom Helm, 1981, pp. 112–35; quote appears on p. 122.
- 82 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 83 *Ibid.*

- 84 Khatib-Chahidi, *op. cit.*, pp. 123–4.
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 I have borrowed this description from anthropologist Farha Ghannam, who characterizes a similar space in the houses of modern Egypt (*sā'lā*), Lebanon (*majlis*), and Yemen (*mafraj*). See further Ghannam, *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation, and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. p. 96.
- 87 Sand, *op. cit.*, p. 369.
- 88 G. Simmel, *The Philosophy of Money*, London, Henley, and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978, p. 66.
- 89 This point is also mentioned by the narrator of the documentary by Nader Takmil Homayoun, *Iran: A Cinematographic Revolution* (Tehran, 2006), in which an excerpt from *Under the Skin of the Night* is featured.
- 90 “*Balāy-i ijārih khānah: dulat abadan dar fikr nīst* (The Despair of High Rent: The Government is Not Concerned at All),” *Taraqqi*, November 25, 1946, vol. 15, no. 202, p. 1.
- 91 Private banks such as Rahnī were widely involved in the building of homes. As Madanipour observes, this was the case in the development of Shahrak-i Gharb—built in the 1970s. The Bank of Constructions (*bank-i 'umrān*) was itself the only developer. It supplied its own funding. “Relying on the vast sums of money it controlled, as it belonged to the royal family, this bank was able to develop an entire new town. Even after their nationalization, the private banks continued to have an important impact through the public sector, especially within the framework of the Ministry of Treasury and Economic Affairs.” See “Bank and Financial Institutions,” in Madanipour, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–90.
- 92 The Rahnī Bank, established in 1939, provided loans to 39 percent of urban home dwellers. By 1969, the building of a total of 42,107 houses had been funded by the bank. For more information regarding the bank’s activities, see M.S. Mostashari, “Attitudes of Iranians toward the Housing Situation in Iran,” PhD diss., United States International University, 1987, p. 16. See further P.P. Mu’izzī, “*Naqsh-i bank-i Rahnī dar tose’eh khānah sāzi dar Iran* (The Role of the Rahnī Bank in Housing in Iran),” PhD diss., Millī University of Iran, Faculty of Law, 1973, pp. 10–11. See also E. Ruknī, “*Naqsh-i bank-i rahnī Iran dar qtisād-i maskan* (The Role of the Rahnī Bank in Housing Economy),” PhD diss., Millī University of Iran, Faculty of Economics, 1973.
- 93 M.A. Shaybānī, “*Piydāyish fikr-i tahyiyah sākhimān khānahāy-a dasta jam’i bahādur dar Tehran* (Inexpensive Mass Housing Projects for Iran),” *Ārshūtik*, Murdād/Shahrivar 1325/August–September 1946, vol. 1, p. 28.
- 94 See further A. Najmabadi, *Land Reform and Social Change in Iran*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988; E. Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 130–3.
- 95 H. Madanī, “*Masā’ilī dar rābita ba tawsi’a-ya maskan simīnār-i tawsi’a-ya maskan dar Iran* (Proceedings of the Seminar on Development of Housing in Iran),” *Mihr* 1373/October 1994, nos. 11–13, p. 394. These problems were indeed evident in other cities as well. For example, in 1964 in Kajavih, a small western town with a population of 8,545, one toilet served every ten to fifteen houses of the poor. Mostashari, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- 96 Bayat, *op. cit.*, p. 32. The state referred to them as *hāshīyah nashīnān* (residents of the margins of the city). For a more in-depth discussion of this so-called fourth class, see A. Ashraf, “Iran: Imperialism, Class, and Modernization from Above,” PhD diss., New School for Social Research, 1971, p. 345; cited in Bayat, *op. cit.*; Moaddel, M. (1993) *Class, Politics, and Ideology in the Iranian Revolution*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- 97 “*Ghār nashīnān-i junūb-i shahr* (The Cave Settlers of the South of the City),” *Tehran Musavvar*, Bahman 1341/February 1962, no. 1015, pp. 8–9. This promised lake was never built.

- 98 Asef Bayat provides a description of these dwellings by a man who lived there: “My daughter tells me when I go to school through this long and muddy road, my clothes get all dirty, and I really get embarrassed among my classmates. And the women of this neighborhood are now singled out (*ma’rūf*). When they go shopping in other areas, people look at them with disdain. Their appearance shows that they are poor.” Interview with a squatter of one neighborhood in southern Tehran, conducted by sociology students of the University of Allamah Tabātabāyī, 1995; cited in Bayat, *op. cit.*, p. 32. For more information on how these people were perceived in larger cities, see also, W. Floor, “The Brickworkers of Khatunabad,” *International Review of Social History*, 48, 2003, p. 441; D. Behazin and A. Rustampur, “*Gidā’i va vilgardī*,” Tehran: ISSR, 1968, p. 17. Cited in Schayegh, C. ““Seeing Like a State”: An Essay on the Historiography of Modern Iran,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 2010, vol. 42, p. 51.
- 99 *Ibid.*
- 100 They particularly became the subject of most of the writings and literary works of the Iranian political Left.
- 101 Bayat, *op. cit.*, p. 32. For detailed references to the books mentioned in this passage, see *ibid.*, p. 175, and bibliography, pp. 201–16.
- 102 R. Yaniski, Royal Iranian Consulate in Moscow, trans., “*Inast tariqah kumak Āmrīkā bih Iran* (This is the Way America Helps Iran),” *Krasnaya Zvezda (Red Star)*, February 16, 1958. Box 471, File 35: “American (sic) Published Press on Iran,” 1327/1948, vol. 3, no. 2, p. 3 of 3. The Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran.
- 103 Interview with Farrukh Ghaffari in Homayoun, *op. cit.*
- 104 In Central Asia, the Soviets also instituted “action from above,” which involved the use of the regime’s coercive power to change the mindset of the local traditional elites, with the expectation that this would force the general population very quickly into compliance with revolutionary ways. See further G.J. Massell, *The Surrogate Proletariat: Muslim Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia*, 1919–1929, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974, p. xxii.
- 105 Box 2903371, folder: 275V515B1: “*Fa’ālīyyat-i Khalīl Tahmāsbī va Fadāyīyān-i Islam dar Isfahan bar alayh-i asl-i chāhār trūman* (Anti-Point IV Activities of Khalil Tahmasbi and Fadayian-i Islam),” 1331/1952; Box 290003367, folder: 865V5AB1: “*Hamlah yak mahmal Shīrāzī vābastah bih hizb-i tudeh bih māchīn-i hamil-i kārmandān-i mujrī asl-i chāhār-i trūman* (The Point IV workers were attacked by a Shīrāzī fellow),” 1331/1952, all from the National Archives of Iran, Tehran.
- 106 Box 290003679, folder: 388V5AB1. Microfilm 8–93 (1952/1331); Box 290003675, folder: 879V5AB1; Microfilm 8–89 (1952/1331) and Box 290006079, folder: 134N3AB; Microfilm 8–141 (1952/1331), all from the National Archives of Iran, Tehran.
- 107 Box 290003207, folder 704V5AB1. n.d., The National Archives of Iran, Tehran.
- 108 Reprinted in G. Azīzī, *Hizb-i socialist milli kārgarān-i Iran* (Nationalist Socialist Party of Iran), Tehran: Markaz-i asnād-i inqalāb-i islāmī, 1383/2004, p. 717.
- 109 This request came from Donald Wilber, who was one of the representatives of the Point IV Program in Iran.
- 110 Center for Presidential Records, *Asnādī az asl-i chāhār-i trūman* (Documents from Truman’s Point IV), Tehran: The Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, 1382/2003, vol. 2, pp. 844–6. For more information on the contribution of American specialists to laws and regulations regarding apartment ownership (which proliferated in the context of the Kan complex), see I.I. Harīsī, *Huqūq-i mālakīn-i āpārtamānhā* (The Rights of Apartment Owners), Tehran: Nashr-i dādgustar, 1383/2004), pp. 25–7.
- 111 J.W. Cody, *Exporting American Architecture 1870–2000*, London and New York: Routledge, 2003, pp. vii–viii.
- 112 Douglas writes about how our ideas regarding dirt are not simply the consequences of scientific hygienic discoveries. See M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966.

