The Revival of Iranian Classical Music during the Second Pahlavi Period: The Influence of the Politics of "Iranian-ness"

by

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Abstract

This thesis demonstrates the process of the gradual formation and development of revivalist ideas in Iran's musical society during Muhammad-Reza Pahlavi's reign (1941 - 1979). Examining multiple articulations of Iranian nationalism, this research focuses on three different historical periods—from the late nineteenth century to 1941, from 1941 to 1953, and from 1953 to 1979—to demonstrate how different nationalisms influenced Iran's music scene and encouraged a return to the Qajar musical tradition. Introducing dominant discourses on Iranian classical music from the 1920s to the 1970s as reflected in publications, this study traces the development of these discourses to explain the gradual emergence and maturation of revivalist ideas and practices within musical society pre-1979 Iran.

This thesis argues that Ali-Naqi Vaziri's students, including Ruhullah Khaliqi and Mehdi Barkechli, provided necessary practical and intellectual prerequisites for the revival of Iranian classical music during the mid-late 1940s. From the mid-1950s, the first generation of Iranian musicologists and ethnomusicologists also acknowledged the significance of Iran's musical traditions. The efforts of all these musicians attracted the support of the state after the 1953 coup. The state's cultural policies, which were motivated by political concerns for authenticating the Iranian monarchy, encouraged the celebration of Iran's cultural heritage.

Concurrently, the social, cultural, and political crises motivated some musicians to advocate for Iranian classical music as an antidote to perceived cultural and political corruption. While Daryush Safvat interpreted the music as a mystical practice to challenge emerging commercialism, Muhammad-Reza Lutfi employed Iranian classical music in his innovative works as a form of political resistance against the state. Thus, from the mid-1950s to the mid-

1970s, the state and its critics encouraged the revival of Iranian classical music while pursuing their own objectives.

Dedication

To my father and my mother,

lifelong mentors and examples of generosity and love;

and to Maryam,

my constant friend and companion

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Notes on Translations, Transliterations, and Persian Dates

All translations from Persian texts are provided by the author of this thesis, unless otherwise indicated in footnotes. Some translations include comments in square brackets to clarify the meaning of the translated text. The literal translation of Persian phrases is also provided inside parentheses that follow the phrase.

The system of transliteration used in this thesis is a modified version of the IJMES Transliteration System: I have removed all diacritical marks except for an apostrophe (‘) in the middle of certain words which indicates the letters *ayn* or hamza. In addition, the transliteration of certain Persian names and nouns are based on versions commonly used in existing scholarship in English, such as Hormoz Farhat (instead of Hurmuz Farhat), Seyyed Hossein Nasr (instead of Sayyid Hussein Nasr), Zaven Hacobian (instead of Zavin Hacupian), Parviz Mahmoud (instead of Parviz Mahmud), Mehdi Barkechli (instead of Mahdi Barkishli), *Golha* program (instead of *Gulha* program), *gusheh* (instead of *gushih*), and *reng* (instead of *ring*). The transliteration of the name “Daryush Safvat” also differs in English and French publications. While the transliteration from English publications has been prioritized in this thesis, for citations from French publications, the transliteration of his name in French has been used (Dariouche Safvate).

The Iranian solar calendar starts on March 21. Accordingly, if the Iranian date falls into the period from January 1 to March 20, it has been converted into Gregorian calendar by adding 622; otherwise it has been converted by adding 621. In the main text, when it is not clear whether the given Persian date falls before or after March 21, both Gregorian years have been mentioned. For instance, the year 1394 in the Iranian calendar is converted to 2015/16 to demonstrate the

date in the Gregorian calendar. However, to avoid confusion in citations and the bibliography, the date of publication is always converted into Gregorian calendar by adding 621.

Glossary of Terms

All definitions provided in this section are cited from *The Dastgāh Concept in Persian Music* (1990) by Hormoz Farhat.

***Dastgah*:** The term used to refer to "a set of pieces, traditionally grouped together, most of which have their own individual modes (19). Iranian musicians generally regard only seven modal systems as *dastgah*s: *shur*, *mahur*, *sigah*, *chahargah, humayun, nava*, and *rast-panjgah*. The remaining five modal systems—*abu'ata*, *afshari*, *dashti*, *bayat-i turk*, and *bayat-i Isfahan*— are classified as the derivatives of the main *dastgah*s and are called *avaz* (20).

***Gusheh*:** The generic term used to refer to individual pieces that constitute the repertoire of a *dastgah* (22).

***Radif*:** The term used to refer to a collection of pieces that constitute the repertoire of Iranian classical music. These pieces are not clearly defined compositions but melodic patterns which enable performers to improvise (21).

***Reng*:** The term used to refer to "an instrumental piece in duple or triple metre in a moderately fast tempo" (22).

***Tasnif*:** The term used to refer to a form of composed song often performed in a slow metre (23).

Introduction

Purpose of the Study

This study, by introducing the most dominant discourses on Iranian classical music during the Pahlavi period, examines the gradual formation of revivalist ideas in Iranian musical society from the 1940s to the 1970s. Scrutinizing the influence of the socio-political context of Iranian society on the formation of multiple articulations of Iranian nationalism before the 1979 revolution, this study also portrays how these different nationalisms, articulated and offered by Iranian intellectuals as well as the Pahlavi state, influenced Iran's music scene and encouraged the revival of the Qajar musical tradition during the same period. By focusing on musical discourses reflected in writings published before the 1979 revolution, this study seeks to provide a clear vision of Iran's music scene during this period.

No comprehensive research has been done on the influence of nationalist discourses on Iranian musicians' and music scholars' perceptions of Iranian classical music during the second Pahlavi period. In addition, the impact of multiple interpretations of Iranian nationalism on the process of music revival during the same period has not yet been examined in any other research. This study, by focusing on these two questions, contributes to a better understanding of constructed meanings attached to Iranian classical music and the nationalist implications and functions of these meanings for the Iranian public. As the post-revolutionary music scene has been greatly influenced by the revival of the Qajar musical tradition before the 1979 revolution, my study also develops the understanding of post-revolutionary discourses on Iranian classical music. In positioning this work, it will be useful first to review some fundamental concepts and to provide a historical background that contributes to a better understanding of this discussion.

Defining Music Revivals

Music revivals have played significant roles in shaping and transforming the perception, representation, and experience of a variety of musical genres in different regions of world. These social movements encompass endeavors "to perform and promote music that is valued as old or historical and is usually perceived to be threatened or moribund" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 3). Revivalists essentially seek to restore and preserve "a musical tradition which is believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past" (Livingston 1999, 68). Thus, music revivals entail social practices by which "the absent is represented in the present, for purposes in the future, by the use of culturally bounded expressive forms" (Ronström 2014, 45).

To "revive," from the Latin *revivere* ("to live again"), literally denotes bringing back to life an entity which previously died or disappeared. Thus, one may challenge the appropriateness of the concept of revival for specific cases, including the revival of Iranian classical music in pre-revolutionary Iran. As will be discussed in the following chapters, the classical music of Iran had never died, although serious concerns about its future had been raised among both officials and musicians: in fact, the issue was not how to *revive* Iranian classical music, but "how to keep it alive" (Zonis 1971, 327). Thus, "revival" as an analytical concept may seem to be an insufficient descriptor here, merely pointing out in broad terms the process of change motivated by individuals' desire to engage with the past and search for authenticity. Multiple terms, such as renaissance, restoration, revitalization, re-focusing, rescue, and re-appropriation, may be suggested to describe a range of processes that occurred in Iranian musical society between the 1940s and the 1970s. Reducing such processes to the umbrella term "music revival" may blur conceptual boundaries among these nuanced notions. However, the use of a theoretical

framework, which sheds new light on many aspects of the process occurred in pre-revolutionary Iran's music scene, contributes to a better understanding of this process of change.

Hill and Bithell (2014), who formulate a concept of music revival by reviewing existing revival theories and many ethnographic case studies, also mention the insufficiency of the term "revival" in describing a broad range of processes analyzed under this term. Referring to Mark Slobin (1983) in his essay "Rethinking 'Revival' of American Ethnic Music," however, they sidestep an explicitly literal focus on revival, introducing the term as

> a type of shorthand to encompass a range of more nuanced processes, …, namely regeneration, renaissance, revitalization, rediscovery, reshaping, re-interpretation, re-focusing, re-assessment, re-articulation,….reclamation, recovery, rescue, recuperation, restitution, restoration, renovation, reinvention, re- implementation, reactivation, re-traditionalization, re-indigenization, re-appropriation, resumption, resurgence, recycling, reproduction, revision, and re-creation. (Hill and Bithell 2014, 5)

As they suggest, all of these processes demonstrate "a fundamental motivation to draw upon the past and/or to intensify some aspects of the present" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 5). Hill and Bithell extend the concept of revival beyond the literal meaning of the term, even introducing the possibility of presenting a revival as a form of continuity: "in its extended sense, revival may also be seen as continuity —a deliberate effort to retain or keep alive as opposed to literally bringing back from the dead— or as the act of making visible that which has been hidden" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 5).

Based on their investigation of current revival theories and ethnographic accounts, Hill and Bithell (2014) define a set of features and processes to identify revivalist movements. First, musical revivals, as a form of "activism," represent their agents' "dissatisfaction with some aspect of the present and a desire to effect some sort of cultural change" (Hill and Bithell 2014,

10; 3–4). In presenting this feature of music revivals, Hill and Bithell draw upon a wide scholarly consensus, including the thinking of anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace. In his early theory on revitalization movements, of which revival movements are classified as one subset, Wallace defines a revitalization movement as "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace 1956, 265). According to Wallace,

> [The] persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their culture, or some major areas of it, as a system (whether accurately or not); they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory; and they must innovate not merely discrete items, but a new cultural system, specifying new relationships as well as, in some cases; new traits. (Wallace 1956, 265)

These arguments continue to be supported by recent ethnomusicologists. Tamara E. Livingston describes music revivals as "social movements" which essentially seek "to improve existing culture" (Livingston 1999, 66; 68). Likewise, Owe Ronström observes that these social movements may be motivated by dissatisfaction with a range of social phenomena, such as modernity, commercialization, urbanization, high culture, class or race disparity and the lack of visibility or economic and political power, which encourage revivalists to engage in a form of struggle (Ronström 1996, 8–9). Hill and Bithell also propose four categories to identify factors which may inspire revivalists to engage with revivalist activities: "dissatisfaction with aspects of the modern world," "identity-bolstering motives," political purposes, and "natural or human disasters," such as tsunami or war, in which musical practices have been removed by a total elimination of music teachers and artists from a music scene (Hill and Bithell 2014, 10; 11; 11–12; 12).

Second, the notion of the past, which Hill and Bithell (2014) identify as music revivals' "source of legitimacy" (12), occupies an important status in revivalist discourses. The significance of engaging with the past in revivalist discourses has been emphasized by

ethnomusicologists who have studied a variety of musical genres, whether traditional or popular. Ronström introduces the notion of tradition as "a central concept in revival studies" (Ronström 1996, 8). Livingston also mentions the notion of "historical continuity" which, according to her, plays a major role in constructing authenticity in revivalist discourses (Livingston 1999, 74). However, revivalists, because they engage with musical practices and elements identified as old or traditional, often adopt a selective approach to history, or may reinterpret or revise the history, establishing new historical narrative, and providing a romanticized narrative of imagery or real past (Hill and Bithell 2014, 4; 11). Likewise, Wallace observes that "revival movements are never entirely what they claim to be, for the image of the ancient culture to be revived is distorted by historical ignorance and by the presence of imported and innovative elements" (Wallace 1956, 276).

Third, music revivals, by transferring musical practices from the past to the present, engage in the process of decontextualization and recontextualization, whether intentional or circumstantial, transforming musical practices by introducing new changes (Hill and Bithell 2014, 4; 15). Ronström also defines the process of recontextualization as a "shift"; the process which entails "shifts between different historic, geographic, social, and cultural contexts, between the individual and collective, private and public, informal and formal, and between different mythical geographies" (Ronström 2014, 45).

Fourth, musical revivals need to gain acceptance and establish their legitimacy by authenticating their activities, their music, and changes offered through their revivalist discourses (Hill and Bithell 2014, 4; 19). Considering authenticity as a fundamental concept in revivalist discourses, Hill and Bithell associate the meaning of the term with notions of "genuine, authoritative, deserving of our credence," concluding that this triple meaning has "the potential

to confer power and legitimacy" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 20). The notion of authenticity has been highlighted in ethnomusicologists' description of the process of revival. Livingston emphasizes the significance of this notion in revivalist discourses, regarding the concept as "the centerpiece of music revivals" which "distinguishes revivals from other musical movements or trends" (Livingston 1999, 74). Ronström, in his analysis of traditions as constructed and symbolic (as opposed to natural) phenomena, questions the notion of authenticity as an essence inherent in an object, asserting that "authenticity is not a feature of an object, nor a quality mark, but a result of successful legitimation" (Ronström 1996, 8).

Revivalists construct authenticity based on a variety of different criteria. According to Hill and Bithell (2014), however, three main trends can be observed and categorized: product-oriented criteria that entail physical objects, such as manuscripts and sound recordings; person-oriented criteria that include idealizing source musicians and performers; process-oriented criteria that comprise the circumstances and processes of transmission, creation, and reception that authenticate specific forms of transmission (such as oral transmission), creation (such as traditional creative processes), and reception (such as consumer's experience and judgement of music) (Hill and Bithell 2014, 20–24).

Fifth, to ensure their success, music revivals develop "new methods and infrastructures" to publicize, transmit, disseminate, and promote their music. This feature may employ a variety of possibilities, such as launching festivals, holding competitions, establishing educational institutions, and even implementing official policies (Hill and Bithell 2014, 4). To formulate the same process using an analytical approach, Ronström employs the phrase "a shift in visibility" (Ronström 1996, 12). Employing Mark Slobin's identification of three levels of visibility, namely a micro level (villages, smaller regions), a regional level (parts of nations, nations or

group of nations), and a transregional level (international), Ronström introduces revivalist activities as efforts to raise the visibility of a musical genre to higher levels (Ronström 1996, 12). Likewise, revivalist methods as well as festivals, competitions, and other organizations established to publicize and disseminate a revived music can be regarded as efforts to raise the visibility of the music from lower to higher levels.

While these five intertwined features –the desire for cultural change, revising and romanticizing historical narratives, re-contextualizing, authenticating, publicizing and disseminating– explain the process of the formation and establishment of revival movements, Hill and Bithell also refer to a "post-revival" phase. In this phase, a form of music that has been revived to serve "as an alternative to mainstream culture" (Livingston 1999, 68) becomes part of it or establishes a new subculture (Hill and Bithell 2014, 4). According to Hill and Bithell, the post-revival phase indicates that a "revived" music has broken its connection to specific socio-cultural, political, and aesthetic causes that had initially encouraged the formation of the revival movement and, thus, has achieved an "independent existence." As they assert, "a post-revival phase is characterized first and foremost by the recognition that a revived tradition has become firmly established in a new context where it can no longer be described as either moribund or threatened and is therefore no longer in need of rescue" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 28; 29).

Defining Tradition

The notion of "tradition" often plays a central role within revivalist discourses. However, some critical literature on revivalist movements questions the idea of tradition as a natural or objective phenomenon, emphasizing the constructed and invented qualities of traditions

(Ronström 1996, 8). The idea of "invented tradition" is generally associated with a seminal book, *The Invention of Tradition*, first published in 1983, and edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Hobsbawm, in his introduction, questions the validity of claims made in support of the old origins of traditions, arguing that they are "often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (Hobsbawm 1992, 1). As Hobsbawm states,

> 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. (Hobsbawm 1992, 1)

For him, the notion of "invented tradition" signifies two phenomena: traditions that have been "actually invented, constructed and formally instituted" and those that have emerged "in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period," being maintained to establish and symbolize "social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities" (Hobsbawm 1992, 1; 9). According to Hobsbawm, the process occurs "more frequently when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed" or "when such old traditions…no longer prove sufficiently adaptable and flexible, or are otherwise eliminated" (Hobsbawm 1992, 4; 5).

In making these claims, Hobsbawm distinguishes between "tradition" and "custom": while he characterizes the former as being invariant, he associates the latter with adaptation and change. The notion of the past emphasized in tradition, he asserts, "imposes fixed (normally formalized) practices." In contrast, custom, as a practice that "dominates so-called traditional societies," allows for gradual innovations which are "compatible" or "identical" with precedent. Hobsbawm stresses that although the adherence to precedent imposes a certain level of limitation and fixity, it also brings about an organic change, consistent with socio-cultural context,

guaranteeing the "social continuity" of custom (Hobsbawm 1992, 2). This process contrasts with the invented qualities of tradition, which, although they are presented as maintaining historical continuity, are in fact recent in origin.

Like Hobsbawm, who stresses the ideological nature of traditions in terms of their functions and justifications, other scholars have also discussed the notion of tradition as a constructed, symbolic, and ideological phenomenon. For instance, Handler and Linnekin, in their essay "Tradition, Genuine or Spurious" (1984), define tradition as a "symbolic construction" (as opposed to a "natural object"), emphasizing that being "'traditional' is not an objective property of phenomena but an assigned meaning" (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 273; 286). For them, the (ideological) meaning of tradition is constantly constructed in a process of interpreting the past in the present (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 286).

Handler and Linnekin thus highlight the invented and constructed qualities of all traditions, questioning distinctions between "genuine" and "spurious" traditions. In this respect, their approach diverges from that of Hobsbawm, which distinguishes between tradition and custom. Although Hobsbawm's identification of custom contributes to a better understanding of what tradition lacks, his approach may raise the question of how, and based on what criteria, the historical continuity of custom in a so-called traditional society can be evaluated. In addition, the identification of a specific custom, if it is possible, may separate it from its context, resulting in its objectification and standardization—the same process by which "tradition" is identified. Even if it were possible to distinguish tradition from custom, this distinction would be constructed in the present based on a kind of interpretation of the past; it would thus involve a certain level of symbolic construction of meaning (genuine custom vs. false tradition). Therefore, behaviours, whether they are connected (custom) or perceived to be connected (tradition) to the past, are both

subject to our interpretation of their meaning in the present. This idea may lead one not to categorize traditions/customs based on their falsity or authenticity, but to go beyond this dichotomy and see them as symbolic phenomena that present their specific socially constructed meanings.

Defining Modernity vs. Multiple Modernities

The invention of tradition often occurs in societies which undergo rapid social changes. This has been the characteristic of many societies during the past 200 years (Hobsbawm 1992, 5), a period which is generally referred to as a part of the larger "modern" era and is thus closely associated with processes and values which are thought to characterize the notion of "modernity." Modernity is the product of a relatively recent intellectual worldview that gradually came into existence in European societies during the Renaissance, the Reformation, the scientific revolution of 17th century, and the Enlightenment in the 18th century (Hall et al. 1996, 8). The term refers to a set of political, economic, social, and cultural features and processes, including

> the dominance of secular forms of political power and authority and conceptions of sovereignty and legitimacy, operating within defined territorial boundaries….a monetarized exchange economy, based on the large-scale production and consumption of commodities for the market, extensive ownership of private property and accumulation of capital on a systematic, long-term basis….the decline of the traditional social order, with its fixed social hierarchies and overlapping allegiances, [and] the decline of the religious world-view typical of traditional societies and the rise of a secular and materialist culture. (Hall et al. 1996, 8)

Although modernity emerged and developed in Western Europe, it has influenced other societies all over the world, including Muslim societies such as Iran. However, while it has been associated with "democracy" and "human rights" in many Western societies, modernity was

largely introduced to the Muslim world through the process of "European colonialism" (Mahdavi 2013, 57). According to Mojtaba Mahdavi (2013), Muslims have adopted three main perspectives in their response to the challenge of modernity: the secularist modernist, traditionalist Islamist, and Islamic reformist views. For secularist modernists, as Mahdavi states, Western modernity is the sole "solution to the current crisis of Muslim societies." In contrast, traditionalists perceive Western modernity as "the major problem," arguing that the solution is "a return to Islamic traditions" (Mahdavi 2013, 57). Despite their extreme polarity, both perspectives share the core idea that there is no possibility of the reconciliation of values, especially regarding "modern notions of democracy, secularism and human rights," between Islam and modernity (Mahdavi 2013, 58).

The third reformist perspective, however, challenges both "hegemonic Western universalism" and the "cultural essentialism of Islamism," arguing that these responses do not capture "the complexity of Muslim societies" (Mahdavi 2013, 67). Mahdavi, as a proponent of this perspective, explains that since modernity is formed through the interaction of several political, economic, social and cultural forces within "institutional and intellectual configuration" specific to each society, "each society moves along different path[s] towards modernity and represents different versions of modernity." Thus, the third approach, by acknowledging the notion of multiple modernities, accepts that there are valid values which are universally accepted, but it emphasizes that different "forms of rationality" in different societies may result in the formation of "several different moral lives" based on the same universal principles. Accordingly, rejecting the "hegemonic universalism of colonial modernity," this approach invites "open and un-coerced cross-cultural dialogues" within and among advocates of various "equal moral values." Calling for "a critical dialogue and negotiation between tradition and

modernity," as Mahdavi indicates, the third approach "expedites the possibility of emerging Muslim modernities" (Mahdavi 2013, 58–64).

Defining Iranian Nationalism

In my analysis of music revivals, I have placed great emphasis on the role of nationalist discourses on musical changes in Iran. In the study of nationalisms, two main perspectives have been provided to define the origins of nations, national identities, and nationalisms: the primordial and instrumental views. Primordialist understandings of nationalism consider nations to be natural phenomena, ascribing national identities to older cultural roots and religious beliefs traced back to time immemorial. Primordialists reason that "group attachment is a cultural universal and that nationalism operates in much the same ways as older, 'tribal,' or ethnic identifications"; thus, emphasizing "the centrality of territory, kin, custom, language, and religion" in the formation of nationalist discourses (Smith and West 2001, 85).

In contrast to these primordialist discourses, instrumentalist approaches to the understanding of nationalism highlight the constructed and artificial qualities of nationalisms, identifying them as modern constructs (Smith and West 2001, 86–87). This approach was pioneered by Benedict Anderson (2006), who defined the "nation" as "an imagined political community." According to Anderson, "nationalism" and "nation-ness" are cultural artefacts which can be understood properly only by considering "how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they command such profound emotional legitimacy" (Anderson 2006, 6; 4). The idea of "imagined community" has profound similarities with the idea of "invented tradition," as proposed by Eric Hobsbawm.

However, unlike his predecessor, Anderson avoids distinctions between "authentic" and "ideological." In contrast to Hobsbawm, who differentiates custom from tradition, Anderson indicates that communities should not be classified by "their falsity or genuineness, but rather by the style in which they are imagined" (Smith and West 2001, 87).

Both primordialist and instrumentalist perspectives present ideal models to explain the origins of nationalism; however, using binary distinctions between them to define particular forms of nationalism may be misleading. Even in the process of inventing a tradition, pre-existing cultural components are selectively reconfigured and appropriated to construct new meanings and identities. Thus, although some communities can be identified as either primordial or invented, others can be defined by both of these dimensions as they share both qualities (Smith and West 2001, 88).

Likewise, three main perspectives have influenced the scholarship concerning the origins of national identity and nationalism in Iran. According to Ahmad Ashraf, the first perspective, which he calls "the romantic nationalist view" (Ashraf 2012a), advocates the primordial idea of the origins of Iranian nation, glorifying "several millennia of Persian history, ranging from 2,500 to 6,000 or 7,000 years" (Ashraf 1993, 160). This perspective, which contributed to "the development of a modern nation-state in Iran" (Ashraf 2012a), has influenced most middle-class Iranians, assuming prominence in various articulations of Iranian nationalism, "from monarchist to liberal-nationalist to religio-national" (Ashraf 1993, 161). In contrast, the second perspective, which Ashraf describes as "modernist or post-modernist" (Ashraf 2012a), questions the validity of the former perspective, considering Iranian nationalism merely to be a modern construct. Under the influence of Anderson's theory, which regards nations as "imagined communities," some scholars have selectively applied his ideas in order to examine the formation of the Iranian

national identity, relocating the origins of the nationalist discourses from the ancient past to modern times (Ashraf 2012a). Ashraf rejects the modernist approach in examining the origins of national identity in Iran, asserting that

> These modernist concepts of national identity are based on the ideal types of modern, civic-territorial experiences of nationhood of European societies. Pre-modern, non-Western nations do not fit seamlessly into this model. The idea of national identity in societies of Asia is often derived from fictive genealogical and territorial origins and vernacular culture and religion. (Ashraf 2012a)

The "historicizing perspective" (Ashraf 2012a), the third approach introduced by Ashraf, rejects both romantic and modernist views, while recognizing some of their dimensions. This perspective on the origins of Iranian nation rejects modernist and post-modernist ideas which recognize "a radical discontinuity between a modern nation and its historical past"; however, it identifies "civic nation" as a modern product which cannot be "applied retrospectively to pre-modern times" (Ashraf 2012a). According to Ashraf, the historicizing perspective investigates the historical origins of Iranian nation by focusing on "myths, memories, values, and symbols," regarding the Iranian nation and nationalism as "products of long-term, historical processes" which "are subject to 'flux and change'" (Ashraf 2012a).

According to Gnoli (2012), a proponent of the historicizing perspective, "the idea of Iran as a religious, cultural, and ethnic reality goes back as far as the end of the 6th century B.C.E." However, this notion gained a political dimension during the Sasanian period (224 CE - 651 CE) in which "a pre-modern ethno-national identity with a sense of ancient ethno-nationalism" emerged as "an essential feature of Sasanian propaganda" (Gnoli 2012). The Arab conquest of Iran put an end to the Sasanian dynasty; however, the Iranian identity was revived in the Islamic context between the 9th and 11th centuries "through the efforts of the Persian literati" with support of Iranian regional kings, who sought to introduce themselves as "descendants of pre-Islamic

kings and legends" (Ashraf 2012b). Under the rule of the Turkish Seljuk dynasty (1055 - 1194), Persian "as the first *lingua franca*, began to spread in medieval Islamic civilization as a trans-regional means of communication of chancery and literati" (Ashraf 2012b). The notion of Iran can also be traced in "Persian poetry and historiography" under the rule of the Mongols and Timurids (fl. 15th - 16th century CE). By the rise of the Safavid dynasty (1501 - 1722), which reunified Iran, Shi'ism became the official religion, contributing to the reconstruction of "a hybrid Iranian-Shi'ite identity" for Iranians (Ashraf 2012b).

Within this historical and cultural background, a modern concept of Iranian national identity came to the fore during the 19th and 20th centuries, as a result of Iranians' encounter with western ideas of nation-building. Reinforcing Iranians' rich historical experience of national identity, modern Iranian nationalism, while "conveying the ideals of the autonomy, unity, and prosperity of the nation" (Ashraf 2012c), transformed the identity of Iranian individuals "from subjects (*raʿaya*) to citizens" (Ashraf 2012c). The modern ideas of Iranian nationalism separated patriotism from former religious meanings and introduced new political values, including "loyalty to the nation" (Ashraf 2012c).

However, modern Iran has witnessed the development of several distinct articulations of modern Iranian nationalism. Nationalism as a dominant modern ideology has been a means of achieving and securing legitimacy; Iranian nationalism has been "the ideological reference point to which all competing ideologies have ultimately had to adhere, and within which most have been subsumed" (Ansari 2012, 1). The process of its development portrays nationalism as a field of contestation in which various ideological groupings, including secular, religious, monarchist, and leftist elites, have sought to interpret, fabricate, and re-construct its meaning based on their particular aims (Ansari 2012, 2). Thus, a modern concept of Iranian nationalism, as a modern

ideology, has assumed multiple and even contradictory meanings and implications. The multiplicity of interpretations and their attached meanings, however, can be understood if one carefully examines not only self-consciously held political ideologies, but also how these ideologies have emerged and evolved in the socio-cultural, political, and historical contexts.

Framing the Nationalist Narrative: A History of Iran

To investigate any aspect of Iranian cultural artifacts in modern times, one needs a basic knowledge of the historical background within which these cultural manifestations have been formed and developed. In particular, because of the historical background of the concepts of Iranian identity and "Iranian-ness," which has significantly contributed to the legitimation of modern Iranian nationalism, it is necessary to briefly review Iran's written history to understand why it was selectively employed by modern Iranian nationalists in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century to emphasize the "greatness" of the Iranian nation.

In this section, the history of Iran is divided into three distinct periods: the pre-Islamic period (800 BCE - 651 BC); the Islamic period until the rise of the Qajar dynasty (651 - 1796); the Qajar period (1796 - 1925). As will be discussed in Chapter One, while Iranian nationalists generally praised the pre-Islamic period, especially the Achaemenid and the Sasanian Empires, some of them regarded the Islamic period as the period of decline. However, some nationalists highlighted some aspects of this period, including Iranians' contribution to the Islamic civilization as well as the unification of the country under the Safavids, as influential strategies to indigenize the religion in their nationalist historical narratives. The Qajar period is also an

important time in Iranian history as the particular socio-political conditions of Iranian society during this period paved the way for the emergence of modern Iranian nationalism among nationalist elites.

The Pre-Islamic Period: The Emergence of Iranian Empires

According to the historian Homa Katouzian, Iran was known in ancient history to signify both a particular territory and a specific ethnic group. During the third and second millennium BCE, nomadic tribes immigrated to the Iranian plateau from the northeast and northwest. These Iranian tribes were settled across the plateau by the first millennium BCE; some of them, including the Persians, Medes, and Parthians, formed the first Iranian empires during the following centuries. The first local empire was formed when the Median tribes, which settled in the western part of the Iranian plateau, united at the beginning of the eighth century BCE to form the Median Empire.

More than two centuries later, the empire was overthrown by Cyrus the Great (ca. 590/580 - 529 BCE), who united the Medes and the Persians in 559 BCE. Cyrus conquered vast territories, including Lydia and some parts of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, Egypt, Hyrcania, Parthia, and Soghdiana. He expanded the frontiers of his empire up to Greece in the west and up to the River Jaxartes (Syr Darya in the present Central Asia) in the east, creating the first world empire, the Achaemenid Empire. The empire was expanded by Cyrus's successors, including Darius (550 - 486 BCE), who established a complex administrative system for governing the vast territories of the empire. The empire survived until 331 BCE when it was conquered by Alexander the Great (356 - 323 BCE) (Katouzian 2009, 27–37).

Established after the death of Alexander, the Seleucid Empire included many of the territories governed by the previous Iranian empire. It introduced aspects of Hellenistic Greek culture to its territories, which included the Iranian lands (Katouzian 2009, 28). The Seleucids were driven out by the Parthian Iranians, semi-nomadic tribes in the northeastern territories, who established the Arsacid Empire (247 BCE - 224 CE) and regained part of the territories governed by the old Achaemenid Empire. The Parthians also employed the title "King of Kings," which was initially used by the Achaemenids, to signify their kings, although their system of administration was not as centralized as that of the Achaemenids (Katouzian 2009, 41–45).

The last pre-Islamic Iranian empire was the Sasanian Empire (224 - 651 CE), which overthrew the Arsacid Empire. The Sasanians were ethnically Persian, trying to reconstruct a vast and powerful empire comparable to that of the Achaemenids. Like the latter, the Sasanians established a centralized state with a complex bureaucratic structure (Katouzian 2009, 45–47). It was also during the Sasanians' rule that the idea of Iran as an ethnic and cultural entity gained political value and became an essential dimension of state propaganda (Gnoli 2012). The Sasanians' official language was Parsi or Middle Persian (later known as Pahlavi) and their official religion was Zoroastrianism. In fact, the Sasanian Empire was "the first Iranian state to have an official religion" (Katouzian 2009, 48). The empire, which lost its stability and power because of various foreign and domestic factors, including long wars, domestic chaos over political power and the lack of the people's support, was defeated and conquered by Muslim Arabs (Katouzian 2009, 61). This became the beginning of a new Islamic era in Iranian history.

