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### Original Research Article

## Explaining the Impact of Social and Political Currents of 1921-1978 on the Formation of Contemporary Memorial Tombs of Iran\*

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### Abstract

**Problem statement:** Architecture, which is an integral part of a culture, arises from social and political contexts of each society. Use of monumental tombs in some geographical regions forms an important part of the civilization of a country. Considering the religious significance of these buildings in Iran, after the advent of Pahlavi, a new insight into architecture of memorial and monumental tombs was formed, which is mainly due to social and political contexts of the years 1921 to 1978. Knowledge about this context, and the way it has been created, can provide a better appreciation of how memorial tombs have been formed in this period.

**Research objective:** This research aims to investigate the influence of political and social currents of 1921-1978 on the creation of contemporary monumental tombs of Iran.

**Research method:** In this research, first, case studies were selected after field visits. Then, through library studies and document analysis, the political and social currents of the period contemporary with these buildings were analyzed using a historical-interpretive methodology, and the influence of these developments on the society was studied. This research investigates what political and social currents influenced the creation of monumental tombs of 1921 to 1978, and how these currents influenced the architecture of monumental tombs.

**Conclusion:** Analysis of available documents demonstrates that social and political developments in the first Pahlavi era including westernism, anti-religionism and an attempt towards national unity had a direct influence on selection of people that were memorialized by the monuments as well as the structure and shape of the monuments. Also, as these developments continued in the second Pahlavi period, they influenced the architecture of monumental tombs through the cultural context formed as a result of the relevant developments. In addition, compared to the previous period, design of these buildings were more influenced by the architects' personal approaches and global society's developments in art, leading to a change in form and details.

**Keywords:** *Monumental tombs, Iran's contemporary architecture, Political and social currents of 1921-1978, Tomb architecture.*

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## Introduction and problem statement

Iran's architecture during the first and second Pahlavi periods has been influenced by different external factors and internal political and social currents more than any other periods in history of this country. It can be said that the architecture of Iran over these periods, particularly the first Pahlavi era, was a tool to achieve political and social goals. Embracing high-concept architecture, the monumental tombs were also affected by those influences, and in some cases, it can be considered that monumental tombs have been created as a result of social and political developments. In general, the architecture of the first Pahlavi period was for a while in a conflict over what had to be constructed based on Iranian nationalism and what the West was moving towards. In the meanwhile, because of political approaches, the monumental tombs were constructed under the influence of decisions made towards modern Iranian future, and each was somehow influenced by common styles of that era. The architectural developments in the second Pahlavi period can be observed in the architecture of this period in terms of volume, form, technology and use of past architectural metaphors of Iran with special imagination of designer in projects of the years 1941 to 1979 (Sobat-sani, 2014, 53). Therefore, an overview of architectural development trend of the years 1921 to 1979 shows that monumental tombs, in addition to having been influenced by architectural developments of that era, in some cases, were a direct result of social and cultural context of that period. For this reason, this research mainly aims to understand this context, how it was formed, and in what way these factors influenced the creation of monumental tombs. The following questions will be addressed in this study:

What political and social currents influenced creation of monumental tombs of 1921 to 1979?

How did the political and social currents in the first and second Pahlavi periods influence the architecture of monumental tombs?

Therefore, this research studies the political and social context of the years 1921 to 1979, identifies the

influential currents, and analyzes how they affected the architecture of monumental tombs.

## Research background

No extensive research has been found on this topic; therefore, the current research is innovative. However, the required theoretical foundations of this research have been provided by the references evaluating the background factors of Iran's architectural development and political and social trends of the target era as well as the history of monumental tombs as presented in [table 1](#).

## Research method

This research aims to find and examine a logical relationship between the independent variable, "social and political currents of 1921 to 1979", and dependent variable, "monumental tombs of contemporary Iran". Thus, it studies the historical context and explains the influential currents on the construction of monumental tombs of contemporary Iran. The methodology to study the historical background affecting architecture is historical-interpretive. And, this research adopts a descriptive-analytical method for the topics related to architecture of monumental tombs. The historical-interpretive analysis includes systematic compilation of information and critical assessment of data extracted from past events (Tabibi, Maleki & Delgoshaei, 2016, 226).

In this type of study, the researcher is to present the past events in an organized and objective way through data collection, evaluation and verification of information authenticity and combination and analysis of sound reasons, and finally to conclude defendable results related to especial research hypothesis or hypotheses (Naderi & Seifnaraghi, 2006, 66). Thus, historical information was obtained and analyzed from the first and second-hand references. The required information about case studies was obtained through field visits, and at the same time, the documents have been evaluated using a library tool to analyze the variable impacts. Since the researcher cannot interfere in the variables, narration was used to analyze and interpret data by applying a qualitative method and inductive approach.

Table 1. Classification of literature review. Source: Authors.

Concept	Reference	Type of reference	Discussed subjects	
Social and political current	The society of Iran in the first and second Pahlavi periods	Abrahamian (2014)	book	It points out political and social developments after the constitutional revolution and analyzes civil and cultural measures in Pahlavi periods. Also, it evaluates the influence of these developments on different aspects of the society.
		Abrahamian (2013)	book	Political events occurred from constitutional revolution to Islamic revolution are reviewed. The author analyzes influence of political systems on social systems and mentions the changes resulted from these influences.
		Nazari (2007)	article	Nationalistic approaches of the first Pahlavi period and their impacts on formation of the society's identity in the first Pahlavi period are studied.
		Al-e-Ahmad (1978)	book	Approaches of contemporary intellectuals and intellectual currents as well as their influence on modern society of Iran are studied considering different aspects.
		Al-e-Ahmad (1986)	book	Developments resulted from westernism and their influence on the society and identity and social approaches in Pahlavi era are reviewed.
	Architecture in the first and second Pahlavi periods	Homayoun Katouzian (2006)	book	Political conditions of Iran after Reza Khan's emergence are studied, and negation of all musty Iranian traditions, entities and values, his radical nationalism, and being enchanted by ancient imperial glory are analyzed.
		Sobat-sani (2014)	article	It addresses the factors that influenced Iran's architectural developments in the second Pahlavi period, foreign architects' roles in Iran's architectural developments, and the impact of architecture faculties and schools as well as western-educated Iranian architects in creation of a new approach in architecture's form and technology.
		Bani-masoud (2009)	book	Political and social factors and their interactions and influence on architecture after constitutional revolution are studied.
		Kiani (2004)	book	The trends that influenced formation of Iran's architectural styles in the first Pahlavi period are analyzed.
		Mokhtari Taleghani (2011)	book	It studies how European authoritarian architecture was combined with Iranian architectural elements. Also, it evaluates the role of architects' personal tastes in formation of contemporary architecture.
	Bemania (2006)	article	It studies the currents that influenced the formation of architecture of the first Pahlavi period.	
Monumental tombs	Parizadeh Estiyār (2012)	article	Cultural origins of monumental tombs and their formation context are analyzed.	
The Society for the National Heritage of Iran (SNH)	Bahrololoomi (1956)	book (first-hand reference)	Construction documents of the SNH's works	
	Seddigh (1978)	article (first-hand reference)	Documents of the NH's project	
	Bahrololoomi (1956)	articles (first-hand reference)	Collection of the SNH's reports	

