

Death Mask

Fetishising Tradition Through Citations

Ali Mozaffari

Deakin University

Nigel Westbrook

The University of Western Australia

Abstract

*In the current period of crisis in the Islamic world, it may be timely to ask the question: what is the contemporary 'product' of Islamic/Islamist thinking within the discourse of architecture? In this paper, we focus on the theme of culturally suitable housing in Iran as it evolved in the period immediately before and after the revolution stoked by Ayatollah Khomeini that led to the creation of the Islamic Republic. We examine and compare firstly the principles underlying model housing developments of the mid-1970s, notably Kamran Diba's "Learning from Isfahan" in his Shushtar No'w housing complex, and then examples that emerged from housing competitions in Iran that reflected the evolving discourse of architecture after the Islamic revolution, when overt emphasis was placed upon the need to create an authentic habitat that respects local traditions, culture and religious beliefs. Referencing the 'golden' tradition of past arts and architecture which was held to be constitutive of this so-called authentic habitat, the commissioning authorities encouraged modern architects to learn from the past, ironically recalling the title of that international festival of postmodernism, Paolo Portoghesi's curated exhibition at the 1980 Venice Biennale, *The Presence of the Past*. Indeed, it will be argued that postmodernism found a receptive clientele in the new Islamist state. We will examine the way in which the past emerges as trace within architectural citations in a selection of these proposals for new towns and public housing complexes in Iran.*

Death Mask: Fetishising Tradition through Citations

In this paper, we focus on the theme of culturally suitable housing in Iran as it evolved in the period immediately before and after the revolution of 1979 that led to the creation of the Islamic Republic. This theme derived from responses to the crisis of housing in Iran which, in turn, originated from the country's rapid modernisation, resultant internal migration, peripheral informal growth in larger cities, and cultural change. The initial Pahlavi response to this crisis had been through a modernising, technocratic approach which, by the 1970s, had evolved into a vernacularist approach associated with "nativism". The advent of the revolution exacerbated the problem. We examine and compare a selection of projects that were published in a book of 1989 by the Iranian Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, taken from the national housing competitions held in 1986 – at that time still two years prior to the end of the Iran-Iraq war (1980-88).

We illustrate the presence and qualities of a certain nativist strand, of purportedly Islamic architectural thought that started before the revolution, and continued after, which informed the official discourse of architecture in Iran. By "nativist", we refer to a particular attitude in Iran of resistance to a mentally colonising Westernisation, or client-list modernisation which took the form of an overt citation of traditional Iranian motifs and forms, with the intention of invoking, or at least evoking, a cultural authenticity.¹ This was born from a broader authenticity discourse advocating that people should be true to their own culture, origin and being, in accordance with collectively set agendas.² Our use of the term's citation relates to the purposeful and symbolic emulation of prior forms – in this case such citations were devices for conjuring or inventing memories of Iranian traditions and reinforcing a model of Iranian identity based on Islamic tradition and purported authenticity.³ But rather than a return to the past, it was an attempt to instill authentic experience and practice through the force of architecture. However, it will be argued that there was an inevitable ambivalence and ambiguity about the making of an authentic habitat through the construction of traditional images which surface modern industrialised housing for transient populations – such citations of the past were attempts to conjure or invent from scratch memories of a tradition.

A selection of projects from the national housing competitions held in 1986 were published in 1989 by the Iranian Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning. These reflected an evolving discourse of architecture in which overt emphasis was placed upon authenticity, and respect for local traditions, culture and religious beliefs. In the 1980s, the housing crisis in Iran, inadequately addressed by the Pahlavi regime, and compounded by the Islamic Revolution and the subsequent political turmoil that ensued, was further aggravated by the war with Iraq (1980-88), as returning war veterans, refugees and squatters moved into settlements. This was the context for the Iranian Government housing competitions of 1986 discussed here, which were held despite the wartime climate of economic stringency. In the same year, Diba's partially constructed Shushtar No'w, a historicising model housing new town, had been awarded a commendation by the Aga Khan Awards panel, a step towards it becoming seen as the one of the quintessential examples of "Islamic Habitat".⁴ Diba, similarly to the Competitions architects, attempted to learn from the lesson of the classic Iranian traditional city, forming a syncretic language out of both traditional spatial types and motifs, contemporary European typological rationalism as promoted by A. Rossi, the Kriers and M. Ungers, and modernist planning principles (Figure 2). Photographs and plans of the project were published by the Aga Khan Awards Foundation, as well as in international journals such as *Lotus International* (no 36, 1982). While the project served as a model for new housing projects, its author and his firm, together with many of the leading pre-Revolution architects, had fled the country. In the void created by their absence and that of the pre-revolution professional journals, and in the climate of Cultural Revolution which caused a three-year closure of universities (1980-83), remaining practitioners willingly or under duress acquiesced in the state's Islamist ideology.⁵

