Historical Fiction - 65
Casa da Música - 261
Outliving Obsolescence - 287

PICTURING IRANIAN MODERNITY: A MODERNIST ARCHITECTURE JOURNAL OF THE PAHLAVI DYNASTY

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ABSTRACT: Following the modernization process in Iran started by Reza Shah (1925–1941), Mohammad Reza Shah (1941–1979), his reformist son, began institutionalizing professions and establishing associations, including the Association of Iranian Graduate Architects (AIGA) in 1945 and the Association of Iranian Architects (AIA) circa 1968. The desire for mass communication and administrative organization on a national level led each association to publish its architectural journal. Considering this historical background and looking at the reciprocal relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, this paper takes up the notion of reciprocal gaze in colonial studies to better understand the role of modernity in the architectural context of Iran during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah. Starting with problematizing the notion of the World Picture and taking distance from Edward Said's East-West binary, this paper focuses instead on the heterogeneity of the spectrum between these binary models rather than the oversimplified and generalized categorization of the colonizer as the dominant and the colonized as the passive subject. In this way, the in-betweenness acknowledges the complexities of power dynamics and makes it possible to think about other forms of power. Following this line of thought, this paper invites a close reading of the only all-English issue of the architecture journal *Honar va Me'māri*, published in 1973, to demonstrate the double concern of Iranian architects about seeing and being seen on the international stage. More than just a publication, *Honar va Me'māri*, a journal established by young architects, became the site for exploring the space between tradition and modernity, old and new, and the state's ideology of making a new nation and their own avant-garde practice.

KEYWORDS: architecture journal, modernity in Iran, postcolonial studies, Pahlavi architecture, Nader Khalili.

1. AN INCOHERENT WORLD PICTURE

"Here I am, Then, admitted to the temple," writes Italo Calvino in his travelogue from visiting a Zoroastrian temple in Yazd, Iran, in 1975. He continues:

> after I too put on a little white beret and took off my shoes (hair and the soles of shoes are the vehicles of contamination which one must guard against most), but everything I see still seems very distant to me. (Calvino and McLaughlin 2013, 203)

After visiting the three Iranian cities of Isfahan, Yazd, and Shiraz in 1975, Calvino published his observations in a book of thirty-eight essays titled *Collection of Sand* (2013).[1] In these essays, Calvino experiences Iran as a "New World," a world analogous to what was discovered by the Europeans after Christopher Columbus's voyage over the Atlantic Ocean, as he argues in his book.[2] He goes through the meaning-making process, sharing his confusion about the visuality of Iranian architecture and the impossibility of visually describing what defied categorization and challenged assumptions. For Calvino, visiting Iran was a bewildering experience of shock and excitement caused by encountering a different visual culture. His ekphrastic descriptions of a Zoroastrian temple, Iranian mosque, and the ruins of Persepolis, then, sabotage the formation of a coherent picture.

When he visits a temple in Yazd, the Zoroastrian rituals, unknown and somewhat mythical, excite Calvino, but the ancient Iranian religion and its symbolic representations confuse him. The "schematic" portrait of Ahura Mazda, the Persian god, is distant to him, especially when compared to the actuality and accessibility of Jesus's appearance in Christianity. Despite his attempt to retrieve modern visual references, Calvino is eventually convinced to associate this new mythical world with mythical objects: "The only image possible of Ahura Mazda is fire" (204).

Calvino once again expresses the challenge of meaning-making through visual description in his encounter with the mihrab, a niche in the mosque's wall facing Mecca. He writes:

> A frame sculpted in relief, surmounted by an architrave with a decoration perforated like piece of lace; within the frame, a pierced decoration runs along the jambs with arabesques sculpted in low relief, and above all this, on a horizontal level, a line of fluent writing stands out as thought suspended there. (197)

After his two-page description of the mihrab of Friday Mosque in Isfahan, naming it "void," "nothingness," "absence," and "silence," he finally comes to terms with its self-referential nature: "It [mihrab] cannot be defined in words: the only symbol that can represent it is the mihrab" (198).

But what is this "New World"? Is it new? Does it need to be rediscovered? The notion of the "New World" for Italo Calvino resonated with his visit to the exhibition *The European Vision of America*, held in Paris in 1975.[3] The exhibition featured over 300 objects, including paintings, engravings, and maps, tracing how European nations viewed the Americas from the time of Columbus's landing to the 19th century. Navigating the exhibition's content, Calvino seeks to see the differences between the picture of the world and reality:

> [I]f a New World were discovered now, would we be able to see it? Would we know how to rid our minds of all the images we have become accustomed to associate with the expectation of a world different from our own (images from science fiction, for instance) in order to grasp the real difference that would be presented to our gaze? (10)

