WHAT IF? WHAT NEXT?

SPECULATIONS ON HISTORY'S FUTURES

SESSION 2C

ROUTES TO THE PAST

Legacy: Presenting the Value of the Past Through Constructed and Cultural Landscapes

EXCAVATING THE PAST: THE FERDOWSI MONUMENT BY HOUSHANG SEYHOUN

Ali Mozaffari | Deakin University
Nigel Westbrook | University of Western Australia

In 1970s Iranian public architecture, there are numerous examples of civic architecture that were designed, each in its own way, to reengage with the past and thus performed a heritage function in the nation's rapidly developing context. We will focus on the politics of heritage and architecture in Iran as indicated by the architectural production of the period, and investigate the question of what shapes perceptions of the past– how are they conveyed through forms of patrimony and what is the relationship between the two? We will argue that architecture in the case of Iran, as elsewhere, has played a significant role in national modernisation. It has, furthermore, incorporated and perpetuated various forms of nostalgia, citations of past forms, through which design engages with, and affects, the public's engagement with the past, justifying claims to authenticity and tradition, and performing a civilizational as well as civilising function.

This paper focuses on one project--the design by the Beaux Arts-trained architect Houshang Seyhoun for the reconstructed mausoleum of Ferdowsi, the Iranian national poet, and its associated tea house and performance space, and adjacent restaurant. This project will be discussed in the context of other projects that were designed or conceived before the Islamic Revolution (1979) but retained a post-Revolution life. Even the Ferdowsi project was substantially transformed after the Revolution, serving multiple uses before the tea house was transformed into a museum. Commissioned by the Pahlavi government, the development of these projects was suspended during the revolution and ensuing Iran-Iraq war, before being revived in the late 1980s and constructed in much the same form as the original designs, suggesting a form of continuity of "design expectations" across this turbulent period. This paper will discuss these projects in the context of an evolving national imagination, one that was constantly reconstructed and re-imagined – an engagement with the past effected through both a re-evaluation of local traditions and through an interpretation of global connections. In Seyhoun's project, the past is literally and figuratively excavated, in common with the other Pahlavi cultural projects.

Figure 1. Houshang Seyhoun, Ferdowsi mausoleum, Tūs, Golestan Iran, 1968 (Wikipedia commons).

In 1970s Iranian public architecture, there are numerous examples of civic architecture that were designed, each in its own way to reengage with the past and to thus perform a heritage function in the nation's rapidly developing context. That is to say, heritage was produced through the very act of design, reinterpreting and incorporating elements of the past in novel forms. We will focus on the politics of heritage and architecture in Iran, as indicated by the architectural production of the period, and investigate the question of what shapes perceptions of the past – how are they conveyed through forms of patrimony and what is the relationship between the two? We will argue that architecture in the case of Iran, as elsewhere, has played a significant role in national modernisation. It has, furthermore, incorporated and perpetuated various forms of nostalgia, citations of past forms, through which design engages with, and affects, the public's engagement with the past, justifying claims to authenticity and tradition, and performing a civilizational as well as civilising function.

This reengagement through design with the past served both internal objectives – fostering the public's knowledge of and regard for their patrimony[1] – and external ones, promoting international interest in and respect for the country, and developing the tourist industry that had been fuelled by the expansion of air travel. The paper will focus upon one seminal project, the Ferdowsi mausoleum and gardens, in the city of Tūs, reconstructed in 1964-68 by Houshang Seyhoun. Like most of these cultural projects, the Ferdowsi project underwent a second, post-revolution transformation. At risk of destruction in the early years, it is now a vehicle for the state's promotion of national heritage and tourism.

The Ferdowsi tomb and museum belongs to a group of Pahlavi cultural projects that exhibit a concern for the projection of a national identity. These include the Pasargadae Archaeological site museum by Hossein Amanat (Fig. 2), the Centre for the Appreciation of Music (CAoM) by Nader Ardalan (Fig. 3), the Negarestan Cultural Centre, by Manūchehr Iranpour (1976-78), and the better-known Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art (TMoCA) by Kamran Diba. All projects were the product of a collaboration between local architects and Western, or Western-trained consultants, in line with the Pahlavi government's policies for importation of expertise.[2] Rather than falling victim to the Islamic Revolution's excesses, as did a number of key monuments, these projects were completed or transformed by the Islamic Republic in the 1980s, with the exception of the CAoM, which was built in debased form with a different programme.[3] At TMoCA, the Western modern art collection was withdrawn from public gaze, and the galleries were redeployed to display "culturally-appropriate art." With the exception of the latter, these projects are barely known in the West. However, they provide evidence for a partial cultural continuity across the disruptive years of revolution and war (1980-88). While the architects of these projects were all forced into exile by the onslaught of the Islamic Revolution, their projects and their spatial

expressions were apparently, for the most part, congruent with the post-revolutionary architectural taste.