In the 1989 book, Professor Valiollah Pour-Keramati, a faculty member at Shahid Beheshti University and described in the text as the "Vice President's Consultant", set out the purpose of the competitions:

to instil architecture, and in particular housing, with “Islamic and cultural [in other words, authentic] values” in accordance with the ideology of the Islamic Revolution. The purpose was not to return to a pre-modern past. Pour-Keramati argued that tradition, while providing cultural continuity, was in a constant state of evolution, so there was a need to accommodate the exigencies of the present, while at the same time to transcend materialism – consumerism and its architectural expression.

Ideally, the habitat, which is here interpreted as both the dwelling unit and its social environment of the *Mahalleh* (neighbourhood), was considered as guarantor of human dignity and the locus and manifestation of authentic Islamic values, through its use of the courtyard house as paradigm and the Mahalleh as culturally-specific setting.⁶ This appears to reflect a belief that architecture and the material environment could encourage, perhaps even determine, certain authentic behaviours. The ideological roots of this discussion about human value and authenticity in this discourse ironically derive from Heidegger, for whom “to be regarded as authentic, action must reflect not universal moral judgments but individual choice within concrete circumstances”.⁷ Here, one can observe the traces of the authenticity discourse that formed a significant driver of the revolution, deriving from Heidegger, Nasr's Traditionalism, and the revolutionary Islamism of Shariati and Khomeini.⁸ This discourse can be detected in Pour-Keramati's statement in the introduction, where he stresses the importance of cultural origin and authenticity which supports social stability and strengthens architectural legitimacy.⁹ From this viewpoint, acknowledging economic restraints and functional needs, architecture should embrace and grow out of tradition. But for Islamists, (a reinterpreted) tradition was an active force endowed with revolutionary potential in the present. Enlightenment rationality has been relativised, and adapted to local circumstances. Thus, the authorities aspired to use architecture as a device for social engineering and cultural change, an ambition which had also characterised that of the early modernist reformers, typified by Le Corbusier's slogan, "Architecture or Revolution?" For Pour-Keramati, architects, like other artists, have a duty to make tangible and visible those authentic Islamic cultural values.¹⁰

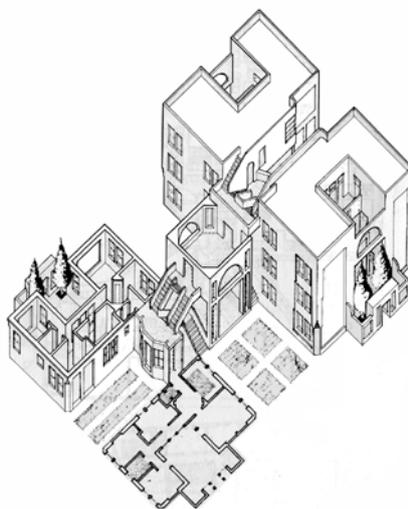


Figure 1. Project for Isfahan by Tajir Group. 3rd place (no first prize awarded), redrawn by authors after Housing Competitions Book, 1989.

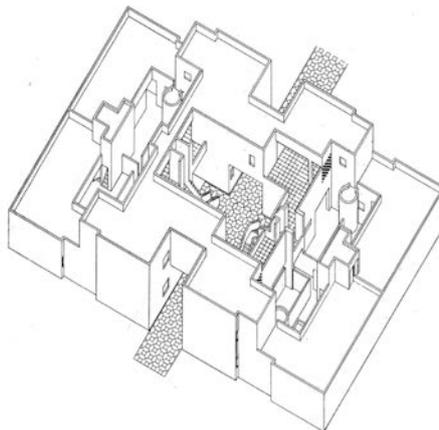


Figure 2. Axonometric drawing of courtyard drawings at Shushtar No'w redrawn by authors after Kamran Diba.