The Islamic Period: Occupation, Disintegration, and Reunification

The Muslim Arabs conquered the territories under the control of the Sasanians in a short period of time (636 - 651); however, Iran's conversion to Islam took about two and a half centuries; it was not until the end of the ninth century when most Iranians had accepted the new faith. For two centuries (650 - 850), no independent Iranian state was formed and the Iranian land was under the control of Muslim Arabs, including two Muslim Caliphates, the Umayyads and the Abbasids (Katouzian 2009, 65–66). Both dynasties relied on Iranians to run their administrative system, especially in the eastern territories. In particular, the early Abbasid court adopted "the Sasanian model of administration, government and court etiquette" (Katouzian 2009, 78) to manage the vast Islamic territories. The court of the Abbasids, especially from al-Mansur (754 - 775) to al-Ma'mun (813 - 833), was influenced by Persian culture and people. Various Iranian institutions and offices, including "the Persian office of vizier," were revived; Iranian viziers assumed administrative command and became powerful figures in the Abbasid court during the golden age of the Abbasids' rule. During two centuries of Arab rule, Iranians contributed to the development of the emerging Islamic civilization in many fields, including Arabic literature and grammar, Islamic jurisprudence, medicine, mathematics, science, arts, crafts, and architecture (Katouzian 2009, 73–78).

From the early 9th century to the early 11th century, several Iranian regional dynasties, including the Taherids, the Saffarids, the Samanids, the Buyids, the Ziyarids, and the Ghaznavids, emerged as a result of the weakness of the Abbasid Caliphate at its center. Almost all of the dynasties ruled over eastern and northeastern Persia; the exceptions were the Buyids and the Ziyarids, who established their dynasties in the west, centre and south. Although these

regional governments were independent of the Abbasid court, they usually had "the nominal approval" of the Abbasid court in Baghdad (Katouzian 2009, 81).

From the mid-eleventh century to the early sixteenth century, the Persian lands were mostly under the rule of Turkish and Mongol rulers. In 1035, the defeat of the Ghaznavids in their war with the Seljuk Turks paved the way for the invasion of Persia by the Seljuks. The invasion encouraged the mass migration of Turkish nomads, who influenced Iranian civilization linguistically and ethnically during the following centuries. The Seljuks ruled over Persia until the mid-twelfth century, when the Mongols invaded the Persian lands and established the Ilkhan Empire. In the late fourteenth century, the Mongols were defeated by Timur, who claimed to be descended from Genghis Khan, the first Mongolian ruler who invaded Persia. Timur's descendants (Timurids) ruled over Persia until the early sixteenth century, when the Safavid Empire came to power (Katouzian 2009, 90–111).

The Safavids (1501 - 1722) established an Iranian empire, reuniting the entire Iranian lands. They were "Turkamans of remote Kurdish descent who claimed … that they were direct descendants of … Imam Ali and the Prophet Muhammad" (Katouzian 2009, 112). Under the Safavid dynasty, Iran gained "distinct religious identity" as the Twelver Shi'a faith became the official state religion (Katouzian 2009, 112). It was during this period that a majority of Iranians, who were Sunni Muslims, converted to Shi'ism by force as a result of "harsh punishment and persecution" (Katouzian 2009, 115). During this period, the Safavids were involved in full-scale wars against the Sunni Ottoman Empire. The climax of the Safavids' rule was marked by Shah Abbas's reign (1588 - 1629). He brought about domestic stability and economic development, pursuing trade with various European and Asian countries. His period also marked the flourish of Iranian arts, such as painting and calligraphy, and architecture. By the death of Shah Abbas and

from the mid-seventeenth century, however, the Safavid dynasty began to lose its power and stability (Katouzian 2009, 112–31).

In 1722, the Afghans invaded the capital, Isfahan, and Iran entered a period of domestic chaos which lasted until the end of eighteenth century. During this period, the Ottomans and the Russians occupied parts of Iranian territories previously ruled over by the Safavids. Despite widespread domestic conflicts in this period, two dynasties brought about relative stability and peace. Nadir-Quli Afshar, the head of Afshar tribal troops, who defeated both domestic and foreign adversaries, ruled over Iran from 1736 until his death in 1747. Karim Khan Zand also took the control of Iranian territory, except for Khurasan and Afghanistan, from 1759 until his death in 1779. However, the rise of the Qajar dynasty in the late eighteenth century put an end to a century of turmoil and conflict and brought about the unification of the country (Katouzian 2009, 132–40).

The Qajar Period: Encounter with Modernity

During the Qajar period (1796 - 1925), Iranians experienced the consequences of European modernity for the first time as a result of their encounter with two powerful European empires, Britain and Russia. Several full-scale wars with Russia between 1804 and 1828 led to Iran's defeat and the signing of two treaties, the *Gulistan* in 1813 and the *Turkamanchay* in 1828, through which many territories, including the whole of the Caucasus, were separated from Iran and ceded to Russia. The defeat, however, provoked Iranian officials to search for a remedy for the problem and led them to pursue military reforms based on European models (Katouzian 2009, 144). Under the rule of the fourth Qajar monarch, Nasir al-Din Shah (1848 - 1873), Amir Kabir (1807 - 1852), who was the king's first chief minister between 1848 and 1852,

implemented several administrative reforms. The establishment of the *Dar al-Funun* (Polytechnic College) in Tehran in 1851 was also a result of Amir Kabir's reformist efforts. The *Dar al-Funun* was the first modern educational institution in Iran, established along "the lines of the renowned French *ecoles polytechniques,*" in which "European teachers … taught military, medical and other sciences as well as modern languages" (Katouzian 2009, 154).

In 1857, the separation of Herat, over which Iran claimed sovereignty, took place under the force of British troops, motivated the Iranian state to take new steps towards administrative reforms that aimed at creating a disciplined and responsible administration based on the rule of law. Although Nasir al-Din Shah's other chief minister, Mushir al-Dawlih (Sipahsalar) (1828 - 1881), pursued governmental reforms from 1871 for a short period, it was the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 that brought about a new model of government based on constitution during the Qajar period. The Constitutional Revolution was a result of "a patriotic, nationalist movement" (Ashraf 2012c), which sought to create a modern responsible state in order to preserve the nation's autonomy against European powers. In addition, it also aimed at transforming the political identity of the Iranian people, providing them greater opportunities for participating in the nation's political domain (Ashraf 2012c).

The revolution, however, was followed by a counter-revolution backed by Russian officers in 1908. In 1909, constitutionalists regained their control over the country; however, domestic chaos and foreign intervention in the following years provided a foundation for the rise of a determined autocratic ruler who was able to restore domestic stability and security. In this context, Reza Khan (later Reza Shah Pahlavi) (1878 - 1944), who emerged on Iran's political scene through the coup d'état of 1921, gained power and caused the demise of the Qajar dynasty in 1925. Chapter One contextualizes the emergence of modern Iranian nationalism during this

period, providing further details regarding the socio-political context in which the Pahlavi dynasty (1925 - 1979) was established.

The Source of "Authenticity": The Qajar Musical Tradition

Iranian classical music is always performed based on particular modal frameworks called *dastgah*s[1]. The formation of the *dastgah* system in its present form dates back to the second half of nineteenth century in Qajar Iran (As'adi 2010, 55–58). The music is generally traced back to the Qajar court musicians, especially the musicians who played in the court of Nasir al-Din Shah (Khaliqi 2002, 1:63; 92–99; 131–32). Thus, in this study "Iranian classical music" and the "Qajar musical tradition" will be used interchangeably. As will be discussed, during the first half of the 20th century and especially from the mid-1920s, the music underwent a process of modernization and westernization, adopting the elements and techniques of Western music. From the 1930s, the music was influenced by popular genres of music, including Iranian and Western popular music. In fact, the culmination of revivalist discourses during the late 1960s and the 1970s, as will be discussed, was basically a reaction to both processes of modernization and popularization, seeking to revive the Qajar musical tradition.

Defining Iranian classical music in the contemporary context is a problematic issue because, as will be discussed in this thesis, some musicians may exclude others who adopt different perspectives and practices from their own. However, in addition to the historical fact that music was mainly performed in the Qajar court before the Constitutional Revolution of 1906, the author of this thesis offers a set of criteria to define musical practices referred to as Iranian classical music in this thesis. Accordingly, this study defines Iranian classical music as a

[1] For definition, see Glossary of Terms.

genre of music that follows the principles of the *dastgah* system in performance and composition. The music is also taught by means of oral transmission. Whether improvisatory or pre-composed, Iranian classical music is performed solo or in an ensemble by Iranian instruments; however, some Western instruments, such as violin and piano, may be also used in performing a classical repertoire.

Methodology

The categorization of ideas inevitably necessitates a certain level of generalization. In this process, no category can be identified without overlooking slight differences in favor of important similarities. This is particularly true when analyzing texts reflecting contemporary discourses[2]. At times, the boundaries between different ideas and expressions are blurred and even when they are categorized according to their shared elements, there are still some ideas which include features of different and even contradictory categories. However, this process of identifying shared elements contributes to a formation of a kind of model or framework which is able to explain possible relations or contradictions between apparently separate arguments, discourses and events, and to interpret them in a meaningful way.

My study relies heavily on such generalizations to depict common threads in Iran's musical society from the 1940s to 1970s. To trace the evolution and interaction of ideas in the musical society which resulted in the revival of Iranian classical music, my thesis examines a

[2] In this study, discourse is defined based on Michel Foucault's ideas discussed in his book *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. According to Beard and Gloag, Foucault defines discourse as "the system of statements through which the world, society, and the self are known, understood and brought into being in a relational context" (Beard and Gloag 2005, 55). Accordingly, discourse may refer to "commentaries and aesthetic beliefs…that surround musical practices, shaping and influencing the views of performers, composers, scholars and listeners alike,…the way in which a musical work is interpreted, [constructing] musical practice to ensure the continuation of particular genres and styles…, the division of music history into distinct periods…and the formation of musical canons" (Beard and Gloag 2005, 55–57).

large number of publications from 1900 to the present, with the aim of recognizing dominant discourses on Iranian classical music in the period from the 1940s to the 1970s, and ascertaining the processes of their formation and development.

To achieve this aim, I studied three types of publications. First, I examined many articles and books (and in one case a dissertation), written in Persian between 1900 and 1976, which reflect the ideas of authors who lived during this period. The study and analysis of these publications, from which the main prevalent themes and discourses were identified, constituted the primary basis of my research. Second, I consulted a number of articles, books, and memoirs written in Persian by Iranian scholars, critics, and musicians that describe or analyze different aspects of Iranian musical society from the 1940s to the 1970s. These publications were used to provide more information about musicians, musical genres, and other aspects of the musical society to contextualize my findings in the first group of publications. Third, monographs, articles, and dissertations by non-Iranian ethnomusicologists, especially those written during the 1960s and the 1970s, were also considered in order to examine how Iranian musical society in general and prevalent musical discourses in particular were reflected in these publications. While the former aspect of these studies helped me better contextualize my findings, the latter shed new light on my understanding of musical discourses in Iran's musical society especially during the 1960s and the 1970s.

Since the first group of publications constituted the basis of my investigation, several approaches were employed to ensure that I had accessed a sufficient range of primary materials. I used Vida Mashayikhi's *Kitabshinasi-yi Musiqi* (Bibliography of Music; 1976), which provides a listing of all Persian language publications concerning music from 1926 to 1976 and categorizes them based on various criteria. In addition to locating publications related to the topic of my

study, the book enabled me to identify those authors who had published the greatest number of publications related to my subject. In addition, in the process of reading these publications, I was able to identify some important works cited, referred to, or criticized in the texts. This process also revealed shared patterns among authors, as some themes, such as the pre-Islamic historical background of Iranian classical music, were echoed in many publications. However, this thesis only presents those works identified as the most articulated, and often the earliest, expressions of a specific discourse.

In addition, I investigated a wide range of written sources on Iranian music published between 1900 and 1976, including the first and third series of *Majallih-yi Musiqi* (Journal of Music)[3], a large number of publications by the most influential figures in Iran's musical society from 1920 to 1970, including Ali-Naqi Vaziri, Ruhullah Khaliqi, Mehdi Barkechli, Zaven Hacobian, and Daryush Safvat, and many articles and monographs published between the 1900 and 1976. Although my research has suffered from the lack of access to some publications, for example the journal *Muzik-i Iran* (Music of Iran)[4] (except for those published later in other collections of essays), I assume that my investigation of a large number of publications compensates for this lack of access to all publications, and that my study is thus able to describe the main discourses in Iran's musical society from the 1940s to the 1970s. At the same time, I have highlighted the role of two musicians, Nur-Ali Burumand and Muhammad-Reza Lutfi, due to their importance in revivalist practices before the revolution, although only a small number of their publications were available.

[3] *Majallih-yi Musiqi* was the first music magazine published in Iran. The State Music Department (Idarih-yi Musiqi-yi Kishvar) was responsible for publishing the first series of the magazine between 1939 and 1941. The third series was published under the auspices of the General Administration for Fine Arts (Idarih-yi Kol-li Hunarha-yi Ziba) from 1956 to 1973 (Arianpur 2014, 59; 146).

[4] *Muzik-i Iran* was the first non-governmental music magazine published in Iran between 1952 and 1965. The magazine, which attracted the support of many music critics and writers, sometimes published articles critical of the musical activities of the General Administration for Fine Arts (Arianpur 2014, 100–102).

To conduct this research, I have not used ethnographic methods, such as informant interviewing. Although interviews are common methods in ethnomusicological studies, a lack of historical research based on written works that reflect concurrent musical practices and discourses necessitated examining the subject of this study by adopting this approach. Indeed, conducting interviews with musicians, who were part of the pre-revolutionary Iranian musical scene, would shed new light on the pre-revolutionary musical discourses, improving the quality of this research. However, the broad spectrum of publications examined was adequate for the scope of this research project.

The approach adopted in my study has both advantages and disadvantages. My study of musicians' entire output reveals and considers gradual changes in their ideas over a period of time, sometimes questioning their static image as constructed by others. For instance, Ali-Naqi Vaziri and his student, Ruhullah Khaliqi, are two prominent figures widely recognized (and sometimes blamed) as modernizers in Iran's musical society. My study portrays these musicians as the first figures among Iranian musicians who cautioned against the hegemony of Western practices from 1940 onwards.

However, my approach has some disadvantages as well. Since articles and books published before the 1970s were generally written by educated middle-class musicians, critics, and music scholars, the voices of classical musicians not trained in modern educational institutions are somewhat absent from these publications. My research demonstrates that transformations and changes in Iranian music from the 1920s to the 1970s, including its modernization, westernization, and revival, were proposed, advocated, and implemented by those musicians who had studied in modern educational settings. However, the knowledge of classical musicians' perspectives on their music could contribute to better understanding Iran's

musical society between the 1940s and the 1970s. In addition, my approach excludes those musicians who were only engaged in musical performances. For instance, a large number of musical performances, which can be categorized under the title "popularized classical music" and were performed largely on the radio's *Golha* program, were composed and performed by musicians who were not mainly engaged in publication activities. To compensate for such deficiencies, I have used other sources, mostly published in recent years, in which such performances and programs have been analyzed.

My research places main discourses that appeared as a result of my investigation of publications in the socio-political context of Iranian society from the 1920s to the 1970s. This study employs an interpretation of Iranian history which places great emphasis on Iranian nationalism as a socio-political force, contextualizing new ideas, emerging practices, and major events in their relation with nationalist discourses. In this process, different interpretations of Iranian nationalism articulated by early constitutionalist elites, the Pahlavi state, and the intellectuals of the 1960s and 1970s are discussed to explain how the current perception of nationalism in each period influenced not only the state's attitude towards Iranian classical music but also musicians' perception of their own music.

My analysis of the revival of Iranian classical music before the revolution relies on the model provided by Hill and Bithell (2014) explained previously. My study focuses on their first five processes—activism and the desire for cultural change, reinterpreting and romanticizing historical narratives, re-contextualizing, authenticating, publicizing and disseminating—to explain the process of the gradual formation and establishment of revivalist discourses in Iran's musical society from the 1940s to the 1970s.

Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is comprised of five chapters. Chapter One discusses the formation of modern Iranian nationalism among intellectual elites in the second half of the nineteenth century, introducing principles upon which this concept was constructed. To examine the influence of nationalist discourses on Iranian musical society, two prominent musicians, Ali-Naqi Vaziri and Ghulam-Hussein Minbashian, who took charge of the state music administration during Reza Shah Pahlavi's reign (1924 - 1941) are introduced in this chapter. Reviewing their publications and lectures, this chapter describes these musicians' main ideas and concerns, introducing their perspectives towards Iranian classical music, and explaining why they sought to "advance" and "develop" Iranian music by adopting Western techniques and values. In fact, these modernist musicians' critical approaches to Iranian classical music are presented as reference points against which the following revivalist discourses defined themselves.

Chapter Two examines the socio-political situation of Iranian society in the period from Reza Shah's abdication in 1941 to Muhammad Musaddiq's overthrow in 1953. This chapter demonstrates how the socio-political situation of Iranian society led the Iranian public as well as nationalist elites to further recognize the significance of Iranian traditions. Introducing different ideas advocated by Vaziri's and Minbashian's followers, this chapter discusses how the conflicts between these two musical streams encouraged Vaziri's followers' and students' first steps towards acknowledging the significance of Qajar classical musicians and their present successors.

Focusing on the period from 1956 to 1979, Chapter Three explains why the Iranian state, which inaugurated massive development programs, came to implement a consistent policy that promoted Iranian classical music as a vital aspect of Iran's national heritage. Considering that the

Iranian state adopted a particular articulation of Iranian nationalism to compensate for its lack of legitimacy after the 1953 coup, the chapter demonstrates how the state's cultural policy in regard to music benefited from a historical narrative that assumed a constant continuity in Iranian music from the ancient pre-Islamic period to the present. The chapter also describes the influence of the first generation of Iranian musicologists and ethnomusicologists who questioned for the first time the universality of Western techniques within Iran's musical society.

Chapter Four describes social, political, and cultural crises in the aftermath of the 1953 coup, presenting conflicts between the Iranian state and the intellectuals of the 1960s and the 1970s. This chapter presents different articulations of Iranian nationalism propagated by the state and intellectuals and demonstrates the influence of these nationalisms on cultural domains, including music. The chapter also describes the process of the development of popularized forms of Iranian music broadcast on the media. Describing the influence of the media in depoliticizing the Iranian public after the 1953 coup, this chapter explains how the popularity of musical programs aired on the media encouraged different musical responses among some musicians who were motivated by different cultural, social, and political concerns.

Chapter Five provides a review of the main discourses presented in previous chapters, discussing the process of formation and development of revivalist discourses in Iranian musical society based on a theoretical framework provided by Hill and Bithell (2014). This chapter analyzes why the notion of musical revival can be employed to define the process of change in musical practices from the 1940s to the 1970s.

Chapter One: Background to Dominant Discourses in the Second Pahlavi Period

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Iran's musical society witnessed an overwhelming tension between two distinct perspectives, both influenced by the prevalent ideology of the post-constitutional era discussed in intellectual circles: the ideology of Iranian nationalism. These two musical groups, which took charge of the state music administration during Reza Shah Pahlavi's reign (1925 - 1941), both served to inculcate nationalist ideals in the public although they pursued their nationalist ideals in different ways. While Ali-Naqi Vaziri, the administrator of the State Music School from 1928 to 1934, aimed at reviving the music of the Qajar era (i.e. Iranian classical music) by means of Western techniques to develop the music, creating a national music specific to the Iranian nation, Ghulam-Hussein Minbashian, the administrator of the same conservatory from 1934 to 1941, primarily endeavored to substitute Western classical music for Iranian music, which he regarded as a sign of the nation's decadence.

Both Vaziri and Minbashian aimed to intensify Iranians' nationalist zeal for the "renewal" of their nation. However, their diverse approaches were derived from different views on Iranian nationalism. Because of the influential role of their followers in Iran's musical society in the aftermath of the Second World War, Vaziri's and Minbashian's ideas concerning music and their relationship to nationalist discourses are crucial to our understanding of musical events during later decades, especially with respect to the tensions between their followers in post-World War II Iran.

The Ideology of Modern Iranian Nationalism

Modern Iranian nationalism, as a constructed ideological basis of the modern nation-state in Iran, emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century among a small number of reform-minded intellectual elites who wished to find a remedy for Iran's socio-political decline in the late Qajar period (Ansari 2012, 36–37; Ashraf 2012c). As discussed in the introduction, a collective sense of identity had existed among people before the rise of modern nationalism in Iran; however, it was in the second half of the nineteenth century that a modern nationalist narrative, as a central part of the Constitutional movement, which was influenced by an idealized European model of development, gradually formed in intellectual discussions. The significant impact of nationalist discourses on the mentality of Iranians, and particularly musicians, in the following decades, especially during the Pahlavi period, necessitates the further clarification of various arguments that framed the early nationalist ideas.

Sympathizing with European intellectuals' theory of "Persian decadence," which regarded "oriental despotism" as a source of Iran's underdevelopment (Ansari 2012, 9–13), the early Iranian nationalists came to frame their modern ideology by adopting a romantic primordial perspective on Iranian history to present an ideal alternative to current conditions of Iranian society by glorifying Iran's ancient pre-Islamic past. Being highly critical of the socio-political situation of Qajar Iran (Ashraf 2012c; Kashani-Sabet 2002, 165), they aimed at helping the Iranian public go beyond the unsatisfactory situation of Iranian society in the Qajar period (Ashraf 2012c). The first attempts to reconstruct a national history was initiated by early nationalists, such as Mirza Fath-Ali Akhundzadih (1812 - 1878), Jalal al-Din Mirza Qajar (1826 - 1870), and Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani (1854 - 1896), who employed Iranian myths to draw the continuity of Iranian history "from the mythological past to the Qajar era" (Ashraf 2012c).

Meanwhile, European archaeological explorations during the late nineteenth century helped the early nationalists to find a scientific basis for their glorification of Iran's pre-Islamic past. These discoveries, which endorsed narratives of the Bible and the classical authors concerning Iranians (Ansari 2012, 17), provided a scientific basis for a new factual historical narrative which portrayed the glory of Iranian ancient empires. In particular, the discovery of the Cyrus cylinder in Mesopotamia in 1879, which confirmed the image of Cyrus narrated in the Old Testament, gave the early nationalists an opportunity to find a historical figure who was admired by Europeans (Ansari 2012, 21).

Before these archaeological discoveries, Iranians were familiar with the legends of their mythical heroes and kings, particularly those narrated in the *Shahnama* (the Book of Kings) by the Persian poet Abul-Qasim Firdawsi (940 - ca.1019-25). These mythical heroes were mostly characterized as figures "with strong religious associations and a sense of mission normally related to the establishment of justice and order" (Ansari 2012, 21). Within this historical and cultural background, however, the new scientific history concerning Cyrus paved the way for constructing a new image for Iranian monarchs, especially during the Pahlavi period, portraying them as the nation's saviour who sought to accomplish their national mission (Ansari 2012, 21–22).

The doctrine of the Aryan race, derived from Europeans' linguistic studies, was also employed by Iranian nationalists to glorify the "greatness" of the Iranian nation. The notion originated from European scholars' search for the linguistic roots of the Indo-European language family during the eighteenth century in India (Ansari 2012, 13). These linguistic studies paved the way for a theory of race (Ansari 2012, 13), which assumed the predominance of an Indo-European language as a "racial advantage" (Kashani-Sabet 2002, 163). While European scholars

traced Europeans' roots to a noble Aryan origin (Ansari 2012, 13), the nationalists of those countries whose languages were identified by European scholars as a member of the Indo-European language family employed the same ideas (Kashani-Sabet 2002, 163). Thus, the doctrine of the Aryan race regarded Iranians as Aryan people who had the same origins with the western European race (Ansari 2012, 13–14; 30).

For some of early nationalists, such as Mirza Fath-Ali Akhundzadih and Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani, however, the emphasis on the greatness of pre-Islamic past implied Iran's decline during the Islamic era and particularly the Qajar period (Ansari 2012, 30; Kashani-Sabet 2002, 165; Ashraf 2012c). Aligning with the model of development established by the French Revolution, they generally regarded religious Shi'a authorities as the polar opposites of the nation's modernization and progress (Ansari 2012, 25). In addition, the idea of racial distinction between Aryan Indo-Europeans, with whom Iranians were grouped, and Arab Semites, advocated by European Orientalists, such as Ernest Renan (1823 - 1892) and Comte de Gobineau (1816 - 1882), influenced early nationalist intellectuals, including Akhundzadih who regarded pre-Islamic Iran as "a paradise in which justice prevailed," and the subsequent Islamic era as "a period of decay" (Kashani-Sabet 2002, 165).

Conforming with European Orientalists, such as Renan, who considered the Arab Semites to be responsible for Islam's lack of success in adapting to modern ideas, Iranian nationalists regarded Arabs, and by extension Islam as an alien religion, as the main cause of Iran's decadence and backwardness, because Arab conquest of Iran in the seventh century put an end to the glory of the Sasanians as the last empire (Kashani-Sabet 2002, 165; Ansari 2012, 27; 30). This xenophobic belief, however, were later expanded as Iranian nationalists came to draw a greater distinction between Iran as a "pure" nation and foreigners (i.e. Arabs, Turks, and

Mongols), who, as they believed, had polluted Iranian authentic culture and civilization through religious pressures and foreign invasions (Vejdani 2012, 513). In fact, nationalist intellectuals, through highlighting the myth of Aryan race and authenticating the pre-Islamic past, "attempted to sidestep Arabo-Islamic and Turco-Mongolian influences" (Vejdani 2012, 514).

In contrast to the proponents of an antireligious form of Iranian nationalism who perceived the Islamic period as a rupture between the glorious pre-Islamic period and the present modern times, a number of nationalists in the first decades of the twentieth century highlighted the continuity of Iranian history by indigenizing the religion through emphasizing Iranians' contribution to the Islamic civilization as well as introducing Shi'ism as "Iranian Islam." Regarding the Abbasid period as the golden age of Islamic civilization, this nationalist narrative of Iranian history placed great emphasis on Iranians' administrative role in the Abbasid court. In addition, it praised those Muslim philosophers, scientists, historians, poets, and authors who were ethnically Iranian, highlighting their contributions to "Arabic historiography, philosophy, science, and translations" (Vejdani 2014, 210–14). Abbas Iqbal Ashtiani (d. 1955), the prominent nationalist historian who was a proponent of this perspective, in his evaluation of Iranians' contribution to the Islamic civilization stated that

> All Muslims [meaning non-Arabs as well as Arabs] have had a part in [the shaping of] Islamic civilization, but Iranians have played a more prominent role than everyone else. This is not only because this people took charge of the main institutions of Islamic governance, but they were also direct promoters of science and literature or experts and teachers of learning (*ma'lumat*). As a result, the majority of the learned figures among the clerics, philosophers, and poets who wrote in Arabic during this period of Islamic civilization were Iranians. (quoted in Vejdani 2014, 212)

In attempt to provide a nationalized conception of Islam, these nationalists viewed natural connection and association between Shi'ism and Iran, introducing Shi'ism as an Iranian form of

Islam. Hussein Kazimzadih (1883 - 1962), the editor of the Persian-language periodical *Iranshahr* (1922 - 1927), in an article entitled "Religion and Nationality" published in 1924 indicated that "for over a thousand years Islam has become an Iranian religion, with its Shi'i form evolving into an Iranian national religion, showing the imprint of the Iranian spirit" (quoted in Matin-Asgari 2014, 61). Other nationalist historians, including Iqbal Ashtiani, also highlighted the central role of Shi'ism in distinguishing Iranians from their Sunni neighbors. These nationalists were more interested in studying Shi'ism in the frame of Iranian history rather than within its Islamic context. For them, Iranians' conversion to Shi'ism during the Safavid period not only had brought about the unification of Iranian territories after a long period of disintegration and foreign intervention, but it also had helped Iran to distinguish itself from Sunni Arab and Ottoman neighbors (Vejdani 2014, 212–13).

Considering Europe's superior political and economic power at the turn of the twentieth century, Iranian nationalists generally endorsed the admiration of Western civilization and its achievements. However, different perspectives on the degree of the adoption of Western values emerged among Iranian nationalists. Some nationalists advocated "the wholesale adoption of Western civilization" (Matin-Asgari 2014, 58), arguing that Iranians should emulate all aspects of Western civilization to achieve the same achievements. This perspective was best reflected in a statement by Sayyid Hasan Taqizadih (1878 - 1970), the prominent constitutionalist and the editor of the Persian-language periodical *Kavih* (1916 - 1922), who aimed to prescribe a remedy for the critical situation of Iranian society. As he wrote in 1920,

> Iran must absolutely become Westernized…in exterior and interior and physically and spiritually [through]…unconditional surrender and absolute submission to Europe and acquiring Western manners and customs, mores and upbringing, sciences, technologies, lifestyle, and everything else with no exemption (except for language). (quoted in Amanat 2012, 23)

These statements should be understood in light of a fact that Taqizadih, like other nationalists who believed in the universality of Western values, perceived European civilization as a result of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. For him, the Enlightenment, and its emphasis on reason and rationalization, was not confined to a specific culture or region, but it was part of the history of humanity which because of its universality could contribute to Iranians' fight for achieving modernity and progress (Ansari 2012, 64). Language was indeed exempted from this process of adoption, as the Persian language, along with territory and history, was one of the main pillars upon which early constitutionalists had constructed modern Iranian nationalism (Kashani-Sabet 2002, 169).

In regard to the adoption of Western values, another perspective also emerged which defined Iranian national identity as "a composite construction whose constituent elements were to be chosen from both Eastern and Western cultures" (Matin-Asgari 2014, 61). According to Matin-Asgari (2014), the Persian-language periodical *Iranshahr*, published in Berlin under the editorship of Hussein Kazimzadih, supported this perspective. *Iranshahr* advocated for a romantic and primordialist view towards Iran's pre-Islamic past that glorified the authenticity of national culture, while providing a critical perspective towards Western civilization by criticizing the "materialism," "purely secular rationality," and "moral decay" of European nations (Matin-Asgari 2014, 59–60). For *Iranshahr* and its authors, as Matin-Asgari indicates, the blind imitation of Western civilization might lead the Iranian nation to a further ruin; thus, Iranians should have adopted only the best features of Western civilization that contributed to their spiritual and material progress. Kazimzadih, the editor of *Iranshahr*, stated in an article that "we have said repeatedly that Iran should not become Europeanized, in essence or appearance, nor should it remain in its present unfortunate state. Instead, it must make progress, creating the kind

of civilization that can be called Iranian" (quoted in Matin-Asgari 2014, 61). He continued that, "we must scrutinize both Eastern and Western civilizations, adopting their life-giving laws and percepts to create a new civilization, designated as 'Iranian'" (quoted in Matin-Asgari 2014, 61). These statements clearly position Kazimzadih in contrast to the previous perspective expressed by Taqizadih, who called for "unconditional surrender and absolute submission" to Western civilization.

The rise of Reza Khan (later Reza Shah Pahlavi), a high-ranking Cossack officer, to power in 1921 was concurrent with these intellectual discussions. Although nationalist constitutionalists had succeeded to confine the power of Qajar monarchs through the Constitutional Revolution of 1906, they failed to establish a powerful central state capable of maintaining the nation's territorial integrity. In fact, external and internal threats in the aftermath of the World War I provided mass support for a strong government that was able to preserve the nation against these threats (Katouzian 2009, 192–94; Kashani-Sabet 2002, 169). In this conditions, Reza Khan emerged on Iran's political scene through the coup d'état of 1921 and became the minister of war (1921 - 1923) and then prime minister (1923 - 1925). During this period, he eliminated domestic chaos and insecurity, establishing "domestic order and stability" through military power (Katouzian 2009, 200–206).

Establishing the Pahlavi dynasty in October 1925 by the help of a constituent assembly (Katouzian 2009, 205–06), Reza Shah was welcomed by nationalist intellectuals who regarded him as "the saviour of the nation," who would secure the nation, facilitate the pursuit for modernization and cultural reforms, and lead people towards the modern age (Ansari 2012, 66). Although the early nationalists blamed "the absolutism of the corrupt and incompetent members of the ruling classes" (Ashraf 2012c) and recognized the significance of individual freedom, the

state under the Reza Shah's rule regarded the nationalist project as an official mission, imposing social and cultural policies from above to build a modern nation-state. In fact, instead of exercising their individual and social rights, the modern Iranian citizens were forced to conform to "the norm" defined by the state's social and cultural policy (Kashani-Sabet 2002, 170). Indeed, the architects of the state's nationalist policies regarded Reza Shah's despotic monarchy as a temporary solution to the critical situation of the nation, a price necessary to pay for securing and achieving their national goals (Ansari 2012, 111).