The research focus is on the period 1921-1979 covering the activities of the Society for the National Heritage of Iran (SNH) over this period. And, the case studies have been selected from the monumental tombs of that time period. Figure 1 illustrates the research steps and tools to collect information.

### Theoretical bases

#### • Political and social developments of 1921 to 1941

The social and cultural developments occurred in Reza Khan’s era have been analyzed a lot. However, what has to be addressed is the impact of these developments on the cultural dimensions of the society of modern Iran, and consequently on the arts of that period. From political analysts’ point of view, Reza Khan’s coming to power provided Iran with the first quasi-modern government in European style moving towards modernism and state-centered development of Iran’s society including the establishment of new organizations such as organized army, and introduction of a single monetary system and conventional educational programs (Atabaki, 2006, 18). For this reason, Katouzian (2006) considered the year 1925 as the start of modernism in the modern Iran. He believes that Reza Khan and his system aimed to use pre-Islamic thoughts, stimulate nationalistic feelings, and decrease the role of religion in the society (Homayoun Katouzian, 2006, 73). Although some pundits believe that Reza Khan’s efforts failed to modernize Iran, he brought some manifestations of modernity to Iran and

transformed the lifestyle of the Iranian during the period 1925-1941, the social structure lifestyle and social patterns changed significantly. The developments that took place in Reza Khan’s era have led to a number of intellectual trends affecting various social, cultural and art aspects of the contemporary period whose impacts can be observed in the art of this period.

#### • Reza Khan’s Iranian Nationalism

Nationalism literally refers to a kind of collective consciousness, which means the consciousness to belong to a nation, often creating a sense of loyalty, passion and attachment to the constituting elements of the nation including race and language, and sometimes leading to exaggerated interest and pride and racism (Ashouri, 2005, 319). In order to enter political and practical cultural plans, nationalism needs some concepts such as authenticity, continuation, dignity, destiny and patriotism to be proved by historians, musicians, archeologists and artists (Nazari, 2007, 147). In the first Pahlavi era, this perspective tried to make people turn their back to traditional Islamic lifestyle and diminish religious values although these goals were followed implicitly through art and culture rather than direct and explicit expression.

The state-centered attitude at this period was basically unity-oriented and holistic whose final goal was to provide a theoretical approach to unify existing currents, groups and classifications within a certain geographical range obeying the regime (ibid.). The attempt to enhance the spirit of nationalism in Iran had multi dimensions including the issue of “language” and

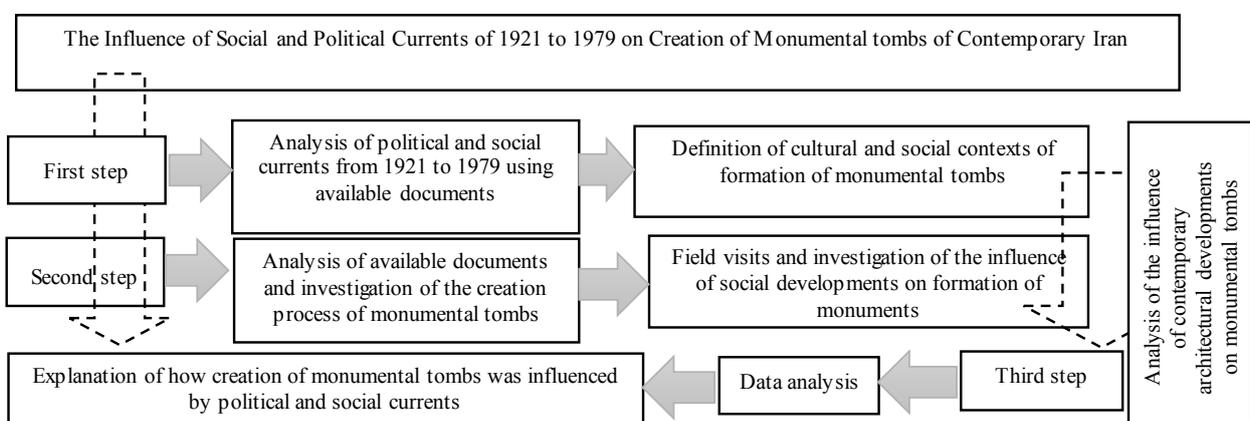


Fig. 1. The research steps. Source: Authors.

linguistic unity. However, this concept in Iran was more of a political and social approach than a “linguistic” one. In order to do so, within a short amount of time, the use of non-Farsi words was eliminated from the Persian language in an exaggerated way that was addressed in detail by Abrahamian (2014) in the book “A History of Modern Iran”. According to him, politics was shortly intertwined with not only literature and history but also architecture and even deceased bodies.