- 113 These activities were noted by missionary Bess Allen Donaldson in her book *The Wild Rue: A Study of Muhammadan Magic and Folklore in Iran*, which was first published in London in 1938. Ten years after its publication in English, passages from the book were translated into Farsi and presented to Iranians in A.J. Kalam, “*Rakhtshūyī Iranian* (Iranians’ Laundry),” *Khāndanīhā*, 9 Urdībihisht 1323/ May 1944, vol. 4, no. 36, pp. 9–10. The tone of the article’s author—who was perhaps also the translator of Donaldson’s passages—is condescending, and by selecting critical excerpts from Donaldson’s book, the author highlights the backwardness of Iranians who lacked washing machines and irons.

4 Selling and saving piety in modern dwellings

- 1 B.A. Donaldson, *The Wild Rue: A Study of Muhammadan Magic and Folklore in Iran*, London: Luzac and Co., 1938, p. viii. Some aspects of the Donaldson family have been addressed in Chapter 1.
- 2 Not all foreigners saw culture in a religious light (although common belief among Iranian Islamists is the opposite). For example, in *Five Years in a Persian Town* (1905), Napier Malcolm provides a peculiar description of issues of cleanliness and uncleanliness in Iran that is akin to Mary Douglass’s assertions (articulated in Chapter 3). He writes:

The truth is that the attitude of the Persian towards the infidel is not altogether decided by Mohammad’s direct teaching, but to a very large extent it is based upon an elementary human feeling which can be found in almost every country under the sun. Most people in England have a physical shrinking from undue contact with other persons. We do not care to drink out of a cup that other people have used, until it has been washed; we should, very few of us, care to take alternative bites at an apple with somebody else, and most Englishmen have a very similar objection to kissing. We are much less particular about contact with the hand, though here also we feel that a line has got to be drawn somewhere. Within the family we are less particular. Of course in connection with these things there is in England a great deal of talk about infection and the laws of hygiene, but the instinct exists apart from any notion of hygiene at all. Now in Persia you have got to remember that everything takes a religious color, and this has tended to slightly modify the natural instinct, breaking down the wall of reserve within the boundaries of Islam and giving the feeling the color of a religious prejudice when applied to the outside world.

See further, “Ideas of Uncleanliness,” in *ibid*, London: John Murray, 1905, pp. 129–132.

- 3 Although rooted in classical Islamic philosophy, Pāknijād’s book also recalls the Renaissance architectural treatises—such as Alberti’s *Ten Books on Architecture*—in which not only the subject of the body itself but also its gender were essential in defining architecture. Other such examples include Francesco Di Giorgio Martini’s *Architettura Civile e Militare* and *Architettura Ingegneria e Arte Militare* as well as Antonio di Pietro Averlino’s (aka Filarete) *Treatise on Architecture*. See further D. Agrest, *Architecture from Without: Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993; R. Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: the Body and the City in Western Civilization*, New York: W.W. Norton, 1994.
- 4 This view could be related to the traditional Galenic or folk medicine practiced for centuries in Iran. According to this belief, some organs are considered to be of warm nature and some are regarded as cold substance. The cold–hot dichotomy is often applied to food that the body consumes, but because the liver supposedly absorbs all the toxicity produced by “hot food,” it is considered a “warm” organ itself. See W. Floor, *Public Health in Qajar Iran*, Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 2004, pp. 68–70.

- 5 A.N. al-Farabi, *al-Farabi on the Perfect State*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- 6 In itemizing four corrupt societies, al-Farabi was perhaps aware of Plato's fourfold division of imperfect societies in *The Republic*: timarchy, oligarchy, democracy, and tyranny. "The resemblance, however, is more one of structure (four divisions) rather than of content." Available at <http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ip/rep/H021.htm> (accessed October 12, 2007).
- 7 S.R. Pākniyād, *Avvalīn danishgāh va ākharīn payāmbār: Bihdāsht-a shahr (The First University and the Last Prophet, Urban Hygiene)*, Tehran: Islamiyyah Press, 1346/1967, p. 47.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid., p. 20.
- 10 Ayatollah Abdol Karim Bīāzār-Shīrāzī, interview by author, tape recording, Tehran, March 12, 2007.
- 11 Among Iranians, these texts, published by Shiite mujtahids, are known as *Tawzīh al-Masā'ils* or *Tawzīh*.
- 12 Shīrāzī, interview, op. cit.
- 13 This is unlike Sunni Islam, where *hadīth* refers only to the sayings of the Prophet. Shiite Muslims find justification for their practices in the Qur'an and in the lives of the Prophet, his companions, and family. A characteristic of this belief is an emotional devotion to the *ahl al-bayt* (the household of the Prophet). See V.J. Schubel, *Religious Performance in Contemporary Islam: Shi'i Devotional Rituals in South Asia*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993, p. 15.
- 14 O. Pancaroglu, "Serving Wisdom: Contents of Samanid Epigraphic Pottery," *Studies in Islamic and Later Indian Art from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum*, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums, 2002, pp. 64–5.
- 15 N. A. Faris, *The mysteries of purity: being a translation with notes of the Kitāb Asrar al-Taharah of al-Ghazzali's Ihya' U'lum al-Dīn* (Beirut: The American University of Beirut, 1966), 37.
- 16 Pancaroglu, op. cit., pp. 59–68.
- 17 Nasir al-Din al-Din Tūsī, M. Minūvī and A. Haydarī, eds., *Akhlaq-i nāsirī (Nasirid Ethics)*, Tehran: Khārazmī, 1369/1990, p. 207.
- 18 A. Molavi, *Persian Pilgrimages: Journeys Across Iran*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2002, p. 179.
- 19 Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, p. 116.
- 20 The sayings and orders of the Imām Jafar Sadiq (the eighth Shiite *imām*), especially in the field of medicine and the treatment of the sick, had already been used by Shiite scholars for centuries.
- 21 M.B. Majlisī, *Hilyat al-muttaqīn (Countenance of the Pure)*, Tehran: Peymān Delāgāh, 1384/2006, p. 25.
- 22 Ibid, p. 194.
- 23 S. Maskoob, *Iranian National Identity and the Persian Language*, Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 1992, p. 141.
- 24 *The Countenance of the Pure* set the model for the future *Tawzīh al-Masā'ils* produced by various *mujtahids*. Its content, however, was later contested and revised. The *Tawzīh al-Masā'il* produced c. 1902 by Sheykh Morteza Ansari became a more legitimate model for numerous successive *mujtahids*. Other resources include the *hadīth* and the Qur'an as well as Arabic books of law accepted by twelver Shiites—believers in the twelve *imāms*, the twelfth of whom is absent—such as J. ibn Ali Yahya's *Sharāyih al-islam fi masā'il al-halāl wal harām (Islamic Regulations regarding halāl and harām)*.
- 25 Cited in Molavi, op. cit., p. 180.
- 26 Shīrāzī, interview, op. cit.
- 27 M. Vahīdī, "Classification of Water Types," in *Ahkām-i ābhā: Mutahharāt va nijāsāt (Rules of Water: Purity and Filth)*, Qom: Markaz-i intishārāt daftar-i tablighāt-i islāmī