The social housing competitions were proposed for a number of sites throughout Iran, both suburbs of historic centres, and new towns. The spread of locations suggests a national agenda, through which the policies of the government concerning culturally appropriate habitat should be applied throughout the nation. They were, furthermore, the first public architectural competitions held since the revolution, and are therefore of great interest in gauging the impact of Islamist ideology upon the pre-existing conceptions of culturally-appropriate habitat, as typified by Diba's Shushtar No'w.¹¹ Indeed, a number of the projects, beyond the authors' statements, seem to reflect similar ambitions, while at the same time also reflecting the architects' training and milieu. Thus, for example, the third-placed project for the historic city of Isfahan by the Tajir group (Figure 1), resembles Shushtar No'w (Figure 2) in its structuring of dwellings around courtyards, covered and uncovered passageways and pedestrian streets. Individual apartments are grouped into three storey "houses".. Furthermore, like Shushtar, it evokes the traditional *Chahar-Bagh*, or four-part garden structure, in its intersection of broad *meidan* and principal pedestrian street. Evocations of tradition, especially nineteenth-century Qajar architecture – which was at the time seen as a possible conduit for a return to an architectural heritage – are also apparent in architectural details. The geometrical division of the "gateways" into each block are inspired by Qajar architectural elements as is the plan of the lobbies bulging out toward the secondary courtyards. The flanking of the gateways with a pair of cypress trees – a symbolic visual element in Iranian folklore as well as miniature paintings – suggests an attempt to transpose the space of miniatures into architecture. But the project also reveals Western influences, notably the drawings and work of Leon and Rob Krier in the 70s and 80s, in both its design and graphic style.¹² This hybrid character is not surprising – Ali Saremi, the co-founder of Tajir, was a student of Louis Kahn at the University of Pennsylvania, while his partners trained in the US and Scotland. Similar strategies of taking inspiration from traditional patterns and spatial structures characterise most of the other published projects.

What then was the social agenda for the competitions? As noted above, Pour-Keramati argued that traditions in Iran were context-specific but all referred to a common Islamic spiritual unity that transcended the material, and was reflected in the traditional house and village.¹³ This reference to a spiritualised culture could not, however, conceal a growing divergence of attitudes to the past in the present. But it also suggests a link to an international turn towards the forms of vernacular architecture (see below). The statements of Pour-Keramati also reflect an ambivalence on the part of post-Revolution architects to the embrace of tradition – should there be a full return to, or a contemporary interpretation of, traditional Iranian architecture? In the mood of Islamic authenticity at the time, the answer was the latter.

Pour-Keramati proceeded to list four key objectives for the competition:

1. Recognition of Iranian cultural identity through reference to traditional Islamic values;
2. Recovering this identity through creation of appropriate habitat;
3. Design principles should be based upon this traditional cultural identity;
4. Significantly, Islamic faith should underlie the architectural values, and be apparent in the architecture.

These principles are paralleled by the contemporary architectural curriculum at Tehran University. A unit description describing the learning outcomes for a design studio states that the various current international viewpoints will be discussed and “analysed with respect to the [fundamentals of Islamic beliefs] and in this way, it will be possible to achieve a unified and established idea on the basis of [them]”.¹⁴ Thus, the goal was to pursue a revival of tradition in synthesis with modernity in architecture. In this process, design would visualise the Islamic belief system, through cited or stylised motifs and configurations of spaces.

Pour-Keramati also called on architects to develop in parallel and as a secondary goal, new construction strategies that utilise “the facilities and people's creativity”, and thus overcome the potential cultural gap between architects and the buildings' users “and safeguard against potentially devastating impacts on the environment”.¹⁵ His statement, made in the context of war and economic sanctions, also reveals the anxieties of pro-regime Iranian intellectuals in confronting a globalised and modern world. The advent of the revolution had allowed a clear ideological confrontation between local Islamist ideology and global, dominant forces, but specifically, an awareness, also shared by Diba in the 70s, of the limited extent to which under-educated, semi-traditional populations could adapt themselves to modern practices and spatial regimes. In the post-Revolutionary period, such groups arguably derived from Western postmodernist sources their romantic critique of modernity and their counter-enlightenment tendencies. Mohajeri has argued that in the decade prior to the Islamic Revolution, “a return to origins” through the vehicle of architecture, was pursued, citing Foucault's characterisation of such historicism as an “inclination to seek out some cheap form of archaism”.¹⁶ Indeed advocacy of a circle of intellectuals around the Queen for an indigenised modern architecture infused with the spirit of a timeless Iranian culture had already begun in the 1970s with reference to its pre-Islamic and Islamic origins. The Islamic Republic followed this trajectory, but in so doing attempted to put historicist forms in support of a partial return to traditional practices and social codes.¹⁷