Aiming to build a unified modern nation-state, Reza Shah, as a nationalist inspired by the ideology of Iranian nationalism, modernized the country with emphasis on centralization, secularization, and urbanization, actualizing many ideals pursued by nationalist elites: "public education, a renewed and modernized judiciary, the settlement of the tribes, the emancipation of women, clothing and language reform, bureaucratization, conscription, the beginning of industrial development, patriotism, and the cultivation of civic nationalism" (Ansari 2012, 111). According to the official history widely disseminated in the country, Reza Shah's rule was considered to be the beginning of the era of "renewal" (Sharifi 2013, 80). The ideology of Iranian nationalism, which had been essentially shaped as an antidote to the Qajars' despotic monarchy, provided legitimacy to secure Reza Shah's dictatorial monarchy. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, this articulation of Iranian nationalism was largely used to create legitimacy for Reza Shah's successor, his son Muhammad-Reza Shah, particularly after the 1953 coup.

The Nationalist Cultural Agenda

The glorification of the past, especially the pre-Islamic period, was central to intellectuals' nationalist project; thus, those cultural practices that supported nationalist historical narratives attracted intellectuals' attention. Iranian nationalists sought not only to preserve "authentic" national heritage, but also to purify this heritage from perceived foreign influences. In early 1922, the Society for National Heritage (Anjuman-i Asar-i Milli) was established by leading political and cultural elites. According to its declaration, the Society was founded "to enhance public interest in ancient knowledge and crafts; and to preserve antiquities and handicrafts and their ancient techniques" (cited in Abdi 2001, 56). The Society also attracted the support of Western scholars who participated in "the study, preservation and resurrection of ancient art, architecture, history and culture" (Katouzian 2009, 217). Nationalists' concern about purifying Iranian culture from foreign influences was also manifested through the establishment of new organizations such as the Iranian Academy (Farhangistan-i Iran) in 1935, essentially founded to purge the Persian language of foreign, especially Arabic, words (Katouzian 2009, 217).

The tendency towards the purification of cultural manifestations also influenced folklore studies. For two decades, Constitutional ideals suffered from political disasters that followed the Constitutional Revolution. This situation motivated some writers, poets, and journalists, mostly from left-leaning political parties, to turn from politics to cultural and scholarly activities; frustrated with the failure of political activism in the Constitutionalist movement, these intellectuals came to pursue the "cultural articulations of nationalism" (Vejdani 2012, 508). Paradoxically, these intellectuals praised the masses as "repositories of 'authenticity'" while they

expressed their contempt for them as "a potential source of 'backwardness'" (Vejdani 2012, 507). The historian Farzin Vejdani explains how the paradox was resolved:

> These intellectuals expressed both romantic nostalgia and contempt for the "masses" they studied. In order to resolve this paradox, many resorted to a xenophobic nationalist logic. Popular customs, rituals, folk tales, and proverbs that they deemed incompatible with modernity were categorized as "superstitions" traceable to "foreign" Semitic or Turkic sources; "authentic" folklore, by contrast, was not only compatible with modernity but also homogeneous across provincial boundaries. (Vejdani 2012, 509)

In search of national cultural expressions, these intellectuals applied their criteria to evaluate the authenticity of cultural practices. Noticing the infrequent use of Arabic words in rural popular poetry, the prominent intellectual figures Muhammad-Taqi Bahar (1884 - 1951) and Ahmad Kasravi (1890 - 1946) associated authenticity with rural regions because, as they believed, they were somehow untouched by the perceived Arabic-dominated culture of urban areas. Both Bahar and Kasravi highlighted the "simple" and "direct" expression of rural popular poetry, distinguishing it from "ornamentation," "artificiality," and "an excess of form" in classical Persian poetry based on Arabic poetic meters (Vejdani 2012, 510–11).

Sadiq Hidayat (1903 - 1951), a prominent folklorist and writer, also admired ancient Iranian festivals, such as *Mihrigan*, *Nawruz* and *Chaharshanbih Suri*. For him, those cultural practices that encouraged "happiness, cleanliness, and harmless humor" were valuable and beneficial (Vejdani 2012, 514). In contrast, religious practices associated with Islamic beliefs were blamed as foreign and superstitious, because, as he believed, they encouraged fatalism, sadness, and the spread of "overtly melancholic attitude toward life" (Vejdani 2012, 513–14). The same ideas were expressed by nationalist musicians who wished to modernize Iranian classical music to justify new innovations.

Crafting the Musical Counterpart of Modern Iranian Nationalism

Since the early nationalists regarded the Qajar state as responsible for Iran's socio-economic decadence, they generally sought political reforms, as manifested in the Constitutional Revolution, to confine the absolutist authority of the monarch and establish the rule of law; however, educating the public, as a social solution, was also central to their Constitutionalist project. They sought to inculcate the values of the Constitutional movement, including patriotic ethos and national pride, attempting to cultivate the virtue of civic nationalism (Ansari 2012, 37) and prepare the public to willingly absorb these values (Ansari 2012, 65). Under Reza Shah's rule, the state also implemented many reforms in public education, establishing new supporting institutions in order to transform the mind of the modern nation's citizens. For instance, to stress national unity, the state implemented a unified educational policy through providing and using carefully drafted school textbooks and standardized syllabuses which emphasized a common historical heritage and language (Ansari 2012, 93–94). Indeed, this educational policy was also a necessity for a new bureaucratic state that needed a new generation of educated people to effectively operate and administer new bureaucratic organizations.

However, the state did not pursue a consistent policy regarding Iranian music during Reza Shah's reign. The dominance of nationalist ideology can be clearly observed in writings and lectures by nationalist musicians who generally emphasized the didactic role of music in cultivating the nationalist ethos in Iranian society. However, two main discourses, derived from two different interpretations of Iranian nationalism, came to the fore during this period. These distinct perspectives were presented by two prominent musicians: Ali-Naqi Vaziri and Ghulam-Hussein Minbashian. While Vaziri believed that the Qajar musical tradition, like material aspects of Iranian society, should be developed by means of the "scientific" and "universal" techniques

of Western music, Minbashian argued for the substitution of Western classical music, as "progressive" music, for Iranian music, which he regarded as "backward."

From 1928 to 1934, Vaziri administered the State Music School, the main governmental music institute, while Minbashian was in charge of the same conservatory as well as new established organizations related to music from 1935 until the end of Reza Shah's reign in 1941. Considering that the state's imposed nationalism regulated many cultural expressions during this period, the lack of a consistent policy regarding Iranian music demonstrates that the music, in contrast to the Persian language, was not regarded as an important component of Iranian nationalism in the eyes of the nationalist policymakers of Reza Shah's rule. As will be discussed, these two approaches to Iranian music were pursued by other musicians and deeply influenced Iran's music scene in the following decades. This section focuses on these two musicians, introducing their central ideas as reflected in their writings and lectures.

Ali-Naqi Vaziri: Systematizing Iranian Classical Music

The modernization of Iranian music is entwined with the name of a prominent musician, Ali-Naqi Vaziri (1887 - 1979), perhaps the most controversial figure in the modern history of Iranian music. Although he lived for more than nine decades, his reputation is greatly indebted to his artistic works and efforts during ten years from 1924 to 1934, a period during which he actively presented and propagated his ideas regarding the modernization of Iranian music (Farhat 2003). As the first Iranian who studied music in Europe from 1918 to 1923 (Farhat 2003), he pioneered a musical stream in Iranian music which influenced Iran's musical society in many ways during the following decades.

Vaziri started his education in Iranian classical music at the age of 15 through learning the tar. During the same time, he began to play the violin. Joining the military around 1901, he learned Western notation from a military band officer. He expanded his knowledge of Western classical music by learning theory and harmony from a French priest in Tehran. To promote his knowledge of tonal harmony, Vaziri also started learning the piano during his service in the military (Khaliqi 2002, 2:43–46). Before going to Europe to study Western classical music around 1918, his knowledge of western notation and his proficiency in performing the *tar* enabled him to transcribe the *radif*[5] of two great Qajar masters, Mirza Abdullah and Aqa Hussein-Quli, to preserve their repertoire (Khaliqi 2002, 2: 46–49). Based on Western methods, Vaziri also wrote the first instruction book in which he introduced his system of notating Iranian tunes. The book, entitled *Ta'limat-i Musiqi: Dastur-i Tar* (Musical Education: The *Tar* Method), was particularly prepared for the instruction of the *tar*, although it also introduced Vaziri's theory on Iranian scales for the first time. Vaziri published his book in 1922 when he was in Berlin (Farhat 2003).

After returning to Tehran, Vaziri endeavored to advance Iranian music "through the systematic application of Western techniques of composition and Western teaching methods" (Farhat 2003). He actively pursued his educational goals by establishing the Advanced Music School (Madrisih-yi Ali-yi Musiqi) in 1924. In addition to teaching Western and Iranian instruments, including the *tar*, violin, and piano, he provided a curriculum which necessitated the study of notation, solfeggio, sight singing, theory, and harmony. In 1928, he became the administrator of the State Music School (Madrisih-yi Muzik-i Dawlati) for which he developed

[5] For definition, see Glossary of Terms.

the curriculum for his own school and added new courses such as the history of music, instrumentation, composition, and acoustics (Khaliqi 2002, 2: 242–45) (Farhat 2003).

In addition to educational activities, Vaziri was active in composition and performance, presenting his musical ideas in concerts performed in the Music Club (Klup-i Muzikal), which he founded in 1924. The club became a meeting place for intelligentsia, literary elites, and great poets (Khaliqi 2002, 2:39). Inspired by Western ideas, he invented new instruments, such as soprano-*tar*, alto-*tar*, and bass-*tar*, which enabled him to perform his harmonized pieces. He formed an orchestra, including the violin, the cello, the flute, the piano, the *tar*, and his newly invented instruments, with the collaboration of his students (Khaliqi 2002, 2:38). Believing in the social role of music, he also performed concerts for the public in Tehran and other cities such as Rasht and Pahlavi (now Anzali) (Khaliqi 2002, 2:201). In addition to organizing music classes for women for the first time, he organized weekly concerts for women in his club (Khaliqi 2002, 2:196–97). He also composed a series of patriotic *surud*s (patriotic hymns or songs), aiming to inculcate nationalist sentiments in people through cheerful and edifying tunes (Khaliqi 2002, 2:97–99).

From 1924 to 1934, Vaziri, as "a tireless educator, music administrator, and the leading spokesman for the cause of modernization of music" (Farhat 2003) actively pursued his goals in the education, systematization, and performance of Iranian music. In early 1934, however, he was dismissed from the leadership of the State Music School. According to Ruhullah Khaliqi, a historian and also the prominent student of Vaziri, Vaziri's dismissal was because of his refusal to comply with a directive from the court that had demanded the performance of the State Music School's orchestra during a dinner given by the monarch, Reza Shah, for foreign guests. Vaziri found the directive offensive to the orchestra (and in fact music), Khaliqi indicates, suggesting

that the orchestra would perform after the dinner when the guests could sit quietly and listen to the music. However, this incident resulted in his dismissal from his administrative post in the State Music School (Khaliqi 2002, 2:277–78).

After his dismissal, Vaziri mostly focused on his research on Iranian music and arts as well as his compositions. In 1936, he became the professor of the University of Tehran, teaching various courses on aesthetics and the history of art and architecture until his retirement in 1956 (Farhat 2003). During this time, he came back to Iran's music scene for a short period between 1941 and 1946 when he became the administrator of main state organizations related to music, such as the State Music Department (Idarih-yi Musiqi-yi Kishvar), the Conservatory of Music (Hunaristan-i Musiqi), and the Radio Music Department (Idarih-yi Musiqi-yi Radiu). Vaziri's contributions during this period will be discussed in Chapter Two.

To understand Vaziri's motivation for his efforts in music, it is necessary to consider that Vaziri, as an army officer, was also a Constitutionalist activist. He was in charge of the military committee of the left-leaning Social Democrat Party (Hizb-i Dimukrat) in the period after the counterrevolution of 1908—1909. However, frustrated by political disasters and foreign invasions during the First World War, he decided to leave the military service and go to Europe to pursue his interest in music (Khaliqi 2002, 2:58–62).

In 1921, after three years of study in Paris, he moved to Berlin where many influential Iranian nationalist activists resided. Vaziri also wrote his first article, entitled "Sanayi'-i Mustzrafih" (Fine Arts; 1922), during this period for the periodical *Iranshahr* published in Berlin under the editorship of Hussein Kazimzadih (Farhat 2003; Mir'alinaqi 1998, 43). As Aghamohseni suggests, Vaziri was deeply influenced by the ideas of these prominent intellectuals who later played significant cultural and political roles during Reza Shah's reign

(Aghamohseni 2014, 79). Vaziri's connection with nationalist intellectuals and his belief in nationalist ideals explains why he was appointed as the administrator of the State Music School under Reza Shah's reign.

Understanding how nationalist ideals were interpreted by nationalist musicians, such as Vaziri, necessitates examining their works. Through many articles and lectures published between 1921 and 1937, Vaziri expressed his major concerns advocating his approach to Iranian music. According to these publications, Vaziri advocates the didactic role of art, in general, and music, in particular, in every society. He considers art to be "a social and public school" (Vaziri 1998a, 48) whose essential principle is to cultivate people and improve their material and spiritual lives (Vaziri 1998a, 45–46). Using the soul-body dichotomy as a metaphor, he makes a connection between the significance of art and the quality of life in any society; For him, music purifies the public's ethical issues through building a sense of responsibility and improving peoples' morals, leading them towards "civilization" and "extraordinary [progressive] actions" (Vaziri 1982, 16). Highlighting the didactic role of music, Vaziri praises European nations and regards them as models for Iran's progress towards "future modern civilization" (Vaziri 1982, 16). As he indicates, music plays an essential role in the lives of "civilized [European] nations"; like scientific discoveries and inventions, which develop Europeans' material lives, music nurtures their spiritual lives (Vaziri 1982, 16). For him, in fact, the former is the consequence of the latter.

Making a civilized/backward distinction between European nations and Iran, Vaziri regards Iran as a broken nation in which the public's illiteracy and strong belief in fatalism have weakened people's "spirit" and have encouraged widespread "indolence and laziness" (Vaziri 1998b, 73). Accordingly, Iran's backwardness is not merely a political or economic fact; it is

essentially an ethical "disease" from which all dedicated Iranians should endeavor to rescue the nation (Vaziri 1982, 16). Considering the influential social role of music, Vaziri holds musicians who practise based on the classical styles of performing Iranian music responsible for the perceived corruption of Iranian society. He accuses them of not taking the responsibility of healing the nation's spiritual diseases and also of encouraging emotions that corrupt people's morals. For instance, Vaziri classifies Iranian music in two categories: *avaz* (unmetered musical piece); *reng*[6] and *tasnif*[7] (composed pieces). While Vaziri considers *avaz* to be a kind of sorrowful mourning which encourages melancholic attitudes towards life, he regards the *reng* and *tasnif* as musical pieces mainly performed in lascivious and immoral festivities associated with drugs and drinks (Vaziri 1998b, 77–79).

As already discussed, some Iranian nationalist folklorists, such as Sadiq Hidayat, generally associated cultural and religious practices that encouraged sadness with foreign, particularly Arabic, influences, prescribing the elimination of such practises. Likewise, Vaziri ascribes what he perceives as the sadness of Iranian *avaz*es to the suppressive rule of Arabs over Iran after the Arab conquest (Vaziri 1982, 13). However, instead of eliminating these *avaz*es, he prescribes the adoption of Western techniques, which he regards as "universal" and "scientific," to compose recreational and cheerful pieces, because he believes that "when we entered the scientific field [i.e. adopted scientific methods], indeed [scientific rules] dispose of whatever is not in accordance with it and scientific influences gradually dominate and obliterate what is outside this [scientific] field" (Vaziri 1982, 94n). In fact, Vaziri regards Western techniques as a cure which will gradually treat Iranian music and rescue the music from its perceived backwardness.

[6] For definition, see Glossary of Terms.
[7] For definition, see Glossary of Terms.

By regarding *tasnif* and *reng* as immoral musical practices, Vaziri also essentializes traditional performers into one stereotypical disreputable social category. These two popular forms, *reng* and *tasnif*, were played by both classical musicians and *mutrib*s (Fatemi 2004, 30; 2014, 142). *Mutribs* were professional musicians who played in weddings, festivities, and private occasions (Aghamohseni 2014, 74) and thus gained less social respect in comparison to classical musicians who mostly performed at the court or in elite gatherings (Fatemi 2014, 107–08). Although both groups performed based on Iranian *dastgah*s (Fatemi 2014, 141), *mutribs* sometimes performed their music (*mutribi*) in venues associated with lascivious dancing, immoral theatrical acts, and excessive drinking (Fatemi 2014, 78–82). Indeed, such performances were unacceptable not only for traditional Iranian Muslims but also for Iranian nationalists who actively called for revitalizing the nation. However, Vaziri by reducing all performers to one stereotypical social category, perhaps because of similarities in their music, uses the pervasive negative attitude towards musicians in Iranian society to overlook the significance of the music performed by classical musicians.

In addition, Vaziri brings into question the significance of the classical practice of Iranian music for its *yiknavakhti* (monotony i.e. boringness) (Vaziri 1998d, 256). As he believes, such a music cannot fulfil individuals' musical needs in modern Iran (Vaziri 1998d, 254). Criticizing classical musicians for seeking blindly *yik jaddih-yi qiyr-i ilmi va mahdud* (an unknowledgeable and limited way) (Vaziri 1998b, 67), he proposes the adoption of *turugh-i ilmi* (scientific approaches). In his writings and lectures, Vaziri admires the unique essence of Iranian music but believes that "scientific approaches" revitalize Iranian music and make its tunes universal (Vaziri 1998b, 75). As a pragmatic musician, Vaziri prescribes the use of Western notation, because of its "easiness and discipline" in comparison to the difficulties of learning orally (Vaziri 1982, 15),

demonstrating his eagerness to propagate music in Iranian society. However, for Vaziri, the use of notation is not just about serving local needs; it also enables Iranian musicians to propagate their music by sending published scores all over the world to be performed by musicians in other countries (Vaziri 1982, 15; 1998b, 80).

For the same reason, Vaziri proposes the theory of the twenty four-tone scale[8] as a basis for harmonizing Iranian tunes and performing them in large orchestras. For Vaziri, constructing an Iranian harmony is central to his program for modernizing Iranian music. He believes that quartertones, as *manba'i kashf-i armuni-yi Irani* (the source of discovering Iranian harmony) (Vaziri 1998c, 275), advances the capabilities of Iranian music (Vaziri 1998c, 276), because, as he indicates, these microtones not only increase the range of tones, giving more possibilities for composing music, but also enhance the audience's enjoyment of music (Vaziri 1982, 93). Hoping for Iranian music to become universal, Vaziri argues that harmonized Iranian music "will certainly become the basis of the music of the world someday" (Vaziri 1998b, 75).

Although Vaziri generally puts great emphasis on the modernization of Iranian music, he also recognizes the importance of preserving the music. Based on his nationalist ideas, Vaziri believes in a close relationship between the people's nationality and their arts, insisting that every nation should endeavour to preserve its arts (Vaziri 1998b, 69–70). Considering Iranian music as an essential component of Iranian nationalism, Vaziri advocates the use of Western

[8] The earliest evidence of the formulation of the twenty four-tone scale dates back to the 1770s as it was recognized as "the Arab scale" in Laborde's *Essai Sur La Musique* (Marcus 1989, 68). Although it was known among Syrian music scholars in the 1820, a comprehensive formulation of the twenty four-tone scale was presented by Syrian scholar Mikha'il Mashaqah (1800—1888) in his treatise *al-Risalah al-Shihabiyyah fi al-Sina'ah al-Musiqiyyah* (The *Shihabi* Treatise on the Musical Art) (Marcus 1989, 69–70). The oldest manuscript of Mashaqah's treatise is dated 1840 and the treatise was translated into French in 1913 (Marcus 1989, 852). Vaziri introduced his theory in 1922 in his first instruction book, *Dastur-i Tar*, although in its introduction he mentions that his book was written in 1912/1913 (1331 AH) (Vaziri 1982, 5), implying that the idea of the twenty four-tone scale was formulated before his travel to Paris where Mashaqah's treatise had already been translated in French. However, it appears that the theory of the twenty four-tone scale was widely known as Vaziri's theory in Iran at least until 1947. This will be discussed in Chapter Three.

notation to preserve Iranian tunes (Vaziri 1982, 15). Even while cautioning against the dominance of European music, Vaziri offers the use of Western notation, as a universal "scientific" method, to preserve Iran's "delicate national tunes" (Vaziri 1982, 15). Vaziri also advocates his theory of twenty four-tone scale, giving the same reason. By proposing his theory, Vaziri wishes to provide an explanation for Europeans who regarded quartertones as out of tune (Vaziri 1982, 93), aiming to preserve Iranian music through "aligning it with scientific [i.e. theoretical] language" (Vaziri 1982, 94). Through this process of systematization, Vaziri endeavors to rationalize the use of microtones in Iranian music not in its traditional context, but in a new nationalist context which authenticates music in regard to its alignment with a perceived "scientific" reason.

Importantly, Vaziri distinguishes between Western music and Western techniques. While he regards the former as a cultural practice specific to a particular geographical context, he considers the latter as a universal achievement in the history of humanity which can be adopted all over the world to preserve and advance the local music of any region and used against the dominance of European music. Thus, for Vaziri, Western technique is a means to a particular end and Western music is just one possible manifestation among many possibilities which can emerge through using Western techniques. His theory even enables him to imagine Western music merely as a part of harmonized Iranian music; while the former is limited to twelve tones, the latter uses twenty four tones, expanding the possibilities of composition. However, this paradoxical approach is not limited to European music. Vaziri also holds a paradoxical position with respect to Iranian music; he praises the unique essence of Iranian music while he calls into question the common classical practice. Defining Iranian *dastgah*s as a set of scales, Vaziri

reduces theses *dastgah*s to a number of scales upon which he constructs his twenty four-tone scale theory to harmonize Iranian tunes.

Ghulam-Hussein Minbashian: Advocating for *Musiqi-yi Ilmi*

After Vaziri's dismissal in 1934, Ghulam-Hussein Minbashian (1907 - 1978) was appointed as the administrator of the State Music School, now called the Conservatory of Music (Hunaristan-i Musiqi) (Khaliqi 2002, 2:248). Minbashian has been generally portrayed as a musician who had an utter contempt and complete disregard for Iranian classical music (Hoseyni Dehkordi and EIr 2013). Unlike Vaziri, Minbashian was not a competent musician of Iranian classical music (Khaliqi 2002, 3:55), as he had primarily studied Western classical music. He graduated from the Music School of the *Dar al-Funun*, which had been essentially established for the education of Western music played in military bands. He pursued his studies in Europe in the Geneva Conservatory and later in the Berlin Conservatory of Music. As a hard-working student, he received several awards for the performance of violin during his studies (Hoseyni Dehkordi and EIr 2013).

After returning to Iran in 1932 (Hoseyni Dehkordi and EIr 2013), he became the conductor of an orchestra in Tehran, namely the Municipality Orchestra (Urkistr-i Baladiyih), which performed Minbashian's compositions as well as Western classical compositions by composers such as Beethoven, Schubert, Grieg, Bizet, and Mussorgsky (Arianpur 2014, 53–54). However, Vaziri's dismissal in 1934 gave Minbashian an opportunity to strongly pursue his ideas within the Conservatory of Music, the most important music institution of the period supported by the state. Minbashian believed that the conservatory's curriculum should be

prepared based on the curriculum of conservatories in Western countries. As a result, he eliminated Iranian music from the conservatory's curriculum. Instead, he endeavored to promote the performance and education of Western music during his administration. For instance, ten Czechoslovak music instructors were employed in 1939 to improve the teaching of Western instruments and conducting in Iran (Arianpur 2014, 60–61; Khaliqi 2002, 3:57–58).

According to Khaliqi, Minbashian had a decisive impact on the state's policy regarding music during the last years of Reza Shah's rule, because of his family relationship with the monarch (Khaliqi 2002, 3:57). Based on Minbashian's proposal, the State Music Department (Idarih-yi Musiqi-yi Kishvar) was established in 1938, and Minbashian himself took charge of the organization. Based on the Ministry of Education's decree, the State Music Department was established "in order to *taghir-i musiqi-yi kishvar* (change the nation's music) and construct it upon *usul va qava'id va gamha-yi musiqi-yi gharbi* (principles and guidelines and scales of Western music)" (quoted in Arianpur 2014, 57). Some of the Department's responsibilities were

> composing and publishing musical pieces and *suruds* (patriotic songs) and publications according to principles…of *musiqi-yi jadid* (the new music),… popularizing pieces and books and the approaches of *musiqi-yi…ilmi va musiqi-yi gharbi* (learned music and Western music),….propagating the new music among the people of the nation, [and] ban[ning] whatever [is] not in accordance with the new music. (quoted in Arianpur 2014, 57)

Despite the frequent use of the phrase *musiqi-yi jadid* (the new music), the decree does not clarify its meaning, although its emphasis on "changing the nation's music" and composing based on "principles and guidelines and scales of Western music" clarifies that quartertones, and as a result Vaziri's harmonized music, carry no weight in such music.

Although only an article and a transcript of one of his lectures were published in 1939 in the first series of *Majallih-yi Musiqi* (Journal of Music), these publications clearly define

Minbashian's ideas about music and his attitude towards Iranian music. His lecture, entitled "Musiqi az Nazar-i Parvarish-i Afkar" (Music from the Perspective of the Cultivation of Thoughts) clearly demonstrates that, like Vaziri, Minbashian believes in the influential role of music in the society, considering music to be one of *ihtiajat-i avvaliyih* (basic needs) for developing and training the people's minds. For him, music should encourage national solidarity, creating a sense of bravery and patriotism while eliminating a sense of fatigue and weariness (Minbashian 1339a, 2–4). Believing in the significance of *musiqi-yi ilmi* (learned music i.e. Western classical music) for serving these purposes, Minbashian admires the use of harmony as the distinguishing aspect of Western music and considers it to be "the basis of the music of civilized nations" (Minbashian 1339a, 4).

In contrast, Minbashian adopts a critical attitude towards Iranian classical music in his article entitled "Musiqi-yi Kishvar" (The Music of the Nation). He regards Iranian music as a sign of the backwardness of Iranian society and indicates that "every fair-minded man who knows *musiqi-yi ilmi* (learned music) testifies and feels that the *tar*, *tumbak* and *kamanchih* do not have the same power as Western music, just as camels cannot compete with and defeat trains" (quoted in Sipanta 2003, 209). In addition, he criticizes Iranian music because, as he believes, Iranian music is low spirited and rotten, having no benefit or pleasure for the public except for stimulating their lascivious desires in festivities. He even attributes the elites' spiritual pleasure of Iranian music to the beauty of Persian poetry sung with the music not to the music itself (Sipanta 2003, 210).

Minbashian expressed ideas very similar to those which had already been stated by Vaziri. However, the study of Minbashian's publications shows that for him European music was the most excellent manifestation of music. This contradicted Vaziri's ideas that Western diatonic

scales are included within Iranian scales, and thus prioritized the latter over the former. While Vaziri believed in the significance of Iranian music, aiming to improve Iranian music by means of Western techniques, Minbashian regarded Iranian music as worthless, believing that the music should be replaced by Western classical music. Minbashian's differentiation between Persian poetry and Iranian classical music also clearly indicates that he did not regarded Iranian music as a necessary component of Iranian nationalism. This perspective is significant in that Minbashian was a nationalist musician, administering all governmental organizations related to music under the nationalist state of Reza Shah.

Although there is no written document available to demonstrate Minbashian's opinion of Vaziri and his theory, his followers and students, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, not only regarded Vaziri as an incompetence musician, but some of them essentially regarded quartertones as the result of foreign Arabic influences on Iranian music, eliminating the use of these microtones in their compositions. Khaliqi also suggests that Minbashian's approach towards Iranian music resulted in the training of a new generation of musicians in the Conservatory of Music uninterested in Iranian music who believed that the music did not even deserve to be studied (Khaliqi 2002, 3:57). Vaziri best highlighted the difference in his approach in comparison with Minbashian's in a lecture given in 1937. According to Vaziri, while Vaziri had been regarded as a progressive musician, attracting criticism from the advocates of Iranian music during his administration in the State Music School, his perspective and approach was regarded as conservative during Minbashian's administration (Vaziri 1998d, 253).

Conclusion

Despite their different approaches to Iranian music, both Ali-Naqi Vaziri and Ghulam-Hussein Minbashian endeavored to improve the status of music and musicians in Iranian society based on their nationalist ideals. Under their administration, they improved the education of music in the country's sole music institution, seeking to disseminate the music throughout the country through their public performances as well as their publications and lectures. During this period, music became more accessible to the Iranian public as these musicians' efforts further transformed the context of music performance from private settings, whether the court or private festivities, to public venues. These efforts also raised the social status of musicians as they now were salaried teachers of the state conservatory.

The wide dissemination of music at a national level through a conservatory system, however, necessitates a certain level of standardization of musical practices. Vaziri's theory can be regarded as a systematic attempt to provide a theoretical framework for the standardization of Iranian classical music. In fact, Vaziri perceived his attempt to systematize Iranian music as a necessary step towards the national dissemination of music in educational institutions. Likewise, Minbashian's radical approach can be also viewed as an attempt to provide a systematic approach, although more rigid than that of Vaziri, in order to create a standardized style of performance and teaching on a national level. Accordingly, both Vaziri and Minbashian primarily sought to achieve the same goal, which was creating a standardized form of music capable of being disseminated throughout the country, although they proposed different systematic approaches. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, Vaziri and Minbashian influenced Iranian musical society as their ideas were developed and propagated by their students and followers during the following decades.

The impact of nationalist discourses on musical practices was not specific to Iranian musical society. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the cultural and political sensibilities of new republican elite during the founding years of the Turkish Republic created intense public debate in Turkey's musical society during the 1920s and the 1930s. Creating a distinction between Ottoman music (*alaturka*) and Western music (*alafranga*), distinctive perspectives emerged in public debates, endeavoring to define the appropriate constitution of a national music for the newly established nation-state. Recognizing the theoretical and practical significance of Turkish classical music, some regarded *alaturka* and *alafranga* as two independent musical systems which could not be synthesized for ideological purposes (O'Connell 2000, 128). For others, who perceived *alaturka* as the musical symbol of Ottoman disorder, Western music was the sole acceptable music which could represent republican ideals. Some advocates of *alafranga* believed that Turkish music should be globalized according to principles of Western music through "extracting quartertones from Turkish scales, by harmonizing the resulting diatonic melodies, and by replacing traditional educational methods with western equivalents" (O'Connell 2000, 127).

A third group regarded folk music as the true representative of Turkish culture, prescribing "a synthesis of Turkish folk music and the musical techniques of Western civilization" (Stokes 1992, 33). The use of folk motifs and themes not only secured the national essence of such music, but folk tunes' lack of quartertones, perceived as "irrational," "unnatural" and "unnecessary" (Stokes 1992, 35), also enabled these musicians to adopt Western techniques to compose a national music representative of the principles and values of the Turkish Republic. This perspective gained the wide support of the state which aimed to create a national musical expression. As a result, educational and research institutions were established, European advisors

were invited for providing technical and scientific advice, and media was widely used to create enthusiasm for folk music among the masses (Stokes 1992, 36–41).

Like the *alaturka-alafranga* debate in the early years of the Turkish Republic, Iran's musical society partly experienced the same debate over the significance of Iranian classical music and its relation to Western music during Reza Shah's reign. In his description of prevalent discourses in Iranian musical society in 1938, Khaliqi classifies Iranian musicians into four categories: those who believe that all qualities of classical music should be preserved and the music should not be changed or modernized; those who perceive Iranian music and Western music as independent practices which should not be synthesized; those who practice Western music, advocating the substitution of Western music for Iranian music (i.e. Minbashian's perspective); and those who endeavor to modernize Iranian music, creating a music appropriate for the changing needs of modern Iranian society (i.e. Vaziri's perspective) (Khaliqi 2007, 2:258–61).