- huzaya islamī Qom, 1990, pp. 24–5. It is worth mentioning that Bess Allen Donaldson has written extensively about her observations of Iranian’s ideas concerning the purity of water. See Donaldson, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–378.
- 28 Ayatollah R. Khomeini, Ayatollah A.K.B. Shīrāzī, ed., *Imām Khomeini’s New Rasālah*, vol. 1 *Worship and the Development of the Self*, Tehran: Mu’assasay-a anjām-i kitāb, 1359/1980, pp. 52–4.
- 29 M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970, p. 12. Other useful theoretical studies on this topic include P. Stallybrass and A. White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986. It is also noteworthy that in his book *Five Years in a Persian Town* (1905), Napier Malcolm provides a very peculiar description of issues of cleanliness and uncleanness in Iran akin to Douglas’s assertions. See, N. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, pp. 129–132.
- 30 A dish licked by a dog—an “inherently filthy” being—would be clean if one first covered it with soil and then washed it with water. See Khomeini, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
- 31 Mohammad Vahīdī, “*Nijāsāt-i bātini* (Inherent Filth),” in *idem*, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–63.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- 33 K. Reinhart, “Impurity/No Danger,” *History of Religions*, 1991, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 1–24. This content appears on p. 237 of Janet Bauer’s article “Corrupted Alterities: Body Politics in the Time of the Iranian Diaspora,” in A. Masquelier, *Dirt, Undress, and Difference: Critical Perspectives on the Body’s Surface*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005, pp. 233–53. For additional information on how outward bodily behavior is both the potentiality and the means to realizing interiority, see S. Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005, pp. 134–9.
- 34 Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
- 35 For a thoughtful discussion of the body and its link to ritual and performative acts, see Mahmood, *op. cit.*, chapter 5, “Agency, Gender and Embodiment,” pp. 153–88.
- 36 Shīrāzī, interview, *op. cit.*
- 37 This information is derived from interviews with two school teachers, three housewives, two engineers, and a university professor, all by the author, tape recording, Tehran, February–April 2007.
- 38 J.E. Campo, *The Other Side of Paradise: Explorations into the Religious Meanings of Domestic Space in Islam*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991, p. 21.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- 40 Mahmood, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
- 41 C. Hirschkind, “The Ethics of Listening: Cassette-Sermon Audition in Contemporary Egypt,” *American Ethnologist*, August 2001, vol. 28, no. 3, p. 624.
- 42 D.A. King, “Two Iranian World Maps for Finding the Direction and Distance to Mecca,” *Imago Mundi*, 1997, vol. 49, pp. 62–82; the term appears on p. 63.
- 43 See E. Savage-Smith, “Memory and Maps,” in F. Daftari and J. W. Meri, eds., *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honor of Wilferd Madelung*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2003, pp. 109–27. Savage-Smith’s argument is limited to a particular school of cartography known as the Balkhī School, characterized by very stylized line work and extreme abstraction.
- 44 King, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
- 45 The content of this chapter on *halāl* and *harām* is mostly taken from Jafer ibn Ali Yahya’s *Sharāy-ih al-Islam fi Masā’il al-halāl val harām*. The interpretation of Islamic law in this Arabic manuscript is widely accepted among twelver Shiites.
- 46 N.R. Keddie, *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981, p. 165. On the topic of Shiite modernity in Iran, see also H.E. Chehabī, *Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism: The Liberation Movement of Iran*, Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- 47 As Keddie asserts, this was not something new or particular to Iran during Shariati’s time. It was espoused by many Arab ideologists, for example Anouar Abd al-Malek,

- who saw Islam as the basis of anti-imperialist action. A. Abd al-Malek, "Political Islam—Positions," unpublished text presented at the "Round Table on Socialism in the World," Cavtat, September 1978; cited in Keddie, op.cit., p. 188.
- 48 A. Mirsepassi, *Intellectual Discourse and the Politics of Modernization: Negotiating Modernity in Iran*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 78; see also Keddie, op. cit., pp. 188–90.
- 49 A. Shariati, *Tashayyu'-i alavī va tashayyu'-i safavī (Safavid and Alavīd Shi'ism)*, Tehran: Hosseiniyyah irshād, n.d., p. 273; see also Keddie, op. cit., pp. 202–4; S. Akhavi, "Shariati's Social Thought," in N.R. Keddie, *Religion and Politics in Iran: Shi'ism from Quietism to Revolution*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983, pp. 125–44; H.E. Chehabi, *Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism: The Liberation Movement of Iran under the Shah and Khomeini*, Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1990, pp. 68–73.
- 50 A. Shariati, "What should we lean on?" *Nashrīyya sāzmān-i dānishjūyān (The Publication of the Students' Organization)*, 1962, vol. 2; quoted in J. de Groot, *Religion, Culture, and Politics in Iran: From the Qajars to Khomeini*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007, p. 165.
- 51 See, for example, "Sukhan-i rūz: islam-i āmrīkāyī, jiddītarīn mu'zal-i inqlāb (Talk of Town: American Islam, the Most serious Threat to the Revolution)," *Khurāsān*, Mihr 1367/October 1988, no. 11352, pp. 1, 7.
- 52 *Jumhūrī Islāmī (The Islamic Republic)*, Farvardīn 1362/ Wednesday, March 23, 1983, vol. 1109, p. 12. This passage resonates with what historian and film critic Hamid Naficy identifies as "modesty as social practice." In his article entitled "Veiled Voice and Vision in Iranian Cinema: The Evolution of Rakhshan Banietemad's Films," he writes that, "Iranian hermeneutics is driven by a dynamic and artful relationship between veiling and unveiling, which together constitute 'modesty'." See H. Naficy, in Murray Pomerance, ed., *Ladies and Gentlemen, Boys and Girls: Gender in Film at the End of the Twentieth Century*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001. If we assume that this is a characteristic that has its roots in culture and daily life, Khomeini's remark then seems to have taken this cultural notion and turned it into a political one.
- 53 The topic has been studied extensively in the context of Shiite Lebanon and Egypt. See, for example, L. Deeb, *An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi'ite Lebanon*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006; and G. Starret, "The Margins of Print: Children's Religious Literature in Egypt," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1996, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 117–39.
- 54 T. Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, New York: Periscope Publishing, 2009, p. 162.
- 55 Grigor, op. cit., p. 165.
- 56 Ibid.; N. Nabavi, "The Discourse of 'Authentic Culture' in Iran in the 1960s and the 1970s," in idem, ed., *Intellectual Trends in Twentieth Century Iran: A Critical Survey*, Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2003, pp. 91–108; A.M. Ansari, *Modern Iran*, London: Pearson, 2007, pp. 187–211.
- 57 For details regarding the debates surrounding these events, see Nabavi, op. cit., pp. 91–108. Also see, R. Gluck, "The Shiraz Arts Festival: Western Avant-Garde Arts in 1970s Iran," *Leonardo* vol. 40, no. 1, February 2007, pp. 20–28.
- 58 Spirituality has long been taken up by modernists—including women—in the Middle East as an alternative to more dogmatic approaches to Islam, such as forced veiling. See, for example, E. Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2000, pp. 127–8.
- 59 The rejection of Sufism by the Shi'ite hierarchy was a political phenomenon of the late Safavid era when the 'ulamā' (Shi'ite clerics) reacted against royal patronage of the Sufis. The 'ulamā' thus differentiated between what they approved and recognized as Mysticism ('irfān), and Sufism (*tasawwuf*), which they rejected. The rejection