The architectural expression of the projects engages with traditional Iranian architecture in various ways – from subtle (Diba) to overt (Ardalan) – raising an interesting question about the potential for traditional forms to be used in the service of ideology on both sides of the Revolution. While the formal gestures, such as symmetries and typological compositions, recall traditional architecture, the underlying designs are, however, essentially modern and characteristically nostalgic, recombining fragments of the past into a semblance of unity.[4] Here we follow Boym's definition of nostalgia:

> In my view, two kinds of nostalgia characterize one's relationship to the past, to the imagined community, to home, to ones own self-perception: restorative and reflective.[5]

In hindsight, the motivations for the revolution were, at least in part, and on the Islamist side, fuelled by restorative nostalgia, a desire to return to the ostensible unity of traditional society. However we would argue that the deployment of nostalgia in these projects is, instead, reflective – a conscious attempt to imbue the space with what has been described in relation to heritage tourist sites as an existential authenticity[6]:

> Reflective nostalgia is more concerned with historical and individual time – with the irrevocability of the past and human finitude. *Re*-flection suggests new flexibility, not the reestablishment of stasis.[7]

Reflective nostalgia places emphasis, therefore, upon valuing the fragments of the past that have come down to us, as fragments. In these projects, there appears to be the emphasis upon an experience of place that ties them to an imagined past, while at the same time housing modern programmes, and contributing to development. Their spatial sequences and experiential effects, such as descent below ground, and a striking use of light and shadow, are theatrical; they are mimetic of traditional forms and spaces, a retrospective gaze into past traditions, and were surely intended to resonate with the personal experiences and memories of visitors.[8] Here, it could be argued that nostalgia evoked by such mimesis works to bridge the gap between the present and the past. The design thus functions as a creative cultural instrument.[9]

Figure 2. Pasargadae Archaeological site museum, sloping wall of unfinished building. Photograph by authors 2004.
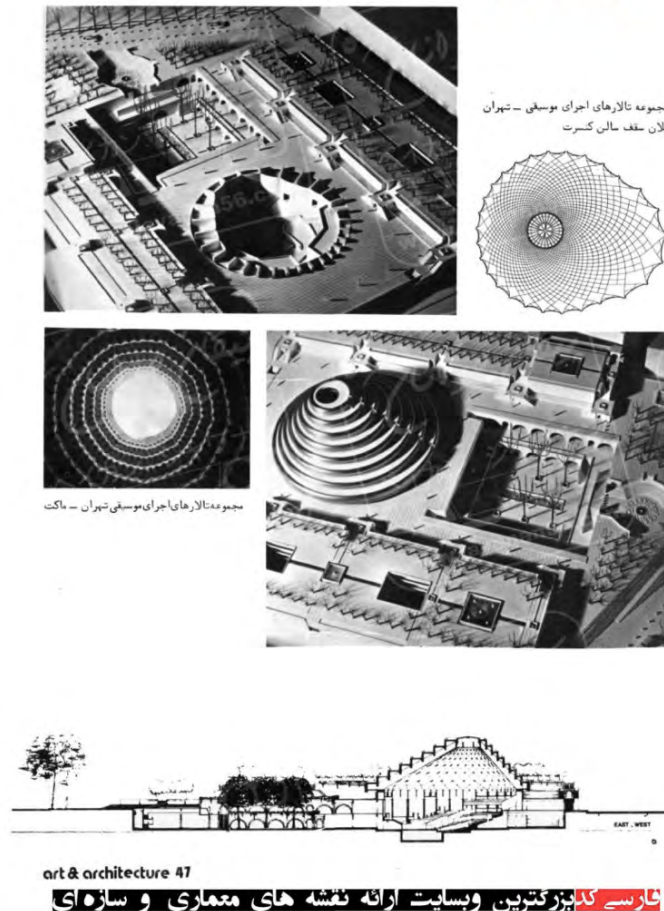
Figure 3. Nader Ardalan, project for the Centre for the Appreciation of Music, 1975-78, *Honar-e Mimar* journal, no. 45-46 (1978).

Finally, the 'executive architect' of the Queen's special bureau, Manūchehr Iranpour,[10] designed a cultural centre for the performance of music in the grounds of Reza Shah's old palace complex in central Tehran. It was presumably intended to house performances of traditional music and theatre, in line with the Queen's interest in collecting and preserving Qajar art. Like Ardalan's concert hall, this complex is housed underground. Ramps and staircases descend to a sunken complex, centred upon the abstracted flower-like *Karbandi*-ribbed[11] form of the central atrium, light descending from a central lantern and myriad smaller lanterns. The structure of the building, although recollective of traditional Iranian architecture, is also the product of sophisticated Western engineering. This building was completed after the revolution, largely along the lines of Iranpour's design, by the ICHTO[12] architect Beyrouz Ahmadi, between 1995 and 1998, but as a Quran museum, with its open-air performance space transformed into a space which appears to have been intended for recitation of the Quran. It remains closed off from public participation, perhaps because of its adjacency to the residence of Ayatollah Khamanei.