It appears that the musicians belonging to the first and second categories, who both believed in performing Iranian classical music based on its own musical values, were marginalized and did not play a significant role in shaping the state's policy on music. As in Turkey, those musicians gained prominence who advocated for the universality and rationality of Western music, distancing themselves from the classical forms of performance and education. The resemblance between Iranian and Turkish modernist musicians is reinforced if one considers that folk motifs and themes were used by Iranian proponents of Western music to compose a new form of national music in the 1940s.

Despite all these striking similarities, a consistent policy regarding national music was not implemented by the Iranian state during Reza Shah's reign. This lack of a consistent and

stable policy towards Iranian music clearly indicates that, for policy makers of the nationalist Pahlavi state, Iranian music was not considered to be an important component of Iranian nationalism, carrying no significant weight in their nationalist perspectives, as the Persian language did.

Chapter Two: The Evolution of the Concept of Modernization

Muhammad-Reza Pahlavi (henceforth referred to as the Shah or Muhammad-Reza Shah) came to power in 1941 after the Allies demanded the abdication of his father, Reza Shah, during the Second World War. Muhammad-Reza Shah's reign is generally divided into two distinct periods. The first period, from his rise to power in 1941 to the 1953 coup, can be regarded as the period of his constitutional monarchy in which Iranian society witnessed the expansion of democratic discourses as well as great socio-political conflicts. The second period, from the 1953 coup to the 1979 revolution when his rule was overthrown, is usually described by historians as the period of his dictatorial rule (Katouzian 2009, 229–31).

This section focuses on the first period, from 1941 to 1953, and the impacts of a new socio-political situation during and after the Second World War on Iran's musical society. During this period, a set of socio-political factors encouraged the expansion of nationalist consciousness in Iranian society, culminating in the anti-imperialist oil nationalization movement led by the popular Prime Minister Muhammad Musaddiq. Under the influence of the socio-cultural conditions, Iranian musical society witnessed conflicts among the advocates of different genres of music, especially between Vaziri's and Minbashian's followers, who sought further opportunities for disseminating their music.

In this situation, some of Minbashian's followers, who emphasized the significance of folk tunes as remnants of the glorious ancient pre-Islamic music, undermined Iranian classical music, which they perceived as a form of music "polluted" by foreign Arabic influences. In contrast, Vaziri's followers came to appreciate the Qajar musical tradition through revising and

reinterpreting history, acknowledging the contributions of Qajar musicians and their current successors, and recognizing the *radif* as the national repertoire.

The Period of Emerging Nationalist Consciousness in the Iranian Public

Between 1941 and 1953, democratic discourses significantly influenced the socio-political sphere of Iran. Under the constitutional monarchy of Muhammad-Reza Shah (Katouzian 2009, 231), which was different from the suppressive rule of his father, a new socio-political atmosphere encouraged previously silenced elites to begin asserting their ideas, inspiring and mobilizing the public "in the name of democratization" (Sharifi 2013, 93). During this period, political activity in the country widely increased and resulted in the emergence of several nationalist, leftist, and Islamist parties (Keddie 1981, 117). Indeed, all these political forces represented themselves as "the mere echo of the people's voices, wants, interests, and needs" (Sharifi 2013, 95), promulgating their own articulation of Iranian nationalism (Sharifi 2013, 96). The new democratic conditions, however, led Iranian society to a chaotic socio-political situation in which different political forces contended to gain more political power. As a result, the government experienced "12 premiers, 31 cabinets, and 148 ministers filling 400 cabinet posts" during the 13 years between 1941 and 1954 (Abrahamian 1982, 170).

However, this new socio-political situation was not merely a reaction to the previous suppressive situation; it was nurtured by several social and political transformations in Iranian society. As Iran was under occupation of the Allies during the Second World War, a larger ideological contest resulting from the emerging Cold War influenced the expansion of political activities and their consequent political conflicts. While the Soviet Union propagated its

ideological solutions to Iran's critical situation through its influence on left-wing parties, particularly the communist Hizb-i Tudih-yi Iran (Party of the Masses of Iran) (henceforth referred to as the Tudih Party), the Anglo-Americans sought to prevent the influence of communist ideas. This process of politicization was reinforced through the medium of the radio introduced to Iranian society from 1940. The new medium extended the political consciousness of the Iranian public, expanding their participation in political activities (Ansari 2012, 126–27).

Another influential factor in the expansion of political consciousness was the emergence of a new social group in Iranian society consisting of educated middle-class professionals. This new social group was a result of the expansion of educational institutions established after the Constitutional period. In particular, the establishment of the University of Tehran in 1934 and the state's educational policy during Reza Shah's rule, which supported students' education abroad, were essential to the emergence of this social group during the 1930s and the 1940s. Indeed, these students, due to their intellectual concerns as well as the state's bureaucratic inefficiency, were active in social protest movements occurred during this period (Keddie 1981, 128).

In this context, some other factors also intensified current socio-political conflicts. As a result of the Allies' occupation of Iran, during the 1940s Iranian society witnessed an intensified growth of economic problems, such as inflation, famine, and the disruption of the state finances, which necessitated foreign financial supports. In addition, the Allies' interferences, which aimed at increasing their political influence and economic benefits, led to public discontent after the war. In this situation, various factors encouraged Iranians to suspect the Allies' good intentions, influencing the socio-political atmosphere of Iranian society against foreigners: the Soviet Union's support of Azerbaijanis' and Kurds' autonomy in 1945—46; the British's influence on tribal leaders, landlords, and religious leaders in southern tribal revolts during 1946; American

advisors' increasing role in key state departments and the military; and the interest of all three in Iran's oil (Keddie 1981, 118).

Along with the expansion of political awareness, the 1940s witnessed the growth of national consciousness in Iranian society. For many Iranians, the period of occupation was their first encounter with Westerners and Western culture. Before the occupation, Iranians' experience of Westerners had been limited to officials and elites who had been in direct contact with Western institutions, such as embassies and oil corporations, and those few elites who traveled abroad. The occupation, however, expanded this encounter not only through the presence of foreign soldiers throughout the country but also through the introduction of new technological innovations. This contact, however, was not welcomed by many Iranians who viewed new socio-cultural conditions with suspicion and felt the danger of corrupting western influences[9]. In addition to the propagation of multiple articulations of Iranian nationalism by political forces, this perceived corruption of Iranian traditions and their values not only caused ordinary Iranians to identify themselves in relation to their national culture, but also once again reminded nationalist elites of the importance of protecting the national culture (Ansari 2007, 119–20).

The anti-imperialist aspect of Iranian nationalism was reinforced when Muhammad Musaddiq returned to politics in 1949 and, with the support of like-minded politicians, assumed the leadership for a movement that advocated for democracy within the country and for independence from all world powers (Katouzian 2009, 244). As a charismatic deputy, Musaddiq succeeded to pass his oil nationalization bill in the Parliament in 1951. Less than two months later, he became prime minister and implemented policies which reinforced constitutional and democratic ideals. In particular, he pursued a "non-aligned foreign policy" (Katouzian 2009,

[9] Ansari documents how the introduction of American films in the 1940s had unexpected negative social consequences (Ansari 2007, 120).

245), which clearly reflected his perception of Iranian nationalism: while the Shah and monarchists perceived themselves as "natural clients or allies of Britain and (later) America" (Katouzian 2009, 245) and the leftist Tudih Party followed policies in accordance with the Soviet Union (Katouzian 2009, 245), Musaddiq's policies pursued an alternative political agenda which emphasized the significance of full independence and democracy (Katouzian 2009, 245).

The nationalization of oil industry was a great achievement but not without cost. It created a legal dispute between Musaddiq's government and the British government, resulting in the boycott of Iranian oil, which was the main source of Iranian government's revenue, by main international oil companies in 1951. The loss of oil revenues created financial constraints encouraging Musaddiq's government to adopt a policy of non-oil economics, which made economic developments impossible. In addition to these financial constraints, domestic and international conflicts intensified the vulnerability of Musaddiq's government which was not able to satisfy the reformist demands of some of its initial supporters (Katouzian 2009, 246–47). Under such political circumstances, Musaddiq's government was overthrown by the 1953 coup, planned by the CIA and collaborated by Musaddiq's domestic opponents, including the Shah (Katouzian 2009, 252–53).

Musaddiq endeavored to unify the nation against British imperial dominance over Iran's oil industry, creating a unified political community through muting "religious, tribal, class, and historical differences" (Sharifi 2013, 96). Diminishing the schismatic articulations of Iranian nationalism, Musaddiq and his like-minded companions constructed the notion of Iranianness in terms of "freedom" from the monarch's interference in politics and "independence" from the dominance of world powers, both symbolized in the nationalization of Iran's oil industry (Holliday 2011, 31). Indeed, while Iranian nationalism was a preoccupation of the intellectual

elite during the Constitutional period and the state's imposed policy under Reza Shah's absolutist rule, Musaddiq transformed the emerging nationalist consciousness among the Iranian public, reconstructing it in terms of resistance against Western imperialism and its domestic agents. In the aftermath of the 1953 coup, Musaddiq's legacy served as an impetus for the alienation of Iranian society, particularly intellectuals, from the state reinstated to power by Western powers through an unpopular coup.

Conflicts in Iranian Musical Society

The Allies' occupation of Iran during the Second World War affected Iran's musical society in some basic respects. Influenced by socio-political turmoil, musical society experienced constant conflict between the advocates of different musical styles. Minbashian's attitude towards Iranian music had raised serious concerns about the future of Iranian music for those musicians, such as Ali-Naqi Vaziri, who advocated the significance of Iranian music. In addition, Minbashian's disregard for Iranian music had influenced his followers encouraging them to characterize the practitioners of Iranian music as "illiterate" musicians. This hidden conflict, however, was revealed in the democratic sphere that resulted from the collapse of Reza Shah's rule.

The conflict was further intensified as the new cabinet headed by the prominent constitutionalist Muhammad-Ali Furughi once again put Ali-Naqi Vaziri in charge of the main state organizations related to music, such as the State Music Department, the Conservatory of Music and the Radio Music Department. In his first radio message broadcast in 1941, Vaziri implicitly called into question Minbashian's approach towards Iranian music, indicating that "the

familiarity with European music should not cause us to lack the benefit of our national art and see our own music with a contemptuous and humiliating eye" (Vaziri 1998f, 291). On the opposite side, the students of the Conservatory, who had been studying under Minbashian before the new conditions, wrote a letter to the Parliament (now the most powerful political institution) during the first weeks of Vaziri's administration, demanding his dismissal because, as they indicated, Vaziri did not have the sufficient knowledge and competence of *musiqi-yi ilmi* (learned music) (Khalqi 2012, 792–94).

The conflict, however, was not merely because of the contest for governmental administrative organizations related to music. Like political forces that contended to attract individuals to their agendas, modernist musicians, whether the followers of Vaziri's or Minbashian's ideas, propagated their musical ideas through activities, such as playing concerts, establishing musical societies and educational classes, and producing radio programs. Although it is difficult to establish a correlation between the advocates of a specific genre of music and the supporters of a particular political agenda during this period, musical practices were under the shadow of the current socio-political atmosphere. For instance, some musicians benefited from their connections with political forces. Vaziri in a private letter to his friend indicated that Parviz Mahmoud, his successor in state organizations related to music between 1946 and 1949, was supported by *Tudi'iha* (i.e. those from the Tudih Party)(Vaziri 1998g, 367). The music critic and historian Sasan Sipanta also indirectly relates Mahmoud's administration within these organizations to his political connection with the current Minister of Culture and confirms that Mahmoud "had a close collaboration with one of leftist political parties" (Sipanta 2002b, 3:64n).

Patriotic compositions also exemplify the response of the musical society to particular political events. For instance, Vaziri composed his *Samfuni-yi Naft* (Oil Symphony) in honor of

the nationalization of oil industry (Sipanta 2002a, 107). His student, Ruhullah Khaliqi, also composed a *surud* (patriotic song) for celebrating the end of the Azerbaijan crisis of 1946, the crisis essentially led by pro-Soviet separatists and supported by the Soviet Union. He also wrote a *surud* for the celebration of Musaddiq's visit to the United States in 1952 (Amir Jahid 1954, 69). In 1954, in reaction to foreign soldiers' offensive attitude towards the Iranian public, Khaliqi also composed his most popular nationalist *surud*, *Iy Iran* (O Iran) (Khaliqi 2002, 3:92–93). Such a composition clearly portrayed new social and cultural conditions, increasingly influenced by the direct presence of Westerners in Iran.

During and after the World War II, due to Iran's new socio-cultural situation, the demand for Western cultural products, such as Western music, increased. The increasing foreign presence in Iran resulted in the formation of cultural societies, funded by Western embassies, which encouraged the performance of Western music (Sipanta 2003, 303). The demand for western music also intensified because of an emerging social group consisting of the students and graduates of modern educational institutions. In particular, the students of the University of Tehran and those who had studied abroad during the reign of Reza Shah welcomed the performance of Western music (Arianpur 2014, 70; Khaliqi 2006a, 217).

The new conditions encouraged the prevalence of Western music in Iranian society; however, for the same reason, musicians performing and propagating Iranian music had growing concerns about its future. As a result of these concerns, both advocates of Western and Iranian music sought to further propagate their ideas, exerting their influence on society. Accordingly, the new socio-cultural conditions encouraged a widening gap between them, increasing the existing conflict between the advocates of these two different perspectives.

Parviz Mahmoud: Folk Tunes as Representative of Iran's Ancient Culture

Like Vaziri's followers, the practitioners of Western music formed an influential part of Iran's musical society during Muhammad-Reza Shah's reign. They endeavored to establish their status in the musical society through attracting the support of the state, achieving administration of main organizations related to music, producing radio programs, and establishing several societies and orchestras to facilitate the performance and education of Western music in Iran. Some of these musicians, however, believed in the superiority of Western music over Iranian music, considering Iranian music to be backward and impure because of foreign, mainly Arabic, influences.

During the 1940s and the 1950s, these advocates of the superiority of Western music, who had mostly studied in Western conservatories or in the Conservatory of Music under Minbashian's administration, contended with the advocates of Iranian music, seeking to attract the Iranian public. However, their activities provoked the reaction of Vaziri and his followers, encouraging them to emphasize the significance of Iranian music in new ways. To understand the concerns and reactions expressed by the advocates of Iranian music, including Vaziri and his followers, it is necessary to examine competing ideas proposed by Minbashian's followers who advocated for the superiority of Western music.

Ideas advocated by these musicians are best reflected in the controversial article "Ikhtilaf-i Rub' Pardih" (Controversy over Quartertone), written by Sa'di Hasani, a well-known music critic and journalist of that time. Published in 1954, the article is written in response to ideas on quartertones advocated by Vaziri and his followers (Hasani 1954, 357). In his article, Hasani tries to prove that quartertones are responsible for the lack of development in Iranian music. Believing in the "redundancy" of quartertones in Iranian scales, Hasani regards quartertones as a

consequence of *adam-i diqqat dar ijra-yi asvat-i tabi'i* (the lack of accuracy in performing natural tones) (Hasani 1954, 358). He concludes that eliminating quartertones paves the way for improving Iranian music (Hasani 1954, 358–59).

Echoing Minbashian's negative perspective, Hasani also cautions against the psychological effects of performing quartertones, arguing that these tones, like an opiate, encourage a sense of grief, inaction, and indolence in the audience (Hasani 1954, 359–60). Interestingly, he reasons that since musicians have to compensate for the lack of excitement in their pieces composed based on quartertones, they perform stimulating pieces using *shahvani and mubtazal* (lascivious and decadent) rhythmic patterns. Hasani concludes that the use of quartertones would encourage extreme behaviors and spoil the didactic role of music (Hasani 1954, 359–60).

Hasani's perspective on Iranian music clearly bears a close resemblance to Minbashian's. During the 1940s, the advocates of Western music also presented a new argument that ascribed quartertones to the impact of Arabic music on Iranian music, prescribing the elimination of such musical tones in compositions. However, to secure an Iranian essence in their compositions, they proposed the use of folk motifs and themes, which also enabled them to adopt both Western techniques of composition and diatonic scales.

As already discussed, Iranian musicians were not alone in using folk motifs and themes in their compositions to express their nationalist ideals. The emergence of nationalist composers in Europe during the early twentieth century, who used peasant song to develop the classical musical idioms of their country, influenced composers in some Middle Eastern countries to recognize the significance of folk tunes performed in rural areas. For instance, under the influence of European nationalist musicians, such as Bela Bartok (1881 - 1945), Turkish musicians turned to folk music under the auspices of the state during the 1930s to compose a

national music (Youssefzadeh 2005, 420–21) that represented the nationalist ideals and principles of the Turkish Republic.

In Iran, the research on folk songs attracted the attention of both European and Iranian scholars during the 1930s, resulting in the publication of several collections of folk songs, including a two-volume collection *Croyances et coutumes persanes, suivies de contes et chansons populaires* by Herni Masse in 1938, and Kuhi Kirmani's collection of folk songs, entitled *Hafsad Taranih az Taranihha-yi Rusta'i-yi Iran* (Seven Hundred Songs from the Songs of Iranian Villages) in the same year (Youssefzadeh 2005, 423–24). These tunes also attracted the attention of Vaziri's followers, such as Abul-Hasan Saba and Ruhullah Khaliqi, who wished to bring a breath of fresh air to Iranian classical music. However, it was the advocates of Western music who mostly employed folk tunes in their compositions from the early 1940s onwards.

Echoing nationalist scholars, such as Muhammad-Taghi Bahar and Ahmad Kasravi, who had made a distinction between the "authenticity" of cultural expressions in rural areas and the "artificiality" of the Arabic-dominated culture of cities, the advocates of Western music came to adopt folk motifs and themes in their compositions to highlight their nationalist sentiments while denying the value of Iranian classical music mainly performed in cities. It appears that Parviz Mahmoud was the first composer who made efforts to use folk motifs in his compositions in the early 1940s although this approach was later adopted by other composers, such as Rubik Grigurian, Samin Baghchiban, Hasan Nasihi, and Firiydun Farzanih (Youssefzadeh 2005, 424).

The son of the prominent writer and constitutionalist Mahmoud Mahmoud (1882/83 - 1965/66), Parviz Mahmoud (1910 - 1996) was born in Tehran. He began his education at *Conservatoire Royal de Musique* in Brussels at the age of 18, studying violin, theory, composition, and conducting (Mahmoud 1956, 165). Because of the German occupation of

Belgium during the Second World War, he returned to Iran in 1941 and became an instructor in the Conservatory of Music under Minbashian's administration (Arianpur 2014, 70). After Ali-Naqi Vaziri took charge of the Conservatory in 1941, Mahmoud was appointed as the conductor of the Conservatory Orchestra (Urkistr-i Hunaristan) (Khaliqi 2002, 3:62). He established the Tehran Symphonic Orchestra (Urkistr Samfunik-i Tehran) in 1943 with the voluntary support of his students in the Conservatory of Music (Arianpur 2014, 70). In 1943/44, he left the Conservatory because of his conflicts with Vaziri (Sipanta 2002b, 3: 64). However, he took Vaziri's place as the administrator of the Conservatory of Music and the State Music Department in 1946/47 (Khaliqi 2002, 3:65). Like Minbashian, he eliminated Iranian music from Conservatory's curriculum in 1948 (Arianpur 2014, 70). In 1949, he emigrated to the United States (Mahmoud 1956, 165) where he received his PhD at the Indiana University.

In his PhD dissertation, entitled *A Theory of Persian Music and Its Relation to Western Music* (1956), Mahmoud clearly advocates his approach to folk music, authenticating his perspective by providing a historical narrative. Since Mahmoud had collected the folk tunes analyzed in the dissertation before 1949 when he emigrated to the United States (Mahmoud 1956, 46), it can be assumed that his narrative of the historical background of Iranian music, which supported his perspective on Iranian classical music as well as a musical style that he advocated, had formed during the 1940s when he was in Iran and collected the folk tunes. Thus, his 1956 dissertation reflects his perspective on Iranian music during the 1940s.

According to Mahmoud, when the Arabs invaded Iran in the seventh century, they destroyed works of art and burned libraries; thus, all writings on Iranian music and its theory disappeared. He indicates that "there is no way of knowing" the music performed during the Sasanian Empire (Mahmoud 1956, 1). After the conquest of Iran, Mahmoud states, Arabs were

influenced by tunes performed by Iranian musicians who were working in the courts of Arab rulers, but these musicians did not leave any writing about their music (Mahmoud 1956, 1).

Mahmoud indicates that the first writings on music in the Islamic period appeared in treatises by Muslim philosophers, such as al-Farabi (ca. 878 - ca. 950), Ibn Sina (980 - 1037), Safi al-Din Urmavi (ca. 1216 - 1294), and Abd al-Qadir Maraghi (d. 1435), who according to Mahmoud, all were ethnically Iranian. These philosophers, Mahmoud describes, were acquainted with the writings of Greeks and "accepted their musical theories as a universal science" (Mahmoud 1956, 2). However, he emphasizes that the music discussed by these theorists was not "Persian music in particular" but it was "the music of the Islamic world" (Mahmoud 1956, 2). He rejects the practical influence of such theories on the music performed during this period, since as he believes, musicians' "illiteracy" and the difficulties of access to "these rare manuscripts" made impossible the use of these philosophers' theoretical elaborations (Mahmoud 1956, 2). He concludes that

> Whatever was at the beginning Persian music, after centuries of mixture with Arabic music came to contain Arabic elements, although at first Persian music had influenced Arabic music….[Arabs] left their religion, the influence of Arabic on the Persian language, and the influence of Arabic music on Persian music. Whatever music was performed was no longer pure. This music, handed down by aural tradition, is considered today in Persia as authentic national music under the name of the Persian *Dastgah*s. (Mahmoud 1956, 3)

Echoing nationalist folklorists, who believed that Arabic influences had demolished the authenticity of Pasian arts and made them "impure," Mahmoud criticizes those nationalistic efforts that seek to preserve Iranian classical music. Accordingly, he regards Iranian music as "the procedure of performance of some illiterate performers who distort their national music" (Mahmoud 1956, 5). Mahmoud introduces "folk-tunes" as an alternative choice, reasoning that since "folk-tunes" were performed in outlying villages, mountains, and among tribes, they were

more resistant to Arabic culture than classical music performed by professional musicians in large cities:

> While the *Dastgah*s were performed in the cities by professional musicians, the people outside of the city in the villages, mountains, and among the tribes had their own music, their folk-tunes. It can be assumed that these tunes were less influenced by Arabic elements and that in many cases they remained quite pure, since some small localities, especially in northern Persia, kept their language and dialects absolutely free from Arabic influence. Thus, in this respect, some Persian folk-tunes can be considered more national than the *Dastgah*s. (Mahmoud 1956, 4)

This perception of folk music as an authentic music that preserved the main essence of the glorious ancient culture encouraged the advocates of Western music to prescribe the use of diatonic scales as an alternative to the twenty four-tone scale, advocated by Vaziri and his followers, in order to modernize Iranian music. Using the elements of folk tunes empowered these musicians to manifest their national ideals by composing a form of music that was regarded not only as "purely" Iranian, because of its dependence on folk tunes, but also as progressive because it employed both diatonic scales and Western techniques of composition.

Mahmoud's historical narrative also clearly portrays how he interprets "the past" based on his perception of "the present." Mahmoud presents a historical narrative which resembles early nationalists' narratives of Iranian history in many ways. He elevates the pre-Islamic Iran, interpreting and evaluating current musical styles based on their relations with the pre-Islamic glorious past. In addition, his evaluation of classical musicians' predecessors, who had not benefited from the theoretical discussions of the great theorists of the medieval era as a result of their "illiteracy," clearly demonstrates that Mahmoud adopts the same perspective towards contemporary musicians who performed Iranian classical music. For Mahmoud, these contemporary musicians, through their

performances, merely facilitate the distortion of authentic music of the ancient past. This explains why he eliminated Iranian music from the Conservatory's curriculum; he perceived the negation of Iranian music, both classical and modernized, as his nationalist mission of reviving the ancient music (i.e. folk tunes) by means of Western techniques.

Ruhullah Khaliqi: Acknowledging the significance of the Musical Tradition

As the conflict between the advocates of Iranian music and Western music intensified, Vaziri was the first figure to caution against the hegemony of Westernized practices. While he had expressed his sharp criticism against classical musicians and their music during the first period of his administration (1924 - 1934), he changed the target of his criticism in the second period of his administration, coming to criticize those musicians who undermined the value of Iranian music. In other words, while Vaziri had highlighted the insufficiency of Iranian music's classical style of teaching and performance during the first period, from 1941 onwards he mostly cautioned against the hegemony of "international music" (i.e. Western music) or what he regarded as *siyl-i hunar-i biganih* (the flood of foreign art) (Vaziri 1998e, 331). Interestingly, in contrast to the first period, in which he had considered the temperament of Western scales as a model for systematizing, rationalizing, and improving Iranian music, in the second period he argued that Western music suffered from *inhiraf az tabi'at* (the deviation from nature) (Vaziri 1998e, 330) and is incapable of the poetic essence favored by the people in the East (Vaziri 1998e, 332): "now, when we evaluate [in accordance] with science, we see that [Iranian scales] are purer and much closer to nature than European music which musical temperament has made unnatural" (Vaziri 1998h, 297).

It is notable that Vaziri did not give up many aspects of his initial ideas, advocating his theory and the significance of Western techniques for improving Iranian music; however, he changed his emphasis and adopted a different attitude towards Western music based on his judgment of the socio-cultural atmosphere at the time and his concern for the continuity of Iranian music in the future. As discussed in Chapter One, Vaziri embraced a paradoxical approach towards both Western and Iranian music even in his first publications. This approach, which involved a balance between the preservation of Iranian classical music and its modernization, was vulnerable to a perceived threat from these two genres of music. While Vaziri had perceived Iranian classical performers and performances as obstacles to the progress of Iranian music and had criticized them during his administration of the State Music School, he now turned the focus of his criticism to Western music, cautioning against its dominance when he encountered the radical approach of the advocates of the superiority of Western music in the following decade.

Although Vaziri returned to Iran's musical scene between 1941 and 1946 as the administrator of the principal state organizations related to music, he was not the most influential representative of his modernist ideas in the aftermath of the Second World War. His faithful student and assistant, Ruhullah Khaliqi, played a key role in musical society for two decades, from the mid-1940s until his death in the mid-1960s, and strongly advocated Vaziri's ideas within Iranian musical society.

Ruhullah Khaliqi (1906 - 1965) grew up in a well-educated middle class family (Farhat 2012). Although he had started learning violin at the age of 15, his encounter with Vaziri in 1924 deeply influenced him as he decided to pursue music as his life's career despite his father's serious disagreement (Khaliqi 2002, 2:69–75). Khaliqi was among the first students who started

studying music in Vaziri's music school, established in 1924. When Vaziri was appointed as the administrator of the State Music School in 1928, Khaliqi was one of his first students who was invited to teach music courses, such as Iranian violin, music theory and harmony (Khaliqi 2002, 2:245–46). Despite his enthusiasm to study music in Europe, he stayed in Iran because of changes in state policies regarding students' education abroad, graduating in philosophy and literature from the Advanced College (Danishsara-yi Ali) in 1934 in Tehran (Khaliqi 2002, 2:271). In addition to publishing two books, *Nazari bi Musiqi* (A Glance at Music; 2 vols., 1938) on the history of music in pre-modern Iran as well as the theory of Iranian music and *Hamahangi-yi Musiqi* (Musical Harmony; 1941) on harmony, Khaliqi also worked as a performer, composer, and music teacher until 1941 (Khaliqi 2002, 2:271–72) at which time he became Vaziri's assistant in the State Music Department, the Advanced Conservatory of Music, and the Radio Music Department.

Although Khaliqi worked as Vaziri's assistant in state organizations between 1941 and 1946, his most important contribution to the musical society during the 1940s was the establishment of non-governmental organizations in order to promote the performance and education of Iranian music. The first such organization was the Society for National Music (Anjuman-i Musiqi-yi Milli) established in the early 1945 with the support of prominent musicians (Khaliqi 2002, 3:87–94). As Khaliqi himself indicates, two main factors encouraged him to establish the Society for National Music: the lack of state financial support for Iranian music because of the chaotic socio-political situation of Iran in the early 1940s (Khaliqi 2002, 3:63–64), and the Conservatory students' disinterest in Iranian music, which according to Khaliqi, created a discouraging atmosphere in the Conservatory against Iranian music (Khaliqi 2002, 3:87).

However, it appears that Khaliqi's decision was also motivated by another factor: the establishment of the Tehran Symphonic Orchestra (*Urkistr Samfunik-i Tehran*) by Parviz Mahmoud in 1943 and its success in attracting audiences. Parviz Mahmoud, as the most prominent figure among the advocates of Western music in the Conservatory, formed the Tehran Symphonic Orchestra by the voluntary collaboration and support of his students in the Conservatory without receiving any financial support from governmental organizations. The Tehran Symphonic Orchestra's concerts received great reception in Tehran and were welcomed especially by the students of the University of Tehran (Arianpur 2014, 70).

Attracting the support of prominent musicians, the Society for National Music was established in early 1944 to provide support for Iranian music through activities such as concerts performed by some prominent musicians of the time. In addition to many concerts in Tehran, the society's orchestra also gave several concerts in other cities, such as Rasht, Pahlavi (now Anzali), Isfahan, Tabriz, Abadan, Ahvaz, and Babol between 1945 and 1949 (Khaliqi 2002, 3:96–99). Several concerts were also performed in cultural venues before the monarch, Muhammad-Reza Shah (Khaliqi 2002, 3:93). In addition to performing in a musical program on Radio Tehran, the Society became responsible for supervising the Music Department at Radio Tehran for two years (Sipanta 2003, 299).

Although Vaziri was chosen as the honorary director, the Society attracted the support of prominent musicians who did not follow Vaziri's ideas during this time. In particular, the membership of three musicians can be regarded as important: Mehdi Barkechli, Nur-Ali Burumand, and Habib Sama'i. Mehdi Barkechli (1912/13 - 1988) was the first scholar who rejected Vaziri's theory of twenty four-tone scale during the 1940s and became the most important critic of Vaziri's ideas during the following two decades. Nur-Ali Burumand (1905 -

1977) became the leading teacher of the revivalist movement during the 1960s and 1970s. Habib Sama'i (1905 - 1946) was also introduced by revivalists of the 1960s and the 1970s as a source musician and as an ideal model for current Iranian musicians. Habib Sama'i, as the most prominent *santur* virtuoso of the time, and Vaziri, as a *tar* virtuoso, played solo in the Society's concerts (Khaliqi 2002, 3:91). This shows that the danger of the dominance of Western music was felt to the extent that it encouraged a kind of collaboration between Vaziri's followers and some classical musicians.

The Society was also active in educational activities. In addition to publishing the music notation of several Iranian pieces and instruction books, the Society provided free educational sessions for the public in 1945 on Iranian instruments (Khaliqi 2002, 3:94). Through these educational activities, the Society paved the way for meeting one of its main goals: the establishment of a conservatory dedicated to Iranian music education. Perhaps the idea of establishing a conservatory was also rooted in a new concern. In 1946, Parviz Mahmoud took the place of Ali-Naqi Vaziri and became the new administrator of the Conservatory of Music and the State Music Department. Like Minbashian, Mahmoud endeavored to eliminate the education of Iranian music in the Conservatory, succeeding to change the curriculum in 1948 (Arianpur 2014, 70). However, Mahmoud's opposition was not limited to the elimination of Iranian music in the Conservatory. Khaliqi, as a founder of the Society for National Music, describes the period of Mahmoud's administration as "the most critical period" during the lifetime of the Society in which "the advocates of European music" did "whatever [which] was possible to undermine the Society's achievements" (Khaliqi 2002, 3:106–107).

The constant conflict between the advocates of Iranian and Western music in addition to ambiguities in state policies regarding Iranian music led Khaliqi to establish a non-governmental

conservatory as the educational division of the Society. Established in 1949 under Khaliqi's directorship, the Conservatory for National Music (Hunaristan-i Musiqi-yi Milli), as indicated in the first article of its statute, was "established in order to preserve the characteristics of the national music of Iran and [to] promote this art and to place it on a true scientific [i.e. theoretical] basis" (quoted in Khaliqi 2002, 3:192). These principles aligned with Vaziri's solutions for modernizing Iranian music. In fact, although Vaziri pioneered the ideas of harmonizing Iranian pieces, the use of notation, and the theoretical study of Iranian scales, it was not until the following decades that these ideas "gained wide acceptance and application" through the Conservatory for National Music (Farhat 2012).