#### • **Archaism as a tool to realize Reza Khan’s nationalism**

The nationalism ideology with a goal of seeking authenticity and reaching a kind of dignity through a development in historical destiny believes that the existing sidelined history must be replaced with an exciting destiny that can be discovered in the golden past of a nation, and according to Smith (2004), it can revive “the creed of the glorious dead”. This perception of history is in agreement with Renan’s<sup>1</sup> idea that forgetting and neglecting a part of history using power and political facilities is considered as the main constituting factor of a nation (Miller, 2004, 40-41). Needless to say, this historical approach can be an appropriate tool for politics. The archaism or national approach of the first Pahlavi era emphasized pre-Islamic culture (Daeipour, 2007, 70). This irrational attitude, namely submission and cultural inferiority, merged with Iranian chauvinism<sup>2</sup>. The transfer of reviving European nationalism to Iran played an important role in romantic discovery of Iran’s civilization, and there was too much exaggeration in achievements made by this civilization that it was impossible to distinguish between reality and myth. Shayegan criticizes the distortion made by nationalists to realities and image of Islam and writes: “The new nationalists of our country who deny Islam and this aspect of Iran’s history, and due to hatred of Islam, take advantage of the ancient history of Iran and somehow indulge in mythologization, ignore the fact that by denying Islam, they deny fourteen centuries of Iranian civilization and thoughts.” (Shayegan, 1992, 191).

The archaism in the first Pahlavi era firstly tried to

understate and eliminate the existing culture and religion of the society as a factor of mustiness. In addition, it aimed to separate the Islamic period from the ancient period of Iran.

#### • **Political and social developments of 1941 to 1979 and modern intellectual approaches**

The social and cultural plans of Reza Khan’s era continued in the reign of his son. However, in this period, the society was gradually moving towards a change transforming Iran from a traditional society to a modern one. The most significant consequence of this transformation was the middle class formation in the heart of the society. The growing demands for experts and managers at different levels of public and private sectors and the rapid expansion of western education led to the formation of this class in the society (Azghandi, 2004).

The formation of this class resulted in intellectual activities that play the main role in cultural trends and social structure developments of this period. Intellectual currents of this period followed that of the previous period whose goal was to be similar to the west; however, the degree of western fanaticism considerably decreased in the intellectuals of this period, and they were introduced as religious intellectuals. As Shah, regime officials and his advisors claimed, Shahism was “the Iranian’s goal” (Hadidi, 1998, 105) that was combined with outward aspects of the western modernity resulting in a culture that “did not appeal to the people of Iran” (Eslami Nodoshan, 1979, 5).

Furthermore, Shah’s cultural measures had some personal aspects as well; To commemorate his status, he ordered the construction of a tower at the entrance to Tehran that he called “Shahyad” tower which means memorial of the king, the light of the Iranians (Abrahamian, 2015). This kind of cultural events always had some impacts and architectural representations. As a result, a suitable cultural context for a special kind of architecture was created that had not existed in this form before.

The governmental measures during both Pahlavi periods originated from developments rooted in political trends of the modern Iran. In the second

Pahlavi period, these developments that had more revolutionary aspects significantly influenced the culture of the society, and architecture can be considered as an important part of these developments. In general, the most noticeable political and social currents affecting culture and art in the years 1921 to 1979 have been summarized in [table 2](#).

#### • **Monumental tombs of contemporary Iran**

The phrase “monumental tombs” refers to a part of contemporary architecture defining a new concept of tomb buildings that in addition to being a tomb are sometimes symbolic and used as a memorial. Monumental tombs have not been fully defined in research conducted in Iran and mostly refer to the tomb buildings of different eras. Also, international studies describe monumental tombs as tomb buildings with a memorial function, and this definition refers to all tomb buildings of different historical eras that have found a symbolic meaning over the time. According to documents, architecture of monumental tombs mostly belongs to the East than the West. Looking at different cultures of all around the world indicates the fact that death has undeniably contributed to creation and development of architecture ([Colvin, 1991, 134](#)). In other words, a memorial monument allows us to see the past and visualize the future ([Cole & Reed, 1997, 16](#)). By Pahlavi era, the development trend of monumental tombs in Iran had emphasized and highlighted the religious aspects of these tombs; however, in Pahlavi period, it was transformed into a new use of architecture, creating monumental tombs with a new form and non-religious purpose. Since the status of monumental tombs is rooted in the culture of each society, they are among multi-functional buildings with high potential to convey meaning; therefore, they can play a significant role in visual transmission of developments in a society, and because of that, more than other buildings they mirror the social and political trends of each society. Some of these influences are related to the contexts and reasons for which they were built, and some can be observed in the structure of the buildings. In this period, there were different perspectives on

art influencing creation of monuments, which Reza Khan considered as one of the main reasons for formation of “the modern Iran”. Followed by these developments, international architects appeared in Iran, and architecture of monumental tombs is among the works created by those architects among which Nikolai Markov and Andre Godard are among the most outstanding ones ([Mokhtari Taleghani, 2011](#)). Establishment of the Society for the National Heritage of Iran (SNH)<sup>3</sup> is another outcome of the developments occurred in Pahlavi era. The SNH was involved in design and creation of monumental tombs in both Pahlavi periods.

In the second Pahlavi era, architecture followed Reza Khan’s nationalistic goals; however, with the help of Iranian architects who studied abroad and also architects with domestic education, the degree of anti-religion prejudice of those goals, which tried to fade the traditional standards of the society, decreased. There were several other factors helping this progress including schools and faculties of architecture, Iranian architects who studied abroad, etc. The influence of these factors can be seen in architecture of this period in terms of volume, form, technology and use of the past architectural metaphors of Iran with special imagination of designer in projects of the years 1941 to 1979 ([Sobat-sani, 2014, 53](#)). This period was also a boom time for “nativism” and “historicism” in academic circles of the country and supported by two important factors. First, from the middle of 1961, limitations on political activities and freedom of speech had caused the intellectuals looking for indirect approaches to oppose the regime to express their opinions; second, the success of third-world movements against western powers had provided a strong motivation for this group of intellectuals to continue and persist in their opinions ([Bani-masoud, 2009, 244](#)). These trends can be seen in the famous architects’ works of that period. Also, a tendency to combine native culture with features of modern era in the buildings increased. In this kind of context, monumental tombs as a tool to realize social and political goals of the society, showed these trends much more rapidly.

Table 2. The most significant currents influencing the culture of the society. Source: Authors, based on analysis of references.