- of Sufism in contemporary Iran has its roots in this long tradition. See S.H. Nasr, *Sufi Essays*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972, p. 118; cited in M.J. Fischer, *Iran: From Religious Dispute to Revolution*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1980, p. 143. On the significance of 'irfān, see also M. Momen, *The Phenomenon of Religion: A Thematic Approach*, Oxford: Oneworld, 1999, p. 134; idem, *An Introduction to Shi'ism: The History and Doctrine of Twelver Shi'ism*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, pp. 208–19.
- 60 This information is derived from the official website of Seyyed Hussein Nasr. Available at <http://www.nasr.org/bios.html> (accessed August 2, 2008).
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Grigor, op. cit., p. 165.
- 63 N. Ardalan and L. Bakhtiyar, *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1973. The views of Nasr have continued to inform the discourse of art and architecture until now, although early revolutionaries criticized Nasr for his service to the royal family and condemned some variants, if not all, of spirituality. See further, Fischer, op. cit., pp. 142–3.
- 64 This urge towards transcendence also motivated the revolutionaries (see Chapter 5). In their case, however, transcendence was ideological rather than spiritual.
- 65 S. H. Nasr, "Foreword," in Ardalan and Bakhtiyar, op.cit., p. xii.
- 66 Perennial Philosophy or "eternal philosophy" is the notion of the universal recurrence of philosophical insight independent of epoch or culture, including universal truths on the nature of reality, humanity, or consciousness. The writings of al-Farabi are known to be some of the earlier inspirations behind such a philosophical approach, whose significance became apparent through the work of the British philosopher Aldous Huxley. See further, A. Huxley, *The Perennial Philosophy*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945.
- 67 This is similar to ideas of Kevin Lynch in his book *The Image of the City*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960, which was translated into Persian in the 1970s. Lynch, too, categorizes the city based on its formal features: "node," "path," "edge," and "district."
- 68 One cannot help but draw a connection to the keen interest of the international community of architects in the concepts of the phenomenology of place. Throughout the 1970s, phenomenology had implications for Western architecture that seem quite related to formulations offered by some Iranian architects, including the authors of *The Sense of Unity*. As early as the 1960s, such architects as Kevin Lynch, had seen "place" as an essential part of the process of building, as well as the habitation of the resulting structure(s). See further J. Otero-Pailos, "Theorizing the Anti-Avant-Garde: Invocations of Phenomenology in Architectural Discourse, 1945–1989," Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, 2002. The notion of "place making" became even more compelling following the publication of Christian Norberg-Schulz's seminal 1976 article, "The Phenomenon of Place," in which he spoke of the relation of man to the environment in a poetic sense: "architecture belongs to poetry, and its purpose is to help man to dwell." C. Norberg-Schulz, "The Phenomenon of Place," *Architectural Association Quarterly*, 1976, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 3–10.
- 69 Ardalan and Bakhtiyar, op. cit., p. 68.
- 70 These illustrations could also have been inspired by the cardinal access and the crossings of the cosmological mandala plans of Hindu temples, a design mechanism that supposedly drew the Divine into the material world.
- 71 Ardalan and Bakhtiyar, op. cit., p. 6.
- 72 S.H. Nasr, *Traditional Islam in the Modern World*, London: Kegan Paul International, 1987, p. 230.
- 73 D. Ashuri, "Sunnat va pīshraft (Tradition and Progress)," *Farhang va zandagī (Culture and Life)*, January 1970, no. 1, p. 72; cited in Nabavi, op. cit., p. 99.
- 74 In the 1970s, they organized a couple of symposia on the topic of "tradition and technology." Among the invitees were the prominent Western architects Louis Kahn,

- Paul Rudolph, and Buckminster Fuller. But their newly fabricated elitist ideas were detached from local sensibilities, as they took their cue from mainstream Western architectural trends. See further, Grigor, op. cit., p. 164.
- 75 *The Mandala Collaborative, 1978, Tehran Center for the Performance of Music*. Box 027. II. 98, 1978, August Komendant Collection, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- 76 For more information on the Atomic City of Isfahan or Nūrān see the two reports: The Mandala Collaborative, *A New Town for the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran: Master Plan Working Paper*, 1978, n.p. and idem, *Nūrān, The City of Illumination, Isfahan: A New City for the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran*, 1978, n.p. It is important to note that connoting the spiritual aspects of the courtyard plan, the project was meant to be environmentally friendly (thanks to the efforts of the American architect, August Komendant, who served as the structural and construction technology advisor on the Nūrān Master Plan Project). According to Ardalan, “Komendant aimed for the project an innovative stone/concrete construction system. This would have used stone quarried from the mountains surrounding the site, which would have allowed a most rapid, economical and sustainable semi-industrialized system that could have provided proper heat lag and thermal insulation, while architecturally blending harmoniously with its natural environment.” Nader Ardalan, email interview by author, June 05, 2012.
- 77 G. Rose, “Velayat-i Faqih and the Recovery of Isamic Identity in the Thought of Ayatollah Khomeini,” in Keddie, op. cit. (1983), pp. 166–88; quote on p. 186.
- 78 On December 11, 1978, the Islamists had proceeded to transform the traditional processions of *muharram*—a ceremony commemorating the battle of Karbala (680 BCE), in which Imām Hussein (the grandson of the Prophet) was martyred—into a formidable political weapon. Peter Chelkowski and Hamid Dabashi provide a detailed account of Shiite rituals that were combined with political rallies: “Instead of inflicting wounds on their bodies in the traditional way, they stood ready to expose themselves to bayonets and bullets. Those in the vanguard, who were totally ready for martyrdom, would wear symbolic burial shrouds to show their willingness to sacrifice their lives.” See P. Chelkowski and H. Dabashi, *Staging a Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, New York: New York University Press, 1999, p. 83; cited in J. Afary and K. B. Anderson, *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005, p. 103.
- 79 G. Le Bon, *The Crowd, the Study of the Popular Mind*, London: T.F. Unwin, 1903.
- 80 It is also worth mentioning that during his 1978 visit to Iran, Michel Foucault referred to revolutionary demonstrations as “political spirituality.” “These demonstrations allowed people to let go of their material being in favor of a more spiritual outlook rejoined with politics.” M. Foucault, “The Revolt in Iran Spreads on Cassette Tapes,” *Corriere della sera*, November 19, 1978, p. 49; reprinted in Afary and Anderson, op.cit., pp. 216–20.

5 Gendered spaces and bodies out of place

- 1 H. Zanjani, “Housing in Iran,” *Encyclopedia Iranica*, December 15, 2004. Available at <http://www.iranica.com/articles/housing-in-iran> (accessed August 10, 2008).
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 *Majmū’aya ghavānīn maskan* (Collection of Housing Laws), Tehran, Idara-ya kulla qavanīn-a kishvar, 1991, p. 79; cited in Zanjani, op. cit.
- 4 *Maskan dar manātaq-i shahrī Iran, mushkilāt va pishnahādāt* (Housing in Urban areas of Iran: Problems and Suggestions), 1350/1971. The archives of Sāzmān-i maskan va shahrsāzī (Ministry of Housing and Urban Development), Tehran.
- 5 See, for example, M.B. Kamālī, *Sampuzium-i mi’mārī va shahrsāzī* (Proceedings of Housing in Iranian Villages), Tehran: Sāzmān-i barnāmah va būdjah/ The