Khaliqi essentially followed Vaziri's ideas in the Conservatory for National Music; however, he pioneered new ideas and activities which differed from Vaziri's initial approach to Iranian music. Khaliqi first proposed the idea of establishing a conservatory dedicated to Iranian music education in 1946 in an article in *Majallih-yi Chang* (the *Chang* Magazine). In his article, Khaliqi regarded conflicts between the advocates of Iranian and Western music as a result of the state's false policies towards music. According to Khaliqi, since the state has approved and supported only one style of music at any given time, sudden changes in policies regarding music have encouraged constant conflicts among musicians who wish to achieve the state's support. He concluded that because "Iranian music and Western music are two distinct fields," two separate educational institutions should be responsible for their education (quoted in Ahmadi 2003, 31). Khaliqi's statements demonstrate a gradual shift from Vaziri's initial ideas to a new perception of a relation between Iranian and Western music. In contrast to Khaliqi who recognizes a distinction between Iranian and Western music, Vaziri, as described in Chapter One, did not draw a fundamental distinction between the principles of Iranian and Western music as he

defined Iranian *dastgah*s as a set of scales, believing that Iranian music was able to gain global reception if Iranian musicians would endeavor to modernize the music by employing Western techniques of composition, performance, and education.

The distinction, suggested by Khaliqi, showed its practical consequences after the establishment of the Conservatory for National Music when the Conservatory introduced new activities that emphasized the distinction between Iranian and Western music. Consisting of only Iranian instruments, the Orchestra of *Tar*s and *Sitar*s (*Urkistr-i Tar va Sitar*), was established in the Conservatory in 1952 (Khaliqi 1963, 74). It appears that the orchestra sought to combine the usual characteristics of classical ensembles, comprising two or three instrumentalists and a vocalist, and Western orchestras that included a larger number of musicians. In contrast to Vaziri's orchestra, comprising both Iranian and Western musical instruments, the Orchestra of *Tar*s and *Setar*s insisted on the use of Iranian musical instruments only, exhibiting an emerging taste for the unique timbre of Iranian instruments among modernist musicians. Khaliqi also began to encourage *kamanchih* players, such as Hussein Yahaqqi, who had begun playing the violin because of an increasing public interest in this Western instrument, to perform on the *kamanchih* again (Khaliqi 2002, 1:355), aiming to revitalize the performance of this Iranian musical instrument.

Khaliqi also invited classical master musicians, such as Ali-Asghar Bahari (1906 - 1995), the master of the *kamanchih*, and Ali-Akbar Shahnazi (1897/98 - 1985), the master of the *tar*, to teach in the Conservatory for National Music (Bahari 2001, 35). The new attitude towards classical musicians was developed in the following years by hiring classical musicians, such as Ahmad Ibadi (1906/07 - 1993), the master of the *setar*, and Nur-Ali Burumand, the prominent instructor of the *radif* of Iranian music (Ahmadi 2003, 34). During the following years, however,

including classical musicians as instructors became a new procedure in state educational institutions, including the Department of Music at the University of Tehran, established in 1965, which became one of the main institutions contributing to the culmination of revivalist discourses in the late 1960s.

Indeed, Khaliqi's invitation to classical master-musicians to teach in the Conservatory paved the way for the introduction and propagation of traditional techniques in modern educational institutions, resulting in the elevation of the social and musical status of classical master-musicians among modernists, whose principle pathfinder, Ali-Naqi Vaziri, had criticized these classical performers almost three decades earlier. Inviting these master musicians, who taught by means of oral transmission, contrasted with not only Vaziri's initial ideas which had questioned the efficiency of the classical methods of performance and education but also Khaliqi's own statements, published in 1941, in which he had distinguished a performer from a musician, identifying the latter as one who had theoretical knowledge (Khaliqi 1941, 7). This should be interpreted in view of the fact that except for Vaziri's theory of twenty-four tone scale, there was no other theoretical framework for explaining Iranian *dastgah*s in 1941. Therefore, for Khaliqi, who advocated for Vaziri's ideas, "theoretical knowledge" equated to the knowledge of Western theoretical constructs. According to his statements published in 1941, Khaliqi believed that a classical musician was merely a good performer and not a musician, thus undermining classical musicians' knowledge of Iranian music achieved by means of oral transmission.

In addition to his reputation as the founder and director of the Conservatory for National Music, Khaliqi is well-known for his large number of publications. Although his writings cover a wide range of topics, such as the theory of music, harmony, the education of Iranian music, the history of music in both pre-modern and modern Iran, and various other topics, his most

important contribution to the literature on Iranian music is a two-volume book, entitled *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran* (The History of Iranian Music), in which Khaliqi narrates the history of Iranian music in modern times.

The first volume, published in 1954, describes the situation of Iranian musical society and its prominent figures from the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah to the rise of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1924. Based on his interviews with old musicians, accompanied by his own memories of musicians and musical events during his childhood, Khaliqi provides a major work concerning the situation of music in Qajar Iran, especially after the Constitutional Revolution of 1906. The second volume, published in 1956, covers the period between 1924 and 1934. Focusing on Vaziri's life, efforts, and achievements during this period, this volume clearly demonstrates Khaliqi's perspective on Vaziri's ideas and efforts, and his great respect for Vaziri. A third volume was also published after Khaliqi's death which includes the collection of his writings prepared for the third volume, narrating the situation of Iran's musical society in the period from 1935 to the late 1940s.

Aside from the significance of Khaliqi's history as the first comprehensive source that describes the situation of music in Qajar Iran, the book *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran* is an important document that clarifies Khaliqi's perspective on existing musical ideas and styles in Iranian society. Considering that Khaliqi was the most prominent figure among Vaziri's followers, the comparison between his narrative in *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran* and Vaziri's initial publications and lectures during the 1920s and the 1930s clearly demonstrates the evolution of modernist ideas advocated by Vaziri and his followers from the 1920s to the 1950s. In the first volume of his book, in particular, Khaliqi essentially wishes to preserve the memories of Qajar musicians and their contributions to Iranian music. In this regard, the most striking

aspect of his historical narrative is Khaliqi's positive and respectful voice about Qajar musicians, who had been blamed by Vaziri for their backward, immoral, and unsystematic music almost three decades earlier.

Khaliqi's historical narrative attracted the support of classical musicians. Khaliqi confirms that Nur-Ali Burumand, who later became the leading teacher of the revivalist movement during the 1960s and the 1970s, supported him in collecting information, introducing him to those individuals who had information about Qajar musicians (Khaliqi 2002, 1:296). Almost twenty years after the first publication of Khaliqi's history, the vocalist master Abdullah Davami (1881 - 1980) indicated that he had given up his decision to write about his musician colleagues of the Qajar period because of the publication of Khaliqi's book (Davami 1976, 12). This clearly shows that classical musicians, even those who had experienced the Qajar period, trusted Khaliqi's narrative of Qajar musicians in his book.

One may attribute the difference between Khaliqi's and Vaziri's attitudes towards Qajar musicians to their different personal characters. As Hormoz Farhat, who met both Vaziri and Khaliqi, describes these two musicians, Vaziri was "the uncompromising pathfinder and leader….a naturally dominant personality, possessing of exceptional energy and charisma" while Khaliqi "had a gentle, sensitive, and unassuming personality; while resolute in his convictions, he was never aggressive" (Farhat 2012). However, a comparison between the content of Khaliqi's publications during the 1930s and his *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran* published in 1954 leads us to acknowledge that Khaliqi changed his ideas regarding classical musicians.

In the second volume of his book *Nazari bi Musiqi* (A Glance at Music) published in 1938, Khaliqi dedicates a chapter of his book, entitled *Tajaddud-i Musiqi dar Iran* (The Modernization of Music in Iran), describing the efforts of the most prominent musicians who

took the first steps towards modernizing Iranian music. In his description of Qajar musicians, Khaliqi also introduces Mirza Abdullah and Aqa Hussein-Quli, two legendary musicians of the Qajar court who lived in the second half of the nineteenth century. Unlike Vaziri, Khaliqi's voice about these musicians is not aggressive; however, his description, limited to defining the music performed or composed by these master-musicians as *sadih* (simple) and *bisyar sadih-yi yiknavakht* (very simple and monotone) (Khaliqi 2007, 2:241), demonstrates that he does not give prominence to these musicians' contributions to Iranian music.

In contrast, through his narrative in *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran,* Khaliqi assigns an entire chapter to the contributions of these two musicians, their father, and their paternal uncle, introducing their family as *khandan-i hunar* (the art clan). Khaliqi not only admires Mirza Abdullah's noble character and Aqa Hussein-Quli's virtuosity on the *tar*, but he also implies that the contributions of these master-musicians and their efforts in teaching students have resulted in the dissemination of Iranian music to the following generations (Khaliqi 2002, 1:102–23). Comparing these two narratives, expressed in the different socio-cultural conditions of Iranian society in 1938 and in 1954, one identifies a growing appreciation of classical musicians, both Qajar musicians and their present successors, and the recognition of their musical contributions among Vaziri's followers who wished to reconcile classical music with the modern Western techniques of composition, performance, and education.

In addition, it appears that the designation of the term "*radif*" was gradually transformed during the 1940s. As reflected in Khaliqi's historical narrative in *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran*, the most prominent musicians had their own *radif*s (see Khaliqi 2002, 1: 355, 2:47–48, 215, 3:26, 38). Even during the 1940s and 1950s, prominent master-musicians, such as Ali-Akbar Shahnazi, Habib Sama'i, Abul-Hasan Saba, and Hussein Yahaqqi still taught their own *radif*s. Thus, it

appears that the term *radif* was mostly used to describe a master-musician's personal repertoire, which may also have reflected his own style of performance. This perception of the *radif* can be observed in many publications between 1920 and 1940 in which the term *radif* is mostly followed by the name of a master-musician, for instance the *radif* of Mirza Abdullah.

The clearest statement confirming this argument is Khaliqi's definition of the term *radif* provided in his book *Nazari bi Musiqi* published in 1938: "when performers say '*radif*,' their intention is the style and approach and the quality of arrangement and combination of an *avaz* [i.e. unmetered musical piece]" (Khaliqi 2007, 2:93n1). Although Khaliqi's definition is somewhat ambiguous, his description clearly implies the possibility of multiple styles as well as different arrangements and combinations of musical phrases, confirming the multiplicity of *radif*s by different performers. However, it appears that the designation of the term "*radif*" was gradually changed during the 1940s. Khaliqi in his *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran* published in 1954 uses the phrase "the *radif* of Iranian music" (*radif-i musiqi-i Irani*) to entitle a chapter of his book. He also uses the term *radif* in various parts of his book without referring to a specific performer. In contrast to publications in previous decades, in the books and articles published from the early 1950s onwards, including Khaliqi's *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran*, the frequency of the use of the terms "*radif*" or "the *radif* of Iranian music" not only increases, but these phrases are mostly used to refer to a kind of national repertoire.

Khaliqi was not alone in changing his attitude towards the classical style of performance and teaching, modifying his perspective on Vaziri's ideas; some of Vaziri's other students also did the same. As Khaliqi indicates in 1954, Musa Ma'rufi, a prominent musician and one of Vaziri's first students, had given up Vaziri's style in the performance of the *tar*, instead pursuing the classical style (Khaliqi 1954, 46). The most important example of the shift in ideas was

manifested in the article "Gam va Dastgahha-yi Musiqi-yi Iran" (The Scale and *Dastgah*s of the Music of Iran) by Mehdi Barkechli, Vaziri's former student. Published in 1946, Barkechli's article questioned the validity of Vaziri's theory of the twenty four-tone scale, regarding his theory as irrelevant to the current practice of Iranian classical music.

In his article, Barkechli also endeavoured to prove that the current practice of Iranian classical music is connected to theories proposed by medieval theorists, especially al-Farabi and Safi al-Din Urmavi. Employing the historical narrative of the Orientalists, who insisted on the influence of the music of Sasanian civilization on the music of the Islamic period, Barkechli established a historical link between present Iranian classical music and the music of pre-Islamic Iran. Barkechli's intellectual endeavor should be interpreted in light of the early nationalists' perception of authenticity which, as discussed earlier in Chapter One, approved only those cultural expressions that were perceived as belonging to the continuity of the ancient pre-Islamic practices. Barkechli's contributions will be fully explained in the following chapter as his intellectual endeavors mainly influenced Iran's musical society from the mid-1950s onwards although his core ideas were presented in his publications in 1947.

Conclusion

The first steps towards the appreciation of Iranian classical music were undertaken during the socio-political conditions of post-War Iran in which the presence of world powers and their support of Western cultural expressions encouraged not only an emerging nationalist consciousness in the Iranian public but also an increasing appreciation of Iranian traditions among cultural elites. In this situation, Vaziri's followers were the first musicians who felt the

necessity of preserving the Qajar musical tradition. In adopting a new perspective, they owed much to Vaziri's initial formulation of his ideas, which essentially sought to secure and disseminate Iranian music, although by means of systematization and institutionalization. In fact, under the socio-cultural conditions of Iranian society during the 1940s and the 1950s, Vaziri's students were the first to criticize and revise Vaziri's initial ideas expressed during the 1920s and the 1930s. Thus, this period can be regarded as the first phase of a return to the Qajar music, reinforced later during the late 1960s and the 1970s.

Chapter Three: The Authentication of Iranian Classical Music

In the aftermath of the 1953 coup, Muhammad-Reza Shah came to consolidate his power, building a powerful autocratic monarchy. The Shah was an Aryanist nationalist who wished to build a modern Iran based on his perception of development: emulating Western Europe and the United States by initiating fast-paced modernization and westernization programs. At the same time, to authenticate his rule, the Shah deployed a specific interpretation of Iranian nationalism that presented monarchy as the representation of an ancient nation and emphasized strong political relations with the United States and Western European countries. Accordingly, the state's official nationalism resulted in the implementation of a cultural policy which emphasized the significance of not only Iran's ancient tradition but also the introduction of such an ancient tradition to the international community. Acknowledging the cultural heritage of Iran, the Iranian state tried to connect the Shah's monarchy to the great Persian empires in the pre-Islamic period in order to create legitimacy on both domestic and International levels. This explains why the state, which strongly advocated for development programs to modernize and westernize the country, pursued a cultural policy that celebrated the high value of Iranian cultural traditions.

Due to the United States' financial support and the increase in Iran's oil revenue in the aftermath of the 1953 coup, the Iranian state gained financial power by which public organizations, such as institutions related to cultural affairs, and their activities expanded. The increasing financial power enabled the state to actively pursue its policies and goals in various cultural domains. In music, the state pursued a consistent policy that represented Iranian classical music as an important component of Iran's cultural heritage. In this situation, scholars who had already advocated for the significance of Iranian classical music employing scientific methodologies to establish a historical connection between the present Iranian music and the

music of the pre-Islamic past came to the forefront of the Iranian music scene. These scholars were able to present their ideas in international conferences, mainly those held by the UNESCO's International Music Council, establishing academic relationships with the scholars of other countries.

At the same time, the emergence of the first generation of Iranian musicologists, who had studied in Western universities, encouraged the introduction of discourses presented in the discipline of musicology, and later ethnomusicology, which emphasized the preservation of traditional forms of music in Western and non-Western societies. These two intellectual streams, reflected in the large number of publications from the mid-1950s onwards, reinforced the previous efforts by Ali-Naqi Vaziri's followers, such as Ruhullah Khaliqi, who had begun to acknowledge the significance of the Qajar musical tradition from the second half of the 1940s.

The Monarchy as the Representation of the Iranian Nation

The 1953 coup revealed the gradual decline of the Shah's rule towards dictatorship. The United States' financial support together with the rise of Iran's oil revenue improved the state's financial situation, reinforcing the consolidation of political power in the decade after the coup. From 1952 to 1962, Iran received $1.135 billion financial aid from the United States, of which $225 million was in loans (Sharifi 2013, 120). At the same period, a new contract with a consortium of several European and American oil companies resulted in the rise of Iran's oil revenue from $34 million in 1954—1955 to $181 million in 1956—1957, $358 million in 1960—1961, and $437 million in 1962—1963 (Abrahamian 1982, 420). This improvement of financial situation enabled the Shah to gradually strengthen his power over the country; in

addition to the establishment of a new secret police, widely known under its acronym SAVAK[10], in 1957, the annual military budget was increased from $80 million in 1953 to nearly $183 by 1963 (Abrahamian 1982, 420). This empowered the Shah to tighten his control especially over the intelligentsia and the urban working class; all opposition parties were dissolved and parliamentary elections were tightly supervised (Abrahamian 1982, 420–21).

In this situation, the Shah still sought his alliance with traditional classes, such as large landed families, some religious authorities and political figures, due to their supportive role in the coup (Katouzian 2009, 253). This dual policy towards modern and traditional classes, however, was disrupted from 1960 to 1963 by an economic crisis and its consequent land reform program suggested by the Kennedy administration, which considered liberal reforms and economic developments to be "the best guarantee against communist revolutions" (Abrahamian 1982, 422). Initiated under the premiership of the liberal Prime Minister Ali Amini in 1962, the land reform was the first nationwide attempt to redistribute land, aiming at creating "a class of independent farmers" (Abrahamian 1982, 423). However, after political tensions intensified, which resulted in Amini's fall, the Shah used the initial plan to launch his six-point program known as the White Revolution.

In contrast to the initial plan's purpose, the White Revolution did not succeed in creating a new social base for the Shah's regime. Instead, the content of the program became controversial and created growing discontent, particularly due to the land redistribution and women's suffrage—the components opposed by landlords and religious authorities who had provided a strong social base for the regime after the coup (Katouzian 2009, 260). The discontent resulted in the uprising of June 1963, which was violently suppressed by the regime

[10] *Sazman-i Ittila'at va Amniat-i Kishvar* (National Security and Information Organization)

and many protesters were killed (Abrahamian 1982, 426). The White Revolution and its consequences destroyed the alliance between the Shah and his domestic supporters without providing a new social base for his regime (Katouzian 2009, 264).

The suppression of all opposition during 1963—1964, which resulted in creating a closed and undemocratic political sphere for the following 15 years, was concurrent with the dramatic rise of oil revenue. Iran's oil revenue, which increased from $555 million in 1963—1964 to $958 million in 1968—1969, $1.2 billion in 1970—1971, $5 billion in 1973—1974 and nearly $20 billion in 1975—1976 (Abrahamian 1982, 427), empowered the state to bring about vast socio-economic developments, changing the face of Iranian society. The earlier development plans mostly focused on the country's infrastructure, such as building dams to increase the production of electricity, the modernization and the development of port facilities and transport systems, the dramatic expansion of the mass media, "the commercialization of agriculture" and "large-scale irrigation works" and "the settling of some tribes," which mostly influenced the rural population (Abrahamian 1982, 428). The later plans, which concentrated on industrial developments, transformed the industrial sector through an increase in the number of manufacturing factories as well as the expansion of basic mining industries (Abrahamian 1982, 430). Through these plans, several social development programs were also implemented; the dramatic expansion of educational institutions and health facilities as well as the development of women's social rights exemplified the results of these social developments (Abrahamian 2008, 134).

During the decades after the coup, the Shah, as the sole decision-maker who had monopolized all power, also expanded what he considered necessary for building a modern and powerful nation-state: the military and the bureaucracy. By 1975, Iran had the "the largest navy in the Persian Gulf, the largest air force in Western Asia, and the fifth largest army in the whole

world" (Abrahamian 2008, 124). The state bureaucracy expanded at an equally impressive rate. The establishment of new governmental organizations, the increase in the number of state ministries from twelve to twenty, and the change in provincial divisions, which increased the number of provinces from ten to twenty three with their 400 local subdivisions, necessitated the employment of a large number of civil servants, both white-collar and blue-collar. The state bureaucracy expanded to the extent that almost half of Iran's full-time employees were directly paid by the state (Abrahamian 2008, 126–27). This situation was also true for institutions related to cultural affairs. Aside from the formation of new cultural institutions, the General Administration for Fine Arts (Idarih-yi Kol-li Hunarha-yi Ziba) became a government ministry, the Ministry of Culture and Arts (Vizarat-i Farhang va Hunar), in 1961 (Youssefzadeh 2005, 425).

The Shah's pursuit of his father's approach to governing was not merely limited to the modernization, secularization, centralization, and urbanization of Iranian society. Like his father, the Shah propagated a nationalist ethos based on his own interpretation: the significance of the monarchical system as the essential principle of Iranian nationalism. By improving the state's financial situation and the gradual consolidation of political power during the decades after the 1953 coup, the Shah was able to inaugurate his "positive nationalism," presenting an alternative to Musaddiq's anti-imperialist nationalism. This not only justified the overthrow of Musaddiq but also provided legitimacy for the Shah's rule reinstated by Western powers through an unpopular coup.

Eight years after the coup, the Shah published his first book, entitled *Mission for My Country* (1961), in which he presents his ideas regarding various domestic and international affairs. The book also reflects the Shah's perspective on nationalism, revealing his underlying

contest with Musaddiq for legitimacy (Holliday 2011, 35). The Shah introduces his perception of nationalism as the "positive nationalism," associating it with true patriotism (Holliday 2011, 37). In contrast, he regards Musaddiq's nationalism as unpatriotic (Holliday 2011, 36) as it had led the nation towards "political and economic chaos which foreign agents [i.e. communists] found ideal for their purposes" (Pahlavi 1961, 126). As the Shah stated,

> Positive nationalism, as I conceive it, implies a policy of maximum political and economic independence consistent with the interest of one's country. On the other hand, it does not mean non-alignment or sitting on the fence. It means that we make any agreement which is in our own interest, regardless of wishes or policies of others….We cultivate the friendship of all, and are prepared to take advantage of every country's technical skills if to do so does not prejudice our interests or our independence. This gives us great freedom of action –much more that that enjoyed by any dogma-ridden state. At the same time we resolutely stand for the ideals and principles of the United Nations. (Pahlavi 1961, 125)

Describing Musaddiq's policy of non-alignment as "sitting on the fence," the Shah argues for the superiority of his own approach by comparing Iran' economic improvements after the coup with financial constraints under Musaddiq government, during which Musaddiq had pursued a policy of "non-oil economics" because of the loss of oil revenues resulting from the boycott of Iranian oil industry by main international oil companies (Katouzian 2009, 246–47). Legitimizing his alliance with Western world powers by highlighting his development programs, the Shah believes that his perception of nationalism, is superior to that of Musaddiq, whose government is described by the Shah as a "dogma-ridden state." In addition, the Shah authenticate his "positive nationalism" by referring to the United Nations, situating his perception of nationalism in an international context. According to Holliday, these statements clearly demonstrate that, for the Shah, "his audience and search for legitimacy is not only on a domestic level, but also on an international level" (Holliday 2011, 37).

The Shah's perception of his "positive nationalism" is revealed through his admiration of westernization, discussed in the chapter "Westernization: Our Welcome Ordeal" (Pahlavi 1961, 132–60). According to Holliday, the Shah perceives the process of westernization as the modernization of Iran's socio-economic infrastructure, and thus "as something to be embraced" (Holliday 2011, 37). However, the Shah does not regard the process of westernization merely as "making Iran 'Western'" or "creating a more 'modern' Iran" (Holliday 2011, 37); for him, the westernization of Iranian society is essentially about "reinventing the Iranian nation in terms of 'great civilization' of its antiquity"(Holliday 2011, 37).

According to Holliday's analysis of the Shah's statements, the Shah regards the relationship between Iran and the West as a kind of "dialogue" (Holliday 2011, 38) between old and new civilizations. For him, Iranian culture is "the oldest continuous one racially and linguistically linked to that of the West, which itself owes much to us" (Pahlavi 1961, 28), while the West is the bearer of the modern progressive culture. The Shah regards Iran as "a crucial actor in a 'civilizing' exchange" (Holliday 2011, 38): "In some ways Western countries can civilize us, in other ways we can perhaps civilize them" (Pahlavi 1961, 132). These statements can be understood only if one consider that for the Shah Iran's ancient civilization had been created based on universal principles later adopted by the modern West:

> The empire founded by Cyrus the Great was not based on territorial acquisition alone, but also on international tolerance and understanding. The rights of all the subject nations were upheld, and their laws and customs respected. Indeed, I see in our first empire something of the spirit of the United Nations of nearly 2,500 years later. (Pahlavi 1961, 21)

Accordingly, the glorification of Iran's pre-Islamic past helps the Shah to believe that the process of westernization does not corrupt Iranian society and its culture; instead, it contributes to the foundation of a new great civilization, an alternative to that of the West, rooted in Iranian

culture but armed with Western technology. He sees an elevated role for Iran in the development of this new civilization: "I foresee that my country may help provide leadership in the worldwide quest for a fresh synthesis of East and West, old and new" (Pahlavi 1961, 132). Thus, the Shah constructs his positive nationalism upon two main pillars: the greatness of Iranian pre-Islamic civilization and the significance of an alliance with Western world powers. While the former necessitates highlighting and celebrating the high value of Iranian cultural heritage, the latter reinforces further political, economic, and cultural relations with Western powers.

However, this belief in Iranian civilization as an important civilizing force should be considered in light of the Shah's specific understanding of Iran's ancient history that emphasized the role of monarch in the construction and development of the Iranian nation and perceived the greatness of Iranian civilization in terms of its relation to ancient monarchies:

> During the many centuries since Cyrus's day…the continuity of our monarchy has remained essentially unbroken….Over this great time-span, the monarchy has brought unity out of diversity. We have always had differences of race, colour, creed, and economic and political situation and conviction; but under the monarchy the divergencies have been sublimated into one larger whole symbolized in the person of the Shah. (Pahlavi 1961, 327)

As discussed in Chapter One, early nationalist elites constructed Iranian nationalism upon three pillars of territory, history, and language to build a unified nation. In contrast, the Shah highlights his unifying role, attributing all meanings, implications, and sentiments attached to the notion of nationalism to the institution of monarchy in order to authenticate his rule.

This narrative of Iranian nationalism was developed in the following years, especially in the aftermath of the White Revolution. Regarding the monarchical system as "the natural form of government for the Iranian nation" (Ansari 2012, 171), this narrative contended that the connection between Iranian monarchy and the nation "could be traced in a relatively unbroken

line, back to Cyrus the Great, the founding father of the Iranian nation" (Grigoriadis and Ansari 2005, 326). Prime Minister Amir-Abbas Huviyda (1919 - 1979) clearly articulated this narrative of Iranian nationalism: "…there has been only one Iran and one monarchic system and that these two are so closely interwoven that they represent one concept" (quoted in Ansari 2007, 237).

The ultimate manifestation of this perception of Iranian nationalism was, indeed, the impressive international celebrations in 1971 for 2,500 years of the Persian monarchy stated officially as the arrival of the "Gate to Great Civilization" (Sharifi 2013, 113). Prominent political figures, such as kings, presidents, and premieres, from sixty nine countries were invited for the event (Katouzian 2009, 270). In his eulogy delivered at the tomb of Cyrus, the Shah addressed Cyrus: "Sleep well, Cyrus, for we are awake" (quoted in Katouzian 2009, 262). Assuming a historical continuity of the Iranian monarchy, the Shah promised the arrival of a modern Cyrus in Iran's history, implying that he was Cyrus's legitimate successor in modern times.

However, this narrative of Iranian nationalism was vulnerable to a basic historical fact: the discontinuity of monarchical system in Iran, especially during two centuries after the Arab conquest of Iran. This issue, however, was addressed in a quasi-academic paper presented in a Canadian conference on Iranian Civilization and Culture "organized under the auspices of the Canadian Committee for the celebration of the 2,500th Anniversary of the Founding of the Persian Empire by Cyrus the Great"[11] (Adams 1973, xiii). The paper, entitled "Iran: A 2,500-Year Historical and Cultural Tradition" (1973) and written by Roger M. Savory, perfectly illustrates what Ansari, the author of various works on Iranian nationalism, has called "the (re) absorption of Iranian sponsored narratives by the West" (Ansari 2012, 177). In his article,

[11] The conference was held in the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto in 1971 (Adams 1973, xiii).

Savory basically aims to introduce some of Iran's historical and cultural traditions. But the notable aspect of his paper is how he grafts the notion of monarchy onto tradition, justifying the discontinuity of the Iranian monarchy with the perceived continuity of Iranian tradition:

> …we are not celebrating a 2,500-year continuum of empire, or even of monarchy. What we are celebrating, I suggest, is a 2,500-year-old continuing historical and cultural tradition in which the institution of the monarchy has played an important, indeed, an essential part: an historical and cultural tradition so strong that not all the political vicissitudes which Iran has experienced and military catastrophes which Iran has suffered –and she has suffered a greater number than most countries of the world– have succeeded in destroying it. (Savory 1973, 77–78)

In his discussion of Iranian traditions, Savory begins with "the institution of monarchy" as an "important" element of Iranian tradition (Savory 1973, 78). Providing a historical narrative on Iranian monarchy from the ancient pre-Islamic period to the present, he regards "the Divine Right of Kings" as the original "basis of the authority of the Persian kings," rejecting accusations made against the despotic nature of the Shah's rule (Savory 1973, 78). Using a metaphor to illustrate the cohesion between monarchy and tradition, he considers both to be strands which should be braided to form "the unbreakable rope of the Iranian historical and cultural tradition" (Savory 1973, 80). Through this process of reasoning, Savory creates a strong connection between the concepts of monarchy and tradition; safeguarding the monarchy necessitates the preservation of the tradition, and vice versa. In addition, since these two notions are inseparable parts of a whole, each of them signifies the other one: the significance of Iranian ancient culture and the continuity of Iranian tradition signify the continuity of the Iranian monarchy and the prominence of its current representative, Muhammad-Reza Shah.

The main argument of this paper was in fact the reflection of the state's official narrative as it was consistent with cultural policies implemented by the state. Some of these policies were presented in a book, *Cultural Policy in Iran* (1973), prepared for UNESCO by Djamchid

Behnam, the Secretary General of the Higher Council for Arts and Culture during that time (Behnam 1973, 5). The book clearly demonstrates assumptions upon which the state's cultural policies relied. The book begins with a historical narrative that emphasizes the continuity of Iranian civilization to demonstrate the continuity of the Iranian monarchy:

> Leaving aside the prehistoric period when the Aryans emigrated towards Western Asia, it can be stated with certainty that since 4,000 B.C., Iranian civilization has maintained a continuity that is rare in the history of other civilizations….The first great Iranian State was founded about 550 B.C. by Cyrus the Great. Twenty-five centuries of Iranian history reveal clearly distinct periods resulting from different historical factors: the advent of Alexander the Great in 330 B.C., the influence of Greek civilization, the Arab invasion and conversion to Islam in the seventh century and, lastly, the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century which perhaps did not have as great an impact as the preceding two….Despite these various invasions, Iranian civilization neither disappeared nor declined; on the contrary it strongly influenced the civilization of the invaders….Even the beauty of the Greek gods could take no hold on Iranian civilization. The Iranians themselves played their part in implanting Islamic civilization and the Mongols were seduced into adopting Iranian ways and customs….Generally speaking, the outstanding characteristic of Iranian civilization is its cultural continuity, parallel with the continuity of the Iranian State and empire; and the kings who governed the country proved always to be real patrons of science, culture and art. (Behnam 1973, 9)

This historical narrative not only emphasizes the continuity of Iranian civilization, but it also argues for the superiority of Iranian culture: Iranian culture has imposed its influence over invaders' cultures during past centuries. However, this superiority is achieved because of the historical role of Iranian monarchs in providing conditions in which Iranian culture has formed and developed. Accordingly, the superiority of Iranian culture is a result of Iranian monarchs' patronage and support.

It is not surprising that the notion of "national continuity" is the most frequent phrase emphasized in the book. Explaining a text officially approved by the Shah in 1966 as the state's cultural policy, Behnam indicates the main concerns reflected in the text:

> The text concerning cultural policy stresses the importance of disseminating a culture based on national continuity but meeting the needs of people who have to live in a changing society. The aim is neither to give a blind imitation of Western civilization and culture nor to reject them. Iran must make a permanent evaluation of its cultural heritage in relation to the new elements and seek to adopt the best of these elements. (Behnam 1973, 16)

Considering the notion of "national continuity" as defined in this book, these statements clearly correspond with the Shah's perception of nationalism as already discussed. By placing great emphasis on "national continuity," these official statements highlight the greatness of Iran's pre-Islamic civilization, implying the continuity of the Iranian monarchy and its decisive role in shaping Iranian civilization. These statements also emphasize the importance of "permanent evaluation" of Iranian culture based on "new elements" of Western culture, thus necessitating establishing permanent and stable relations with Western powers.