In the book's introduction, Hossein Sheikh Zeinoddin, a Tehran city councillor, architecture faculty member at Tehran Azad University, and co-director of Bavand, one of the country's significant architectural firms, raised the issue of Iranian culture having been poisoned by foreign influences – what had before the Revolution been labelled “Westoxification” by Iranian critics.¹⁸ In a similar vein, Zeinoddin claimed that “international architecture” undermined Iranian cultural identity and the Islamic principles of privacy – *mahramiyat* – inherent in traditional towns.¹⁹ Instead of blindly following Western models, there should be a respect for Iran's cultural heritage, and a retrieval of its identity: architects must learn to develop a shared (normative or canonical) language or “dialect” common to both designers and users, and subordinated to Iranian culture and identity, the absence of which, Zeinoddin claimed, was destroying the environment.²⁰ This reference by Zeinoddin to shared language however also reflects an international linguistic turn that was perhaps in place at the time of publication of Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour's *Learning From Las Vegas* and Alexander's 'A Pattern Language' – both in 1977.²¹

Here, too, there was an echo of the pre-Revolution Traditionalism of Seyyed Hossein Nasr and his followers, sponsored by the Court.²² For Nasr, tradition consisted of a set of immutable truths of divine origin.²³ The term “tradition” as deployed by Pour Keramati and even Zeinoddin, does not fully comply with Nasrian orthodoxy as they seem to admit change while also suggesting the presence of

'timeless' truths within the body of tradition. There is nonetheless, a degree of essentialism present in both that blurs the boundaries between Nasr and the Islamists, and it is on this basis that we use the term "Traditionalism" for these post-Revolution invocations in the Competitions Book and elsewhere of an essentialised version of an architectural past – here it was invoked to justify the official approach to "culturally suitable" housing. In this context, it is useful to probe the relationship between Islamist discourse and the production of architectural identity in housing in this period.

This issue of the invocation of tradition pertains to a broader issue of whether the development of social ideologies and architectural discourses followed different durations – if the rate of development of architectural discourses was out of phase with the events of history and social change – a fugal overlapping and echoing of themes, whereby architectural movements and ideas might be said to adapt and change more slowly than political ideologies. Here the so-called “revolutionary architecture” of Boullée and Ledoux may be recalled, whereby the neo-classical tendencies of the late *Ancien Regime* were appropriated and “reinscribed” by the Revolutionary regime.

How then did the prize-winning entries to these housing competitions of the 80s reflect the evolving discourse of architecture after the Islamic revolution, when – from the perspective of the authorities – overt emphasis was placed upon the need to create an authentic habitat that would respect, and reinforce, local traditions, culture and religious beliefs? This suggests the desire for a historicist architecture that was transformational but rooted in an imagined, golden past.²⁴ Here, the commissioning authorities encouraged modern architects to learn from the past, ironically recalling the title of that international festival of postmodernism, Paolo Portoghesi's curated exhibition at the 1980 Venice Biennale, *The Presence of the Past*.²⁵ Indeed, we argue that postmodernism found a receptive clientele in the new Islamist state – ironically, as the playful aspects of Western postmodernism were consciously rejected by academics and architects who were committed to, and sought to express and embody tradition and cultural continuity in their pedagogy and architectural vocabularies.²⁶