- Organization of Finances and Planning, 12–24 Bahman 1352/February 1973. This report includes contributions by major Iranian architects, including Kamran Diba.
- 6 “*Tehran shahr-a āsmān kharāshhā mīshavad* (Tehran Will Be the City of Skyscrapers),” *Tehran musavvar*, Bahman 1339/February 1960, no. 908, p.7.
 - 7 Nowhere was the concern for traditional revival of old building techniques better met as in the thoughts and writings of the Los-Angeles-based Iranian architect, Nader Khalili (1936–2008), who in 1966 took a journey back home to the villages of Iran to study the country’s ancient technology and how it could be used in modern design. Inspired by these villages, he perfected a method of building that used the traditional basic elements of earth, water, air, and fire. Because Khalili employed available materials—literally the soil from the desert—the costs of production and transportation were minimal. See further, Sullivan, J. and Lauren de Boer, K. “Building with Earth is Sacred Work: An Interview with Nader Khalili.” *EarthLight* 32, 21. Available at: http://www.earthlight.org/khalili_interview.html (accessed May 12, 2011).
 - 8 Kahn, quoted in H. Ronner and S. Jhaveri, *Louis I. Kahn: Complete Works, 1935–1974*, Basel and Boston: Birkhauser, 1987, p. 322.
 - 9 For more analyses, drawings, and diagrams, see “Abbasabad Redevelopment,” Box K12, 2. August Komendant Collection, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. It is noteworthy that the project was part of a larger plan, also known as Shahestan Pahlavi which was proposed by the British firm, Llewelyn-Davies. For further information about the Shahestan Pahlavi, see Robertson, J.T. “Shahestan Pahlavi: Steps toward a New Iranian Centre,” in R. Holod, ed., *Toward an Architecture in the Spirit of Islam*, Philadelphia: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1978, pp. 44–51.
 - 10 The report—a copy of which is now available at August Komendant Collection, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia—was sent directly to the office of Farah Pahlavi for approval.
 - 11 Tehran Habitat (Moshe Safdi and Associates, Architects and Planners, Montreal, Canada, September 1976), p. 6. August Komendant Collection, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The project bears resemblance to the formal characteristics of the rural architecture of central and Western Iran—e.g., the village of Māsūlah; the form of the project is also strikingly similar to Safdi’s Habitat 67, a housing complex and landmark located in Montreal.
 - 12 Madanipour, Ali. *Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis*, John Wiley: Chichester, West Sussex, England and New York, 1998, p. 125.
 - 13 A. Bayat, “Tehran: Paradox City,” *New Left Review*, November–December 2010, vol. 66, pp. 99–122. Available at <http://www.newleftreview.org> (accessed July 20, 2011).
 - 14 *Burushūr-i ravābat-i ‘umūmī dānishgāh al-zahrā* (al-Zahra University’s Public Relations, a brochure), Tehran: al-Zahra University Press, 2003, p. 6.
 - 15 *Kitāb rahnamā va kārnāmah madrasah alī dukhtarān, rāhnamay-a sāl-i tahsīlī* 1348–49 (*The Guidebook and Reports of The Advanced School for Girls, 1969–70*), pp. 166–207. The archives of the college (now al-Zahra University, Tehran).
 - 16 One other such program was the interior-design department at the Science and Technology University of Tehran.
 - 17 See further E.P. Berkeley and M. McQuaid, eds., *Architecture: A Place for Women*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989.
 - 18 The book came out in 1977 (New York: Watson-Guption Publications). As an alternative to mainstream architectural history, Torre’s book offered examples such as the Women’s Building in Los Angeles—a space for the exhibition of women’s artwork—and the work of Jackie Winsor and Alice Aycock, whose large, abstract sculptures and installations evoked contemporary woman’s preoccupation with the connection between interiority of the female body and the male-dominated outside world.
 - 19 Other participants included Gae Aluanti (Italy), Nelly García Bellizzi (Mexico), Euli Chowdhury (India), Laura Mertsä (Finland), Nobuko Nakahara (Japan), Helena Polivkova (Czechoslovakia), Bola Sobandi (Nigeria), Hande Suher (Turkey), and Moria Moser Khalili—the wife of the Iranian, Los-Angeles based architect Nader

- Khalili. Moria Moser Khalili criticized the Master Plan of Tehran proposed by Gruen and Farmanfarmaian (see Chapter 3) and called instead for a different master plan that would consider the increased mobility of working women in cities. See further, *Hunar va mi'mārī*, August–November 1976, vol. 8, nos. 45–6 (special issue on Women Architects).
- 20 *Hunar va mi'mārī*, August–November 1976, vol. 8, nos. 45–6 (special issue on Women Architects). The journal was published from 1967 to 1978 under the supervision of Abd-al Hamid Ishrāq.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 67.
- 22 Similar assertions have been made by Sarah Teasley in idem, “Home-builder or Home-maker? Reader Presence in Articles on Home-building in Commercial Women’s Magazines in 1920s’ Japan,” *Journal of Design History*, 2005, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 81–97.
- 23 J. Afary, *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 208.
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 *Hunar va mi'mārī*, op. cit., p. 16.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- 27 T. Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, New York: Periscope Publishing Ltd., 2009, pp. 175–96.
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 In the 1960s, only around 40 percent of Iranians lived in urban areas.
- 30 Afary, op. cit., p. 211.
- 31 *Ibid.*
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 222. It is noteworthy that by the 1960s, many urban middle-class households had acquired television sets. Television was popular and entertaining, when compared to radio, newspapers, and magazines.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 223. For more information about women’s sexuality in Pahlavi Iran, see K. Talattof, *Modernity, Sexuality, and Ideology in Iran: The Life and Legacy of a Popular Female Artist*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011.
- 34 A. Najmabadi, “Hazards of Modernity and Morality: Women, State, and Ideology in Contemporary Iran,” in A. Hourani, P. Khoury, and M. Wilson, eds., *The Modern Middle East*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, pp. 663–87; quote from pp. 664–5.
- 35 Grigor, op. cit., p. 185. It is noteworthy that in the late 1970s only about 12 percent of Iranian women had entered the labor force and a large number of them were teenagers from rural areas. R. Bahramitash and H. S. Esfahani, “Nimble Fingers No Longer! Women’s Employment in Iran,” in Ali Gheissari, ed., *Contemporary Iran: Economy, Society, Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 77–125.
- 36 F. Milani, *Veils and Words: The Emerging Voices of Iranian Women Writers*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992, p. xi; cited in E. Thompson, “Public and Private in Middle Eastern Women’s History,” *Journal of Women’s History*, 2003, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 52–69; cited on p. 58.
- 37 J. Bauer, “Demographic Change, Women and the Family in a Migrant Neighborhood of Tehran,” in A. Fathi, ed., *Women and the Family in Iran*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985, pp. 158–86; quote on p. 165. Rural Iranians were less concerned about privacy. European doctors who served in Iran were often struck by the openness with which rural Persians discussed the most intimate details of their disease in public without any shame. See further A. Binning, *A Journal*, vol. 1, pp. 164–5; cited in W. Floor, *Public Health in Qajar Iran*, Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 2004, p. 112. On the other hand, Jafar Shahri, the cultural historian of early twentieth century Tehran, writes about how the citizens of the capital were less willing to share their ills with strangers, including healers and physicians. See further J. Shahri, *Tarīkh ijtemā’ī Tehrān (The Social History of Tehran)*, vol. 4, p. 330.
- 38 J. Bauer, op. cit., p. 165.

- 39 A. Bayat, *Street Politics: Poor People's Movements in Iran*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997, p. 2.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 61.
- 41 *Ibid.*
- 42 *Kār*, Farvardīn 23, 1358/March 1979, vol. 6, p. 7; cited in Bayat, *op. cit.* (1997), p. 61.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 67.
- 44 A. Bayat, *op. cit.* (2010), 105.
- 45 Data from Association of the Iranian Engineering Consultants; cited in Bayat, *op. cit.* (2010), p. 107.
- 46 From February 1980 to June 1981, Banisadr also served as the first president of the Islamic Republic. See further S. Behdad, "The Political Economy of Islamic Planning in Iran," in H. Amirahmadi and M. Parvin, eds., *Post-Revolutionary Iran*, Boulder: West View Press, 1988, pp. 107–25.
- 47 *Inqalāb-i Islāmī (The Islamic Revolution)*, Khurdād 1359/June 1980; cited in Bayat, *op. cit.* (1997), p. 99.
- 48 These terms were emphasized by Khomeini but were later used by other politicians, especially Prime Minister Musavi, who was a trained architect. He used these words as he attempted to convince the government to contribute to housing for the poor. During his inauguration talk for the opening of a series of apartments for the poor in the city of Zanjan, for example, he said: "The government should prioritize the building of houses for *kūkh-nashīnān*." See further *Jumhūrī Islāmī (The Islamic Republic)*, Farvardīn 1362/Sunday, April 21, 1983, no. 1117, p. 16. For Khomeini's further elaborations on these two terms, see *Jumhūrī Islāmī (The Islamic Republic)*, Farvardīn 1362/ March 1983, no. 1109. Although in the long run these ideas were turned into mere ideological slogans that did little to help elevate the condition of peoples' lives, there is substantial evidence—some of which has already been explored by other scholars (especially Asef Bayat)—that the implementation of these ideas in the immediate aftermath of the revolution enjoyed great popularity among the poor.
- 49 M.E. Hegland, "Public Role of Aliabad Women: The Public Private Dichotomy Transcended," in N.R. Keddie, ed., *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991, pp. 215–30.
- 50 Bayat, *op. cit.* (2010), p. 109. Also see, M. Moallem, *Between Warrior Brother and Veiled Sister: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Politics of Patriarchy in Iran*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, pp. 59–117.
- 51 S. Ebadi, *Hūqūq-i mi'mārī (Civil Codes in Architecture)*, Tehran: Rawshangarān Publishers, 1371/1992, pp. 49–58. It is noteworthy that these codes differed from city to city and even neighborhood to neighborhood. In the first two years following the revolution, some districts in Tehran did not issue permission for the building of duplex residences, which were viewed as Western and were thus prohibited. While this was the case in some central districts in Tehran, in northern districts these rules did not apply. The issue of visual privacy still plays an important role, especially in smaller cities. The height of the windows must be decided on the basis of visual privacy rather than aesthetic principle, etc. For more on this topic see, P. Karimi, "Women, Gender, and Urban Built Environments in Iran," *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures*, Vol. IV. Suad Josef, general editor. Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 28–29.
- 52 T. Grigor, "Ladies Last! Perverse Spaces in a Time of Orthodoxy," *Thresholds*, 2006, no. 32, pp. 53–6.
- 53 P. Karimi, "Imagining Warfare, Imaging Welfare: Tehran's Post Iran-Iraq War Murals and their Legacy," *Persica*, no. 22. Winter 2008, pp. 47–63; C. Gruber, "The Writing is on the Wall: Mural Arts in Post-Revolutionary Iran," in *ibid.*, pp. 15–46.
- 54 For more on this and such topics see, Chelkowski, P. and H. Dabashi, *Staging a Revolution: The Art of Persuasion in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, New York: New York University Press, 1999; S. Balaghi and L. Gumpert, eds., *Picturing Iran: Art, Society and Revolution*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2002.