The mismatch between picture and reality reoccurs in Le Corbusier's visit to Istanbul in 1911, when he struggled to align his mental image of the city—influenced by the European travel records and French "colonial consensus"—with the actual experience of visiting Istanbul (Çelik 1992). It exemplifies the expectation of a European visitor who seeks meaning and order in a city that is not arranged in the same way as an exhibition. Timothy Mitchell discusses this fundamental difference of organization by mentioning that, from a Western viewpoint, the essentialized world of the East always lacks the dimension of order and meaning (2018, 442–60). So, what is, after all, new in the New World, and

for whom it is new? Mitchell argues that both the Orient and the Occident experience the shock of the conflict between picture and reality. In other words, the world's reality disrupts the world picture set up before the subject.[4]

Both Calvino and Le Corbusier moved from the West, with its expected world of associated images of the East, to the East as the real world, trying again to grasp the real world as the picture and potentially creating a paradoxical loop, where reality is chased through its representation. Yet, there is a subtle difference between Calvino's experience of Iran and Le Corbusier's in Istanbul. In the case of Le Corbusier, the formation of a coherent picture, whether essentially nullified or artificially formed, resulted in disappointment. Calvino's travel to Iran deviated from the conventional view of Occidental order vis-à-vis Oriental chaos. It led to the formation of a fragmented picture, evoking fascination—as opposed to disappointment—though in a mythical way. Calvino's response reflected a more modern (or even postmodern) disenchantment with the West that resulted in a romantic appreciation of the perceived mystery of the East.

The idea of the World Picture, aligned with Edward Said's formulation of Orientalism, presents a problematic dichotomy by reducing global realities to a simplistic and generalized East-West binary (Said 1978). Recognizing the colonizer as the dominant gaze and the colonized as passive subjects erases the complexities of interconnectivity and power dynamics that are shaped in-between, turning it instead into a caricature. However, a reciprocal influence beyond this one-directional lens makes it possible to articulate forms of power outside the realms of "domination" and "resistance" and to understand the "in-between." Without denying the influential role of Edward Said, this paper tries to distance itself from the binaries of East/West and resistance/dominance, focusing instead on the heterogeneity that exists between these binary models. Within this in-betweenness, an incoherent and heterogeneous world picture exists. Considering the cultural context of Iran, those who held anti-Western and anti-American ideologies, such as the Iranian writer, social critic, and member of the Tudeh Party, Jalāl Āl-e-Ahmad (1923–1969), are considered alternatives to the idea of in-betweenness (Āl-e-Ahmad 1982).[5] Āl-e-Ahmad's famous book *Gharbzadegi* [Westoxification] (1962) exemplifies an anti-West and anti-American ideology with a straightforward strategy of resistance. His patronizing observations upon visiting America in 1965 indicate the same mindset.[6]

The reciprocal gazes and the following shift in the power dynamics between the colonizer and the colonized call for different politics of visibility (Creech 2020)—that is, to be concerned about being seen as much as seeing. The resulting tension played a significant role in the contemporary architecture of Iran during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah (1941–1979). Caught between the state's ideology of making a new nation and their own avant-garde practices, young architects navigated this tension through mass communication.[7] Despite relying primarily on state support for most of their projects, they carved out an in-between space by establishing a series of architectural journals. Among these journals, *Honar va Me'māri*, published between 1969 and 1979, exemplifies the concern of being seen on an international stage and the conflict of the gaze in an architectural context. Through a close reading of issue no. 18–19 (June–November 1973), the only issue written entirely in English, I will discuss the visual and textual content of the journal to better understand the struggles of Iranian architects and how they navigated modern and traditional approaches.

2. AN ARCHITECTURE JOURNAL IN SEARCH OF IRANIAN MODERNITY

Around 1968, after two decades of top-down cultural, political, and economic reforms during the 1940s and 1950s, Abdol-Hamid Eshrāgh, together with a group of prominent young architects, including Vartan Avanessian, Naser Badi', and Iraj Moshiri, established the new institutional body of the Association of Iranian Architects (AIA).[8] Following the previous Association of Iranian Graduate Architects (AIGA), AIA immediately published its own architecture journal, Honar va Me'māri (Art & Architecture) in 1969 with Eshrāgh as the founder and editor.[9] It was a trilingual journal, written in Persian, English, and

French. Most of its contents were published in Persian, and a few essays were translated into French and/or English. Publication continued until 1979, when the last issue was released amid the socio-political turmoil of the Islamic revolution. Many young artists and architects contributed to the publication of Honar va Me'māri. During the first years of its publication, the editorial board was composed of a small group of people who "collaborated," or at least were officially mentioned for administrative purposes, with Mahmoud Arjmandi as the head of the international section and Nader Khalili as the head of the English section. However, after the publication of issue 12–13 in 1972, the editorial board found a more established and permanent state when Mohammad Karim Pirnia (architect), Parviz Tanavoli (sculptor and painter), Nader Khalili (architect), and Parviz Varjavand (archeologist and politician) joined the board.[10] The journal was a springboard for the new team. Their contributions to its publication helped them establish their voice for the years to come and gain commissions for various projects.