Period	Current	Developments resulted from the relevant current	Influence on culture and art	References	
1921 to 1941	Westernism	Organized army	Militarism in art and culture, city administration by military force	Abrahamian (2014)	
		Coherent education program	Making schools and universities using French style	Abrahamian (2015), Takmil Homayoun (2006)	
		Urban development	New cultural usages in cities such as museums and governmental organizations, installation of famous people and Shah's statues around the city.	Abrahamian (2015), Atabaki (2006)	
		Anti-traditionalism	Western-style cultural activities, presence of women in cultural assemblies	Abrahamian (2015) Al-e-Ahmad (1978)	
		Hijab removal	Attempts to form a society with a western image	Abrahamian (2014) Sanasarian (2005)	
		Activities of second-generation intellectuals	Promotion of western lifestyle and publication of magazines and books in this field	Al-e-Ahmad (1978) Abrahamian (2014)	
	Tendency to create national unity	Single language system	Introduction of Farsi as the national language, exaggerated use of Farsi words, removal of non-Farsi words, change of country's name to Iran	Abrahamian (2014) Bahar (1993)	
		Single monetary system	Formation of banks and fifty percent increase in prices	Atabaki (2006)	
		Ethnic unity	Formation of cities and provinces and ethnic groups' attempt to promote national culture	Abrahamian (2014) Abrahamian (2015)	
		The unity of clothing	Activities in art and fashion to produce western style clothing, publication of fashion magazines	Abrahamian (2015)	
	Reza Khan's nationalism	Anti-religionism	Control of religious books by ministry of culture; promotion of pre-Islamic culture; promotion of national famous people in the form of art and architecture	Al-e-Ahmad (1986)	
		Publication of solar calendar	Revival of ancient Nowruz ceremonies	Abrahamian (2015)	
		Raising national awareness	Establishment of house of culture by imitating France's academy; the Society of National Heritage of Iran and Association for Public Opinion Research	Abrahamian (2014) Cottam (1993)	
		Establishment of Tehran Radio (1940)	Extensive spread of information and promotion of western culture; extensive spread of news	Abrahamian (2014)	
	Archaism	Revival of pre-Islamic Iran	Promotion of pre-Islamic motifs and symbols in art	Abrahamian (2015)	
		Promotion of archaism and ancient Iranian culture	Introduction of pre-Islamic era as a golden period of Iranian culture	Abrahamian (2014) Homayoun Katouzian (2006)	
	1941 to 1979	World events	End of the second world war	The second period of activities of the Society of National Heritage of Iran and construction of more than twenty monumental tombs to introduce famous people and establishment of museums	Bahrololoomi (1956)
			Formation of Tudeh Party	Putting an end to sectarianism and promoting patriotism along with returning to the past (pre-Islamic era)	Abrahamian (2014); (2015) Cottam (1993)
Nationalism		Nationalization of oil industry (1959)	The beginning of increase of oil income and holding ceremonies like 2500-year celebrations	Abrahamian (2014) Amin (2004)	
		Activities of the third-generation intellectuals	The return of religious perspectives to culture, art and literature, and filmmaking	Abrahamian (2014) Azghandi (2004)	
		The White Revolution (1962)	Increase of number of schools and educational centers, dispatch of students abroad, creation of average social-class, granting of voting right to women, formation of Literacy Army	Abrahamian (2014)	
		Rastakhiz Party (1974)	The government's attempt to dominate religious activities	Abrahamian (2014)	

## Discussion

### • Selection of case studies

All the monumental tombs of contemporary Iran were designed and built under the supervision of “the Society for the National Heritage of Iran (SNH)”. The SNH designed or restored about thirty monumental tombs<sup>4</sup> (table 3) from which the case studies of this research have been selected. The selection criteria are geographical distribution, temporal distribution within the target period, and availability of documents and trustworthy references to study design and construction background of these buildings that increase the research validity. Case studies of this research include eight buildings, which are the most outstanding ones and have differences in terms of various aspects and factors to analyze. The first step to evaluate the research findings is to introduce case studies and extract required information from different references. The case studies have been introduced separately in table 4.

### • Result analysis

According to table 4, monumental tombs of 1921 to 1979 have differences, which seem to be greatly caused by political and social context of the relevant period. The brief study of social and political developments of this era can help address the current research questions. The main reason why monumental tombs were created was the social context and the society’s tendency to change its cultural values; these factors were formed based on a political goal.

As mentioned before, Pahlavi’s government was seeking a change in appearance and form and not content. Thus, some measures were taken to uniform the structure of cities in appearance, which is considered by Al-e-Ahmad (1986) as “quasi-modernism”.

Reza Khan tried to quickly westernize Iran. Therefore, one of his very first measures was to establish railway in 1928 which seems to have led to the presence of western-educated Iranians in Iran and fundamental developments in different organizations of the society due to influence of these individuals.

The impact of Reza Khan’s political developments, the

most important of which are militarism and archaism, can be considered in his measure to transform the face of Iran through changing Iranians’ attitude towards their mental charisma<sup>5</sup>. The society that had previously had strong religious approaches had to change its mental perspective to facilitate modernization that could be rapidly achieved through focusing on visual elements.

Therefore, one of the very first organizations founded to realize this goal was “the Society for the National Heritage of Iran”. The objective of this entity was to change cultural roots of Iran in a way to be close to the West and deny traditional and religious perspectives. Consequently, a combination of these kinds of attitudes resulted in a new approach in architecture, leading to creation of “monumental tombs”. The influence of Reza Khan’s approaches on architecture of monumental tombs can be observed in Ferdowsi’s monumental tomb that was built to celebrate “Ferdowsi’s millennium”<sup>6</sup>. Although it was not directly commissioned by Reza Khan, the influence of his approaches to make fundamental changes in cultural structures can be seen in construction of this building. According to Shahpur Shahbazi (1999), Mohamad Taghi Bahar several times wrote to Reza Khan about the necessity of building a monumental tomb for Ferdowsi, and requested him in order to show his nationalism through taking this measure. He wrote, “Otherwise, we, the people of Khorasan, will build the tomb”. Therefore, the first measure of the Society for the National Heritage of Iran was to build a tomb for a cultural figure who was mostly famous for his persistence in speaking Farsi and nationalism. This measure was not only a political one, but also the beginning of a new development in Iran that aimed to highlight and transform the cultural roots of Iran. Some of these developments originated from the global developments. Figure 2 shows the coincidence between global developments and the ones in Iran.