All of these projects appear to have responded to a desire by the government to connect its modernizing project both to the achievements of past pre-Islamic and Islamic periods, but also to strands of living or remembered traditions. They do not pertain to universalizing Western, 'scientific' approaches to heritage, policed by bodies such as UNESCO and codified through agreements.[13] Instead, they appear, in part, to have emerged through bodies such as the Queen's Bureau, which contained both modernizing and traditionalist elements, and a nostalgic embrace of the material and intangible culture of traditional Iranian society, as reflected in the 1970s Iran congresses of architecture.[14]

In these projects, the subterranean designs arguably acted as a metaphor for forming an imaginative bridge with the past. The precedent for these projects was probably the rebuilding of the Ferdowsi mausoleum in Tūs by Houshang Seyhoun, a clear example of the use of architecture and landscape in the imagining of a national birthright, a heritage. While Reza Shah's project for the Ferdowsi mausoleum has been examined in detail,[15] no writer has addressed the transformation of the site by Seyhoun, and the singular architectural character of his interventions.

Figure 4, A. Godard and others, Ferdowsi mausoleum, Tūs, Mashhad Iran, in 1930s. Photographer unknown.

Under the previous ruler, Reza Shah (r. 1925-41), engagement with national patrimony through modern projects had began with the commissioning of new structures which monumentalized the tombs of poets. Grigor has documented the long and difficult process to create a tomb monument for the great national poet Ferdowsi in Tūs (Fig. 4). Not the least problem was the lack of a verifiable body, or confirmed burial site! [16] Nonetheless, a competition was held for the design of the monument, one of a number of efforts which pertained to what Marashi has connected to Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire* – sites which act as pathways to the past, suggesting immutability, stability and continuity.[17]

Reza Shah's national heritage policy was largely maintained by his son and successor, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. While the modernist architect Mohsen Foroughi designed a new tomb for the 13th century poet Saadi in Shiraz (1950-52), Houshang Seyhoun produced a series of strikingly original tomb monuments, including commemorative structures for the 12th century scholar and poet Omar Khayyam (Fig. 5)and the Qajar court painter Kamal al-Molk in Nişapūr (1963), and the earlier memorial for the 11th century scholar Ibn Sina (Avicenna) in Hamedan (1954). His design for the Ibn Sina complex explicitly cites the 11th century, and possibly Zoroastrian, Gonbad-e Qabus tower tomb in Golestan province. Seyhoun (1920-2014), a Baha'i, had studied architecture at the Fine Arts school of Tehran University, under French architects Andre Godard and Maxime Siroux. He went on to study for his *Docteur d'Art* in Paris between 1946 and 1949, completing the construction of his design for the tomb of Avicenna (Abu-ali Sina) in 1949 as his graduating project. He soon starting teaching at the University of Tehran, where he was later Dean from 1962-68.

The mausoleum for Omar Khayyam, completed in 1963, with its strangely contemporary-looking intermeshing of ribs which frame coloured mosaic panels (Fig. 5), was surely one of the inspirations for the younger Amanat's design for the Shahyad monument (Fig. 6), a project on which Seyhoun was collaborating architect. In the Omar Khayyam tomb and monument project, Seyhoun was evidently intent upon creating an original synthesis that draws upon and evokes the past without overt mimicry. Tradition is evoked, but not mimicked, by the traditional ceramic

patterns inserted into the diamond-shaped lozenges forming the support structure --the ribs rising up and being resolved in a star-shaped dome (Fig. 5).

Figure 5. Houshang Seyhoun, Omar Khayyam mausoleum, Nişapūr Iran, 1963, site view and faceted wall.
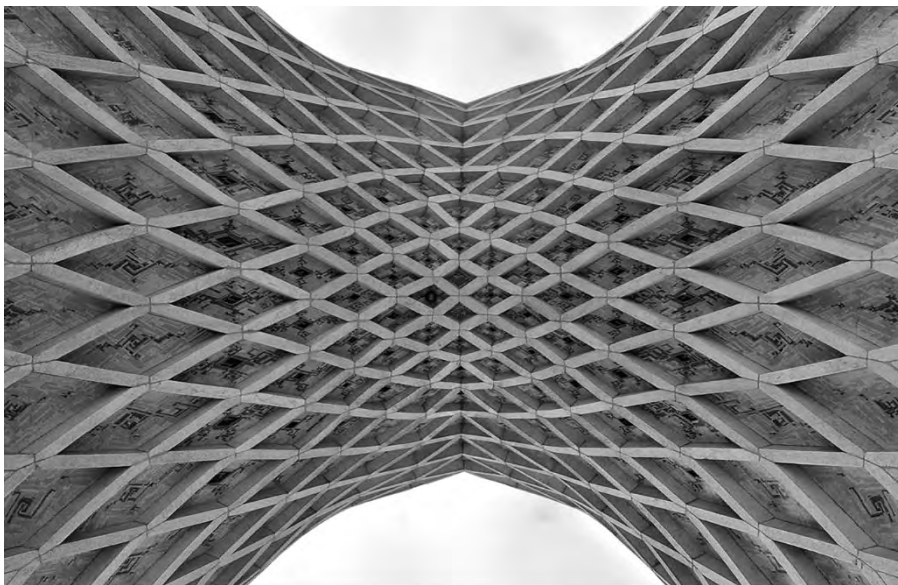

Figure 6. Ribbing of Shahyad (Now Azadi) monument, Tehran.