The statements also echo ideas advocated by some nationalist constitutionalists, such as Hussein Kazimzadih. As discussed in Chapter One, Kazimzadih, who was the editor of the periodical *Iranshahr* published during the early 1920s, glorified Iran's pre-Islamic past while rejecting the wholesale adoption of Western values, believing that Iranians should have adopted only the best dimensions of Western civilization. Despite such a historical background, considering the socio-political situation of Iranian society during the period of approving this official document by the state, one may conclude that the emphasis on denying "a blind imitation of Western civilization" is merely a political strategy to respond to widespread accusations of dependence on Western world powers made by the opposition against the Shah.

The state's cultural policy played a vital role as the Shah, himself, presided over two councils which controlled all cultural activities implemented by the state (Behnam 1973, 18): the Higher Council for Arts and Culture, whose main function was "to supervise the implementation

of cultural policy and to co-ordinate the activities of the different organizations responsible for carrying that policy into effect" (Behnam 1973, 20), and the Imperial Cultural Council which was "responsible for fostering cultural relations with foreign countries" (Behnam 1973, 18). Thus, the emphasis on the glory of Iranian pre-Islamic empires was part of a political program that sought to legitimize the Shah's absolutist rule on both domestic and international levels.

While his regime had lost its social base, the growing economic power helped the Shah to pursue a consistent cultural policy that improved his domestic image. Due to the expansion of bureaucratic organizations during this period, this perception of nationalism encouraged the formation of many cultural institutions, festivals, and events aimed at representing Iranian traditional culture as an admirable national heritage. Celebrating Iran's cultural heritage by linking it to the pre-Islamic imperial era, the state represented the Shah as the legal successor of great pre-Islamic monarchs. Accordingly, the state's authentication of Iran's cultural tradition was essentially a political act aiming to legitimize a monarchical system that suffered from a legitimacy crisis and needed to recover its image. The state also introduced the Shah as the leader of an ancient country, with great history and culture, capable of contributing to a global cultural exchange to elevate his international status. This clearly explains why the state, which strongly advocated development programs to modernize the country, a process which the Shah himself regarded as westernization, pursued the cultural policy that celebrated the high value of Iran's musical traditions.

Promoting Iranian Classical Music as Iran's National Heritage

The text defining the state's cultural policy was officially approved by the Shah in September 1966 (Behnam 1973, 15); however, the state's new policy towards Iranian classical music had been initiated a few years after the 1953 coup. From the mid-1950 to the 1979 revolution, the improvement of financial resources enabled the state to inaugurate many musical events, institutions, conferences and festivals to support and facilitate the education and performance of both Western and Iranian music, whether classical or Vaziri's school. However, in contrast to the first period of the Shah's reign (1940 - 1953) in which the state did not pursue a consistent policy towards Iranian music, from the mid-1950s and especially after 1963 the state adopted a new policy that not only highlighted the significance of Iranian classical music as an ancient musical tradition rooted in the music of pre-Islamic Iran, but it also emphasized the introduction of such an ancient tradition to the international community.

From 1956 onwards, the Iranian state inaugurated many musical events and institutions to secure the success of its project that celebrated the high value of Iranian musical tradition: broadcasting a series of radio programs, known as the *Golha* (flowers), from 1956 for twenty three years (Lewisohn 2008, 79); official supporting the Conservatory for National Music and transforming it to a public conservatory in 1956 (Arianpur 2014, 88); establishing new educational institutions in which courses related to Iranian classical music were taught, such as the Musicology Program in the Advanced Conservatory for National Music in 1960 (Fakhriddini 2012, 107), the Department of Music at the University of Tehran in 1964 (Tsuge 2014, 181), and the Center for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music in 1969 (Musayyibzadih 2003, 81); teaching the *radif* of Iranian music (Ma'rufi's *radif*) in the Conservatory of National Music from the early 1960s (Ahmadi 2003, 35); publishing the *radif* of Iranian music (Ma'rufi's *radif*) in

1963; recording the *radif*s of several master-musicians during the 1960s and the 1970s; holding annual domestic and international festivals, such as the Festival of Culture and Arts (1968 - 1977), the Shiraz Art Festival (1967 - 1977), and the Tus Festival (1975 - 1978) (Arianpur 2014, 289–340; 345–51); establishing the *Rudaki* Hall in 1967 (Arianpur 2014, 236); reconstructing and adapting old instruments (Nettl 1975, 89); and establishing several orchestras and ensembles by the General Administration for Fine Arts (later the Ministry of Culture and Arts) and National Iranian Radio and Television (NIRT).

In addition, the development of political ties with the United States and Western European countries during this period and the consequent development of cultural relations paved the way for introducing existing discourses in Western academic environments to Iran's musical society. From 1956 onwards, Iranian music scholars actively participated in international conferences held by the UNESCO's International Music Council. In 1961, the state also held the UNESCO's International Music Congress, *the Preservation of Traditional Forms of the Learned and Popular Music of the Orient and the Occident*, in Tehran. The stable relations with the International community also increased academic relations encouraging musicologists, ethnomusicologists, and anthropologists to travel to Iran for their research on Iranian classical music.

During the 1960s and 1970s, many music scholars, including Alain Daniélou, Gen'ichi Tsuge, Ella Zonis, Bruno Nettl, Stephen Blum, Margaret Caton, Lloyd Miller, William Beeman, and Jean During travelled to Iran. Some of these scholars were supported by the Iranian state during their research projects. For instance, Margaret Caton received a grant from the Iranian state during her doctoral studies (Caton 1983, xii). Lloyd Miller also founded a cultural institution in 1976 in Utah under the patronage of the Iranian government. He established the

Society for the Preservation and Propagation of Eastern Arts under the auspices of National Iranian Radio and Television (NIRT) with a contract that secured a yearly grant. As the first project, the Society published a monograph about an Iranian educational institution, the Center for the Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music (Miller 1999, 44–45).

Since comparative musicologists and ethnomusicologists, through their study of musical acculturation, generally emphasized the preservation of traditional forms of education and performance during this period, they influenced their Iranian colleagues who studied in Europe. The impact was intensified by the emerging first generation of Iranian musicologists from the mid-1950s, who had studied in Western universities and taught in educational institutions in Iran. The establishment of new educational institutions, such as the Advanced Conservatory for National Music and the Department of Music at the University of Tehran, not only provided Iranian musicologists and ethnomusicologists an opportunity to disseminate their ideas in new academic contexts, but it also facilitated the presence of Western musicologists and later ethnomusicologists in Iran, and increased their influence on the Iranian academic environments. All these activities, which secured the continuity of Iranian classical music during the following decades, were implemented by the Iranian government as a part of a larger program of achieving legitimacy for the Pahlavi rule under Muhammad-Reza Shah.

Mehdi Barkechli: Authenticating Iranian Classical Music

In 1956, concurrent with the beginning of this period of strong support for Iranian music, Mehdi Barkechli, the director of the Iranian National Music Committee of the Iranian National Commission for UNESCO, was appointed as the director of the Music and Ballet Department

(Idarih-yi Musiqi va Balih) at the General Administration for Fine Arts in 1956 (Arianpur 2014, 92). In contrast to previous decades in which prominent musicians, such as Ali-Naqi Vaziri, Ghulam-Hussein Minbashian, Parviz Mahmoud, and his assistant Rubik Gregorian, were responsible for governmental administrative organizations related to music, Barkechli was the first academic figure occupying the administrative role previously filled by professional musicians and taking charge of a state institution related to music. As a professional physicist who had studied in France, Barkechli tried to demonstrate the continuity of Iran's musical tradition from the pre-Islamic period. He also participated in international academic conferences, establishing scholarly connections with European scholars.

Mehdi Barkechli (1912/13 - 1988) grew up in a middle-class family in Tehran. His father was a well-known teacher in Tehran (Nasirifar 2005, 7:384). In 1932/33, he graduated in Physics and Chemistry from the Advanced College (Danishsara-yi Ali), the same institution from which Khaliqi graduated the following year. During his studies in the college, he became interested in music, beginning to receive his training in the violin in the State Music School under Vaziri. Barkechli was a hardworking and enthusiastic student and, according to Khaliqi, was one of few who attracted Vaziri's attention to the extent that Vaziri later indicated that Barkechli was the sole Iranian violinist who played Iranian music based on correct Western techniques on violin (Khaliqi 2002, 3:115–116).

Barkechli started his career as a high school teacher after his graduation. He later became the instructor of acoustics courses in the Advanced Conservatory of Music in 1941. He was one of the first musicians who accepted the membership of the Society for National Music, founded by Ruhullah Khaliqi, playing the violin in the Society's orchestra (Khaliqi 2002, 3:115–16). In 1944, he conducted a series of acoustical experiments to accurately measure the size of intervals

performed by Iranian professional musicians (Barkechli 1963, 15). In 1947, Barkechli travelled to France for his graduate studies in Physics. After receiving his PhD in Acoustics in 1953/54 (Sipanta 2003, 299), he returned to Iran and began teaching in the faculty of Science at the University of Tehran as well as other Iranian universities (Sipanta 2002b, 3:117n1).

Aside from his scholarly activities as an academic, Barkechli played a key role in the establishment of new organizations related to music from the mid-1950s onwards. In particular, the establishment of three influential institutions were entirely based on his proposals: the National Center for Sound Recording (Sidakhanih-yi Milli) in 1956, the Musicology Program at the Advanced Conservatory for National Music in the late 1950s, and the Department of Music at the University of Tehran in 1964 (Barkechli 1988, 36; Tsuge 2014, 181). In addition to the directorship of the Iranian National Music Committee of the Iranian National Commission for UNESCO and the Music and Ballet Department (Arianpur 2014, 113; 92), he also took charge of the Advanced Conservatory for National Music (Hunaristan-i Ali-i Musiqi-yi Milli) in the late 1950s. The institution was regarded as the advanced level of the Conservatory for National Music and the degree offered was equivalent to a bachelor's degree (Fakhriddini 2012, 68–69; *Asasnamih* 1960, 62). He was also the first chair and the first professor of the newly established Department of Music at the University of Tehran in 1964 (Tsuge 2014, 181).

In addition, Barkechli was one of the first Iranian music scholars who participated in scholarly international conferences related to music from the early 1950s onwards. As the director of the music committee of the Iranian National Commission for UNESCO, he organized the UNESCO's International Music Congress, *the Preservation of Traditional Forms of the Learned and Popular Music of the Orient and the Occident*, held in Tehran in 1961. During the 1960s, he was one of the permanent members of the Iranian National Music Committee in

international conferences held by UNESCO's International Music Council which aimed at arousing global interest in the preservation of musical traditions all over the world. The Japanese ethnomusicologist Gen'ichi Tsuge, who travelled to Iran in 1963 to study Iranian classical music, describes Barkechli as a well-known scholar who had numerous international activities during that time (Tsuge 2014, 179).

Barkechli was also a central figure in providing conditions that paved the way for developing revivalist discourses during the late 1960s and the 1970s. On an administrative level, his efforts resulted in the introduction of two leading figures, Nur-Ali Burumand and Daryush Safvat, who later played great roles in the development of revivalist ideas in Iranian musical society during the late 1960s and 1970s. It was Barkechli who, as the chair of the new established Department of Music, pursued Khaliqi's approach in hiring traditional musicians in the Conservatory for National Music, inviting Nur-Ali Burumand to teach in the Department of Music at the University of Tehran (Isma'ili 2009, 99). In addition, Barkechli's scholarly connections with French musicologists enabled him, as the director of the Music and Ballet Department, to send Daryush Safvat to *Le Centre d'Études de Musique Orientale* at the Sorbonne University to teach Iranian classical music there in 1960 (Musayyibzadih 2003, 80). This five-year teaching position at this center promoted Safvat to become the founder and director of the Center for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music established in 1969.

On an intellectual level, Mehdi Barkechli was the first Iranian music scholar who endeavored to establish a connection between Iranian classical music and the music of pre-Islamic Iran. As a professional physicist, he conducted a series of acoustical experiments in 1944, providing a theory of intervals for Iranian scales. To do these experiments, Barkechli invited five prominent musicians to record vocal pieces in various modes. He analyzed these

recordings, measuring accurately the size of intervals performed by musicians through their singing (Farhat 1990, 13). These experiments formed the foundation of Barkechli's intellectual work on Iranian classical music during the following decades. Based on these experiments, Barkechli also challenged Vaziri's theory of twenty four-tone scale, discussing the inaccuracy of the theory and demonstrating its artificial nature and its irrelevance to the performance of Iranian classical music.

Barkechli also examined the treatises by medieval theorists, especially al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, and Safi al-Din Urmavi. Comparing his empirical findings on Iranian scales with medieval theorists' theoretical discussions, Barkechli concluded that Iranian classical music is performed based on intervals similar to those discussed in treatises by these theorists. In addition, Barkechli employed an Orientalist historical narrative, which held that the music of Islamic period had been rooted in music performed during the Sasanian period (224 CE - 651 CE), concluding that the existing practice of Iranian classical music is the continuation of the music of the Sasanian civilization. Like the Iranian nationalists of the early twentieth century who evaluated the authenticity of cultural expressions based on their relation to the perceived pre-Islamic practices, Barkechli constructed the "continuity" of Iranian classical music over many centuries, authenticating the music by connecting it to its pre-Islamic ancestors.

An investigation of Iranian publications between the mid-1950 and the mid-1970s shows that Mehdi Barkechli was one of the most influential figures in Iran's musical society during this period. He published a large number of books and articles which influenced other authors as well as musicians and their perception of Iranian classical music. Although Khaliqi was the first musician who took practical steps towards the appreciation of Qajar musicians and their music from the late 1940s, it was Barkechli's intellectual and administrative efforts that paved the way

for the elevation of Iranian classical music in Iranian society during the 1960s and 1970s. As already stated, both Khaliqi and Barkechli, who highlighted the significance of Iranian classical music during their professional lives, were among the most prominent students of Ali-Naqi Vaziri, the musician who had pioneered the systematic modernization of Iranian classical music from the early 1920s.

Background to Mehdi Barkechli's Historical Narrative

Barkechli was not the first musician-scholar to discuss the historical background of Iranian classical music in contemporary Iran. From the early twentieth century, the historiography of Iranian music attracted the attention of some nationalist scholars, historians, and musicians. As mentioned in Chapter One, nationalist discourses in Iran heavily relied on the glorification of Iranian civilization in the pre-Islamic period. Accordingly, all historical accounts of Iranian music emphasized the prevalence and greatness of musical practices during the pre-Islamic times, in particular during the Sasanian period. However, the controversial issue was whether the existing practice of Iranian classical music, inherited from the music of Qajar Iran, was the continuation of the pre-Islamic music or was "polluted," as argued by some nationalists, by foreign influences during the periods of Iran's invasion in past centuries. Thus, an investigation of nationalists' historical accounts on Iranian music not only clarifies the multiplicity of their articulations but also highlights the significance of Barkechli's intellectual endeavors and his influence on Iran's musical society from the 1950s to the 1970s.

The glorification of the pre-Islamic Iran led the Iranian nationalists of the early twentieth century to highlight the greatness of music in the pre-Islamic period. Importantly, this idea was

reinforced as the names of the legendary musicians of the Sasanian court and the names of their compositions had been reflected in some poems and scholarly sources of the Islamic period. It appears that the idea of the possibility of a musical continuity from pre-Islamic times to the present emerged among Iranian nationalist elites as the names of some pre-Islamic tunes resembled the names of some *gusheh*s performed by Iranian classical musicians. Interestingly, it was the influence of Western Orientalists that, as will be discussed in this section, provided linguistic evidence for this idea.

Fursat al-Dawlih Shirazi: *Buhur al-Alhan* (1904/05)

Perhaps *Buhur al-Alhan* (The meters of melodies) was the first book in which the possibility of a relationship between the music of Qajar Iran and the pre-Islamic period was presented. Written in 1904/05 (1322 AH) by the poet Fursat al-Dawlih Shirazi (ca. 1855 - 1920), the book primarily focuses on the relationship between Iranian music and *aruz* (poetic metres). In his book, Fursat al-Dawlih does not investigate the pre-Islamic origin of Iranian music; however, he proposes the possibility of a connection between the Qajar and the pre-Islamic music in describing the names of *dastgah*s, their subsets, and their relations to the pre-Islamic tunes:

> Indeed, some of these names are [the names of] melodies written in dictionaries and etc. [i.e. other written works] and those [melodies] had been in common usage in the time of Kian and the Sasanians and currently [these names] are brought into these seven *dastgah*s and some *avaz*es, which are attributed to Barbud and Nakisa who were contemporaries with Khusraw Parviz, [and] are named in this new *dastgah* [system]. However, it is not clear whether the current tradition of rhythms and melodies are similar to the same melodies by Barbud or Nakisa. Of course, in every period a [particular musical] approach is required. (Shirazi 1966, 28–29)

These statements clearly demonstrate that Fursat al-Dawlih recognizes resemblance between the names of existing Iranian tunes and the melodies composed by Barbud and Nakisa, who were the legendary musicians of the Sasanian court during the reign of the Sassanid king, Khosraw Parviz. However, this linguistic resemblance does not lead him to conclude that the musical content of the Qajar music is similar to that of Sasanian music. Although he recognizes the possibility of a difference between musical practices performed in various historical contexts, his argument itself signifies emerging nationalist values which authenticated cultural practises based on their perceived connections with the pre-Islamic past.

Abbas Iqbal Ashtiani: "Shi'r va Musiqi-i Qadim-i Iran" (1921)

It appears that the nationalist historian Abbas Iqbal Ashtiani (henceforth referred to as Iqbal) was the first Iranian scholar who argued for musical continuity from the pre-Islamic period to the present. Iqbal's research on the poetry and the music of the Sasanian period, entitled "Shi'r va Musiqi-i Qadim-i Iran" (Early Poetry and Music of Iran), was published as two separate articles in the periodical *Kavih* in 1921. As indicated in the introductory section of the first article, these two articles were basically written under the influence of an article by Arthur Emanuel Christensen, entitled "Shi'r-i Pahlavi va Shi'r-i Farsi-i Qadim" (Pahlavi Poetry and Early Persian Poetry), published in the same journal in 1920 (Iqbal Ashtiani 1921a, 11). In his article, Arthur Emanuel Christensen (1875 - 1945), a Danish Orientalist and an expert in Iranian philology and folklore, through his discussion of Persian poetry in the Sasanian period, had briefly discussed the prevalence of music in the Sasanian civilization, indicating the number and the names of some ancient tunes. According to Christensen, this information came from his

investigation in Persian and Arabic sources written during the Islamic period (Christensen 1920, 24).

This article was not Christensen's first work on the music of Iranians during the Sasanian period. In 1909, Christensen published an article, entitled "Some Notes on Persian Melody-Names of the Sasanian Period," discussing the significance of music among Iranians, and particularly in the royal court, during the Sasanian period (Christensen 1909, 368–69). The importance of this article, however, lay in Christensen's approach to research on the music of Sasanians that led him to assume a connection between the music of pre-Islamic Iran and current musical practices in Islamic countries. Christensen regarded the music of Sasanian civilization as the origin of the music performed in the court of the Abbasid Caliphs and, accordingly, the music performed in Islamic territories during the medieval period (Christensen 1909, 368–69) although he does not provide any evidence for his claim. Regarding the musical systems proposed by Islamic theorists to be "merely the skeleton" (Christensen 1909, 368), he proposed an approach to find "living" melodies of the Abbasid court and, as a result, the music of the Sasanian civilization:

> It would be very interesting, if someone were to gather and examine the popular melodies which are still living in Persia, and to state the names of these melodies, so that we might compare them with the old names of melodies preserved in literature. It would be interesting, too, to compare such Persian melodies with music from other parts of the Orient, wherever the influence of Persian civilization has made itself felt. (Christensen 1909, 368)

However, this approach was supported by a fundamental assumption: the continuity of musical traditions in the "Orient" because of the unchanging nature of the "Oriental" nations. As Christensen indicated, "certainly, the medieval Perso-Arabian music has not disappeared, nowhere have traditions maintained themselves more stubbornly than in the Orient" (Christensen

1909, 368). Christensen's reasoning enabled him to provide an approach to search for the "remnants of Sasanian music" (Christensen 1909, 369) through an investigation of the names of existing *gushehs* and maqams in Iran and other Middle Eastern countries. To fulfill the first stage of his proposal in the article, Christensen extracted the names of pre-Islamic tunes from the Persian and Arabic sources of the Islamic period, especially from the poetry by prominent poets, such as Firdawsi (940 - ca.1019-25), Manuchihri (d. 1040), and Nizami Ganjavi (1141 - 1209), providing a list of melodies performed in the Sasanian period (Christensen 1909, 369–77).

Christensen's statements clearly demonstrates the Orientalist recognition of a dichotomy between Europeans and "other" Oriental people. Although Christensen glorified Iran's pre-Islamic past, his description of Oriental nations highlighted a distinction between European nations and others, associating the latter with the lack of change and, implicitly, development. However, these statements satisfied Iranian nationalists who wished to connect the Qajar music to the glory of the pre-Islamic past. As will be discussed later in this chapter, Christensen's approach was later used by Iranian researchers to authenticate the Qajar musical tradition by connecting it to its pre-Islamic ancestors in the Sasanian period. Iqbal was familiar with Christensen's works and his approach to research on Iran's pre-Islamic music. Significantly, Christensen's article in the periodical *Kavih* had been written in Persian specifically for publishing in the periodical (Christensen 1920, 24). This clearly shows the scholarly relations between European Orientalists and Iranian nationalists, justifying the scholarly influence of the former on the latter.

Christensen's article, published in *Kavih*, encouraged Iqbal to write an essay, published as two separate articles in two issues of the same periodical, and pursued the topics already discussed by Christensen: the poetry and the music of the Sasanian period. In his first article,

entitled “Shi'r-i Qadim-i Iran” (Early Poetry of Iran), Iqbal discusses the significance of poetry in the Sasanian period; however, he expresses his idea about the origins of the Qajar musical tradition when he states,

> there is no doubt that the music of Iran after [the introduction of] Islam and a significant part of our music today are similar to the music of the Sasanian era which, due to [different] conditions of the time have gradually adopted some changes. (Iqbal Ashtiani 1921a, 14)

In this statement, Iqbal not only regards Iranian classical music as the continuation of pre-Islamic music, but he also attributes the possible differences between these two forms of music to particular historical conditions in which they had been performed. In other words, for Iqbal, this difference does not signify the influence of foreign takeovers but the natural consequence of performing the same music in different historical contexts.

Like Fursat al-Dawlih, Iqbal admits the possibility of change over many centuries; however, Christensen’s linguistic approach enables him to adopt a different perspective from that of Fursat al-Dawlih, assuming a link between the Qajar music and the music of the Sasanian period. The pursuit of Christensen’s linguistic approach is further evident in Iqbal’s second article, entitled “Musiqi-i Qadim-i Iran: Musiqi-i Asr-i Sasani” (Early Music of Iran: The Music of Sasanian Era). In his article, Iqbal expands Christensen’s work by using additional historical sources demonstrating musicians’ high social status in the Sasanian court and the significance of music during this period. He also uses Christensen’s approach to finding the names of melodies in Persian poetry and literature of the Islamic period, providing a list of Iranian tunes; however, his list is more comprehensive than Christensen’s (Iqbal Ashtiani 1921b, 14–15). In contrast to Christensen, Iqbal through his discussion of the influence of the Sasanian music on the music of Arabs in the Islamic period provides historical evidence to establish his arguments. It appears

that Iqbal's articles were the first Iranian publications that tried to connect the music of pre-Islamic Iran to musical practices in the Islamic period and, accordingly, to the Qajar music although they admitted a certain degree of change adopted over the centuries.

Mahdi-Quli Hidayat: *Majma' al-Adwar* (1938)

The book *Majma' al-Adwar* by the prominent constitutionalist Mahdi-Quli Hidayat (ca. 1863 - 1955) also introduces a historical narrative that highlights the significance of Iranian music during both pre-Islamic and Islamic periods, although the music of the Islamic period is not regarded as the continuation of the pre-Islamic music of Iran according to this narrative. The book is comprised of several sections which cover different historical, pedagogical and theoretical aspects of Iranian music. It was published in 1938 although, according to the author, the section concerning history was written in 1921/22 (1340 AH) (Hidayat 1938, 10). In the first chapter of his book, entitled *Nawbat-i Avval*, Hidayat admires the greatness of music in pre-Islamic Iran, linking the music of Qajar Iran to the music of al-Farabi and the Abbasid court; however, he identifies a gap between the music of pre-Islamic and Islamic Iran.

Hidayat initially recognizes the significance of music during ancient times among various *milal-i bastani* (ancient nations), including Greeks, Indians, and Iranians (Hidayat 1938, 2–5). In his description of music in ancient Iran, he stresses that

> Without a doubt, in the Sasanian period music in Iran had [great] prevalence…. Unfortunately during the Greeks' and Arabs' dominance [over Iran], the Iranians' books were lost, and if there had been writings concerning those arts [i.e. music], [they] have been lost, and how could it be [possible] that there had not been [any writing on music?] (Hidayat 1938, 3)

These statements clearly demonstrate that Hidayat does not believe in any connection between the pre-Islamic music and music practiced during the Islamic period. According to Hidayat's historical narrative, the sole contribution of ancient Iranians, which he calls *farsian*, was the invention of the Oud (Hidayat 1938, 4).

In addition, Hidayat believes that the Arabs acquired music from Greeks (Hidayat 1938, 5). After introducing some prominent musicians of the Abbasid period, he refers to Islamic theorists, such as al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, Safi al-Din Urmavi, and Abd al-Qadir Maraghi, admiring their writings on music (Hidayat 1938, 5–9). However, he continues his historical narrative with the Safavids, implicitly connecting music discussed by Islamic theorists to the music practised in Safavid Iran. Indicating that the systematic study of music gradually disappeared under the Safavids (Hidayat 1938, 9), Hidayat introduces a musician of the court of Karim Khan Zand, and then describes the musicians of the Qajar court (Hidayat 1938, 10).

Through this process, Hidayat creates a historical line from the Abbasid period to the Qajar period, implicitly recognizing the continuity of music in Iran from al-Farabi to the musicians of the Qajar court. In fact, Hidayat recognizes Qajar court musicians as the inheritors of the music of the previous centuries as he indicates that "*Musiqi-i Irani* (Iranian music), which is in [our] hands, is Aqa Ali-Akbar's and Aqa Mutallib's [i.e. Qajar court musicians] versions [taken] from the [musical] works of *qudama* (the musicians of previous centuries)" (Hidayat 1938, 10).

Hidayat was a practitioner of Iranian classical music and was the first scholar who transcribed the *radif* performed by Mirza Abdullah's prominent disciple Mahdi Sulhi (Muntazam al-Hukama) (During 2006, 292). Thus, it is not surprising that Hidayat praised the Qajar music and implicitly connected it to al-Farabi's music through his historical narrative. Considering that

Hidayat, as a prominent constitutionalist, was greatly influenced by nationalist ideals, his perspective on the Qajar musical tradition demonstrates the diversity of perspectives and attitudes towards Iranian classical music among the early nationalist elites; while Hidayat admired the Qajar musical tradition, some other nationalists, including Vaziri or Minbashian, questioned the efficiency of the music for the social and cultural needs of the modern Iranian nation. As mentioned in Chapter One, Vaziri's and Minbashian's ideas gained prominence under Reza Shah's nationalist rule; although Hidayat was the prime minister from 1927 to 1933, it was Vaziri who promulgated his ideas through his administration of the sole governmental music school during Hidayat's premiership.

Ali-Naqi Vaziri: *Dastur-i Tar* (1922)

Aside from these scholars and historians, Iranian musicians also engaged in providing historical narratives to authenticate their musical styles and values. Ali-Naqi Vaziri was the first musician who provided a historical narrative that conformed to his musical ideas. In the introduction of his first book, *Ta'limat-i Musiqi: Dastur-i Tar*, published in 1922[12], Vaziri discusses the origins of Iranian music, insisting on the antiquity of music in Iran. However, he believes that the Arab conquest of Iran and their consequent rule over Iran for two centuries corrupted the prevalence of music remaining from the Sasanian period. According to Vaziri's narrative, the rise of the Abbasid Caliphate promoted music and helped Iranians to regain their musical "taste" encouraging the rise of great musicians and scientists such as al-Farabi, Abu al-Faraj Isfahani and Safi al-Din Urmavi; however, it also encouraged Iranian musicians to

[12] In the introduction, Vaziri emphasizes that the section concerning the history of Iranian music was written in 1912/13 (Vaziri 1982, 5).

synthesize their ancient pre-Islamic music with the Arabic music of other Islamic regions. Vaziri also indicates that the succeeding historical events, such as the dominance of Turks and Mongols over Iran during the following centuries, influenced Iranian music and added new foreign elements and qualities to Iranian music (Vaziri 1982, 13–14). Noting the similarities between the music of ancient Greece and the present Iranian music, Vaziri also concludes that the ancient music of Iran had been influenced by Greeks during the Hellenistic period (Vaziri 1982, 92).

For Vaziri, Iranian music is essentially a blend of Iranian, Greek, Arabic, Turkic, and Mongolic music(s) that took shape over the course of centuries. This idea, reflected also in Vaziri's other publications and lectures, identifies the Qajar musical tradition as a music comprised of both Iranian and foreign elements. Vaziri's perception of Iranian music clearly opposes the nationalist ideals of his contemporaries who searched for authenticity in cultural practices by finding their connections with the pre-Islamic past. However, considering that Vaziri regards "change" as an essential factor in "progress" (Vaziri 1998d, 249), one may conclude that Vaziri's historical narrative, by confirming the inevitability of musical change in a country that has suffered from foreign invasions for a long period of its history, allows him to borrow new musical elements from Western civilization which has dominated and affected many, if not all, aspects of Iranian society. Accordingly, Vaziri's historical narrative presents Western hegemony as an inevitable future for Iranian society, justifying the use of foreign (Western) musical values and techniques, but this time to rationalize and globalize Iranian music, two features that fulfilled Vaziri's nationalist ideals.

Ruhullah Khaliqi: *Nazari bi Musiqi* (1938)

Ruhullah Khaliqi, Vaziri's prominent student and follower, also provided a historical narrative of Iranian music to legitimize the use of Western techniques in the performance and education of Iranian music. The first chapter of the second volume of his book, *Nazari bi Musiqi* (A Glance at Music) published in 1938, is the most comprehensive and organized explication regarding the historical background of Iranian music published in Iran before Barkechli's publications. Khaliqi clearly regards Iran's pre-Islamic music as the origin of the music of the Islamic period; however, he rejects the possibility of finding the musical content of ancient tunes through the investigation of resemblance between the names of ancient and contemporary tunes, as prescribed by Christensen and adopted by Iqbal. Khaliqi reasons that the names of pre-Islamic tunes may have been preserved in historical sources; however, the musical contents of these tunes, Khaliqi stresses, have been altered over the course of centuries because no efficient transcription system has been available (Khaliqi 2007, 2:10). By rejecting Iqbal's linguistic approach to authenticating Iranian music, Khaliqi highlights the significance and efficiency of Western notation, legitimizing and advocating Vaziri's adoption of Western notation for transcribing Iranian music.

In addition, Khaliqi regards the theoretical achievements of Islamic theorists, such as al-Farabi and Ibn Sina, as a result of the influence of Greek philosophers. These theorists, introduced as Iranian according to Khaliqi's narrative, adopted the Greeks' concepts and applied them to their music. However, Khaliqi ignores the practical usage of these theories, indicating that these theorists failed to use their theoretical elaborations to develop the practice of Iranian music during their lifetime (Khaliqi 2007, 2:21). For Khaliqi, the theory and practice of Iranian music have taken two separate paths: the former is essentially derived from Greek philosophers'

theoretical discussions on music while the latter, because of its separation from theoretical elaborations, is in decline. In other words, for Khaliqi, this separation between theory and practice has caused the gradual decline of Iranian music. This perception motivates Khaliqi to employ new theoretical concepts, but this time from Western music, to improve the practice of Iranian music. In addition, although Khaliqi insists upon the influence of the pre-Islamic music on the music of the Islamic period, he essentially does not pursue an argument in his historical account that connects existing Iranian music to the music of pre-Islamic times.