With its full-color pages and glossy finish, *Honar va Me'māri* set a benchmark for graphic quality and professional standards in Iran, becoming a frontrunner in the realm of high-end magazine printing for the country. A group of four graphic designers were responsible for visualizing the advertisements.[11] In the case of the self-described international edition published entirely in English, that is, issue no. 18–19 (1973), the Iranian-American architect Nader Khalili and his then-wife and partner Moira Moser (Khalili) were the guest editors.[12] This issue was radically different compared to previous ones. Until this point, each issue covered topics such as the progressive works of European and American architects, the projects of young Iranian architects, critiques of architecture and urban design in Iran compared with the Western examples, and reports of domestic and international architectural events. The all-English edition, however, follows a different order, consisting of three main sections: "Iran Yesterday," "Iran Today," and "Iran Tomorrow." The titles invite readers to perceive a continuous history, as the editors made clear they sought to provide a catalog of Iran for international readers:

> The issue looks at Iran yesterday, today, and tomorrow in order to give international readers a comprehensive picture of the country—where it came from, where it is now, and where it is going. This is perhaps the first time that a professional, non-government, independent publication has presented such a portfolio of Iran from the point of view of the design fields. (*Honar va Me'māri 1973*)

In this way, this issue also plays the role of portfolio for Iranian architects by showcasing their projects, and a section was dedicated to contemporary Iranian architects, with a resume-like layout introducing their backgrounds and projects. The desperate concern to introduce Iran as a developing country with avant-garde architects starts from the editorial note, where an appreciation of the past stands next to a list of the achievements of the present, with the hope that the "portfolio of Iran" will be persuasive enough for international, which is to say Western, readers and clients:

> The editors sincerely hope that the reader will find in this international edition an indication of how rewarding it is to be *professionally* involved in the surge of progress and growth that is Iran. (*Honar va Me'māri* 1973, emphasis added)

Despite the apolitical gesture, the editorial board of *Honar va Me'māri* followed the legacy of Iranian architects in the 1930s and 40s, holding the ground between the state's politics and their own ideologies.[13] Representation of a continuous history originating from the Achaemenid period had already been practiced in other mass communication domains during the Pahlavi dynasty. Mohammad Reza Shah—internationally known as the Shah (king)—reconstructed history by glorifying the ancient Persian empire and advocated for a renewed nationalist identity as "the great civilization." He tied himself to a historical narrative in which the Shah was identified as the pinnacle of a historical lineage. The editorial note illustrates the dual purpose of publishing the all-English edition to picture Iran as a developing nation and its market as a magnet for international investors. Different sections of the all-English edition are aligned with these thoughts. Looking at the advertisements in this issue, from prefabricated steel structures and telecommunication

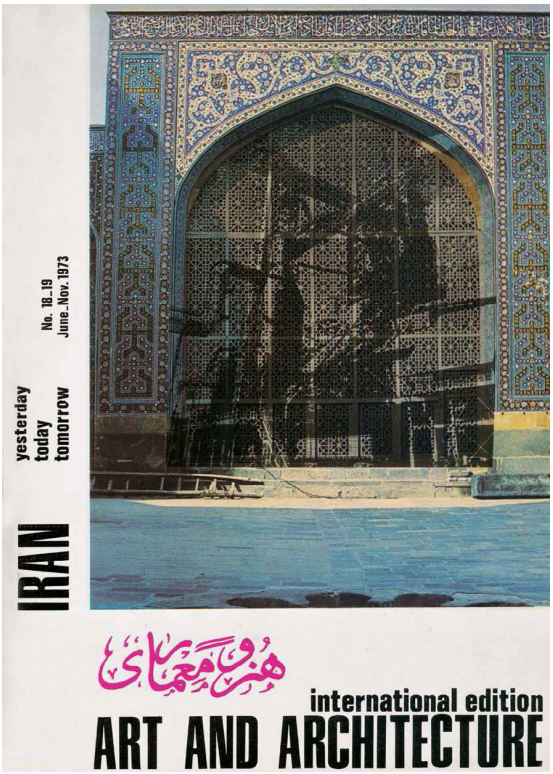


Figure 1: Cover page of *Honar va Me'māri* issue no.18–19. Source: *Honar va Me'māri* 1973.

towers to dam construction and regional banking, all offer consultancy services and promote big-picture solutions for projects on a national or institutional level. The Western-based companies of Brown & Root, Dames & Moore, General Telephone & Electronics International Inc., Page Communications Engineers Inc., and the Irano British Bank were all included in the list. The editorial board and team of graphic designers played the role of a think tank in providing a careful package, set by specific graphic standards that emphasize modern elements, from the layout of the journal itself to the visual contents, where complex infrastructural technologies, such as telecommunication towers, dams, and stadiums, are represented.