However Seyhoun advanced his most original interpretation of Iranian patrimony in his project for the renovation and expansion of the Ferdowsi tomb and gardens at Tūs (1964-68) (Figs 1, 7 - 8). Seyhoun's project literally rebuilt the previous tomb that had been designed by the French Beaux Arts-trained architect André Godard, assisted by the Iranian architect Abd al-Husayn Teymurtash in 1934. This project, faithfully restored by Seyhoun, was replete with references to Achaemenid architecture, reflecting the Pahlavi establishment's intention to cultivate a modern national imagination based upon the pre-Islamic past (Fig. 1).[18] The 10-11th century Persian poet Ferdowsi was the author of the *Shahnameh* or Book of Kings, which, in a semi-mythological style, preserved the folk stories of the pre-Islamic Persian kings.[19] The 1930s tomb project was, Grigor has argued, an attempt to contribute to the formation of a national identity through heritage, real or invented:

> As the first public monument to signal the arrival of modernity, its form, construction process and fabricated rituals represent the complexities of cultural heritage.[20]

Figure 7. Houshang Seyhoun, Renovation and expansion of the Ferdowsi mausoleum, Tūs, near Mashhad Iran. Frontal view and plan. Image by authors.
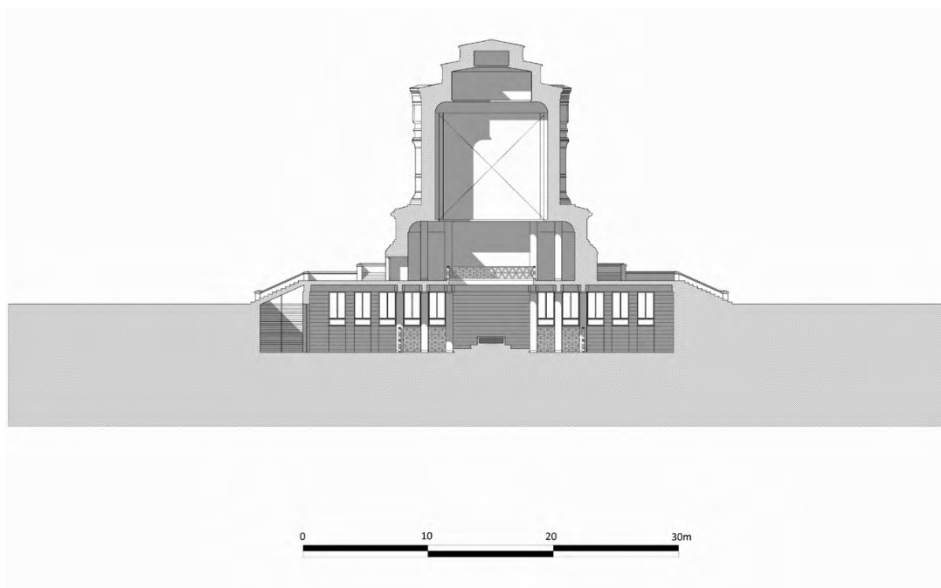

Figure 8. Ferdowsi mausoleum, Tūs. Section. Image by authors.

The later project of Seyhoun was commissioned to rectify settlement problems and water damage, necessitating the tomb's reconstruction on a new foundation, its stones being carefully dismantled and then reassembled over a new basement structure. But the project also grew out of the second Pahlavi ruler's cultural policies of national symbolism, promotion of Iranian culture and civilization and the development of heritage tourism.[21]

While retaining the external form, Seyhoun greatly expanded the internal space of the tomb from a small, dark room into a large, 30m x 30m, subterranean hall, accessible by the public via flanking stone staircases, within which bas reliefs depicted scenes from the Shahnameh. If the original 1934 project was the monumentalization of a burial site, its reconstruction by Seyhoun amounted to a project of cultural tourism, through which the public was invited to imaginatively engage with what was, arguably, the invention of a non-place. The tomb, whether of Ferdowsi or of some other pile of bones, created a theatre of birthright.[22] And on its external steps it was literally used as a theatre, for performance of traditional music and the Shahnameh. The reconstruction also included restoration and substantial expansion of the landscaped garden, reflection pond, and inclusion of tourist facilities, notably a restaurant, library, and a tea house which was also planned to be used for performances of the Shahnameh, thus also a venue for performative tourism. Grigor's rather dismissive description of these buildings as "[in] imitation [of] the minimalist and poured-concrete architecture of none other than Le Corbusier" is wide of the mark, and begs the question of the intention behind these evocative structures.

Figure 9. View of façade.

While there is undoubtedly an influence of Le Corbusier, as in the Omar Khayyam pavilions, it is not the elegant abstraction of his earlier modernism, but rather the brutalist and sculptural manner of late works, like Ronchamp, La Tourette and the structures at Firminy, agonistic works which possess a similar primitive quality and affectivity, employing abstracted symbolism. Seyhoun, who had travelled extensively in France, would have been familiar with these projects. These ancillary buildings designed by Seyhoun exemplify a particular attitude to the past – the attempt through mimesis to evoke in the mind of the visitor an emotional connection, a form of nostalgia (Fig. 9).