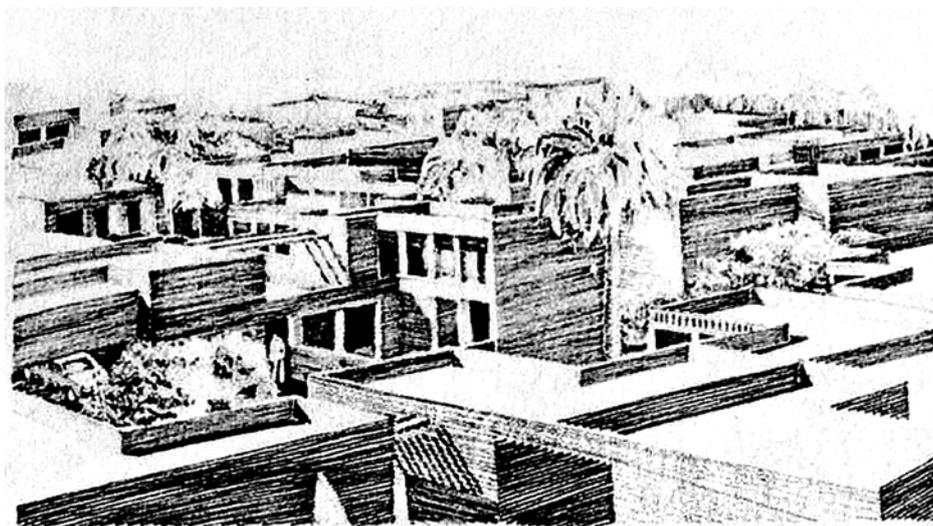


Figure 3. Design 17, for Khuzestan, by Mandaan Consulting Engineers, 1986, Competitions Book.

For the 1986 competitions, architects were encouraged to deploy figurations of the past, the idealised essential Islamic habitat, through architectural citations, of the traditional neighbourhood (*mahalleh*), the four-fold garden (*Chahar-bagh*), the courtyard house (Nader Kazemi Nejad, for Hamedan, Tajir architects for Mashaad), and the public square (*Meidan*), and external staircases leading to roof terraces (Mandaan Engineers, for Khuzestan) (Figure 3). In the latter project, for example, the density and architectural grain of the residential units resembles the traditional city fabrics at the edge of the

Persian Gulf, Bushehr in particular. The project is marked by flat roofs, deep, shaded courtyards and verandas. The presence of palm trees in renderings suggest the design's locality. These projects were presented as embodying the Islamic principles of seclusion of women: privacy (*harim*, *mahramiyat*) and prevention of overlooking (*eshraaf*). The second-place winner for Hamedan, Tarh Architects, declared that "[the] urban design is inspired by traditional urban spaces... eliminating their inadequacies". Sharestan Consulting Engineers, led by Behrouz Ahmadi, (1946-2012), in their third-placed scheme for Hamedan produced an interpretation of the pre-automobile city of narrow pedestrian streets and neighbourhood courtyards (Figure 4). This project represents a somewhat uneasy marriage of the four-fold garden with western ideas of neighbourhood planning, the Iranian neighbourhood with New Urbanism. Figuratively, the citations are clear and it would appear that the architects saw them as sufficient markers of "Iranian-ness" in the design, its ambiguities notwithstanding. Significantly, Ahmadi would be the architect of the new Iranian Parliament House (2001). In most of the entries, there is an expressed intention to, as Kazemi Nejad expressed it, satisfy the spiritual and cultural needs as well as materialistic ones.

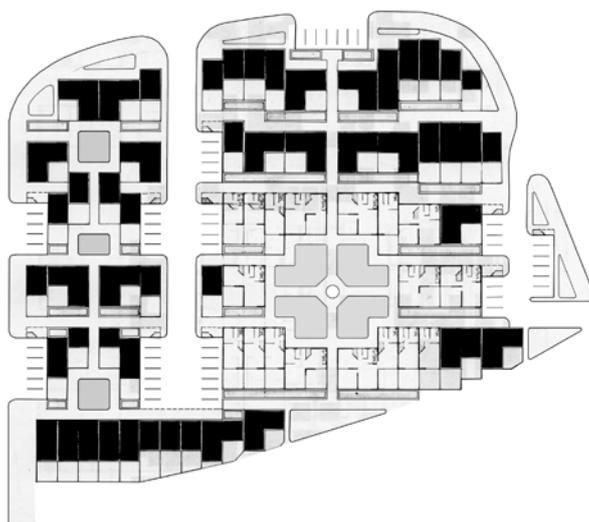


Figure 4. Plan of housing complex for Hamedan by Sharestan Consulting Engineers, (Behrouz Ahmadi), 1986. Redrawn by authors after Competitions Book.