Another influence was Reza Khan’s imitating Atatürk’s policies and his nationalism (Abrahamian, 2014). Some researchers believe that Reza Khan and Atatürk’s political measures were similar; they both

Table 3. The designed and restored monumental tombs by the Society for the National Heritage of Iran (SNH) and their locations. Source: Authors, according to available documents (the reports of SNH)

	City	Year	Action	Architect	Monument's Name
1	Ferdowsi	1934	Design & Build	Karim Taherzadeh Behzad	Toos, Mashhad
2	Avicenna	1951	Design & Build	Hooshang Seyhoun	Hamedan
3	Saadi	1951	Design & Build	Mohsen Forooghi	Shiraz
4	Nader Shah Afshar	1963	Design & Build	Hooshang Seyhoun	Mashhad
5	Khayyam	1964	Design & Build	Hooshang Seyhoun	Neyshabour
6	Attar	1964	Restoration	-	Neyshabour
7	Kamalolmolk,	1963	Design & Build	Hooshang Seyhoun	Neyshabour
8	Emamzadeh Mahroogh	1964	Restoration	-	Neyshabour
9	Arthur Pope	1976	Design & Build	Mohsen Forooghi	Esfahan
10	Baba Taher	1966	Design & Build	Mohsen Forooghi	Hamedan
11	Robehan Baghali	1973	Restoration	-	Shiraz
12	Shah Shoja	1960	Design & Build	Ali Sami	Shiraz
13	Sibawayh	1975	Design & Build	-	Shiraz
14	Kharaghani	-	Design & Build	-	Shahroud, Semnan
15	Khwaju Kermani	1959	Design & Build	-	Shiraz
16	Ebne Yamin	-	Design & Build	-	Shahroud, Semnan
17	Vaeze Kashefi	1978	Design & Build	Ahmad Farahbakhsh	Sabzevar, Khorasan
18	Abu'l-Hasan Bayhaqi	1975	Design & Build	Hossein Joudat	Sabzevar, Khorasan
19	Shah Daei	-	-	-	Shiraz
20	Sheikh Kabir	1967	Design & Build	-	Shiraz
21	Ahmad Neyrizi	-	Design & Build	-	Neyriz, Fars
22	Molla Hadi	1962	Restoration	-	Sabzevar, Khorasan
23	Nazâri Ghohestani	1975	Design & Build	Hossein Joudat	Birjand
24	Sheikh Hadi	-	-	-	Birjand
25	Mir Razi Artimani	1976	Design & Build	Hossein Joudat & Hadi Kohzadi	Toyserkan
26	Awhadi Maragheie	1979	Design & Build	Hossein Joudat	Maragheh
27	Abueshaq Kazeruni	-	-	-	Kazeroon
28	Kamaleddin Esmaeil	-	Design & Build	-	Esfahan
29	Maqbaratoshoara	1978	Design & Build	Gholamreza Forozanmehr	Tabriz
30	Adib al-Mamalek Farahani	-	Design & Build	-	Rey
31	Sayyid Jamal al-Din Va'iz	-	Restoration	-	Borojerd

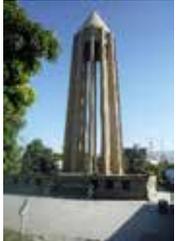
tried to westernize and modernize their countries using similar approaches (Nassaj, 2013). Another item was increased power of Nazi Germany that used different opportunities to establish a good relationship with Iran for its own benefits, a part of which was related to modernization measures (Rahmani, 2005).

Quasi-modernism also influenced monumental tombs in Iran; therefore, the tendency to use pre-Islamic Iranian motifs (in line with western neoclassicism) can be also seen in Ferdowsi's monumental tomb.

Although creation of monumental tombs for famous people was practical and political in nature, it is obvious that the architecture of those buildings was influenced by common architectural approaches of that era, which in turn had political and social roots.

The activity of foreign architects in Iran and their presence to change cultural structures also provided a context for people like Andre Godard, the French architect, to use his in-depth knowledge of Iranian culture to design a monumental building like

Table 4. Case studies selected from contemporary monumental tombs; Source: Authors, according to available references and field visits; Photos by M. Yavari Kolour.

Name and year	Architect	Image	Specifications
Ferdowsi's tomb (1934)	Karim Taherzadeh Behzad- Hooshang Seyhoun		<p>Using the design of Cyrus's tomb in Pasargad, symmetry in plan and elevation, using pre-Islamic architectural elements (Bani-masoud, 2009) and (field visits)</p> <p>Dimensions: 18*18*18 on a platform with dimension of 40*40: approximately 11 times more than human proportions</p> <p>Construction material: polished marble for exterior parts and exposed concrete for interior parts</p> <p>Function: tomb, monument and museum</p>
Hafez's tomb, 1936	Andre Godard		<p>Using Iranian symbolic elements a lot, use of symbolic numbers, applying architectural elements of Zandieh era, symbolic use of Hafez's poetry (Danil &amp; Tajdar, 2016) and (field visits)</p> <p>Dimensions: Dome radius of 4 m, 6-meter tall columns</p> <p>Construction materials: traditional material with a copper cover</p> <p>Function: tomb, monument and museum</p>
Saadi's tomb, 1951	Mohsen Forooghi		<p>Inspired from traditional Iranian architecture, adopted from Reza Khan's tomb building (Bani-masoud, 2009)</p> <p>Dimensions: area of 216 squared meter and height of approximately 10 m</p> <p>Construction materials: red granite stone is used for columns and front elevation of the porch; travertine and marble stone are used for exterior and interior elevations, respectively.</p> <p>Function: tomb, cultural place and a museum, monument</p>
Avicenna's tomb, 1951	Hooshang Seyhoun		<p>Combination of architectural styles of ancient Iran and pre-Islamic Iran, use of geometric and symbolic shapes, and numbers relevant to Avicenna's character (Bani-masoud, 2009) and (field visits)</p> <p>Dimensions: area of the base of the tower is 28.5*28.5, the area of the tomb is 132.5 square meters and the height of the tower is 23 meters, with radius of 5 meters</p> <p>Construction materials: reinforced concrete</p> <p>Function: tomb, monument and museum</p>
Nader Shah Afshar tomb, 1963	Hooshang Seyhoun		<p>Symbolic use of geometric shapes, meaningful use of colors and construction materials, applying brutalism architectural style, using a statue on the building (Bani-masoud, 2009) and (field visits)</p> <p>Dimensions: approximately 5 meters tall, and the statue part is 12 meters tall</p> <p>Construction materials: granite stone from Koohsangi in Mashahd, reinforced concrete; ocher marble stone for interior parts</p> <p>Function: tomb, monument and museum</p>
Khayyam's tomb, 1963	Hooshang Seyhoun		<p>Applying conceptual elements a lot, using Khayyam's personality traits, symbolic use of numbers and shapes (Bani-masoud, 2009) and (field visits)</p> <p>Dimensions: height of 22s meter and width of 18 meters</p> <p>Construction materials: reinforced concrete, marble and tile are used in structure and exposed concrete is used for the ground part</p> <p>Function: monument</p>

Rest of table 4.