- 55 See, for example, “*Burjhā māni’i ruzhd-i farhang-i hamsāyagī* (High-rise residences prevent neighborhood culture),” *Rūznāmah Iran* 1374/7/26/1995, no. 208; “*Burjhā: maslahat, qurbānī manfa’at* (Towers: Good quality life sacrificed for profit),” *Hamshahrī* 1374/5/16/1995, no. 749, p. 5; “*Burjhā māna’i ruzhd-i farhang-i hamsāyagī* (Towers: An obstacle for the growth of neighborhood culture),” *‘Itilaa’i* 1374/7/26/1995, no. 208; M. Rūhulamīnī, “*Ravand-i āpārtamān sāzi, va farhang-i āpārtamān nashīnī* (The process of tower building and the culture of residing in apartments),” *‘Itilaa’i* 1375/7/28/1996, no. 20892. It is ironic that while the government bragged about Iranians’ lack of affinity for residing in apartment complexes (*farhang-i āpārtamān nashīnī*), it admitted that with the growth of large cities, these high-rise residences were the only possible housing alternative. In fact, the government had no choice but to initiate and subsidize the “building small” plan for lower-income groups. The plan was called PAK, from *pasandāz* (saving), *anbūhsazī* (collective housing), and *kūchaksāzī* (building small). A. Arjumandnīā, *Rahburdhāy-i millī maskan-i javānān* (*National Strategy for Housing of Youth*), Tehran: National Youth Organization, 1988, vol. 5, p. 23. Similar to the pre-revolutionary period, the many problems of housing were addressed in the popular media and in film. Dariush Mehrjue’s *Ijārah Nashīnhā* (*the Tenants*), 1986 and Majid Majidi’s *Bachchahāy-i āsamān* (*Children of Heaven*), 1997, are two cases in point. For further information about the Islamic Republic governments large-scale housing projects such as Tehran’s Navab—initiated in 1994 and consisting of more than 8500 very small residential units of 19 stories high—see, H. Bahraīny and B. Aminzadeh, “Evaluation of Navab Regeneration Project in Central Tehran, Iran,” *International Journal of Environmental Research*, vol. 1, no. 2, Spring 2007, pp. 114–127.
- 56 Ayatollah R. Khomeini, “*Muqaddamah* (Introduction),” *Fasl-nāmah hunar* (*The Quarterly Journal of the Arts*), 1363/1984, p. 5. It is worth stating that Mao Zedong also wrote numerous love poems. As a political figure, he was perhaps controversial, but many agree that as a poet he was one of the best in modern Chinese history.
- 57 Ibid. This translation is a paraphrased version of the original statement in Farsi.
- 58 It is noteworthy that the ideology of the Islamic Republic was not totally detached from the world. If it did not allow foreign influences to contaminate it, it did spread out around the world. The scholar of Islam, Vali Nasr has, for example, explored the ways in which the Islamic Republic has become both a model and instigator of an increasingly organized view of Shiism in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and South Asia. See further V. Nasr, “The Iranian Revolution and Changes in Islamism in Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan,” in N.R. Keddie and R. Matthee, eds., *Iran and the Surrounding World: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politics*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2002, pp. 327–75.
- 59 G.A. Haddad Adel, *Farhang-i birahnagī va birahnagī farhangī* (*The Culture of Nudity and the Nudity of Culture*), Tehran: Surush Publishers, 1368/1989; Z. Rahnavard, *Beauty of Concealment and Concealment of Beauty*, Islamabad: Cultural Consulate, Islamic Republic of Iran, 1987. Rahnavard earlier expressed similar ideas to those of this book in former publications, including idem, *Payām-i zan-i musalmān* (*The Message of the Muslim Woman*), Tehran, Ifāf, 1357/1978; idem, *Tulū’i zan-i musalmān* (*The Rise of the Muslim Woman*), Tehran: Mahbūbah Publication, 1359/1980.
- 60 M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, 1980. ed., Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books, p. 98.
- 61 A. Shariati, *Fātamah, fātamah ast* (*Fatima is Fatima*). Tehran: Hussienniyyah Irshād, 1971.
- 62 See further, Moallem, op. cit., pp. 91–94.
- 63 Ibid., p. 92.
- 65 Haddad-Adel’s book has been translated into Urdu, Arabic, Serbian, and Turkish; and Rahnavard’s book has been translated into English and Urdu.
- 65 It is important to note that both women artists and architects continued to be active after the revolution. Women architects, for example, continued to remain active in designing residential architecture—as was the case during the Pahlavi period. Architect Mahvash