This valorisation of traditional forms derived theoretical support, or even influence from, the pro-vernacular bias of much then-recent writing on traditional habitat by Western writers of the 1970s, notably Rapaport, Oliver, Rudovsky²⁷ and others. In addition to Iranian nativist currents, therefore, we must turn again to Western sources, and in particular the turn towards "environmental design" in the late 1960s and early 1970s: authentic culture could be found in traditional habitat.²⁸ In illustrating his thesis on the value of traditional settlement, the Polish-born and naturalised Australian architect and cultural geographer Amos Rapaport raised the example of the Iranian former Safavid capital of Isfahan, describing the city as not merely a collection of private dwellings, as in Western suburban cities, but rather as constituting a complex gradation of public, semi-public and private spaces, in which space was gendered.²⁹ Within his characterisation, *place* was associated with *belonging*, and by implication, with *authenticity*, relating to basic human instincts and aspirations.³⁰ Coincidentally, Rapaport's book, *House Form and Culture* (1969) was translated into Persian by Razieh Rezazadeh in 1987 and published by the ideologically-Islamist wing of the Student association in Iran, *Jihad-e Daneshgahi*, at Tehran university, thus in the same year as the competitions.³¹

Out of such a supposedly “timeless way” of building, authentic cultural expressions might emerge. This would be a call which the Islamist authorities would make in advocating that new towns and housing estates should reflect the traditional Islamic culture of the inhabitants, and should be understandable to them, rather than be imposed from above. Like Rapaport, Alexander’s *Timeless Way of Building* called for a holistic approach to habitat, one based upon a shared language. Both Alexander and Rapaport argued that “vernacular” buildings were modifications of a pre-existing (and by implication still valid) type, and were both additive and respectful towards their context. Vernacular habitat was therefore produced by, and dependent upon, tradition.³² Such arguments found fertile ground in the Islamic Republic.

Conclusion

In the competitions, reference is continuously made to traditions, but here within new town settlements that grow out of modernising processes. Here, the ambiguity at the heart of the competitions is raised again – an ambivalence with regard to the making, or merely imaging, of an authentic habitat. The authenticity discourse transforms tradition into an ideologically-based set of tactics or actions in the world. It is modern in essence. The vernacularists’ appeal for communal, consensual attitudes toward habitat are ethically- rather than technically-based. Interpretation of tradition within architectural semiotics inevitably also necessitates a degree of abstraction and theorisation, while the valorisation of traditional techniques, and their incorporation into a personal design language risks fetishisation of old motifs, again displacing them from a contextual continuity. Whereas “materialist” high architecture was seen to be bound to the vagaries of fashion, vernacular housing was supposedly timeless.³³ Again, this straight-jacketing of non-Western habitat as unchanging contains within it a profoundly objectifying position, another form of (self-) Orientalism.

As stated above, an overview of the published 1986 competition entries reveals that most of these projects did indeed cite “traditional” Iranian architecture – old forms are deployed in new contexts, and overlaid with a rhetoric of authenticity. But what happens when forms that developed organically over time, in response to multiple factors – environmental factors, patriarchal gender constraints, or gendered space, technological constraints – are assembled into a historicist, indeed Postmodernist, “language”? What purpose do they serve? Beneath this quasi-language of tradition, the processes would be familiar to us as industrialised mass-building. Such citations of the past are integral to materialising authenticity ideologies. In the post-revolutionary citation of traditional housing forms, there was – through a process of assembling familiar forms in large-scale housing projects in new towns or on the periphery of existing cities – an attempt to reconstruct the unity of traditional village habitat in the context of both the disruption of a drawn-out war with Iraq and of the social and cultural transformation of the Islamic Revolution. Here one can perhaps characterise the cultural project as the attempt to resist globalisation and to have a kind of modernity reflective of local traditions.