While the restaurant (Fig. 10) is identifiably Corbusian in its composition of asymmetrical windows which slice into the concrete shell, Seyhoun has crowned it with an octagonal off-form concrete lantern, which, in an abstracted form, as in Diba's museum, evokes the qualities of traditional architecture.

Figure 10. Houshang Seyhoun, Ferdowsi site restaurant.

It is perhaps significant that the Shahnameh tea-house pavilion features on the cover of the second issue in 1968 of the new architectural periodical, *Honar-e Memari*: *Art and Architecture* (Fig. 11). But then, as now, there was no attempt to critically review the concept of the project. Nor did Seyhoun ever subsequently explain his design for the project, which remains enigmatic. Why, then, did such an obviously powerful and evocative architectural expression fail to evoke a comparable critical response? (Figs 12 and 13) There is a raw power to the pavilion – its facade is constructed of raw, off-form concrete, with deeply-inset window openings allowing fragmentary views of the surrounding gardens, while diagonal skylight forms give a serrated, ruin-like profile to the building, which resonates with both the mountainous backdrop and the invented archaeology of the tomb. Significantly, as a student, Seyhoun had visited and met both Le Corbusier during his brutalist phase, and the master of modernist concrete, Auguste Perret, who was, at the time, engaged in the reconstruction of the town of Le Havre in Normandy in reinforced concrete.
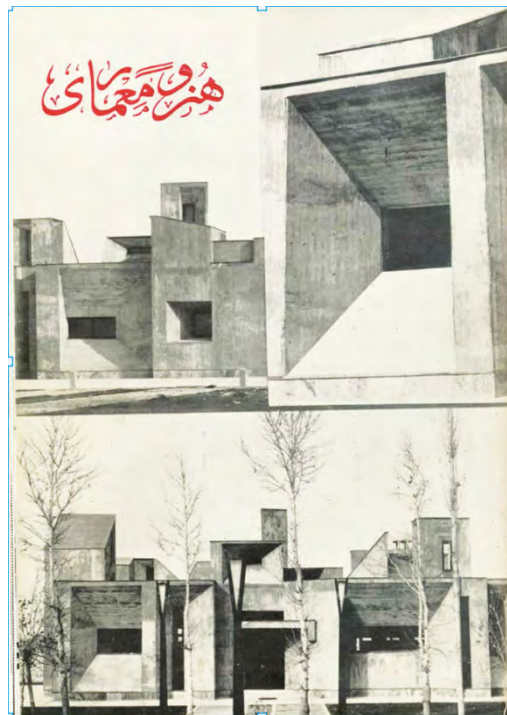

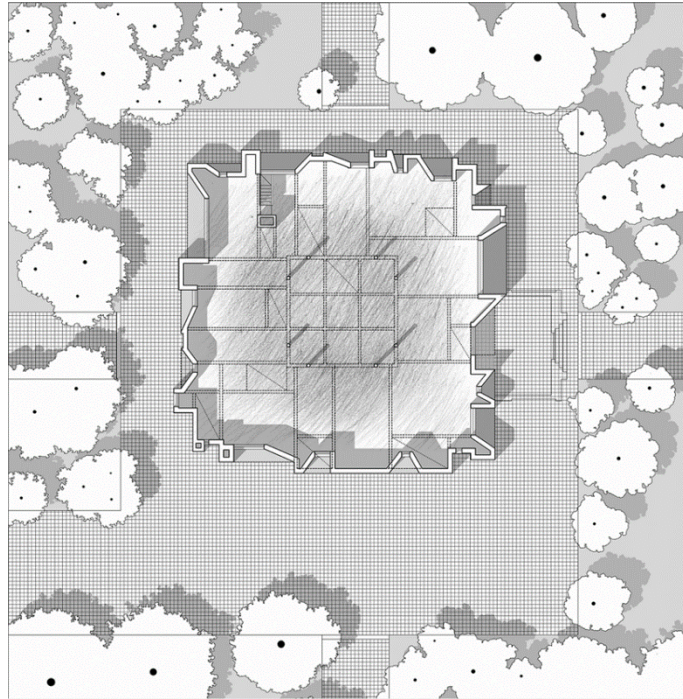**Figure 11.** Cover of *Honar-e Memari* journal, No. 2, 1968.

Figure 12. (Above) Plan, Ferdowsi tea-house. Image by authors.
Figure 13. (Below) Section, Ferdowsi tea-house. Image by authors.

On the interior, the multiple sculptural skylights (Fig. 14) channel sunlight in narrow and divergent shafts, which scatter over the concrete surfaces, and create pools of light on the floor. In the absence of published plans and sections, we have reconstructed what the original building would have looked like from available drawings and photographs.

In contrast, the central space, framed by four pairs of columns, a configuration identical to Seyhoun's basement structure for the tomb, was much darker (Fig. 15). Here the performances would have taken place, while the guests would sit around the skylit periphery. In the performances, the combination of the theatricality of Seyhoun's powerful architectural forms and the sounds and costumes of the performances would have performed their magic. This is hard to imagine in the building's current state, with its clutter of display walls and cabinets.