- Alemi is a case point. For an example of her residential designs (aka Alemi residence), see http://archnet.org/library/sites/one-site.jsp?site_id=239 (accessed May 20, 2009).
- 66 Haddad-Adel, op. cit., p. 27.
 - 67 Ibid., p. 29.
 - 68 Ibid.
 - 69 Ibid.
 - 70 M. Hujjat, “*Dar justajuy-a dastyābī bar huvīyyat-i hunar-i islāmī* (In Search of the Essence of Islamic Art),” *Fasl-nāmah hunar (The Quarterly Journal of the Arts)*, 1363/1984, no. 6, p. 517. The author is obviously referring to the traditional courtyard house.
 - 71 M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans., New York: Pantheon, 1979.
 - 72 M. Douglas, “The Idea of Home: A Kind of Space,” *Social Research*, 1991, vol. 58, no. 1, p. 289. According to Douglas, “the order of the day is the infrastructure of the community.” Ibid., p. 301.
 - 73 Haddad-Adel, op. cit. (1981), p. 43. My focus on this topic of the parallelism of the body and architecture is inspired by studies done by scholars Zeynep Celik. See, for example, Celik, Z. “Gendered Spaces in Colonial Algiers” in D. Agrest, P. Conway, and L. Kanes Wiesman, eds., *The Sex of Architecture*, New York: Harry Abrams Publishers, 1996; idem, “Le Corbusier, Orientalism, Colonialism,” *Assemblage*, no. 17, 1992. According to Celik, Le Corbusier was immersed in the discourse that attributed a lascivious sexuality to oriental and Islamic cultures. Indeed, comparing a colonized region to a female body was a common trope among orientalists and colonizers (especially in the nineteenth century). It is debatable whether or not the Islamic Republic’s interest in such a parallelism has its roots in Orientalist and colonial discourses, if we assume that the masculinist regime of the Islamic Republic “colonized” the sphere of women. Further research and interviews with various individuals are needed to confirm such a claim, if at all relevant. Nonetheless, the literature on this subject by Celik and other scholars (e.g., L. Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient,” in idem, *The Politics of Vision, Essays on Nineteenth Century Art and Society*, New York: Westview Press, 1991, pp. 33–59) can be very informative.
 - 74 Ibid.
 - 75 Ibid., pp. 35–43.
 - 76 T.T. Minha, “Other than Myself/ My Other Self,” in G. Robertson, M. Mash, L. Tickner, J. Bird, B. Curtis, and T. Putnam, eds., *Travelers’ Tales*, London: Routledge, 1994, p. 15.
 - 77 Engels thought that “mother right” was eliminated in favor of the paternal line of inheritance: “The overthrow of mother right was the world’s historical defeat of the female sex ... the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude; she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children.” F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, Middlesex, UK: Penguin, 1972[1884], pp. 120–1.
 - 78 In another publication she writes: “Women in the eyes of Aristotle and Plato were not considered legitimate citizens. ... And you communists: despite all your claims about creating egalitarian societies, you have no respect for women. You have given woman a masculine image and have expelled her from the intimate space of her home. You look down upon motherhood and women’s nurturing abilities. And you capitalists: you have reduced woman to nothing but her physical beauty,” Z. Rahnavard, *Safar bih diyār-i zanān-i but: safarnāma-ya hind (A Journey to the Land of Female Idols: A travelogue on India)*, Tehran: Surūsh, intishārāt-i sadā va sīmā-ya jumhūrī Islāmī Iran, 1366/1987, p. 11. For more information regarding Rahnavard’s ideas as well as her recent and more liberal views, see S. Siavoshi, “‘Islamist’ Woman Activists: Allies or Enemies?,” in R. Jahanbegloo, ed., *Iran: Between Tradition and Modernity*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2004, pp. 169–84.
 - 79 Siavoshi, op. cit., pp. 178–9.

- 80 By her own account, Rahnavard was introduced to Marxist literature while attending high school in the late 1960s: “Except for Marx’s *Capital*, I have read nearly all the other works by Marx and Engels”; cited in Afary, *op. cit.*, 253–4.
- 81 Rahnavard, *Beauty of Concealment and Concealment of Beauty*, pp. 19–26.
- 82 Siavoshi, *op. cit.*, p. 179; paraphrasing Rahnavard’s ideas from *Beauty of Concealment and Concealment of Beauty*, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
- 83 *Ibid.*
- 84 *Ibid.*
- 85 Rahnavard, *Beauty of Concealment and Concealment of Beauty*, p. 6.
- 86 These terms are borrowed from Betty Friedan (*The Feminine Mystique*, 1963) and Thorstein Veblen (*The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 1979[1899]). Veblen was referring to a specific form of consumption which was not necessarily vital for one—such as having a foot servant, for example. For interpretations of Veblen’s *Theory of the Leisure Class*, see D. Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1987, pp. 147–57.
- 87 This was not something new. In fact, Jalal al-i Ahmad, the advocator of the idea of “Westoxication,” was himself responsible for translating and thus introducing the ideas of major Western critics of their own culture, such as Albert Camus (*The Outsider*), Jean-Paul Sartre (*Dirty Hands*), André Gide (*Return from the Soviet Union*), and Fyodor Dostoyevsky (*The Gambler*). As historian Ali Mirsepassi reminds us, all of these works contained existentialist ideas concerning individual resistance to their respective modern industrialized societies. See further A. Mirsepassi, *Intellectual Discourse and the Politics of Modernization: Negotiating Modernity in Iran*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 101.
- 88 Bayat, *op. cit.* (2010), p. 109.
- 89 For post-war reconstruction plans and the role of municipals in improving the condition of cities, see K. Ehsani, “Municipality Matters: The Urbanization of Consciousness and Political Change in Tehran,” *Middle East Report*, Fall 1999, vol. 212, p. 26. It is also noteworthy to mention the significant role played by the President of the republic, Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, who was in office from 1989 to 1995. Rafsanjani was interested in the physical and visual transformation of Iran and had an influential role in accepting or rejecting plans for large projects such as the expansion of cities, transportation, and the building of dams, bridges, and factories. Due to his involvement in the infrastructure projects, the Iranian government gave him the title “*sardār-i sāzandagī*” (the construction master).
- 90 A. Bayat, “Tehran: Paradox City,” *New Left Review*, November–December 2010, vol. 66, p. 109. Available at <http://www.newleftreview.org> (accessed July 20, 2011). See also: H.M. Hussein and S. Lalami, “*Musāhabah bā Ghulāmhusein Karbāschī* (Interview with Gholamhusein Karbaschi)” BBC Persian, January 14, 2007. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/iran/story/2007/07/070714_ka-tehran-karbaschi.shtml (accessed July 14, 2007).
- 91 Bayat, *op. cit.*, p. 110; F. Adelhah, *Being Modern in Iran*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2000, pp. 18–29.
- 92 Adelhah, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- 93 Bayat, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
- 94 For more on “dialogue of civilizations,” see D. Buchta, “The Failed Pan-Islamic Program of the Islamic Republic: Views of the Liberal Reformers of the Religious ‘Semi-Opposition,’” in N. Keddie and R. Mathee eds., *Iran and the Surrounding World: Interactions in Culture and Cultural Politics*, Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 2002, pp. 281–304.
- 95 M. Saghzaī, “*Zandagī dar āpārtamān az sar-i nāguzīr!* Nigāhī bih āpārtamān nashīn dar Tehrān (Living in apartments out of necessity! A look at life in Tehrani apartments),” *Rūznāmah Iran*, 1374/4/9/1995, no. 112.
- 96 Analogous assertions have been made in the context of 1990s Syria by art historian Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh in *idem*, “The Harem as Biography: Domestic

- Architecture, Gender, and Nostalgia in Modern Syria” in M. Booth, ed., *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010, pp. 211–36.
- 97 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 98 M.A. Tabātabāī, “Vūsul-i bidihī duwlat bih shahr-i Tehran (What Government Owes to the City of Tehran),” *Shahr-i fardā (The City of Tomorrow)*, 5 Āzar 1385/ November 26, 2006; cited in Bayat, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
- 99 See K. Najī, *Ahmadinejad*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2008, pp. 49–51.
- 100 M. Burūmand, “*Taqrībān bidūn-i sharh (Almost No Comments)*,” *Mi’mār*, Mihr and Ābān 1384/2005, vol. 33, p. 125.
- 101 See further P. Karimi, “Imagining Warfare, Imaging Welfare: Tehran’s Post Iran-Iraq War Murals and Their Legacy,” *Persica*, Winter 2008, vol. 22, pp. 47–63.
- 102 L. Swift, “Iran Is on the Brink of a Dark Age,” *Daily Telegraph*, no. 19: www.telegraph.co.uk/news (November 2005); cited in Najī, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
- 103 “Only 12 percent of young people ever go to mosques,” *Shahrazad News*, October 4, 2010; cited in Bayat, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
- 104 T. Grigor, “Ladies Last! Perverse Spaces in a Time of Orthodoxy,” *Thresholds*, 2006, vol. 32, p. 56.
- 105 Private homes have long been venues for parties and wedding receptions, where men and women mix freely. The basements of some homes are even turned into places for underground rock music performances. See further, L. Nooshin, “Underground, Overground: Rock Music and Youth Discourses in Iran,” *Iranian Studies*, vol. 38, no. 3, 2005, pp. 463–94.