The Islamic Revolution had a profound effect upon both the opportunities for, and the visual and symbolic language of architecture, not to mention the language of justification, amid the forced hiatus in contacts between Iran and the West caused by trade and cultural embargoes.³⁴ In the post-war period, there was a dearth of international publications such as books and magazines in the university architecture libraries. Furtive private attempts to import such publications were followed by the widespread distribution of photocopied versions, in a kind of *Samizdat* operation.³⁵ In this state of relative isolation, architects were, ironically, free to interpret the meagre resources in ways that suited their, and their clients’, perspectives and requirements. The influence of the Revolution was felt both in the language of, and attitude towards, architecture – designers arguably became more circumspect and introspective in attempting innovation. The discourse in architectural journals in the decade after the Revolution revealed little new material, but was rather both a measure for survival, and a genuine attempt to fill a perceived gap between the Iranian reality and the world of architecture in the West. It was in this respect that one could perhaps see the efforts as representing a kind of regionalism. Within these constraints, Iranian architects creatively acted upon the diverse and fragmentary

QUOTATION: What does history have in store for architecture today?

sources, reframing them – in a sense reinscribing them – with a local, and ideologically-weighted significance. In this sense, the results of the Housing Competitions, while outwardly unremarkable in themselves, speak of the operation of a "peripheral modernity".³⁶

Endnotes

¹ For a discussion on nativism see Mehrzad Boroujerdi, *Iranian intellectuals and the West: The tormented triumph of nativism* (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996).

² Robert D. Lee, *Overcoming Tradition and Modernity: the Search for Islamic Authenticity* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1997), 1.

³ On citation: Wolfgang Schenkluhn, and Peter Van Stipelen, "Architektur als Zitat. Die Trierer Liebfrauenkirche in Marburg", in Hans Joachim Kunst, ed., *Die Elisabethkirche-Architektur in der Geschichte*, (700 Jahre Elisabethkirche in Marburg 1283-1983 Ausst. Kat. 1) (Marburg: Ausstellungsges. Elisabeth von Thüringen, 1983), 19-53; Lex Bosman, "Architektur und Zitat: die Geschichtlichkeit von Bauten aus der Vergangenheit", in Brandl von Heiko, Andreas Andreas Ranft und Andreas Waschbüsch, eds., *Architektur als Zitat*, More romano 4 (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2014), 11-32.

⁴ Nigel Westbrook and Ali Mozaffari, "A Return to the Beginnings of Regionalism: Shushtar New Town seen in the light of the 2nd International Congress of Architects, Persepolis, Iran 1974", in Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand: 32, *Architecture, Institutions and Change*, ed. Paul Hogben and Judith O'Callaghan (Sydney: SAHANZ, 2015), 715-725; Nigel Westbrook and Ali Mozaffari, "Shushtar No'w: Urban Image and fabrication of place in an Iranian New Town, and its relation to the international discourse on Regionalism", *Fusion Journal 6: The Rise and Fall of Social Housing: Future Directions*: <http://www.fusion-journal.com/issue/006-fusion-the-rise-and-fall-of-social-housing-future-directions/shushtar-now-urban-image-and-fabrication-of-place-in-an-iranian-new-town-and-its-relation-to-the-international-discourse-on-regionalism/>.

⁵ Shawhin Roudbari, "Instituting Architecture: a History of Transnationalism in Iran's Architecture Profession", 1945-1995', in Mohammad Gharipour, ed., *The Historiography of Persian Architecture*, (London, NY: Routledge, 2016), 309-316.

⁶ Hamed Khosravi, 'Camp of Faith: On Political Theology and Urban Form', PhD thesis, Berlage Institute and TU Delft (2014): 113-160.

⁷ Lee, *Overcoming Tradition and Modernity*, 14.

⁸ Shahrough Akhavi, "Islam, Politics and Society in the Thought of Ayatullah Khomeini, Ayatullah Taliqani and Ali Shariati", *Middle Eastern Studies* 24/4 (1988); Ali Mirsepassi, *Intellectual Discourse and the Politics of Modernization: Negotiating Modernity in Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 11.

⁹ Valiollah Pour-Keramati *et al.*, *Residential Complex Competition*, (Tehran: Housing and Urban Planning Ministry of Iran, 1989), 15. The collaborators on the book were listed as "Brothers" Mohammad Ali Kamrava, Abdol Rasool Poosti, Ghodrattollah Karballai Aghajani, Hosein Sheikh Zeinoddin, Ali Ghaffari, Valiollah Pour-Keramati, Mohammad Mahmoodi, and "Sister" Mitra Yazdanshenas.

⁹ Pour-Keramati *et al.*, *Residential Complex Competition*, 15

¹⁰ Pour-Keramati *et al.*, *Residential Complex Competition*, 15.