The cover of the all-English issue demonstrates a historical contradiction (Figure 1). The representation of the transition between modernity and tradition is executed by a superimposed image of the Arya Mehr Steel Mill Company in Isfahan over the façade of the Mosque of Sheikh Safeidin in Ardebil. The image leaves the reader adrift in ambiguity. The history of the Arya Mehr Steel Mill Company and its foundation unfolds the geopolitical agreement between Iran and the Soviet Union and marks a strategic point. In 1965, a landmark agreement allowed for the establishment of the Arya Mehr Steel Company. With this agreement, the Soviets provided financial and technical muscle, while Iran offered a steady flow of natural gas in return. Considering the failed negotiation between Iran and Germany, which was initially started before World War II and followed by the support of the United States, it was an essential political and economic achievement (Mahboubi Soufiani 2023, 85–152). This ambitious project transformed Iran's industrial landscape, forging a complex partnership between Iran and the Soviet Union amidst the Cold War's geopolitical chessboard. The mosque, centuries old and steeped in religious and cultural significance, is overshadowed by a modern structure symbolizing the arrival

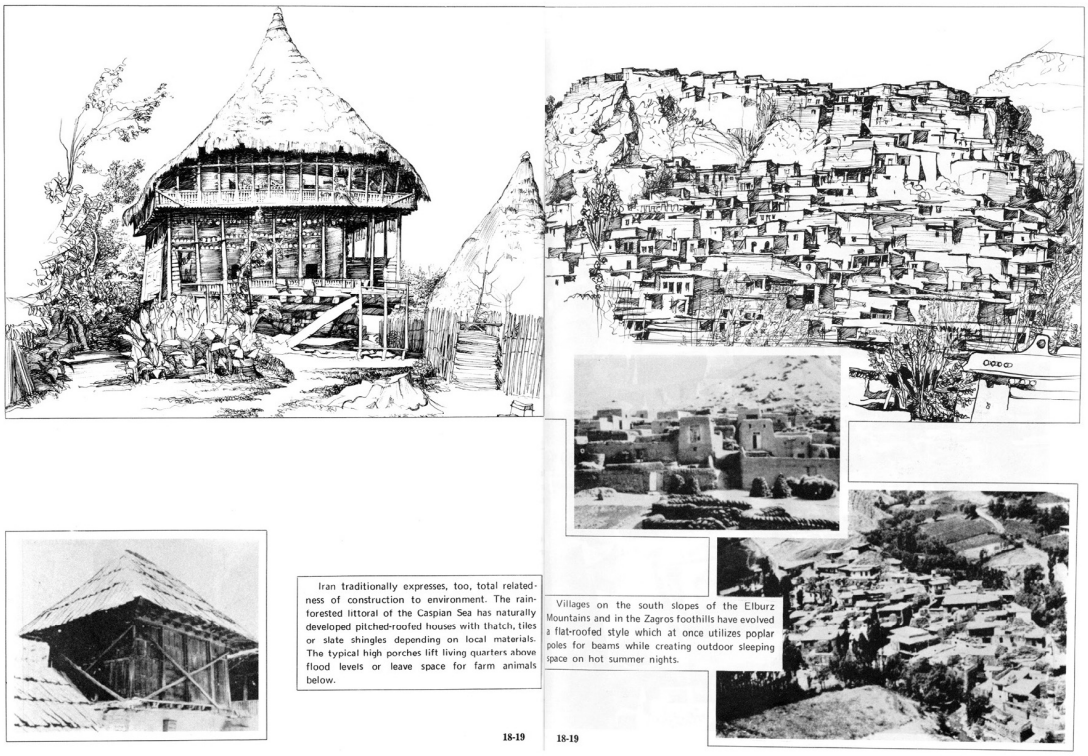


Figure 2: The combination of photographs, hand drawings, and text boxes is reminiscent of the graphic used by comic books. Drawings by Hushang Seihoun. Source: Eshrāgh 1973, 20–21.

of a new economic system of capital. It is reduced to a stark black-and-white silhouette; the intricate machinery and fiery dance of steel production represent the dominance of industrial values over traditional and religious values.

From an architectural viewpoint, the juxtaposition of materials adds another layer of complexity. Persian tiles have been an architectural object of fascination for Western scholars, historians, and architects for their role in decorating the façade. However, the rapid pace of industrialization and the urgent demand for construction during the reign of the Shah called for the application of modern materials such as steel and concrete. Considering this context, the image mirrors the technological condition of construction. The mechanical process of steel production is cropped out as an abstract black-and-white silhouette, inviting the reader to grasp its industrial vibe no matter what. It is unclear whether the reader is supposed to welcome the replacement of the old aesthetic and materials with modern ones imported from the West or regret the transformation. The superimposition of this industrial and abstract representation on top of a detailed traditional façade suggests a superficial understanding of the complexity of the relationship between old and new, East and West. The black-and-white silhouette relegates the tiling and details of the traditional construction to the sidelines. Despite all its efforts to portray progress and autonomy, the image remains ambiguous.