6 Epilogue: at home in the Islamic Republic

- 1 N. Naghibi, *Rethinking Global Sisterhood: Western Feminism and Iran*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007, p. 40. Also see P. Paidar, *Women and Political Processes in Twentieth-Century Iran*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- 2 H. Hoodfar, “The Veil in Their Minds and on Our Heads: Veiling Practices and Muslim Women,” in L. Lowe and D. Lloyd, eds., *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1997, pp. 248–79, quote from pp. 261–3; cited in Naghibi, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–7. During this period, unveiling led conservative and religious groups to keep public city spaces as they were before: male-dominated. Two major outbreaks of violence took place in the spring and summer of 1935 and led to the massacre of conservative pro-veiling protestors in Mashhad. Conservatives who were against women’s unveiling—as has been studied and commented upon by numerous historians of modern Iran—also intended to masculinize the streets again. They believed that women’s unveiling had not only become an expression of the power of Reza Shah’s state, but also an expression of the loss of power for Iranian men in general. For detailed accounts of these events, see C. M. Amin, *The Making of the Modern Iranian Woman: Gender, State Policy and Popular Culture, 1865–1946*, Tampa: University of Florida Press, 2002, pp. 103–239. Also see, M. Moallem (2005) *Between Warrior Brother and Veiled Sister: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Politics of Patriarchy in Iran*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 69–82.
- 3 F. Adelhah, *Being Modern in Iran*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2000, pp. 106–7.
- 4 M. Amir-Ebrahimi, “Performance in Everyday Life and the Rediscovery of the ‘Self’ in Iranian Weblogs,” *Bad Jens: Iranian Feminist Newsletter*, no. 7, September 2004/ Shahrivar 1383. Available at <http://www.badjens.com/rediscovery.html> (accessed June 10, 2011). Also see, *idem*, “Conquering Enclosed Public Spaces,” *Cities*, vol. 23, no. 6, 2006, pp. 455–61. Available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2006.08.001> (accessed May 10, 2010).

- 5 A. Bayat, "Tehran: Paradox City," *New Left Review*, 2010, p.108. A point that was also confirmed by many artists—including Parvaneh Etemadi, Gholamhussein Nami, and Minoo Asadi—during the course of multiple personal interviews by the author.
- 6 Personal interviews with artists Minoo Asadi (July 15, 2004) and Parvaneh Etemadi (May 07, 2007).
- 7 This is in reference to Griselda Pollock's famous essay, "Modernity and Spaces of Femininity," in idem, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and the Histories of Art*, London: Routledge, 1988, pp. 50–90.
- 8 At the time, all public exhibitions were subject to a review process; however, some shows were organized by privately run "underground" galleries—known only to limited artistic circles. Personal interview with artist Gholamhuseein Nami (May 20, 2012).
- 9 N.C. Moruzzi, "Women's Space/Cinema Space: Representations of Public and Private in Iranian Films," *Middle East Report*, special issue on Iran, no. 212, October, 1999, pp. 52–55. Also see, M. Moallem, op. cit., pp. 136–149.
- 10 Similar strategies are used in *The May Lady* (1998) and *The Apple* (1998) in which the directors Rakhshan Bani-Etemad and Samira Makhmalbaf, respectively, challenge the audience "to reconsider conventional norms of gendered space and behavior." Moruzzi, op. cit., p. 53. Also see M.J. Fischer, "Filmic Judgment and Cultural Critique: The Work of Art, Ethics, and Religion in Iranian Cinema," in H. De Vries and S. Weber, eds., *Religion and Media*, Stanford: University of California Press, 2001, pp., 456–486. Another very important figure in this cinematic style is Tahmineh Milani. A trained architect—in addition to being a filmmaker—Milani has also been very vocal about the problematic of government's plans for gender segregations in spaces such as parks, public transportation, and entertainment venues. For her comments on architecture and gender, see a 2005 interview that was broadcast on the Iranian national TV. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uUdfJMqSGeo> (accessed June 1, 2012). For a recent example of the government's efforts in separating spaces of women in public, see, for example, "ifitāh-i avvalīn coffee shop-i zananah dar Iran (the first all-women Coffee Shop in Iran)," *Shanidah News*, June 10, 2012. Available at http://shenideha.com/?p=11888&fb_source=message (accessed June 11, 2012).
- 11 More information about this project is available at <http://www.akdn.org/architecture/project.asp?id=3795> (accessed March 10, 2011).
- 12 De Certeau saw the connection between producers and viewers—i.e., readers and writers—as a constant struggle for possession of the "text." In the context of literature, this would be in contrast to the official educational training that search for the author's intended meanings. M. De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- 13 S. Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005, p. 15. I am also indebted to studies conducted by political theorist John Christman whose work is an eloquent example of unusual ways of exercising freedom and agency. Christman writes about a situation wherein a slave chooses to remain a slave even when freed. See further, J. Christman, "Liberalism and Individual Positive Freedom," *Ethics* 1991, vol. 101, pp. 343–59, cited in Mahmood, *ibid.*, pp. 11–12.
- 14 On this topic, see further N. Rahimieh, "Women and Domesticity in Modern Persian Literature," *New Horizons: Commentaries on Modern Iran*, March 4, 2010: Available at <http://sas.upenn.edu/mec/workingpapers/domesticity> (accessed July 10, 2011).
- 15 Z. Pīrzād, "Apartment," in *Seh katab*, Tehran: Nashr Markaz, 1991/c.2004, pp. 106–38.
- 16 In recent years this topic has gained international attention and media coverage. An example is a recently published article in *The New York Times*. See further, Thomas Erdbrink, "Single Women Gaining Limited Acceptance in Iran," *The New York Times*, June 12, 2012. Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/13/world/middleeast/single-women-gaining-limited-acceptance-in-iran.html> (accessed June 12, 2012).

- 17 Bayat (2010) op. cit., p. 109.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 These were places whose images became available through the black market that distributed Hollywood videos, magazines, and posters. It is no coincidence that individualistic opinions, especially at the public level, arose from the “image” of the West.
- 20 M. Amīrī, “*Āpārtamān-i sī-u-nim-milliun-dulār-ī dar Tehran* (The 3.5 million dollar apartment in Tehran),” January 28, 2007. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/interactivity/debate/story/2007/01/070126_h_apartment.shtml (accessed August 10, 2008).
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 “*Padīdah mihmānī mukhtalat tahdīdī jiddī barāy-a javānān* (The phenomenon of mixed-sex parties, a real threat for the youth),” *Khabar guzārī Mihr/Mehr News*, January 2011. Available at <http://www.mehrnews.com/fa/newsdetail.aspx?NewsID=1226688> (accessed June 2011).
- 23 “*Tarh-i barkhurd ba nassabān-i mahvārah dar Tehran* (A strategy for punishing satellite installers in Tehran).” Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/iran/2011/07/11> (accessed May 10, 2011).
- 24 For more on these topics, see P. Mahdavi, *Passionate Uprisings: Iran’s Sexual Revolution*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.
- 25 I am taking a cue from Michel Foucault in idem, trans. R. Hurley, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, New York: Vintage, 1990, vol. 1, p. 23. For more information on theories of public and private—including those in the liberal tradition, feminist studies, and other related fields—see M. Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, New York: Zone Books, 2005. On the topic of public space in Islam see, M. Hoexter, S. N. Eisenstadt, and N. Levtzion, *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002. On the topic of public sphere in Iran see, B. Rahimi, *Theatre State and the Formation of Early Modern Public Space in Iran: Studies on Safavid Muharram Rituals, 1590–1641 CE*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012; M. Amir-Ebrahimi, “Weblogistan: The Emergence of a New Public Sphere in Iran,” in S. Shami, ed., *Publics, Politics, and Participation: Locating the Public Sphere in the Middle East and North Africa*, New York: Social Science Research Council, 2009, pp. 325–355; A. Sreberny and G. Khiabany, *Blogistan: The Internet and Politics in Iran*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2010.
- 26 J. Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*, New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 129–33. This is also akin to Michel Foucault’s claim that “where there is power, there is resistance.” Idem, op. cit., 1990, vol. 1, pp. 95–96.
- 27 Ibid., 95–96, 119, 225.

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