All historical accounts written by scholars and musicians before the Second World War, as discussed in this section, emphasized the greatness of music in pre-Islamic Iran, reflecting their authors' nationalist proclivities. However, in contrast to nationalist folklorists who authenticated the existing cultural expressions according to their perceived relations with the pre-Islamic glorious past, those scholars and musicians concerned with Iranian classical music failed to provide a historical background that connected Iranian classical music to the music of pre-Islamic Iran. In fact, except for the historian Iqbal Ashtiani who relied on linguistic continuity to provide evidence for musical continuity, the others did not insist on such an argument.

Perhaps this lack of certain evidence for authenticating Iranian classical music based on its connection to the pre-Islamic past affected the vulnerability of practitioners of Iranian music in a society in which cultural expressions were essentially evaluated based on nationalist ideals that glorified the pre-Islamic Iranian civilization. This lack of a hegemonic historical narrative that corresponded to the ideals of the dominant ideology of Iranian nationalism explains why Reza Shah's nationalist state adopted an ambiguous attitude towards Iranian music and supported modernist musicians who, as explained in Chapter One, offered diverse perspectives on the significance and value of Iranian music.

Constructing the Historical Background of Iranian "Authentic" Music

In the same socio-cultural atmosphere in which Khaliqi endeavored to establish the Conservatory for National Music to secure the education of Iranian music (although based on Vaziri's teachings), Mehdi Barkechli sought to authenticate Iranian classical music through his intellectual endeavors. In 1947, Barkechli published two seminal works, a book and an article, which reflected the foundations of his thoughts during the following three decades. Although it appears that these works did not influence Iran's musical society at the time of their publications, the ideas presented in these writings became greatly influential from the mid-1950s onwards, paving the way for the culmination of revivalist ideas during the late 1960s and the 1970s.

Barkechli's first publication is an article entitled "Gam va Dastgahha-yi Musiqi-yi Iran" (The Scale and *Dastgah*s of the Music of Iran) published in 1946. The article has two distinctive features: Barkechli attempts to connect Iranian classical music to the music of the Sasanian period; and he questions the theory of twenty four-tone scale known as Vaziri's theory in Iran, introducing the theory as irrelevant to the existing practice of Iranian music.

To prove his first argument that constructs a historical connection between the present and the pre-Islamic past, Barkechli states that the Pythagorean tetrachord had been used in pre-Islamic Iran, and Pythagoras had merely measured and presented intervals of a tetrachord which was in common usage in Persia (Barkechli 1947a, 31). To support his claim, he argues for the similarity between the Pythagorean tetrachord and the tetrachord of the maqam *rast*, the maqam which, according to Barkechli, resembles the gusheh *rast-panjgah* in the repertoire of Iranian classical music. He argues that the *rast* had been performed in the Sasanian period to conclude that Pythagoras had not proposed but only measured a tetrachord already existing in Persia (Barkechli 1947a, 31).

To provide further evidence for the performance of the maqam *rast* in pre-Islamic Iran, Barkechli refers to the Persian translation of Christensen' book, *L'empire des Sassanides,* in which Christensen echoed his own arguments presented in his 1909 article. According to Barkechli, Christensen regarded the music of Sasanian civilization as the origin of the present "Oriental" music. Based on his perception of the "Orient" as a geographical region in which the conservative nature of its people negated any change, Christensen concluded that the music of the "Orient" has experienced few changes since ancient times. In particular, Christensen noted the *rast* as one of those melodies remaining from ancient times (Barkechli 1947a, 32). Using Christensen's argument as evidence, Barkechli concludes that "this scale, which is attributed to Pythagoras, had existed in the hands of Iranian masters before him but this scientist [i.e. Pythagoras] had been able to measure its intervals" (Barkechli 1947a, 32).

Barkechli also tries to connect the current Iranian music to pre-Islamic music by investigating the measurement of intervals discussed in Islamic treatises and their comparison with intervals performed by contemporary Iranian classical musicians. Barkechli briefly discusses the intervals of the Pythagorean tetrachord, which according to him signifies the melodies of Iran's pre-Islamic period. To demonstrate "the evolution of scale by Iranians" (Barkechli 1947a, 33), Barkechli also examines tetrachords proposed by Islamic theorists, including al-Kindi, al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, and Safi al-Din Urmavi, demonstrating a theoretical connection between tetrachords proposed by these theorists (Barkechli 1947a, 33–35). Applying the contemporary nationalist view to the Islamic past, Barkechli regards all of these theorists, including al-Kindi, as Iranian. Since Barkechli essentially regards the Pythagorean tetrachord as the conceptualization of Iran's pre-Islamic music, for him such a theoretical connection from Pythagoras to Safi al-Din draws a theoretical line which secures a musical continuity from the

pre-Islamic period to the period of Safi al-din. According to Barkechli, Islamic theorists through their theoretical discussions had preserved Iranian melodies performed in pre-Islamic Iran. Finally, to connect Safi al-Din's theoretical discussions to the present practice of Iranian music, Barkechli notes a series of acoustical experiments conducted in laboratories to measure intervals performed by "Iranian masters" (Barkechli 1947a, 36). As he argues, these experiments show that with little difference "today's Iranian scale is similar to Safi al-Din scale" (Barkechli 1947a, 36). Through this process, Barkechli draws a historical line which connects the Sasanian period to the present.

These acoustical experiments also produced another result: the rejection of the theory of twenty four-tone scale proposed by Vaziri. According to Barkechli, the scale of Iranian music is similar to Safi al-Din's scale, in which each whole-tone was divided into three intervals. Supporting his idea by acoustical experiments, he argues that the theory of twenty four-tone scale is not applicable to the current practice of Iranian music (Barkechli 1947a, 36). Although Barkechli does not directly indicate Vaziri's name in his article, his argument questions the theoretical foundation of Vaziri and his followers, displaying the artificial nature of the theory:

> Lately in Iran some of masters have also become the advocates of the twenty four-quartertone scale, and despite [the fact that they] themselves practically perform Safi al-Din's scale, [they] have sought to propagate that [theory of the twenty four-tone scale]. (Barkechli 1947a, 36)

The article seems to be the first publication which introduces Mikha'il Mashaqah as the theorist of the twenty four-tone scale in Iran's musical society in which the theory was already recognized as Vaziri's theory. By referring to Vaziri as an advocate and not the originator of the twenty four-tone scale theory, Barkechli reveals the unoriginality of Vaziri's ideas. As a result, while Barkechli authenticates the existing practice of Iranian classical music by drawing a

historical line from Iran's pre-Islamic music to the present, he disapproves the theory which was central to Vaziri's modernizations.

Barkechli's second publication *Musiqi-yi Dawrih-yi Sasani* (The Music of the Sasanian Period) was a response to *La musique arabe: base de l'art occidental* (1941) by Wadi Sabra, a Lebanese theoretician. According to Barkechli, Sabra had considered Arabic music to be the "foundation and basis" of Western music, arguing that Islamic theorists, including al-Farabi and Safi al-Din, had pioneered some musical ideas, such as harmonic consonance, presented in Europe under the name of Western theorists during the following centuries (Barkechli 1947b, 3). In response to Sabra, Barkechli attempts to prove that the music discussed by Islamic theorists was rooted in the music of the Sasanian period, implying the key role of the Iranian pre-Islamic civilization in the development of the modern Western civilization.

In response to Sabra's arguments, Barkechli rejects the initial assumption that al-Farabi and Safi al-Din had been Arabs. According to Barkechli, both al-Farabi and Safi al-Din should be regarded as Iranians although they had written their treatises in Arabic because of the Arabic "political and religious influence over Iran" (Barkechli 1947b, 3–4). Barkechli's argument exemplifies a general approach adopted by Iranian nationalists in their historiographies. Although Orientalists' appreciation of Islamic theorists pleased Iranian nationalists, it also created concerns for them as Orientalists mainly examined Islamic theorists' discussions under Arabic music because of the Arabic language used in the treatises. The nationalist perception of the past became problematic as it encouraged the adoption of a selective approach to the historiography of the Islamic period: applying modern nationalist values to the past, Iranian historians merely paid attention to those musical figures who were identified as Iranian. Although most of the information provided in such historical accounts was derived from

Orientalists' works, Iranian historians, including Barkechli, modified them to create a historical narrative which suited nationalist ideals[13].

Barkechli also tries to prove that these theorists essentially had discussed the music derived from Iran's ancient period. To achieve this, Barkechli provides four reasons to prove his argument. Citing a European researcher, Barkechli notes that Arabs gradually adopted Iranian instruments and began to "imitate" Iranian tunes after the conquest of Iran since Iranians had possessed a higher degree of civilization during the pre-Islamic period (Barkechli 1947b, 11). Although Barkechli secures his historical narrative through the Orientalist historiography, he adopts a selective approach to prove his arguments, highlighting those historical accounts which takes Iranians' historical superiority for granted while muting those arguments that confirm the influence of the music of Arabic-speaking regions on Iranian music.

Barkechli pursues his arguments by indicating that intervals discussed by al-Farabi originated from the Iranian musical practice during the Sasanian period, not the music performed in Arabic regions. Differentiating between two classifications of fingering in al-Farabi's discussion, Barkechli reasons that since al-Farabi had introduced intervals based on the place of fingers on Iranian instruments, such as the *tanbur-i Khurasan* (the *tanbur* of Khurasan[14]), these tunes belonged to the Iranian regions in which they were played. He disregards al-Farabi's discussion on the intervals played on the *tanbur-i Baghdad* (the *tanbur* of Baghdad[15]), explaining

[13] For example, see *Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire* (vol. 5; 1922) by Albert Lavignac. All Islamic theorists in this encyclopedia are discussed under the chapter "La Musique Arabes" while in the chapter "Musique Persane" the discussion on the history of music in Iran is limited to ancient times. The encyclopedia was well-known among Iranian educated musicians. As Vaziri argued in a lecture in 1937, Khaliqi's narrative relied on the content of this encyclopedia (Vaziri 1998d, 248) although Islamic theorists who are introduced in Khaliqi's account are identified as Iranian. Barkeshli also criticizes the content of the encyclopedia for undermining the historical background of Iranian music (Barkechli 1947b, 8) while he extensively uses its content to prove his arguments.

[14] A region in north-eastern Iran

[15] Baghdad was the center of the Islamic Caliphate at the time of al-Farabi.

that since al-Farabi had regarded tunes performed on this instrument as *alhan-i jahiliyat* (the melodies of ignorance [i.e. period before the rise of Islam]), they should be identified as music in common usage among Arabs before the rise of Islam (Barkechli 1947b, 10). Accordingly, he concludes that Farabi's discussion essentially concerned the music of the Sasanian period that was still performed on Iranian instruments during his period.

More important than the accuracy of Barkechli's description of al-Farabi's treatise is his purist perspective which denies the possibility of any interaction and mutual influence between the music of different Islamic regions. In addition, his nationalist imagination of the world encourages him to perceive the pre-Islamic music of Iran as a homogeneous music performed similarly throughout the Iranian nation as he regards the region of Khurasan as the representative of the Iranian nation. He also reduces this perceived homogeneous music to a set of intervals and tetrachords discussed by al-Farabi, overlooking other basic musical features which shape any form of music.

Barkechli completes his historical line from the pre-Islamic past to the present by echoing an Orientalist argument that music has not changed in the "Orient" over the centuries, noting that the present Arabic music is performed based on intervals very similar to those discussed in al-Farabi's treatise (Barkechli 1947b, 10). To justify his reasoning, Barkechli investigates the name of Arabic maqams to find those with Persian names, comparing them with the names of Iranian *gusheh*s. Referring to linguistic resemblance, he concludes that these Iranian *gusheh*s are the origins of Arabic maqams. Interestingly, Barkechli confirms the Iranian origin of maqams even in those cases when a *gusheh* and a maqam shared an Arabic name. Based on his comparison, 12 Egyptian maqams have Persian names, while the names of 52 maqams performed in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, 17 maqams performed in Iraq, and 10 maqams performed in Morocco and Tunisia

are found in the Iranian repertoire (Barkechli 1947b, 28–29). He concludes that Iranian music is the basis of Arabic music, arguing that "the deeper analysis of Iranian and Arab maqams will show that those Arabic maqams whose names are not seen in our *dastgah*s had originally been Iranian and these names had been changed" (Barkechli 1947b, 29).

Barkechli's argument about the Iranian origin of Arabic music enables him to develop Christensen's proposal for finding Persian influences on other "Oriental" nations. While Christensen prescribed the search for Persian words in the musical repertoire of other countries to trace the influence of Persian civilization on other regions, Barkechli develops Christensen's approach, arguing for the "Iranianness" of all maqams that share the same names with Iranian *gushehs*, whether these names are Persian or Arabic. In addition, Barkechli's nationalist perspective encourages him to reduce all forms of music performed in various Arabic-speaking regions to a perceived "Arabic music," overlooking all of their divergent aspects. The same issue can be observed in Barkechli's perception of "Arabic" nations as he classifies all people who live in Arabic-speaking regions as "Arabs," neglecting all their distinct historical and cultural diversities. Barkechli's approach to language and its implications can be understood if one considers that linguistic distinction plays an essential role in Barkeckli's nationalist perception of the world because, as discussed in Chapter One, Iranian nationalists constructed Iranian nationalism upon the pillar of the Persian language.

Barkechli's two seminal works provided the foundations for his following scholarly works on Iranian music, especially his theory of intervals. Developing his ideas during the 1950s, he introduced the first comprehensive version of his theory in 1963 as the introduction of an important publication entitled *Radif-i Musiqi-yi Irani* (The *Radif* of Iranian Music), which was the first comprehensive transcription of the *radif* of Iranian music published by the General

Administration for Fine Arts. Like his first article, Barkechli's writing entitled "Sharh-i Radif-i Musiqi-yi Iran" (The Account on the Radif of Iranian Music) is comprised of two different sections: while Barkechli explains the ratios of intervals discussed by Islamic theorists in the first section, he proposes his theory based on the measurement of intervals performed by contemporary professional musicians in the second section. Some of information provided in his first book, such as the influence of Iranian music on the music of Arabic-speaking nations and the comparison of Arabic maqams with Iranian *gushehs*, is also presented to further support his arguments.

Like his previous publications, Barkechli seeks to establish an argument that the existing practice of Iranian classical music pertains to music discussed by the Islamic theorists. In addition, he assumes that not only was the music discussed by these theorists rooted in Iran's pre-Islamic music, but also Arabic music was derived from the same ancient source. Accordingly, he constructs a musical ancestor for the repertoire of Iranian classical music by connecting the *radif* to Iran's pre-Islamic music. Barkechli's theory also enables him to articulate an argument which he had already implied in his first book: representing the music of pre-Islamic Iran as the basis of Western music.

Barkechli begins "Sharh-i Radif-i Musiqi-i Iran" by reviewing the historical background of Iranian music from pre-Islamic times to the Islamic period, arguing for the significance of the pre-Islamic music and its great influence on the music of the Islamic period. Echoing his arguments in his previous publications, he provides a historical narrative that emphasizes Persian cultural influence on other Islamic regions while he undermines any possibility of mutual interactions. Barkechli then focuses on theories proposed by al-Farabi, Ibn Sina and Safi al-Din, explaining their theoretical formulations based on tetrachordal patterns. According to Barkechli,

the Pythagorean intervals of limma and comma had been totally accepted at the time of al-Farabi and were used as the basis for the fretting of fingerboards on musical instruments.

According to Barkechli, since a tetrachord was divided into four intervals, the pitches were identified by the place of four fingers on a string. As a result, the pitches were named as follows: *mutlaq* (the open string), *sabbabih* (the position of the index finger), *vusta* (the place of the middle finger), *bansar* (the position of the ring finger), and *khansar* (the place of the little finger). Identifying these pitches according to the contemporary Western notation, Barkechli regards the *mutlaq* as the note c, representing the *sabbabih*, *bansar*, and *khansar* as d, e, and f respectively. Based on Barkechli's account, although the position of these three fingers were clearly stable, the position of the *vusta* might be varied. In addition, another tone was located between *mutlaq* and *sabbabih* called *za'id* (superfluous), although it was not considered to be an essential pitch of a tetrachord (Barkechli 1963, 6–7).

According to Barkechli, five different *vusta*s and five different *za'id*s were known at the time of al-Farabi and musicians might prefer to play using one of the five *za'id*s and one of the five *vusta*s (Barkechli 1963, 6–8). Ibn Sina extended the variability of *vusta*s and *za'id*s by presenting a new *vusta* and two more *za'id*s, creating a large number of possibilities for a tetrachord. However, Safi al-Din Urmavi eliminated these possibilities by unifying those *vusta*s and *za'id*s that had no considerable difference. Safi al-Din reduced all eight possibilities of *za'id*s and seven possibilities of *vusta*s to one *vusta* and one *za'id* although he proposed another new *vusta* and a new *za'id* (Barkechli 1963, 11–12). Accordingly, Safi al-Din divided a tetrachord into seven intervals: two *za'id*s, *sabbabih*, two *vusta*s, *bansar*, and *khansar*. Since these intervals

corresponded with the Pythagorean system of limmas[16] and commas[17], Barkechli demonstrates the successive intervals of any tetrachord based on Safi al-Din' formulation as below:

limma, limma, comma. limma, limma, comma. limma. (L, L, C. L, L, C. L.)

According to Barkechli, Safi al-Din proposed a scale comprised of two successive tetrachords and a whole-tone divided into two limmas and one comma. Thus, his scale was comprised of 17 intervals and 18 tones (including the octave of the first tone) (Barkechli 1963, 12):

L, L, C. L, L, C. L. L, L, C. L, L, C. L. L, L, C

Through the review of treatises, Barkechli indicates that the Pythagorean limma and comma had been in common usage in Iran before the time of a-Farabi (Barkechli 1963, 8). He reasons that because these intervals were used as a basis of fretting on musical instruments during al-Farabi's period, they certainly were in common usage at that time. However, al-Farabi merely used the Pythagorean concepts to provide theoretical explanations for the existing music rooted in the pre-Islamic music of the Sasanian civilization.

Barkechli not only emphasizes Iranians' contributions to the music of Islamic period, but also highlights their pioneering role in conceptualizing musical ideas known as Western concepts. Through explaining al-Farabi's discussion on tetrachordal patterns, Barkechli presents a ratio similar to the equal-tempered semitone. According to Barkechli, this semitone is "attributed to Bach and today is prevalent in the current international music" (Barkechli 1963, 8). In addition, Barkechli regards Safi al-Din as *mubtakir-i i'tidal-i gam* (the innovator of the temperament of the scale) (Barkechli 1963, 12). According to Barkechli, Safi al-Din was the first

[16] According to the Pythagorean theory of ratios, "the limma is represented by 256:243, the difference between a perfect 4th (4:3) and two whole tones (9:8 + 9:8 = 81:64)" (Barbera 2015).
[17] The Pythagorean comma is 23.46 cents–the difference between twelve 5ths and seven octaves–although it is taken to equal 24 cents for practical tuning purposes (Greated 2015).

theorist who endeavored to regulate intervals in a scale by eliminating the number of *za'id*s and *vusta*s:

> In this way, from Safi al-Din's period onwards, artificial sounds [i.e. pitches]…were rejected from the *radif* and a logical temperament has appeared in [the Iranian] scale. Between eight *za'id*s, two *za'id*s…and between seven *vusta*s, two *vusta*s…have been accepted and a proper reduction has appeared in the scale which is more logical than Bach's temperament and is regarded [as] the triumph of learned music. (Barkechli 1963, 12)

Whether Barkechli's account of Islamic treatises is regarded as accurate or not, his conclusions in which he tries to introduce Iranians as pioneers in conceptualizing what he considers to be the principles of "international music" (i.e. Western music) should be studied as the reflection of his main nationalist concerns. The use of the term "*radif*" to refer to the music of Safi al-Din's period in his statements demonstrates that Barkechli regards the classical music of Qajar Iran as identical to Safi al-Din's music, connecting the existing Iranian music to the music of the Islamic period and accordingly to the music of Sasanian civilization. However, for Barkechli, Iranian music is not merely an ancient music from which the music of other Middle East nations has developed; Iranian music has been an influential contributor to a perceived "progress" which has made Western music "international." Considering the fact that Barkechli's world as introduced in his publications is essentially comprised of the West (Europe and the United States), the Orient (Middle Eastern but in particular Arabic nations) and Iran, Barkechli portrays Iranian music as a characteristic of a nation from which all other civilizations and cultures, both European and Arabic, has spread out and developed.

Comparing Western and Iranian music, Barkechli regards the music discussed by Safi al-Din as more "logical" than Western music. For Barkechli, then, Western techniques are not the best theoretical approaches to rationalize Iranian music as Vaziri and Minbashian assumed. In

light of the fact that Barkechli discusses the theory of twenty four-tone scale, demonstrating its irrelevance to the existing practice of Iranian classical music, his perception of Safi al-Din's theoretical discussions as *piruzi-yi musiqi-yi ilmi* (the triumph of learned music) motivates him to turn his attention away from Western music, searching for not only authenticity but also theoretical frameworks in his own musical culture.

Barkechli, then, continues his discussion by focusing on the existing practice of Iranian classical music to formulate his theory of intervals. Choosing the vocal expressions of prominent musicians as primary material for investigation, Barkechli conducts a series of acoustical experiments to provide an accurate measurement of intervals performed by Iranian musicians (Barkechli 1963, 15). Focusing on the major tetrachord of c, d, e, f to discover its stable and variable tones, Barkechli concludes that the whole-tones (c-d; d-e) and the semitone (e-f) are stable, very close to the same intervals in the Pythagorean system (Barkechli 1963, 17). He also introduces three possibilities for variable tones between the first and second tones, which he calls d'_1, d'_2, and d'_3, and the second and third tones, which he calls e'_1, e'_2 and e'_3. Barkechli indicates that the intervals d'_1 and e'_1, the intervals d'_2 and e'_2, and the intervals d'_3 and e'_3 are almost identical with limma (L), limma + comma (L+C) and limma + limma (L+L) respectively.

According to Barkechli, the intervals d'_2 and e'_2 (L+C) are extensively performed in current musical performances while d'_1 and e'_1 (L) are mostly played as ornaments. In addition, d'_3 and e'_3 (L+L) are rarely used (Barkechli 1963, 17–19). Thus, he highlights the importance of intervals d'_2 and e'_2 in Iranian music, introducing them as *mu'arrif va mushakhkhis-i musiqi-yi sharq* (presenter and characteristic of Oriental music [i.e. Iranian music]) (Barkechli 1963, 20). Barkechli explains that while Safi al-Din's scale is comprised of the intervals of limma (L), limma + limma (L+L), and limma + limma + comma (L+L+C), his theory proposes a new

interval of limma + comma (L+C) as the interval peculiar to Iranian music (Barkechli 1963, 20). Accordingly, every whole-tone performed in Iranian classical music can be divided into four tones: limma (L), limma + comma (L+C), limma + limma (L+L), and limma + limma + comma (L+L+C).

In addition, Barkechli clearly defines the structure of a scale in Iranian classical music based on his experiments. According to Barkechli, any scale in Iranian music, like Safi al-Din's scale, consists of two tetrachord and a whole-tone; however, unlike Safi al-Din's scale in which a whole-tone is situated after the second successive tetrachord to construct a scale, this whole-tone is located between two tetrachords in the existing practice of Iranian music (Barkechli 1963, 22). Accordingly, since each whole-tone is divisible into four, and because there are five whole-tones and two semi-tones in each octave, each octave comprises twenty two tones.

Such systematization of Iranian scales is essentially different from Vaziri's approach. While Vaziri endeavored to provide a systematic study of Iranian music by adopting the concept of scale from Western music, Barkechli uses tetrachordal patterns discussed by, according to him, indigenous theorists to formulate his theory. Although Barkechli is still faithful to the concept of Western scale, introducing Safi al-Din's discussion in this framework, and conceptualizing his theory based on the concept of scale rather than tetrachord, his discussion of tetrachordal patterns within a scale portrays his attempts to find an indigenous solution for the systematization of Iranian music.

However, any *dastgah* in Iranian music is performed in a modal frame which contains a limited number of tones selected from the available range of tones; the same range of possible twenty two tones does not necessarily prove the resemblance of musical pieces composed by using the same range of tones. In addition, as Barkechli himself notes, his articulation of the

Iranian scale differs from Safi al-Din's in two ways: the interval (L+C) is extensively used in the existing practice of music, which although it had been recognized in Safi al-Din's discussion it had not gained importance in his theory. The combination of tetrachords also differs in Safi al-Din's and Barkechli's discussions. Despite these facts, Barkechli concludes that Iranian classical music pertains to the music performed in Safi al-Din's period, connecting the present music to the Islamic period and, accordingly as already mentioned, to the music of the Sasanian civilization, constructing a continuous musical line from the glorious pre-Islamic times to the present.

Barkechli's administrative and intellectual efforts should be viewed in light of the particular socio-political situation of Iranian society after the 1953 coup and the consequent cultural policy adopted by the Iranian state. His intellectual efforts not only attracted governmental support but also influenced state policies regarding music. In early 1971, a commission was established in the Ministry of Culture and Arts responsible for *barrisi-yi mudavimat-i tarikhi dar usul-i musiqi-yi Irani* (examining the historical continuity of principles of Iranian music) (Barkechli 1976, i). One of decisions made by the commission was to publish a series of monographs concerning various aspects of Iran's folk and classical music[18] (Barkechli 1976, i). Although these monographs provide valuable information about Iran's musical traditions, one may notice that most of them try to convey two messages to their audience already expressed in Barkechli's works: the greatness of Iran's pre-Islamic music and its

[18] This series of monographs included *Pazuhishi Kutah Darbarih-yi Ustadan-i Musiqi-yi Iran va Alhan-i Musiqi-yi Irani* (A Brief Research on the Masters of Iranian Music and Iranian Music Tunes; 1971), *Tajziyih va Tahlil-i Chahardah Taranih-yi Mahalli-yi Iran* (The Analysis of Fourteen Folk Songs of Iran; 1974), *Nufuz-i Ilmi va Amali-yi Musiqi-yi Iran dar Kishvarha-yi Digar* (The Theoretical and Practical Influence of Iranian Music on Other Countries; 1975), *Fihrist-i Asar-i Danishmandan-i Irani va Islami dar Ghena' va Musiqi* (The Catalog of Works by Iranian and Muslim Scholars on Music; 1976), and *Gamha va Dastgahha-yi Musiqi-yi Irani* (The Scales and *Dastgah*s of Iranian Music; 1976) (Barkechli 1976, i). For further details, see Bibliography.

continuity over later centuries and the influence of Iranian music on the music of other regions of the world.

Barkechli published a large number of articles and gave many lectures between the mid-1950s and the mid-1970s, in which he gradually developed various dimensions of his arguments, although he insisted on his initial core ideas in all of these works. Barkechli's perspective towards Iranian classical music essentially differed from those views expressed by modernist musicians who, as discussed earlier in Chapter One, described Iranian classical music as monotone or backward. His ideas had profound practical consequences and reinforced the appreciation of Iran's musical tradition begun by Khaliqi in the late 1940s.

Zaven Hacobian: Challenging the Universality of Western Techniques

Muhammad-Reza Shah's positive nationalism perceived the relation with the West as a kind of dialogue and sought to expand this relationship in various social and cultural domains. This situation was concurrent with the emergence of Iranian musicologists and ethnomusicologists, who had studied in Western European or American universities, on the Iranian music scene. The first generation of musicologists appeared in Iran's musical society in the mid-1950s. The number of these musicologists were very few in the late 1950s: Zaven Hacobian and Katschi Katschi who had studied in France and Germany, respectively. During the 1960s and 1970s, Hormoz Farhat, Muhammad-Taqi Mas'udieh, and Fuzieh Majd also graduated in ethnomusicology and returned to Iran. Despite the small number of these scholars, they played a significant role in Iranian musical society during the following years because, as music

scholars, critics, and the instructors of music conservatories, they introduced new ideas to Iranian musicians, challenging prevalent ideas among musicians.

These musicologists and ethnomusicologists questioned the authoritative image of Western classical music perceived by both Vaziri's and Minbashian's followers. Although they were initially the practitioners of Western music, their perspectives on Iranian music differed from that of Minbashian's followers, who essentially undermined the significance of Iranian classical music, as they introduced Iranian classical music to be worthy of detailed musicological studies. By presenting the disciplines of musicology and ethnomusicology to Iranian musical society, these music scholars also paved the way for introducing Western musicologists and ethnomusicologists, who defended the significance of the traditional music of Asian societies, to Iranian musicians.

Zaven Hacobian seems to be the first Iranian musician who received, in France, his PhD degree in musicology. No information about his biography is provided by Iranian authors; however, the investigation in several Iranian publications reveals at least some aspects of his professional life. Hacobian worked as a piano instructor and later as the director of the Publication Department (Idarih-yi Intisharat) in the Conservatory of Music during the 1940s. He also wrote articles for *Majallih-yi Musiqi* (Journal of Music) in the second series of its publication in the late 1940s (Arianpur 2014, 123). During the same time, he was engaged in musical activities related to Western music, such as public concerts and radio performances (Arianpur 2014, 88–89). After graduating with a PhD in musicology in France, he returned to Iran in 1955 (Arianpur 2014, 123). In 1956, he became responsible for the publication of the third series of *Majallih-yi Musiqi* (Arianpur 2014, 145) published under the auspices of the General Administration for Fine Arts. Under his directorship, *Majallih-yi Musiqi* not only

published many of Hacobian's articles disseminating his ideas, but it also published Western musicologists' and ethnomusicologists' essays, presenting their ideas to Iranian musicians.

In the late 1950s, Hacobian took charge of the Tehran Symphonic Orchestra (Urkistr-i Samfunik-i Tehran) and the Choral Ensemble of the General Administration for Fine Arts (Guruh-i Avaz-i Jam'i-yi Hunarha-yi Ziba) (Arianpur 2014, 149). As an instructor in the Conservatory for National Music, he also taught several courses such as History of Western Music, Aesthetics, and Musical Form (Fakhreddini 2012, 148; Ahmadi 2003, 34). In 1961, he was the director of International Relations Department (Idarih-yi Ravabit-i Biynalmilali) at the General Administration for Fine Arts. After the establishment of the Ministry of Culture and Arts in 1964, Hacobian became the director of the General Administration for Cultural Relations (Idarih-yi Kol-li Ravabit-i Farhangi). In 1967/68, he took charge of the International Programs of Rudaki Hall (Barnamihha-yi Khariji-yi Talar-i Rudaki). Along with Mehdi Barkechli, Hacobian was the permanent member of the Iranian committee in international music conferences and, as a member of the Iranian committee, invited music scholars of other countries to Iran (Fakhriddini 2012, 149).

Hacobian published his first article, "Bahsi Darbarih-yi Musiqi-yi Irani dar Tamas ba Musiqi-yi 'Ilmi'" (A Discussion on Iranian Music in Contact with "Learned" Music) in 1956 in two successive issues of the periodical *Sukhan*, in which he presented his core ideas regarding the "development" of Iranian music. Noting an "artistic 'preference'" among Iranian musicians who attempted to present "Iranian music in a knowledgeable and world-fascinating way" (Hacobian 1956a, 36), Hacobian describes common practices among Iranian musicians for developing Iranian music, offering his own prescription for this issue. In his article, Hacobian admires not only the historical authenticity of Iranian classical music but also its musical

characteristics. Accordingly, he prescribes that only those Western techniques should be employed in Iranian compositions which are compatible with musical characteristics of Iranian music. In contrast to modernist musicians, including Vaziri's and Minbashian's followers, who prioritized Western techniques over musical aspects of Iranian classical music, modifying the music based on the necessities of Western musical frameworks, Hacobian essentially gives prominence to Iranian music. Hacobian expressed this core idea in his other articles authored during the following years.