For the photographs in the section "Iran Yesterday," there is no caption related to the specificity of each place. Rather, some general descriptive texts are provided as guidance for how to go through the photos and how to order them. It provides a historical narrative of the Achaemenians by featuring professional photographs of Persepolis accompanied by text boxes that tell the history in simple terms.

In "Surface & Form," a subsection of "Iran Yesterday," nomadic characteristics of

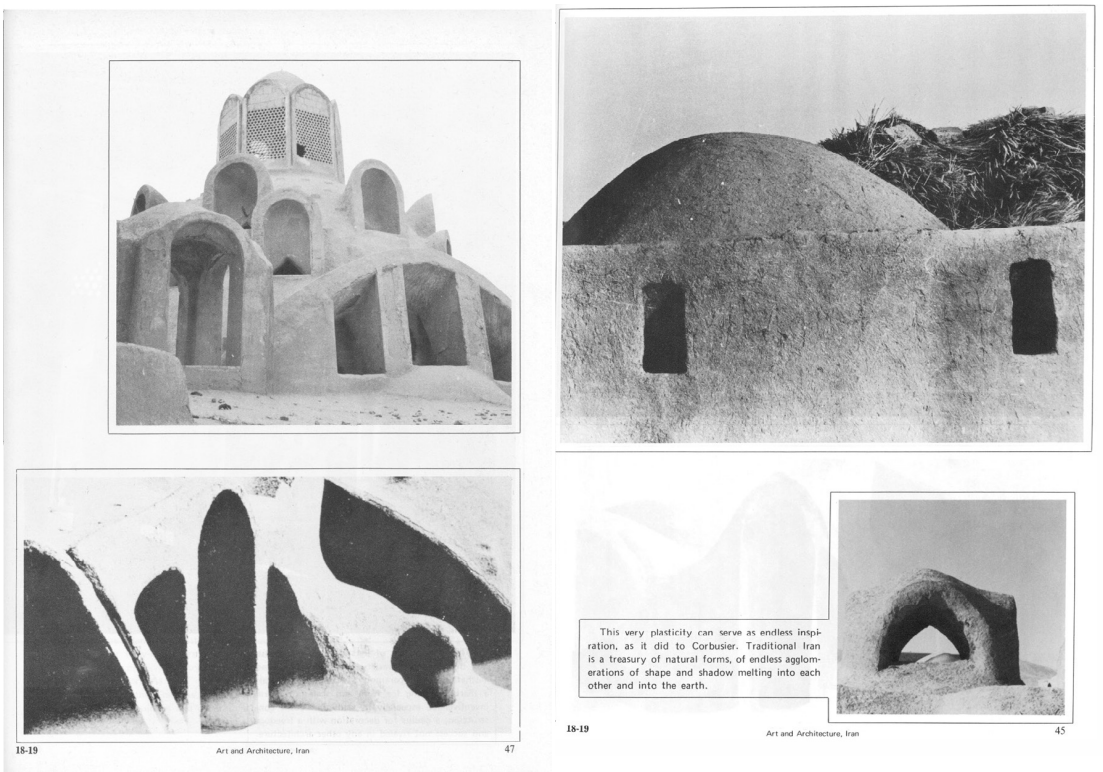


Figure 3 (left): Photograph of an unknown building, manifesting Earthen architecture and linking it to the Western architecture debate with an emphasis on "plasticity": "The very plasticity can serve as endless inspiration, as it did to Corbusier. Traditional Iran is a treasury of natural forms, of endless agglomerations of shape and shadow melting into each other and into the earth." Source: Eshrāgh 1973, 45–47. Figure 4 (right): Photographs of the roof of Borujerdi House in Kashan, without referencing the subject and its geography. Source: Eshrāgh 1973, 45–47.

distant villages in the north, center, and south of Iran are represented through photographs and hand drawings accompanied by small text boxes. Looking at the composition of spreads, the content of this section is structured following the layout of an instructional book rather than a textbook, where a combination of visual and textual content playfully communicates a straightforward message to educate the reader. The artistic drawings and their high-resolution details invite the reader to the realm of an imaginary world. Knowing that all drawings of this issue are done by the young architect Hushang Seihoun, well-known for his drawing skills, brings in the architectural aesthetics of representation and the significance of each space, worthy of being visited by international architectsas one group of target readers.