Name and year	Architect	Image	Specifications
Kamalolmolk, 1963	Hooshang Seyhoun		<p>Using features of Iranian Architecture, applying Iranian tile colors considering Kamalolmolk's birthplace (Kashan), using geometric proportions, four-arch building (field visits)</p> <p>Dimensions: an area of 28 square meters and height of approximately 5 meters</p> <p>Construction material: reinforced concrete with a tile cover</p> <p>Function: tomb, monument</p>
Awthadi Maragheh's tomb, 1973	Hossein Joudat		<p>Symmetry in plan and elevation, using architectural elements of Iran before and after Islam, applying modernist architectural principles, using symbolic numbers and shapes (field visits)</p> <p>Dimensions: located on a platform with an area of 6 *6 and height of approximately 8 meters</p> <p>Construction materials: reinforced concrete</p> <p>Function: tomb and monument</p>

“Hafezieh”, with being inspired by architecture of Zandieh era. French Resistance Movement in the Second World War selected him as their representative in Iran, and he published a newspaper named “the Free France” in Tehran. Because of that, the political and social conditions in Iran provided a suitable opportunity for him to perform his cultural activities (Kiani, 2004, 55). In addition to this, Godard has applied extreme semanticism to design Hafezieh, which again indicates at that time the opportunity was provided for European orientalist to acquire knowledge in Iran.

The social and political context of monumental tombs designed under the supervision of the Society for the National Heritage of Iran in the second period led to creation of buildings with the same goal as the ones in the first period. However, in the second period, the influence of political and social developments was less powerful and more indirect. The second Pahlavi government needed to enhance its cultural roots in order to stabilize its status as the creator of the Modern Iran. According to available documents of the Society for the National Heritage of Iran, Aliasghar Hekmat Shirazi, who had made a lot of efforts for construction of Hafez's tomb, on March 24th 1947, took Ashraf Pahlavi to visit Saadieh complex, which had never happened by Shah's relatives and provided the opportunity to create Saadi's monumental tomb.

Hekmat Shirazi (2000) wrote in his diaries that for the opening ceremony, for the first time, Mohamadreza Pahlavi attended there for his coronation. The designer of this building, Mohsen Foroughi, who studied in Paris, has used Iranian and Islamic motifs such as tiling in Saadi's monumental tomb; however, the form of the complex clearly emphasizes modernist forms, which shows how the architect was influenced by developments in global society. To design this building, he has been clearly influenced by Reza Khan's tomb, and applied the same modernist principles.

The activities of the Society for the National Heritage of Iran in the second period were more affected by global developments. The beginning of the new period of monumental tombs in Iran coincided with architecture in early European Modernism, where a new material named reinforced concrete was introduced. According to Bani-masoud (2009), the beginning of modernism in Iran should have been analyzed with the beginning of that in Europe. By considering this statement, it can be said that although architecture of the monumental tombs by European-educated architects has a lot of similarities to that of the first period in terms of ideology, it is more harmonious with the developments in global society.

Seyhoun is known as the most active architect in the field of monumental tombs. He presented Avicenna's