To our knowledge, there are no recordings of such events, but they are suggested by a Shahnameh performance at UCLA's Royce Hall in 2015.[23] Through such imaginations, the legendary past and the present were brought together in a theatrical staging, as seen in the sound and light shows at the 2500 years celebration of Iranian kingship at Persepolis in 1971, and at the Shiraz Festival.[24]

Figure 14. Skylight detail.

Figure 15. View of central bay of tea house: the probable location of Shahnameh performances – now used as a museum for archaeological artifacts.

But like all the Pahlavi public projects, the Ferdowsi complex was transformed by the 1979 Revolution – the restaurant and tea house were closed for a period, Khomeini banning the performance of traditional music and dance on the spurious grounds of being un-Islamic. Indeed the Ferdowsi tomb itself, like the Shahyad arch and the Pasargadae site, was for a time at risk of demolition because of its Pahlavi and pagan associations.[25] Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* was, itself, condemned as a "font of superstition".[26] However, during the more development-oriented Rafsanjani presidency (1989-97), the site was reopened and put to use. While the restaurant resumed its function and its original layout remains substantially intact, the tea house and Shahnameh building would, in 1982, be converted into a local museum; in 1988 it was again transformed to house an anthropology and archaeology collection, while in 1990 it was converted to house a collection devoted to the milennium of the Shahnameh, in association with UNESCO.[27] In 2003, in consultation with the Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization,[28] it was decided to restore the appearance of the original tea house building as far as possible, and to utilise it for a display associated with the Shahnameh. Whether this confused history was a consequence of unclear cultural policies, lack of funding, or even an attitude of distrust of the monumentalization of a poet who had preserved the stories of the pre-Islamic period, the eventual outcome was the restoration of the building, even if the project architect, Behrouz Ahmadi, incorporated white display walls with green, and by implication 'Islamic,' tiles which contradict, and appear to indicate a misunderstanding of the spatial order of the original design, confining its space in separate 'rooms', while the building was given an incongruously symmetrical, traditional-looking entrance. The regime seems to have wanted to impose its stamp upon an alien design.

Because of the various vicissitudes of the building, it is difficult to reconstruct how it may have originally appeared, and how it may have been experienced. If Godard's original tomb building drew directly upon Achaemenid precedents in its building form and decorative motifs, Seyhoun allowed the architecture of his structures to create an affective atmosphere. While the subterranean "interpretation" hall appears to have been intended to engage visitors in the narrative of the Shahnameh, it is in the ancillary buildings that Seyhoun made an entirely original contribution – they are evocative, while eschewing familiar forms, reflecting his statements against the emulation of traditional architecture expressed in the 1970 and 1974 Iran architectural congresses.[29]
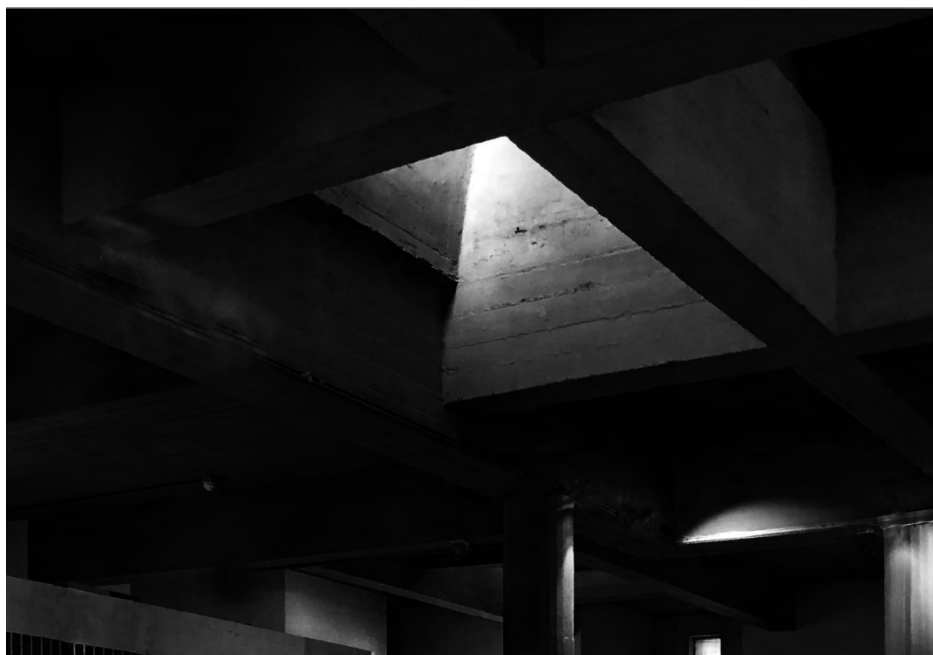

Figure 16. Tea house interior detail.