¹¹ Kamran T. Diba, "The Recent Housing Boom in Iran- Lessons to Remember", in Linda Safran, ed., *Housing: Process and Physical Form* (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1980), 38-44; Anon., "Shushtar New Town", in Hasan-Uddin Khan (ed.), *Mimar 17: Architecture in Development*, (Singapore: Concept Media Ltd., 1985); Anon., "Shushtar New Town", in Ismail Serageldin, ed., *Space for Freedom*, (London: Butterworth Architecture, 1989); Kamran T. Diba, "Aspects of a University Project and a New town in Iran", in William Reilly, ed., *Sustainable Landscape Design in Arid Climates*. (Geneva: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 1989).

¹² James Stirling, *James Stirling: Buildings and Projects 1950-1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974).

¹³ Pour-Keramati *et al.*, *Competitions Book*, 15.

¹⁴ Curriculum for Residential Environment Design: Continuous Master Degree Program In Architectural Engineering, Passed By the Cultural Revolution Staff on April 3, 1984. Seal: High Council of Cultural Revolution (Translation of passage in Farsi).

¹⁵ Pour-Keramati *et al.*, *Competitions Book*, 16.

¹⁶ Foucault, cited by Shima Mohajeri, "The Shahestan blueprint The vestigial site of modernity in Iran", in Gharipour, *Historiography of Persian Architecture*, 266 and fn 48.

¹⁷ Mohajeri, "Shahestan Blueprint", 254-55.

¹⁸ Brad Hanson, "The 'Westoxication' of Iran: Depictions and Reactions of Behrangi, al-e Ahmad, and Shariati", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 15/1 (1983): 1-23.

¹⁹ Mike Savage, *et al.*, *Globalization and Belonging* (London, Thousand Oaks Cal., New Delhi: Sage, 2005).

²⁰ Pour-Keramati *et al.*, *Competitions Book*, 11-13.

²¹ Aron Vinegar, and Michael J. Golec, *Relearning from Las Vegas*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009): 10; Christopher Alexander *et al.*, *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1977).

²² Pour-Keramati *et al.*, *Competitions Book*, 12-13.

²³ Nasr, cited by A. Mozaffari, *Forming National Identity in Iran: The Idea of Homeland derived from Ancient Persian and Islamic Imaginations of Place* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), 80.

²⁴ On heritage as a design process: Rodney Harrison, (2015), "Heritage and Globalization", in Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, eds., *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research* (Basingstoke, Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 297-312 at 303-304.

²⁵ Paolo Portoghesi, *The Presence of the Past: First International Exhibition of Architecture – Venice Biennale* (London: Academy Editions, 1980).

²⁶ Darab Diba and Mozayan Dehbashi, "Trends in Modern Iranian Architecture", in *Iran, Architecture for Changing Societies* ed. Phillip Jodidio (Turin: Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 2004), 31-37.

²⁷ Bernhard Rudovsky, *Architecture Without Architects* (NY: Doubleday, 1964); Felicity Scott, "Bernard Rudovsky: Allegories of Nomadism and Dwelling", in Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legeault eds., *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, (Cambridge Mass.- London: MIT Press, 2000), 216; Amos Rapaport, *House, Form and Culture* (Eaglewood Cliffs N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969); Paul Oliver, ed., *Shelter and Society* (New York: Praeger, 1969).

²⁸ Scott, "Bernard Rudovsky", 220.

²⁹ Rapaport, *House, Form and Culture*, 69.

³⁰ Rapaport, *House, Form and Culture*, 79.

³¹ تهران ایران، صنعت و علم دانشگاهی جهاد راضیه، رضازاده، زیستی، مجتمع‌های فرهنگی، منشاء (1366) آمس، راپاپورت،

[Rapaport, Amos, (1366), *The Cultural Origin of Residential Complexes*, transl. Zadeh, R., University of Science and Technology, Tehran].

³² Rapaport, *House, Form and Culture*, 6.

³³ Rapaport, *House, Form and Culture*, 15, citing Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History-The Myth of the Eternal Return* (NY: Harper Torchbooks, 1959): 4, 90.

³⁴ Here, by "West" we include those actors in the global architectural discourse, so also Japan, India and the Soviet Union.

³⁵ Roudbari, "Instituting architecture", 314-315.

³⁶ Benita Parry, "Aspects of Peripheral Modernisms", *Aerial: a Review of International English Literature* 40/1 (2009); Harry Harootunian, *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice and the Question of Everyday Life* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2000), 62.