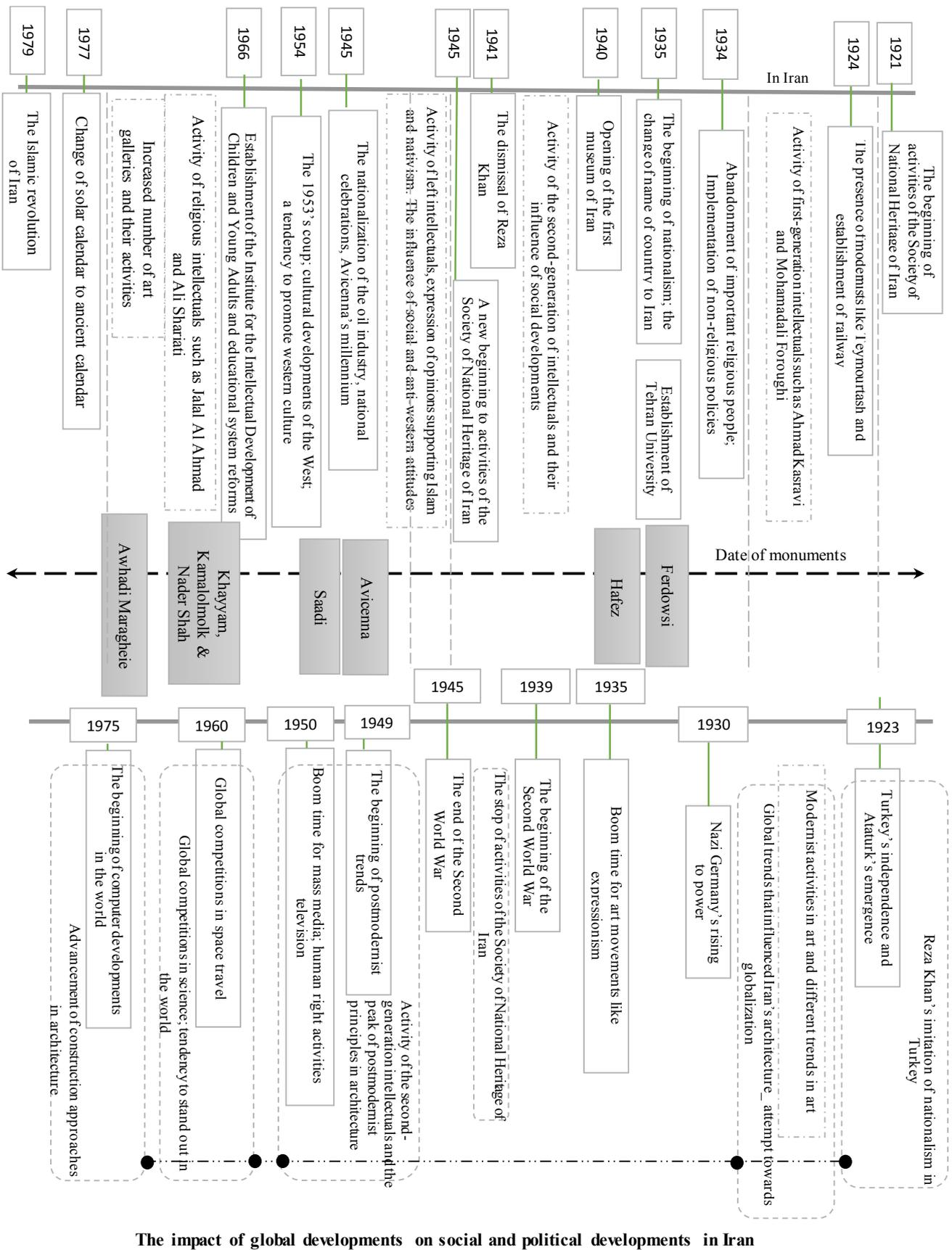


Fig. 2. Analysis of the date when monumental tombs were created according to developments of contemporary Iran as well as the global developments that influenced Iran. Source: Authors.

monument design as his thesis in France. What can be observed in this building is rotating architecture as an approach to design tombs, which is deeply rooted in developments of global society and also emphasizes the fact that Reza Khan's archaism that he insisted on a lot, has been replaced by the use of national elements of Iranian architecture, and even those introduced after Islam. Seyhoun tried to present modern architecture and perfectly utilized modern technologies and materials as well as modernist forms. He emphasized several times that Andre Godard had acquainted him with Iranian architecture (Ghari-pour, 2005, 131). What had led to creation of this building was also a cultural measure entitled "Avicenna's millennium"<sup>77</sup>, and Avicenna's monumental tomb was built on the occasion of this ceremony. Therefore, this building was also formed based on an important cultural event to introduce Iran and Iranian culture to the world.

The intellectuals of the 60s and 70s had a slightly different approach from their previous generation. They were occupied with a kind of cultural nativism. Developments that occurred in art and architecture and in general social developments resulted from Reza Khan's approaches had conveyed this message that complete tendency to the West had no outcome except incompatibility with Iranian culture. Eslami Nodoooshan (1979, 5) stated that rulers adopted an anti-religious policy and caused conflict between the society and regime. In the meanwhile, intellectuals like Jalal Al-e-Ahmad and Dariush Shayegan made some statements regarding a new approach in culture. They believed that modernism could be effective when it was consistent with standards of nativism. After 1961, this approach can be seen more in Seyhoun's works. It seems that the next period of Hooshang Seyhoun's activities in design of monumental tombs was influenced by this kind of intellectual currents that believed Islam was inseparable from the history of Iran. Consequently, in addition to applying modern materials, Islamic and Iranian symbols and signs were used in Khayyam and Kamalolmolk's tombs in Nishabur that were built nearly at the same time. Seyhoun used an Iranian background (Peymoun)

to build Kamalolmolk's tomb. However, he applied tiling-decoration approach in his design. Furthermore, he mostly used personality traits of the people that were memorialized by the monuments, especially in Nader Shah and Khayyam's monuments. Creation of these two monuments (Khayyam & Kamalolmolk's tombs) coincided with the early years of post-modernist theories in Europe. Although Seyhoun did not speak about his postmodernist thoughts and always followed modern architecture principles, the influence of postmodernist society trends, especially in architecture, can be seen in his works, which is confirmed by the fact that he used more decorative elements and paid more attention to nativism in his recent monumental works. However, Seyhoun can be considered to have always been loyal to modernist architectural principles since in Nader Shah's monument, he worked hard to use concrete to convey the meaning and concept of Nader Shah's personality.

The most recent case study is Awhadi Maragheie's monument that has a different style from the others. This building, which seems to be designed based on modernist principles and has been built using modern materials, has the elements of Islamic architecture. Compared to other monuments, this building is very minimalistic. However, use of symbolic shapes and numbers in architecture of this building gives it a modern look. Therefore, as we move further to the end of this period, monumental buildings seem to have been less affected by political and social developments and mostly reflect world approaches in art and architects' personal perspective. Figure 3 describes different factors that influenced creation of monumental tombs. Needless to say, the impact of global developments on this process cannot be neglected.

## Conclusion

Political and social currents directly or indirectly influenced creation of monumental tombs in different periods in many various ways. Based on a general classification of political and social currents of two Pahlavi periods, the primary background factor in creation of these buildings is an attempt to change

social charisma and use national figures and famous people in literature to achieve nationalism and present Iran to the world. Also, the attempt to change the urban structure was another factor that played an important role in creation of these monuments and can be considered as the secondary factor in this process. Therefore, to respond the first research question, in figure 2, the factors that had the most influence on creation of monumental tombs have been mentioned. Analysis of available documents and references shows that during the first Pahlavi period, these effects were more direct, and the following political factors directly

influenced this process (the process of selecting the person memorialized by the monument, and the form and structure of the monument): nationalism, a tendency to create national unity, an attempt for globalization, and anti-religionism. Archaistic approaches, with a goal to return to ancient Iran, also played an important role in creation of decorative elements in buildings, particularly in Ferdowsi's monument. Along with nationalistic and westernist trends in the second Pahlavi period, the influence of these currents due to cultural developments and activities of the Society for the National Heritage of