Within the tea house, as far as one can retrospectively recreate it from a physical, temporal and cultural distance, Seyhoun created an emotive canopy of continually transforming light sources, evoking sensations variously of the cave, the forest, and even of burial. While non-representational, it is deeply romantic and visceral. Following Heynen, one could interpret it as mimetic, not as a faithful or literal citation, but rather in its production of certain affinities or correspondences.[30] This affective architecture, in retrospect, appears to have formed a model for the historicizing tendency in Iranian public architecture in the 1970s, notably Diba's drawing upon traditional spatial structures and motifs at Shushtar No'w and Bu Ali Sina University, and Amanat's novel syncresis of pre-Islamic and Islamic forms at Pasargadae and in the Shahyad monument. As secular monuments, these Pahlavi projects played upon a familiar social practice of commemoration and reverence, but now in the service of a national imagination, weaving strands of identity into a complex whole.

Grigor has argued that these monuments were conceived by a 'small group of [the] elite [...] as a modern site of civic pilgrimage, as important [as], if not more [than], Shi'a holy shrines.'[31] Her problematic differentiation between elite and popular culture notwithstanding, there is a grain of truth here.[32] Indeed, Shahbazi notes in relation to the Ferdowsi mausoleum that it "has assumed the sanctity of a national shrine",[33] even if not a substitute for the tombs of Shia saints. Such memory sites are secular or at most, ambivalent monuments, unlike the shrines traditionally erected to house saints' tombs in Iran, but both could be said to participate in the culture of everyday Iranian life, which also includes religious aspects. The Ferdowsi tomb project was evidence of a cultural project to displace—rather than to 'replace'—the stronghold of Shiite religiosity, to make room for a form of nationalist secularism in support of a nation-building agenda that had parallels to the earlier secularization of the Turkish Republic under Ataturk.[34]

Such projects are, in varying ways, 'enchanted landscapes'.[35] Through the use of archetypal forms, their designers grounded contemporary utopian cultural aspirations in an idealized past. Through affect, these designs facilitate individuals' imaginative engagement with the past. And yet, the significance of the Iranian projects described here, and of their precedents, is that they refer to the past not for its own sake, but as a bridge to both development and to a different future.

Figure 17. Burial of the traditional singer Mohammad Reza Shajarian next to Ferdowsi tea house (BBC Persian service).

Since we commenced this paper, the site has been the setting for a remarkable event--the commemoration and burial next to the Tea house of the famous Iranian anti-regime traditional singer, Mohammed Reza Shajarian, while his music was broadcast from the steps of the Ferdowsi tomb, as it had been before the revolution (Fig. 17).[36] Press images show thousands of mourners marching, while Sepah guards stand by nervously and impotently. Here heritage was used as a vehicle for political expression, the reclaiming of a birthright from the Revolutionary Guards.

In conclusion, what could be described as a 'structure of feeling', pertaining to a search for authenticity, and contained within a social and economic context of rapid change and development, applies to the project for the Ferdowsi pavilion by Seyhoun, a project that, employing nostalgia, draws upon real or imagined memories, evoking a longing for a past, but also building upon that past in imagining a future. From this perspective, the engagement with traditions, pertaining to the national myth of the Shahnameh of Ferdowsi, is a means of transposing and recontextualizing them to the scale of national monuments. Through this transposition, a reconnection between the past and present was attempted through personal and artistic abstraction, and lived tradition was sublimated into evocative figures through a mimetic process.[37] In these novel forms, we can observe such a mediation between modernity and tradition, the outcome of which was the affirmative production of a specifically Perso-Islamic architectural heritage.

Endnotes

[1] Here the English word "heritage" seems less apt than the French *patrimoine*--what is handed down from one's forebears.

[2] Thus the Negarestan Cultural Centre's structure was designed by Ove Arup, who also designed the structure for the Shahyad arch, the CAoM was a collaboration with SOM, and the engineer for TMoCA, Zareh Grigorian, was Harvard-trained.

[3] The CAoM was designed by the Mandala Collaborative office, directed by Nader Ardalan. One of his fellow directors, Yahya Fiuzi, was in 1997 invited by the Revolutionary government to adapt the design for a venue to accommodate the Eighth Summit of the Organization of Islamic Conference, on a new site. See Michael Vasquez and Pamela Karimi, 'Ornament and Argument', *Bidoun: Art and Culture from the Middle East* 13 (2008), 93-96: https://www.bidoun.org/articles/ornament-argument.

[4] On the deployment of nostalgia in relation to architecture, see Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2008); Giovanni Galli, 'Nostalgia, Architecture, Ruins, and Their Preservation', *Change Over Time*, 3.1, Spring 2013, pp. 12-26. See also Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), 293: "nostalgia for a reassuring relationship between norm and deviation, capable of making gush forth, from the alembic through which ruptures and lacerations are distilled, a "circularity" and fullness of the word, the word in its entirety." On the concept of unity in relation to Iranian architecture, see Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The sense of unity: the Sufi tradition in Persian architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973).

[5] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 41.

[6] J. M. Rickly-Boyd, 'Existential Authenticity: Place Matters,' *Tourism Geographies* 15:4, (2013), pp. 680-686.

[7] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 49.

[8] Amanat, in an interview with the authors, was explicit in describing his intention to instil a familiarity in the spatial sequences in the Pasargadae museum, with its sequence of courtyards and shady spaces. On mimesis in architecture, see Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique* (Cambridge MS; London: MIT Press, 1999.