The portrayal of Iran as a country with autonomous architecture and diverse cultural heritage is showcased in the section "Iran Yesterday" through photographs of ruins and archeological sites of Persepolis in Shiraz and villages and mosques. In this section, the visual and textual content are coupled to control the order and meaning. On the one hand, carefully selecting photographs of specific villages, mosques, and ancient buildings and analyzing its order and the symbolic meaning of their architectural elements in turn highlights the Persian empire's ancient architecture by emphasizing its "oldness."[14] On the other hand, there is an acknowledgment of how this architecture is modern and related to the ongoing architectural debate of the West. In parts of "Iran Yesterday," photographs of the roof of Friday Mosque of Isfahan (Atiq Mosque) and Borujerdi House in Kashan are juxtaposed as examples of visually appealing Earthen architecture without sharing their specifications (Figures 3–4). The text, coupled with these photos, offers a

connection with Le Corbusier's architecture by emphasizing the "plasticity" of the Earthen architecture of Iran that is reminiscent of his beton brut aesthetic of Ronchamp (1955) and his obsession with the plastic form of concrete outlined in the "Three Reminders to Architects" of *Vers une architecture* (Le Corbusier 2007; Frampton and Le Corbusier 2001). Linking the architecture of Iran with Western examples also reoccurs in other issues of *Honar va Me'māri*, creating a mode of in-betweenness that involves both identifying with Western values and keeping the essential Iranianness of a modernist architecture.

The section "Iran Today" has two subsections: one for an extended report of the last ten years of construction and development nationwide titled "A Decade of Growth," and another dedicated to the growth of Tehran titled "Tehran: A Capital in Search of Itself." For the cover of "A Decade of Growth," there is an aerial photograph of Elizabeth II Boulevard, where two out-of-scale skyscrapers of Saman Apartments and the extra-wide boulevard disturb the flat urban context (Figure 5). The image and the text suggest Le Corbusier's architecture, where the new and old juxtapose. In this case, it represents the positive quality of development by means of rationalization and calculation. The out-of-scale skyscrapers, the wide central highway cutting through the urban context, and the parallel green strips running along the highway are aligned with Le Corbusier's earlier studies of rationalization in urban planning, the *rue a redents* (street with setbacks) of 1920, where he widens the boulevard and implements green space on both sides. It also resonates with Villa Contemporaine (1922), as the developed version of merging green space and modern transportation in the urban context.[15] Being aware of this ongoing Western movement in architecture and urban design, the editors of *Honar va Me'māri* express their indecision on how to frame urban growth:

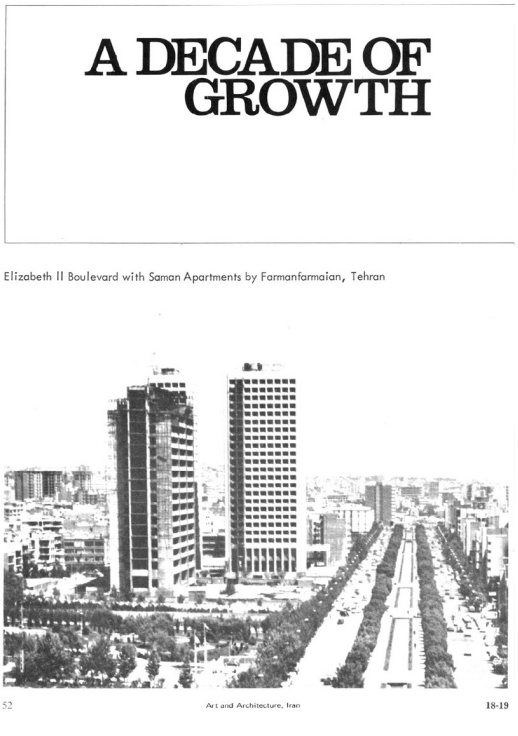
> [t]he builders of these [urban housing] apartments want to make them "modern" and "western" and therefore adorn them with all sorts of gingerbread trimmings and strange room arrangements with interior air-shafts and multitudinous doors. But still, the average apartment is better built and of better materials than it was ten years ago. (Eshrāgh, Khalili, and Moser-Khalili 1973, 53)

Considering the international reader as the audience, the editors claim their current condition was "better than nothing," highlighting the development and progress of building and construction techniques achieved compared to the past. Yet, the text reaches out to Western modernist readers, claiming "we have the same problems you do." The double-game repeats in another part, when the quality of Saman Apartments is assessed as a "successful addition" inspired by original Western projects:

> This is a true highrise complex … This is downtown and is very "western" in style. One might guess that its modular precast work was inspired by Pei's Laffayete Place in Washington, D.C. (Eshrāgh, Khalili, and Moser-Khalili 1973, 60)

The term "Western" unfolds a range of meanings, from appreciation of the West to reluctance, depending on the context. "Iran Today" pushes for the country's independence by learning from "the problems of one-sided industrialization" in the West. The solution is found, as editors claim, in preserving Iran's natural environment and its built heritage and tourism, all of which were, ironically, very Western notions (Grigor 2009; Allais 2018). Photos in the "Iran Today" section, specifically the one related to Tehran as the capital, align more with the modern Western architecture movement, from the white villas and mausoleums to the highly complex monuments. In one photo, the imposing tomb of Reza Shah Pahlavi, with its white color and solid form, stands before a large and empty plaza, while the seemingly smaller Shah Abdal-'Azim Shrine sits in the background. The photo takes advantage of the emptiness of the space to erase any reference of human scale and to distort the proportions.[16]