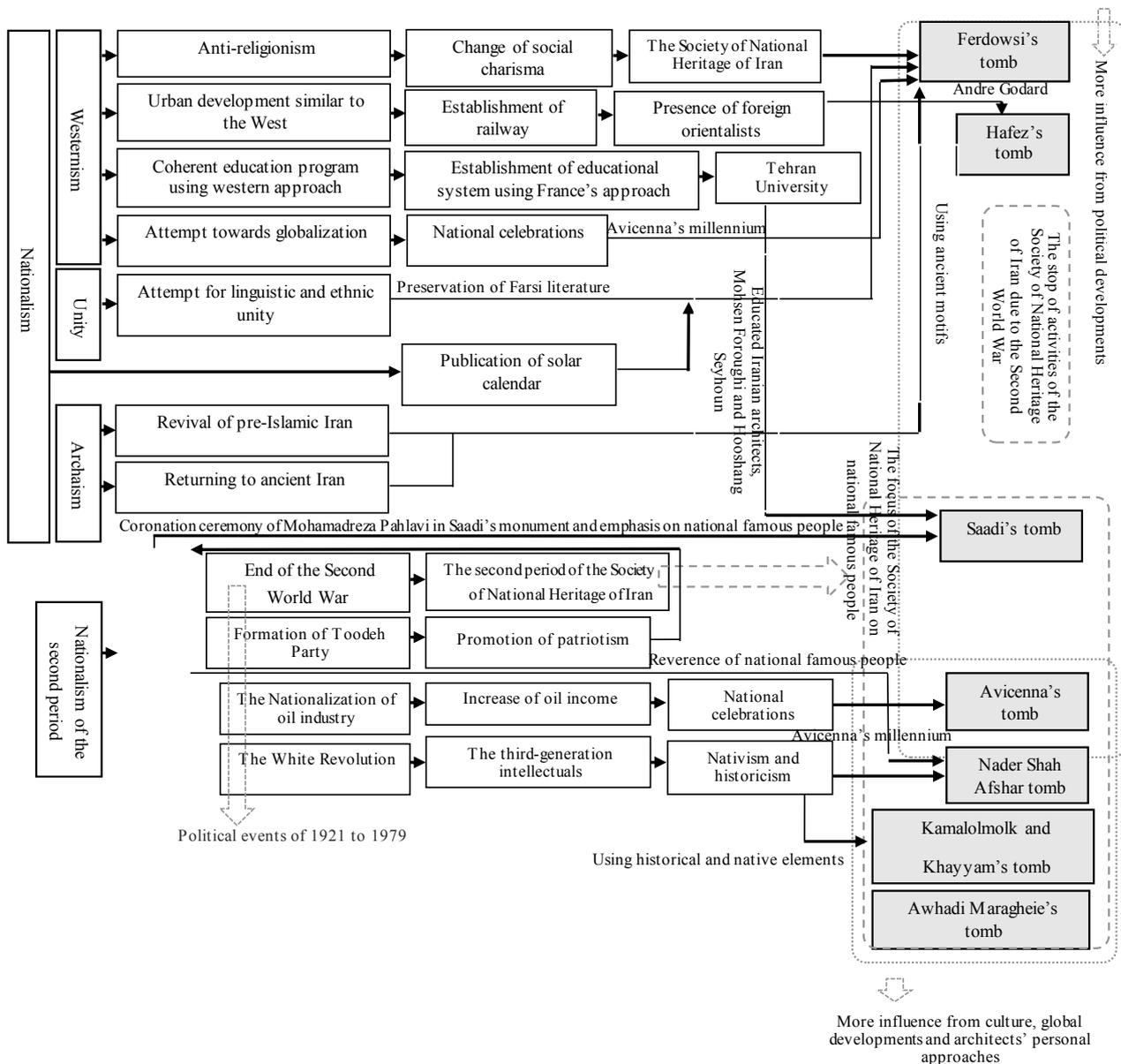


Fig. 3. The conceptual model of the influence of political and social developments on the process of the creation of monumental tombs in contemporary Iran. Source: Authors.

Iran, was affected by new intellectual approaches, and the cultural context created for the new generation has influenced the architecture of monumental tombs. Thus, with more extensive activity of the third-generation intellectuals and their impact on creation of a cultural context as well as a new kind of attempt for nationalism, it seems that by making more use of cultural context, architecture of monumental tombs is more affected by this context and in a more careful way. Additionally, it can be understood that compared to the previous period, design of these buildings has been more influenced by the architects' personal approaches and global society's developments in art, leading to a change in form and details. As a result, due to developments occurred in other social and cultural areas, the influence of these currents at different periods is considered to be indirect. **Figure 3** demonstrates how these influences have been made and answers the second research question in a more clear way.

Therefore, due to indirect influence of these factors in the second Pahlavi period, it can be considered that creation of monumental tombs in this period was influenced by cultural developments in the context of the society whereas in the first period, creation of these buildings was affected by one or two direct political currents.

## Endnotes

1. Ernest Renan, a French expert of Semitic languages, philologist, philosopher, historian, and writer
2. Chauvinism, an extreme and aggressive patriotism and a blind belief in national superiority and glory.
3. By approving a statute, the Society for the National Heritage of Iran was formed in autumn 1922 (Derakhshan, 1999, 9). The founders of this society were Hasan Mostoufi (Mostofiolmamalek), Hasan Pirnia (Moshiroddoleh), Mohamadali Foroughi (Zakaolmolk), Hasan Esfandiari (Mohtashamossaltaneh), Ebrahim Hakimi (Hakimolmolk), Abdolhossein Teymourtash (supreme commander), Firooz Mirza Firooz (Nosratoldoleh), Haj Seyed Nasrollah Taghavi and Arbab Keykhosro Shahrokh (Bahrololoomi, 1956, 3).
4. In the resume of the Society for the National Heritage of Iran, the number of ordered buildings and tombs for famous people are more than what has been mentioned in the table, and due to unclarity in collected information and lack of trustworthy references, they have not been listed in the table.
5. Charisma compelling attractiveness of charm that is admired by many other people; individual attractiveness with social (collective) influence.
6. Ferdowsi's millennium was the first large scientific gathering in Iran that took place in 1934. Some parts of this event were held at Ferdowsi's tomb in city of Toos (Yahaghi, 1994).
7. Avicenna's millennium was a scientific celebration that took place in 1954 (Agheli, 2008). Tens of orientalists and Iran experts attended this congress, which can be considered as the second most important conference in the contemporary history of Iran after Ferdowsi's millennium.

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