[9] This is contrary to Tafuri and others' negative characterisation of the phenomenon in the work of Western architects such as Louis Kahn —as a nostalgia for wholeness. See M. Tafuri and F. Dal Co, *Modern Architecture* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1979), 368.

[10] Shima Mohajeri, 'Louis Kahn's Space of Silent Critique in Tehran', *JSAH* 74: 4 (2015), 485-504 (488).

[11] 'Karbandi is the structure of a kind of roofing, consisting of ribs with a certain arched form which interlock according to certain geometrical rules and form the main frame of the roof.' Bozorgmehri, cited by Naeeni and others, Davoud Saremi Naeeni, Hamid Aibaghi Esfahani & Iman Mirshojaeian Hosseini, 'Recognising Karbandi in Iran's Architecture and a Review of its Decorative-Structural Role', *Iran*, 56:2 (2018), 173-183, at 176-77.

12 Iran Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization, now the Iran Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization.

13 The two most significant Iranian World Heritage sites, Persepolis and Pasargadae, were inscribed by UNESCO comparatively late, in 1979 and 2004 respectively. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/ (accessed 08.11.2020).

14 See Ch. 2: 'Canvassing a future: The international congresses of architecture in Iran and the transnational search for identity', in Ali Mozaffari and Nigel Westbrook, *Development, architecture, and the formation of heritage in late twentieth-century Iran: A vital past* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 55-81.

15 Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs* (New York, Periscope Publishing, distributed by Prestel, 2009).

16 Grigor has noted the uncertainty as to the location of Ferdowsi's burial place: T. Grigor, 'Cultivat(ing) Modernities: The Society for National Heritage, Political Propaganda, and Public Architecture in Twentieth-Century Iran' (PhD, MIT, 2005), p. 148; T. Grigor, *Building Iran*, 54-56.

17 P. Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, Vol. 1, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 15, cited by A. Marashi, *Nationalizing Iran: Culture, Power, and the State, 1870-1940* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2008), pp. 110-11.

18 Grigor, 'Cultivat(ing) Modernities,' p. 164.

19 Grigor, *Building Iran*, 53-55.

20 Grigor, *Building Iran*, 49.

21 On the development of heritage tourism in Iran, see T. Jones and M.-H. Talebian, 'Perspectives and Prospects for Cultural Tourism in the Pasargadae Region', Ch. 7 in Mozaffari (ed), *World Heritage in Iran,* 155-172 (156). See also R. Daroogheh-Nokhodcheri, 'Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology: The Case Study of Iran,' Durham theses, Durham University, 2014. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/10658/.

22 Grigor, *Building Iran*, pp. 67-68 (77).

23 For performance, see recording by Shahrokh Yadegari: http://yadegari.org/projects/scarlet-stone/ (accessed 04 December 2020).

24 Amanat Interview, *Bidoun* 23.

25 On the risk to the Pasargadae site, see Ali Mozaffari, *Forming National Identity in Iran: The Idea of Homeland Derived from Ancient Persian and Islamic Imaginations of Place* (London: IB Tauris, 2014), 58, Marashi, *Nationalizing Iran*, 133-34.

26 Vasquez and Karimi (2008).

27 Shapur Shahbazi, 'Ferdowsi's Mausoleum,' pp. 524–27.

28 On its inception in 1986, the organization was named the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO). Subsequently, with added responsibilities, it became renamed as the Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization (ICHTO). But in fact the full title is now Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization, or ICHHTO, however the acronym does not seem to have changed.

29 Ch. 2, 'Canvassing a future', in Mozaffari and Westbrook, *Development, architecture, and the formation of heritage in late twentieth-century Iran,* 55-81.

30 H. Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique,* (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 2000), 193.

31 Grigor, 'Cultivat(ing) Modernities,' 147-48.

32 The poets' tombs are secular or at most, as in the case of the tomb and memorial hall of the Hafeziah in Shiraz, ambivalent monuments, unlike the shrines traditionally erected to house saints' tombs in Iran, but both could be said to participate in the culture of everyday Iranian life, which also includes religious aspects.

33 A. Shapour Shahbazi, 'Ferdowsi, Abu'l-Qāsem iii. Mausoleum', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Vol. IX, Fasc. 5, pp. 524-527 (2012), pp. 524-27, Online edition: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ferdowsi-iii.

34 This Turkish nationalist monumentalization was exemplified by Anitkabir, the extraordinary mastaba-like tomb and museum erected in Ankara (1941-53) after the premature death of Kemal Atatürk himself. See: C. S. Wilson, *Beyond Anıtkabir: The Funerary Architecture of Ataturk: The Construction and Maintenance of National Memory* (London; NY: Routledge, 2016).

35 Tafuri criticized the mining of history as a source for the evocative and intentionally symbolic forms: M. Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth* (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), p. 13.

36 https://in.reuters.com/article/iran-maestro/iranian-composer-and-opposition-figure-shajarian-buried-near-national-poet-idINL8N2H1058 (accessed 04 December 2020).

37 P. Heelas, 'Introduction: Detraditionalization and Its Rivals', in P. Heelas, S. Lash, and P. Morris (eds), *Detraditionalization: Critical Reflections on Authority and Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), 8.