"Iran Tomorrow," the last section of this issue, is divided into two parts: "The Next Five Years," introducing Iran's Fifth Development Plans (1973–1978), and "A Mobile Future," where the editors illustrate a high-tech utopian vision for Iran. Setting 1983 as the proposal's target date, which falls on the same year as the implementation of the Fifth and Sixth Development Plans, already indicates a purposeful correlation between the



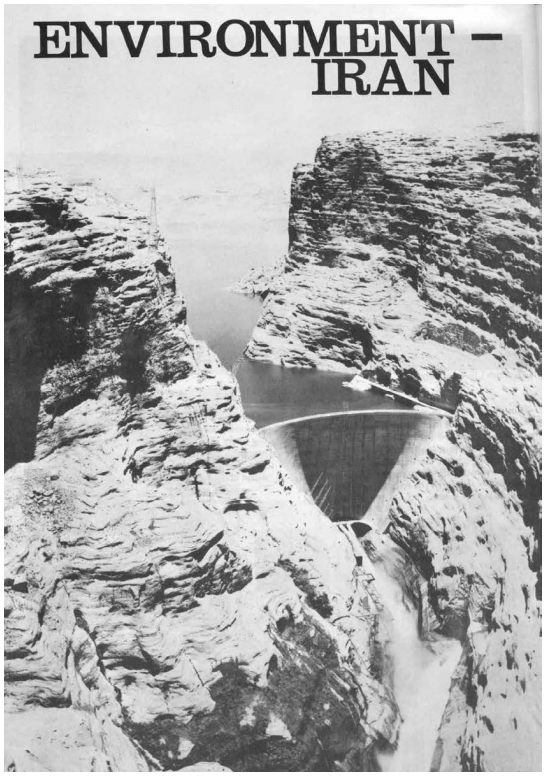


Figure 5 (left): Aerial photograph of Elizabeth II Boulevard with Saman Apartments, Tehran. Source: Eshrāgh, Khalili, and Moser-Khalili 1973, 52.
Figure 6 (right): Professional photographs of dam construction merged with natural environments as part of the environmental concern for architecture and building construction in Iran, aligned with Western debates and a key objective of the Fifth Development Plans. Source: Eshrāgh, Khalili, and Moser-Khalili 1973, 66.

proposal and the Development Plan's guidelines. As the editors claimed, the proposal was based on the lessons learned from "frustrated Western countries" and the "fixed assets" of the capitalist system, an idea that was very aligned with the geopolitical conflicts of the time between Iran, the Soviet Union, and the United States and the debate of communism and capitalism. By highlighting the development plans for the harbors in the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf as an objective of the Fifth Development Plan, editors suggested mobile installations floating on the water (Khalili, Moser-Khalili, and Eshrāgh 1973, 150–54). They also discuss the role of moveable nuclear power stations and power plants along the Gulf. In another part, by appreciating the state's decision to buy the Concorde supersonic aircraft for international travel, the editors emphasized the importance of extending the air transportation system. The proposal's goal was to picture the future of what had already been decided by the state. Mobility, as a theme, was a synonym for a technological revolution in transportation, education, health, population distribution, and urban planning, all of which were objectives of the Fifth Development Plans. In this way, the editors were also representing their own avant-garde design after carefully following the state's guidelines.

CONCLUSION

Recognizing the incoherence of the World Picture as a site of potential, this paper departs from the Saidian dichotomy of the colonizer and the colonized. It navigates the liminal space between domination and resistance, where the very contradictions within the

colonial imaginary can be harnessed by the colonized to subvert, reshape, and even claim agency. This in-betweenness is explored by a close reading of the only all-English edition of the architectural journal *Honar va Me'māri* published in 1973. Considering the mission of this issue to picture Iran for the international audience, the overarching effect seems to be fragmented and incoherent. The Iran of *Honar va Me'māri* is, at the same time, real and artificial, being in search of itself.

Looking at its parts, it is a well-documented package that follows the specific graphic standards of high-end Iranian journals of the time. However, in its totality, the jarring contrast embodies the journal's struggle to reconcile Iran's rich culture and heritage with the allure of the modern world. Its prediction of the future was as ambitious as its claim to be Iran's portfolio. The editors were hopeful that, ten years later, following the futurist theme of mobility, "the Iranian standard of living [would] be on a par with most of Western Europe." For setting this new standard, "being as good as the West" was taken as given, while the implicit message was "we are not there yet." More than simply identifying themselves with the West, the editors of the all-English edition of *Honar va Me'māri* were desperately looking for an Iranian version of the West, one that would involve history, culture, heritage, tradition, and modernity. Caught between East and West, past and present, modernity and tradition, the journal exists in a purgatory-like state—somewhere in=between the same traditional façade of the Mosque of Sheikh Safeidin and the black-and-white silhouette of the Arya Mehr Steel Mill.

ENDNOTES

1 The book consists of four sections: "I Exhibitions—Explorations"; "II The Eye's Ray"; "III Accounts of the Fantastic"; and "IV The Shape of Time." The last chapter concerns his travels in Mexico, Japan, and Iran.

2 He talks about his provoking visit to the exhibition of *The European Vision of America* (1975) and the "newness" of America through visual descriptions of a series of artworks done by Flemish, German, Spanish, and Dutch painters representing different moments of encountering the "New World." See "How New the New World Was" in Calvino and McLaughlin 2013, 10–17.

3 The exhibition was sponsored jointly by the Cleveland Museum of Art, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, and the Reunion des Musees Nationaux France. See Honour et al. 1975.

4 For the notion of the "world picture" and its role in a global context, see Heidegger 2002, 57–85; W.J.T. Mitchell 2018, 93–110.

5 See also Bihrangī 1969; Shari'ati 1971; Hanson 1983.

6 During part of his trip to Washington, DC, for instance, the Brazilian architect, outspoken leftist, and longtime member of the Brazilian Communist Party, Oscar Niemeyer, hosted him at his house, sharing drafts of ongoing projects following his previous conversations with Āl-e-Ahmad. Āl-e-Ahmad writes bluntly how he sat in the living room listening to Niemeyer with no interest whatsoever, and calling him the essay teacher who received the assignments from his first student in Washington (Āl-e-Ahmad 2001, 289, translated from Persian to English by the author).

7 For the unstable position of Iranian architects standing between the ideological apparatus of the state and their own independent practice, see Grigor 2013; Khosravi 2015, 2019.

8 Immediately after the association's formation, they published their own journal *Architecte* (1946–1948), with Iraj Moshiri as the head of the editorial board.

9 Before establishing *Honar va Me'māri*, Eshrāgh had already tested his publication ambitions by founding the music journal Muzik-e Iran (Iranian Music) in 1952. Prior to following his architectural interests, Eshrāgh studied traditional Persian music under the supervision of Ali-Akbar Shahnāzi. Having this musical background, together with interest in journalism and press industry, he started publishing Muzik-e Iran.

10 Although the composition of the editorial board changed, the following were consistent contributors after issue 12–13: Mahdi Amini, Mohammad Karim Pirnia, Parviz Tanavoli, Nader Khalili, Bijan Daftari, Manouchehr Soleymanipour, Reza Kassaei, Zareh Grigorian, Mohammad Reza Moghtader, Manouchehr Mozayeni, Kazem Vadi'I, and Parviz Varjavand.

11 Abdol-Hamid Eshrāgh mentioned the names of Mr. Poushtan, Samad Zol-Eshtiagh, Mr. Khosravi, and Hassan Hashemi. See Tabibzadeh and Eshrāgh 2013.

12 Nader Khalili was already a member of the editorial team and mainly in charge of providing the English content for the journal, either by translating from English or writing articles in English for the journal. This was the first (and the only) time that he and Moira Moser (Khalili) were in charge as the guest editors.

13 Paying homage to the royal family is an indication of such double games. As an example, almost every front matter starts with "the

benevolent help and encouragement of Her Royal Highness" to make note of Ashraf Pahlavi's support, as the sister of the Shah. In almost all issues, a section of the journal is dedicated to exhibiting paintings of the private collection owned by the queen Farah Pahlavi. This pattern of denying the political and ideological tie with the state is also tracible in the content of previous architecture journals, such as *Architecte* (Grigor 2013, 107).

14 The subtitle for this section ("Iran Yesterday", 14) is "Persepolis: A Place of Men and Animals." Through text and coupled with photographs of Persepolis, the section provides a lengthy explanation of the symbolism of Perseoplis: "Persepolis capitals terminate in addorsed animal protomes. The much-worshipped bull was a major symbol. … The human head of a great, mythological animal is austere, inscrutable, all-powerful, though ultimately benign. A sphinx-like diety places a paw with an adoring gesture on a flowering palm. … One very vigorous figure, several times repeated, represents a ferocious lion devouring a young bull … the lion (Leo) represents the summer heat which is necessary to check the heavy winter rains and floods caused by the bull (Taurus)."

15 For more about the relationship between the urban proposals of Le Corbusier and rationalization of the plan, see Tafuri (1979) on Le Corbusier's proposal for Algiers. For more about Le Corbusier's urban design proposals of Villa Contemporaine and studies of streets in his early projects, see Frampton and Le Corbusier 2001.

16 For the role of Reza Shah's tomb in contemporary history of architecture and how it unfolds Pahlavi conceptions of Iran's present and past, see Grigor 2013.

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