In his first article, Hacobian criticizes Iranian musicians for their insufficient knowledge of Western music which, according to him, is limited to "the historical period from Bach to Beethoven" (Hacobian 1956a, 37). He also questions the prevalent idea among Iranian musicians who consider the principles of Western tonal music to be "permanent and inevitable" (Hacobian 1956a, 38), distinguishing between those principles conceptualized based on the acoustical nature of sound and those agreed principles formulated in response to the technical or artistic demands of the European socio-historical context. Referring to European composers who overlooked or changed these musical rules in their compositions, Hacobian reasons that since tonal music is a child of the specific context of European societies, its principles cannot be applied to any other musical culture born in a different context (Hacobian 1956a, 36).

Emphasizing different ways of development in Iranian and Western music during previous centuries, Hacobian distinguishes the "vertical" aspect of harmonized Western music and "horizontal" or "melodic" aspect of Iranian music, indicating that the "vertical" characteristics of music in the West are achieved at the cost of weakening the quality of some of its "horizontal" or melodic aspects. He concludes that the significance of melodic line in Iranian music justifies not regarding tonal harmony as the sole solution to the development of Iranian

music (Hacobian 1956a, 40). He prescribes the necessity of the deep "theoretical" and "practical" understanding of Iranian music for musicians (Hacobian 1956b, 165), arguing that in order to develop Iranian music while preserving its characteristics, those techniques should be utilized that are compatible with the basic principles of Iranian music (Hacobian 1956a, 40).

To prove his arguments and to exemplify inconsistencies between the principles of Western tonal music and Iranian classical music, Hacobian compares the functions of scale degrees in two Iranian and Western scales: the scale of *dastgah humayun* and a minor scale which, according to Hacobian, are "wrongly" considered to be the same among Iranian musicians (Hacobian 1956a, 38). Through his analysis, he indicates that despite the resemblance of intervals in these two scales, because of the different functions of the same degrees in these scales, applying the rules of Western tonal harmony to Iranian music will result in either demolishing the "freshness and essence" of Iranian music or corrupting the conventional rules of tonal harmony specific to Western music.

Like Barkechli, Hacobian believes in the greatness of the historical background of Iranian music. Referring to some modernist musicians who highlighted the significance of folk music while undermining the value of Iranian classical music, Hacobian criticizes those musicians who "have considered two separate sources and principles for both of these two [genres of music (i.e. folk and classical music)] in recent years" (Hacobian 1956a, 41). He expresses his nationalist sentiments by arguing that the music of "many Eastern nations" is rooted in the music of Iran[19] (Hacobian 1956a, 41). In contrast to Sa'di Hasani who, as discussed in Chapter Two, perceived the performance of quartertones as a consequence of "the lack of accuracy in performing natural

[19] In the same year, Hacobian translated an article by Christensen concerning the music of the Sasanian period. His translation, entitled "Musiqi-yi Dawreh-yi Sasanian" (The Music of the Sasanian Period), was published in two periodicals *Sukhan* and *Majallih-yi Musiqi*.

tones" (Hasani 1954, 358), Hacobian attributes these tones to Iranians' "delicacy of ear and nature" (Hacobian 1956b, 162). This positive perspective on Iranian classical music encourages Hacobian to pursue those Western techniques which, according to him, are best suited to the particular structural and aesthetical aspects of Iranian music.

A distinctive argument also appeared in Hacobian's early writings which contributes to a better understanding of his perspectives. From December 1959 to June 1960, Hacobian published a series of articles, entitled "Halat va Mukhtasat-i Makatib-i Mukhtalif-i Musiqi-yi Gharbi" (The Essence and Characteristics of Different Schools of Western Music) in the journal under his directorship, *Majallih-yi Musiqi*, in which he briefly discussed the diversity in musical expression and compositional techniques adopted by composers of different European countries: France, Italy, Austria, Germany, England, Spain, and Russia.

In the introduction of the first article, Hacobian clearly expresses his aim to write this series of articles by criticizing the application of the term "international" to Western music:

> A group [of musicians], without truly realizing the meaning of the phrase "international," has assumed that in western learned music national characteristics cannot be found. In other words, [they] assumed international music as an international language—like Esperanto— which is formed from some uniform and universal words and phrases and principles and, inevitably, there is no place for the particular characteristics and "expression" of every nation…. (Hacobian 1959b, 20–21)

Despite the fact that these articles concerned the Art music of European countries, Hacobian's statements questions Iranian modernists' assumption that perceived Western techniques as universal, highlighting the national characteristics of European musical expressions. These statements should be interpreted with regard to Hacobian's core ideas about the development of Iranian music which, as already presented, prioritized the structure and

characteristics of Iranian music over the conventional rules of Western tonal harmony. In other words, Hacobian no longer recognized Western techniques as universal, as Vaziri's and Minbashian's followers had perceived; instead, his description of the diversity of different musical expressions in European countries suggests the significance of local musical expressions shaped within particular socio-historical contexts.

Hacobian's influence was not limited to his own writings. Under his directorship, the periodical *Majallih-yi Musiqi* published several articles to briefly introduce the disciplines of musicology and ethnomusicology. In addition, the periodical published translations of Western musicologists' and ethnomusicologists' papers from the early 1959 onwards, introducing musicological and ethnomusicological discourses which generally cautioned against the issue of musical acculturation and emphasized the importance of the preservation of musical traditions in non-Western societies. These translations might have influenced Iranian educated musicians as they were exposed to ideas which reinforced an intellectual stream initiated in the aftermath of the Second World War that sought to preserve the Qajar musical tradition. However, these discourses also evoked strong disagreements among some of Vaziri's and Minbashian's followers who saw Western techniques as universal methods which could be employed beyond the specific geographical and cultural characteristics of Western societies.

The first and perhaps the most controversial translated article was the transcript of a paper presented in a music conference in Venice in 1958 by Alain Daniélou, the French Orientalist and musicologist. The paper was published in *Majallih-yi Musiqi* under the title "Mas'alih-yi Hifz-i Sunnatha-yi Hunari" (The Issue of the Preservation of Artistic Traditions) in early 1959. In his paper, Daniélou cautioned against the dominance of Western music and its

destructive influence on the music of Asian societies, advocating the preservation of the musical tradition of Asian cultures in their entirety.

In this paper, Daniélou refers to the "complex musical principles" (Daniélou 1959, 2) of Asian cultures, advocating the capability of these musical traditions in expressing "delicate and deep" ideas (Daniélou 1959, 2). He also criticizes a "victorious and superior image" (Daniélou 1959, 3) of the West constructed and widely propagated by Europeans in non-Western societies which, according to Daniélou, gives unrealistic and artificial prominence to Western cultural products while undermining the cultural practices of non-Western societies (Daniélou 1959, 3). According to Daniélou, this has led the musicians of these societies to endeavor to "develop" and "harmonize" their music by adopting large orchestras (Daniélou 1959, 3) and by composing musical pieces which, as Daniélou indicates, are "unpleasant" for both themselves and Westerners (Daniélou 1959, 4). Questioning the adoption of Western techniques, Daniélou regards these musicians' compositions as *duragih* (hybrid) that should be opposed and ignored (Daniélou 1959, 5).

In his defense of the traditional music of Asian societies, Daniélou argues that the musical elements of the traditional music open new horizons to Western music, enabling Western composers to extract original musical ideas from other musical traditions. According to Daniélou, Westerners should contribute to the preservation of Oriental music to enrich their own musical tradition; otherwise, the hegemony of Western culture will destroy local traditions and create the crisis of a lack of creative musical sources and thus will result in the decline of artistic expressions in the West (Daniélou 1959, 7–8; 10–11). Accordingly, Daniélou insists on the significance of preserving the indigenous music of Asian countries, proposing his proposal to achieve this goal. The continuity of any traditional music in modern times, Daniélou stresses, is

secured by maintaining the consistency of all its features; a musical tradition can survive only by the preservation of all of its qualities, including its oral educational approach, its traditional theory, and its traditional style of performance (Daniélou 1959, 10).

From the mid-1950s, state cultural policies encouraged scholarly relations between Iranian and Western music scholars, facilitating the presence of Western musicologists and ethnomusicologist in Iran. In this situation, Iranian musicians encountered Westerners who, in contrast to their negative attitudes in the first decades of twentieth century, now approved and encouraged the performance and education of Iranian music in its traditional forms. Such approval was new to Iranian musicians and perhaps reinforced the first steps in preserving the Qajar musical tradition taken by Vaziri's followers, such as Khaliqi and Barkechli.

In addition, Daniélou's arguments that particularly claimed a crisis in Western musical culture, demanding the use of the traditional music of Asian countries for the development of Western music, implied a kind of dialogue between the East and the West, in which the modern Western culture had to rely on "Oriental" traditions in order to ensure its survival. If Vaziri prescribed the use of Western techniques to secure the survival of Iranian music during the early 1920s and the 1930s, in the late 1950s, it was Western music that, according to Daniélou, needed the help of Eastern musical traditions, including Iranian classical music, to continue its survival.

Such a perception of relation between the West and the East is reflected in some of articles written by Iranian musicologists or others under their influence during this period. Hacobian was one of those who pursued the idea of the decline of Western tonal music in his early writings, arguing that "the principles of tonal music, from the end of last century and almost in every region of the world, is in *inhitat* (decline)" (Hacobian 1956a, 40). He reasoned that Western music had culminated in using its techniques and its evolution had reached its end

(Hacobian 1956a, 40). Hacobian concluded that this "critical period" had encouraged Westerners to shift their attention towards the music of the East, including Iranian classical music (Hacobian 1959a, 29). These arguments reinforced a perspective that regarded Iranian music as a rich musical tradition which was able to address modern musical concerns of Western societies, and thus highlighted the significance of Iranian classical music.

The influence of these discourses introduced by Western musicologists, however, should not be exaggerated. Although these discourses were reflected in a few publications by Iranian musicologists and ethnomusicologists, they were opposed by some influential musicians. For example, Daniélou's perception of harmonized music as *duragih* (hybrid) evoked the strong criticism of musicians (Hacobian 1959a, 27) who saw Western techniques as the universal methods of developing Iranian music. Modernist musicians' responses to the UNESCO's International Music Congress, *The Preservation of Traditional Forms of the Learned and Popular Music of the Orient and the Occident*, held in Tehran in 1961 also manifested their strong disagreement with Western musicologists' ideas regarding the use of Western techniques in the development of "Oriental" music.

Ruhullah Khaliqi, a member of Iranian committee in the conference, wrote a report for the journal *Muzik-i Iran* (The music of Iran) in 1961, expressing his dissatisfaction about the conference. Although an investigation in papers presented in the conference demonstrates the detailed critical study of the issue of musical acculturation from different aspects by participants[20], Khaliqi's writing reduces all discussions to two opposed intellectual categories: European scholars who opposed the use of Western notation for Oriental music and rejected the hybridization of Oriental and Occidental music; and Eastern scholars who opposed the former

[20] For papers presented in the conference, see the conference volume edited by William Kay Archer (Archer 1964).

ideas, believing that the elimination of Western techniques created obstacles to advancing the education and performance of their music (Khaliqi 2006c, 148). However, the most remarkable aspect of Khaliqi's report is his explanation of the reasons behind this difference in perspectives. Khaliqi considers Europeans scholars' criticism of hybridization to be a kind of neo-colonization through which they seek to maintain their hegemony over other countries although in a new implicit way (Khaliqi 2006c, 149). Khaliqi's statement expressed in 1961 marked the beginning of the period in which even those Iranian nationalists who advocated for the use of Western techniques for developing Iranian music regarded the West as a symbol of imperialism and colonization rather than an emblem of progress and development, as perceived by the early nationalist elites.

The *Radif* of Iranian Music: Constructing a Musical Heritage

The publication of a comprehensive version of the *radif* of Iranian music by the General Administration for Fine Arts best exemplifies the state's attitude towards Iranian classical music and those principles appreciated by state cultural policy which, as previously discussed, were constructed upon two pillars: celebrating the greatness of Iran's pre-Islamic civilization and introducing Iran as an ancient nation capable of engaging in a cultural dialogue with the international community. Published in 1963, *Radif-i Musiqi-yi Iran* (The *Radif* of Iranian Music) contained an extensive collection of the *radif*s performed by three legendary Qajar master-musicians, namely Mirza Abdullah (ca. 1843 - 1918), Aqa Hussein-Quli (d. 1913), and Darvish Khan (1872 - 1926) (Ma'rufi 2013, 85–86). This collection of *radif*s was transcribed and collected by Musa Ma'rufi (1989/90 - 1965), a prominent master-musician who was one of Vaziri's first students in the Advanced Music School during the early 1920s. Before Ma'rufi,

some musicians had previously transcribed the *radif*s of Qajar master-musicians using Western notation. Ali-Naqi Vaziri and Mahdi-Quli Hidayat were the first musicians who transcribed the *radif*s of Mirza Abdullah and Aqa Hussein-Quli (presumably during the 1910s) although neither of them published their transcripts (During 2006, 292). Abul-Hasan Saba (1902 - 1957) also published his own brief educational versions of the *radif* with a private publisher between 1946 and 1960 (Sipanta 2003, 237; 379).

The publication of Marufi's *radif* clearly demonstrates how state cultural policy regarding Iranian classical music changed from the 1930s to the 1960s under the Pahlavi state. Ma'rufi aimed to publish his initial transcriptions of the *radif* of his master, Darvish Khan, in 1938. However, since Minbashian was responsible for the administration of the State Music Department, there was little governmental support for Iranian classical music during that period. Ma'rufi worried that his transcripts and, as a result, all of his efforts might be destroyed. He gave up his project and waited for a more appropriate time (Ma'rufi 2013, 86). He later used Vaziri's and Hidayat's transcriptions of *radif*s to provide a more comprehensive version of the *radif* (Ma'rufi 2013, 85–86). In his essay published in the early 1956, Ruhullah Khaliqi accused the General Administration for Fine Arts of postponing the publication of this collection of *radif*s and advocated the significance of the *radif* as a vital part of Iran's national heritage from the ancient pre-Islamic times (Khaliqi 2006b, 44). This fact that Maroufi's *radif* had been prepared many years before 1963 demonstrates that a particular socio-political situation was needed to justify the significance of it publication by the state in 1963.

The process of publishing this collection of *radif*s reveals the official attitude towards Iranian music and those values officially acknowledged. The General Administration for Fine Arts held a series of sessions for about one and a half years, inviting the most prominent master-

musicians of the time, namely Ali-Akbar Shahnazi, Abul-Hasan Saba, Ahmad Ibadi, Rukn al-Din Mukhtari (1887/88 - 1970/71), Nur-Ali Burumand, and Musa Ma'rufi. These musicians were invited to discuss and examine all *gushehs* to find the most correct and authentic version of each *gusheh*. Through this process, the intention was to publish a version of the *radif* in which all master-musicians agreed on the *gushehs* and accepted it as the most authentic version of the *radif* (Hunarha-yi Ziba-yi Kishvar 1963, under "Pish-Guftar"). Indeed, these sessions failed to achieve any success, due to the master-musicians' multiple and sometimes diverse views regarding the performance of *gushehs* (Hunarha-yi Ziba-yi Kishvar 1963, under "Pish-Guftar") which made any agreement impossible.

Despite disagreements among master-musicians, the project of publishing the most authentic *radif* did not cease. The failure to reach an agreement among master-musicians paved the way for an alternative plan. The General Administration for Fine Arts decided to collect master-musicians' *radifs* in order to transcribe and publish them. The plan was setting up a council consisted of music scholars whose responsibility was to analyze these transcriptions by comparative methods to find the most reliable version of the *radif* (Hunarha-yi Ziba-yi Kishvar 1963, under "Pish-Guftar"). Since Ma'rufi's *radif*, which was the collection of the *radifs* performed by the most prominent Qajar master-musicians, had been already prepared, it was chosen as the first "sample" for publication (Hunarha-yi Ziba-yi Kishvar 1963, under "Pish-Guftar"). This project also paved the way for recording several versions of *radifs* performed by prominent old master-musicians during the 1960s and the 1970s.

The most striking aspect of publishing *Radif-i Musiqi-yi Iran* (The *Radif* of Iranian Music) was that music scholars' and musicologists' comparative approaches were prioritized over master-musicians' current practices of Iranian music. This process of standardization may

be considered to be the consequence of the expansion of educational institutions related to music at a national level during this period because, as described previously, the rise of oil revenues after the 1953 coup improved the state's financial power and encouraged the establishment of new organizations related to cultural affairs. However, considering that the institutionalization of Iranian music had begun in the 1920s, one may ask why the Iranian state acknowledged the importance of teaching the *radif* in modern educational institutions and, accordingly, provided a standardized version of the *radif* after almost three decades.

Indeed, the standardization of the *radif* and its introduction to modern educational institutions were not merely the consequences of the process of institutionalization; these actions essentially stemmed from state cultural policy that now glorified the *radif* as the successor of Iran's pre-Islamic music and, accordingly, celebrated it as a significant component of Iran's national heritage. The process of publishing *Radif-i Musiqi-yi Iran* clearly demonstrates the decisive role of music scholars and musicologists, such as Mehdi Barkechli, whose intellectual works presented the *radif* as a unique and sole national repertoire from ancient times.

Even the appearance of *Radif-i Musiqi-yi Iran* published by the General Administration for Fine Arts aims to convey the superiority of its intellectual and musical contents. Using high quality paper and binding, the publication includes several introductory writings, the most important of which is the essay by Mehdi Barkechli, entitled "The Account on the Radif of Persian Music," in which, as already mentioned, he constructs a historical line and links Iranian music to its origins in the pre-Islamic imperial era. Presenting his theory of intervals, Barkechli also explains the results of his scientific experiments on Iranian scales conducted in acoustics laboratories. In addition to the French translation of Barkechli's essay, the most noticeable aspect of the publication is a preface written by Henry Corbin, a French Orientalist, philosopher, and

theologian, who was well-known for advocating the great significance of Persian philosophy and mysticism in the development of Islamic thought during that period (Shayegan 2011).

This publication, by virtue of its intellectual content and appearance, argues for the historical, intellectual, and scientific significance of its materials and situates the *radif* in an international context. All of these features are deployed to imply the authenticity of the *radif* as a significant part of Iran's national heritage, on one hand, and as a contributor to the modern world, on the other hand. The representation of the *radif* as an ancient musical tradition capable of connecting with the modern World's intellectual and scientific concerns aligned with the Shah's perception of nationalism, through which he defined himself as an Aryan monarch who wished for a civilizing exchange with the West. Although Ma'rufi's concern for the preservation of the *radif* encouraged him to transcribe and collect musical materials, the publication of his *radif* aligned with the state's cultural policy which represented *radif* as an authentic musical heritage from the ancient imperial era to imply the authenticity of monarchy, legitimizing it on both domestic and international levels.

The authentication/standardization of the *radif* that apparently aimed at protecting Iran's musical tradition in the changing society of Iran had a reverse influence. None of the master-musicians of the following decades who had begun their training during the 1960s and the 1970s pursued the traditional approach of presenting their own *radif* based on their interpretation of the music, their musical taste, and their knowledge. Instead, they devoted themselves to preserve the *radif* of previous master-musicians whose repertoires were now regarded as authentic.

Conclusion

From 1956 onwards, the Iranian state came to acknowledge Iran's cultural heritage to authenticate its legitimacy on both domestic and international levels. The legitimacy crisis resulting from the 1953 coup motivated the state to implement a cultural policy which highlighted the significance of Iranian traditions. In fact, this was a part of a political program that sought to authenticate the institution of monarchy. In addition, the Shah's positive nationalism, which perceived the alliance with the West as a kind of dialogue, necessitated the elevation of Iran's status in the international community. While the state improved and developed its relations with Western powers, it emphasized the significance of Iranian culture to introduce Iran as an important member of the international community with an ancient history and culture.

In this situation, Barkechli's selective historical narrative, which primarily addressed his own nationalist concerns, contributed to the state's political goals as this narrative authenticated the Qajar musical tradition by connecting it to the ancient music of the Sasanian civilization. Through his theory, Barkechli also demonstrated that this musical tradition has been aligned with precise theoretical elaborations and thus is worthy of detailed academic studies even by non-Iranian scholars. Barkechli presented his intellectual contributions mostly from the second half of the 1950s onwards in both Iranian and Western journals and conferences. At the same time, the first generation of Iranian musicologists and ethnomusicologists, who emphasized the significance of Iran's musical traditions, emerged on the Iranian music scene. These scholars were also able to introduce Iranian classical music to the international community through international conferences. The contributions of these two intellectual trends authenticated the

state's cultural policies that aimed to introduce Iranian classical music as a vital part of national heritage.

During this period, the state manifested its interest in supporting Iranian music in both domestic and international contexts through various activities: producing radio programs; establishing educational institutions, ensembles, and orchestras that provided further educational and performance opportunities; holding international conferences; holding several domestic and international festivals; publishing a comprehensive version of the *radif* of Iranian music; recording the *radif* of a number of classical musicians; and reviving and reconstructing old instruments. All these activities encouraged the further recognition of Iranian classical music as Iran's national heritage on both national and international levels during this period.

However, although these activities aimed to preserve the musical tradition, they imposed certain changes. An attempt to provide the standardized version of the *radif* was indeed an important consequence of new policies in regard to Iranian music. This process was not merely motivated by the expansion of music schools, conservatories, and universities. This authentic version of the *radif*, perceived as the remnant of the glorious ancient past, fulfilled the nationalist concerns of both officials and educated musicians. However, such activities which sought to preserve and celebrate the musical tradition, by imposing a certain level of standardization, changed musical practices and values as musicians' own interpretations of the *dastgah* system were no longer recognized as authentic.

This process of standardization of Iranian classical music somewhat resembles the standardization of musical practices in Egypt reinforced in the aftermath of the revolution of 1952, in which Gamal Abdel Nasser came to power. The revolution brought about social, political, and cultural changes, introducing the beginning of a new era in which the new political

elite emphasized the importance of building a modern industrialized country while highlighting the significance of preserving Egypt's cultural heritage (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco 1997, 211). Like the cultural policy implemented by the Iranian state after the 1953 coup which emphasized the preservation and appreciation of Iran's cultural heritage, the state's cultural policy in Egypt stressed the revival, preservation, and dissemination of Egypt's *turath* (heritage) (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco 1997, 211). Similar to the Iranian government, the Egyptian state became a principle patron of music, guiding musical activities by "a uniform policy" (El-Shawan 1980, 101).

Although the Egyptian musical *turath* adapted elements from Western music, it was identified as an urban, composed music which adhered to the main stylistic features of Arab music: *maqam* and *iqa'* systems as well as "traditional vocal and instrumental forms" (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco 1997, 2011). The music also had to be initially performed at least fifty years before (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco 1997, 211). In addition, the music was performed by standardized ensembles in which "improvisation was eliminated" and "musical compositions were fixed and replicated in an identical manner in each performance" (El-Shawan Castelo-Branco 1997, 212). Despite considerable diversities between Egyptian *turath* and Iranian classical music, it appears that the process of standardization was a common aspect of both musical practices. In both societies, which experienced a process of modernization by massive development programs, musical practices were increasingly standardized by nationalist states, although with diverse political agendas.

Chapter Four: Musical Responses to Socio-Cultural Crises

Through the 1953 CIA-supported coup the Shah's regime was reinstated to power. In this situation, while the Shah was strongly supported by the Americans as a part of a larger Cold War, the improvement of the state's financial power intensified his autonomy from Iranian society. Losing its social base through an unpopular coup, the state failed to develop the political system in the following years. The uneven development of the economy resulting from modernization programs also increased social tensions, intensifying the alienation of the Iranian society from the state. In this situation, the state failed to produce a hegemonic narrative of Iranian nationalism accepted by the citizenry. As a result, a new articulation of Iranian nationalism emerged in Iranian society as an alternative to the official narrative which glorified the monarch. The alternative narrative, articulated by intellectuals of the 1960s and the 1970s, defined Iranianness in terms of its opposition to the state and what the state was identified with: the West.

The political conflicts paved the way for the notion of "committed art" which glorified any form of resistance against the state while questioning the dominance of the "imperialist" West. Some intellectuals, who criticized the westernization of Iranian society and called for a "return to the authentic self," came to praise the revolutionary interpretation of Shi'ism. The impact of discourses proposed by these intellectuals encouraged the state to adopt a counter-discourse; the state came to support a mystical interpretation of Shi'ism which distanced itself from revolutionary discourses. According to this perspective, the Iranian nation was perceived and admired as the land of spirituality. During the 1960s and the 1970s, both discourses of committed art, advocated by some intellectuals, and mystical art, supported by the state, influenced Iran's musical community.

In the aftermath of the 1953 coup, the state also came to establish its dominance by means of the bureaucratization of Iran's musical scene. The expansion of music institutions, funded by the state, enabled the state to become the principle patron of music, controlling musical practices based on the official policies. In particular, the radio played a key role as the state sought to depoliticize the Iranian public by a dramatic increase in the broadcast of music. Accordingly, the production and broadcast of popularized and light forms of Iranian and Western music were encouraged in order to satisfy and attract a greater audience, and consequently to improve the domestic image of the Iranian state.

This policy, however, encouraged the dissatisfaction of some musicians who were concerned about the future of Iranian classical music. For some of these musicians, the popularized forms of classical music corrupted its aesthetics and musical values. For others, popular music was a symbol of immorality and decline; thus, they adopted a mystical perspective towards Iranian music to purify the music from worldly commercialism and consumerism. This group attracted the support of the state who sought to mute the revolutionary discourses. Influenced by the concept of committed art, however, some young musicians came to adopt a revolutionary perspective toward Iranian classical music, interpreting the preservation of the Qajar musical tradition and their innovations based on the tradition as a form of non-violent political action.

The Legitimacy Crisis of Official Discourses

The Shah's development programs transformed the socio-economic structure of Iranian society; however, they also intensified social dislocation, economic discrepancies and socio-

political tensions. In addition to their impact on the rapid rise of population (Abrahamian 2008, 134), development programs resulted in an extensive change in the size of social classes producing increasing social issues. The size of the two classes, the intelligentsia and urban working class which had utterly challenged the Pahlavi state in previous years, greatly increased (Abrahamian 2008, 139–40). The state's development programs also widened the gap not only between the rich and the poor (Abrahamian 2008, 134) but also between urban and rural populations (Abrahamian 2008, 142). Accordingly, by the 1970s, Iran had "one of the very worst" unequal income distributions in the world (Abrahamian 2008, 141). The development programs also created deep resentment because they increased public expectations—produced by the drastic rise in oil revenues—but they failed to meet these expectations (Abrahamian 2008, 141). In this situation, social tensions paved the way for political radicalism, intensifying conflict between the state and Iranian society (Abrahamian 2008, 143).

This political conflict, resulted from the process of uneven development, will be further clarified in light of the fact that the massive rise of oil revenues, which made possible a fast-paced modernization process, also transformed the Iranian economy, encouraging the state's massive reliance on oil revenues (Boroujerdi 1996, 25). According to Boroujerdi, "oil revenue as a percentage of total government revenue jumped from 11 percent in 1948 to 41 percent in 1960 and up to 84.3 percent in 1974—75" (Boroujerdi 1996, 26), while "the total percentage of direct taxes levied by government on salaries, real state, private, and state corporations only rose from 5 percent to 10 percent" (Boroujerdi 1996, 26). These economic transformations resulted in a dramatic expansion of the public sector and transformed the role of the Iranian state into "the dominant actor in the economy" (Boroujerdi 1996, 26).

However, since the Shah himself became involved in all significant decision-making, demanding a high degree of loyalty, he prevented the state, which had gained an imperial nature, from fulfilling a necessary intermediary role between the court and Iranian society. This situation, instead, encouraged the society to become further alienated from the Shah, although it somewhat benefited from the economic growth resulting from the Shah's development programs (Boroujerdi 1996, 26–27). In addition, massive oil revenues encouraged the Shah to perceive himself to be independent of Iranian society; instead of improving the existing political structure to facilitate communication between the state and the citizenry, the Shah developed his dominance over the society by the gradual elimination of not only the opposition's voice but also all other voices different from his own.

In fact, this policy had been initiated in the aftermath of the 1953 coup. The Shah, who had been reinstated to power through the CIA-supported coup of 1953 and accordingly had little political legitimacy, pursued a policy which Katouzian describes as "the politics of elimination" (Katouzian 2009, 288). Not only were all opposition parties gradually outlawed, but independent-minded politicians, although loyal to the Shah's monarchy, were also gradually eliminated from politics (Katouzian 2009, 288). By the late 1950s, parliamentary elections had been forcefully controlled. In addition, constitutional amendments strengthened the Shah's power, weakening the possibility of future parliamentary opposition (Abrahamian 1982, 420). At the same time, the relation between the Shah and the religious establishment increasingly deteriorated (Katouzian 2009, 288). The politics of elimination was also pursued through suppressive approaches which aimed at discouraging the society from engaging in unapproved political activities (Sharifi 2013, 132). The White Revolution and its economic consequences

even further intensified the politics of elimination, establishing the Shah's political status as the country's sole decision-maker.

The politics of elimination sought to secure the hegemony of the state's official discourses, including the official narrative of nationalism, which emphasized the decisive role of the monarch and the significance of relations with Western powers. However, it produced counter-discourses which not only aimed at overthrowing the Shah's regime but also rejected those ideals attached to the state's imposed nationalism. The state's failure in providing vital structures for communicating with Iranian citizenry resulted in the alienation of Iranian society from the state. While "the shah believed that he was enjoying great popularity on account of rising incomes, the White Revolution, Iran's enhanced position as a regional player, and greater recognition by the world community" (Katouzian 2009, 291), the alienation from the state gradually encouraged the society to interpret every achievement as a failure which served to enrich the few and promote corruption (Katouzian 2009, 291). As a result of the state's failure in producing a hegemonic narrative, an alternative vision of Iranian nationalism emerged in Iranian society which defined itself in opposition to the state's imposed nationalism (Sharifi 2013, 132), negating the glorification of Iranian monarchy as well as the validity of Western modernity.

The politics of elimination and the massive suppression of the opposition resulted in an emerging idea that "it was no longer possible to challenge the state through legal and peaceful means" (Boroujerdi 1996, 34). In this situation, the notion of resistance was glorified by Iranian intellectuals (Sharifi 2013, 133) although in two different ways: more radical intellectuals turned towards armed struggle forming underground guerrilla organizations while more moderate intellectuals expressed their resistance through literature, poetry, and the arts (Boroujerdi 1996, 34). In fact, the latter group of intellectuals used these mediums to express the same ideas

advocated by guerrillas through their radical political action. In literature, a new genre called *adabiyat-i muti'ahhid* (committed literature) emerged which glorified resistance against the Shah's regime (Sharifi 2013, 135). For committed artists and intellectuals, whether secular or religious, literature and poetry were weapons which enabled them to express their resistance against the state, underscoring the state's corruption, repression, and despotism (Boroujerdi 1996, 43–44). This notion of committed art also influenced a group of young musicians who, as will be discussed later, regarded their performances and compositions as a form of political resistance.

In addition, the massive modernization and westernization of Iranian society and the perceived dependence of the Shah on Western world powers encouraged Iranian intellectuals to demonize Western imperialism. The first intellectual critiques of modernization and westernization began in the early 1930s and were pursued in the 1940s by a small number of intellectuals (Katouzian 2009, 294–95). However, during the 1960s and 1970s, a new generation of committed intellectuals, inspired by the "discourse of alienation and crisis of identity in postwar Europe" (Amanat 2012, 23), emerged in Iranian society which questioned previous intellectuals' fascination with Western ideas, searching for authenticity in their own culture. Jalal Al-i Ahmad and Ali Shari'ati were among these intellectuals who profoundly influenced their young and mostly educated audiences during the 1960s and the 1970s.

The discourse of *gharbzadigi* (Westoxication) came to the fore in the 1960s by the publication of a monograph with the same title by Jalal Al-i Ahmad, the prominent intellectual of the 1950s and 1960s (Boroujerdi 1996, 53). Published in 1962, the book, which, according to Boroujerdi, became "the holy book for several generations of Iranian intellectuals" (Boroujerdi 1996, 67), presented Al-i Ahmad's deeply skeptical perspective towards the West and what

Western imperialism offered to Iranian society at a time when Iran was undergoing fast-paced development programs and, thus, experiencing massive cultural westernization. Al-i Ahmad highlighted the issue of increasing rootlessness and brought it to the attention of the Iranian public (Boroujerdi 1996, 67–68). Al-i Ahmad not only cautioned against the domination of Western technology and machinery, but he also criticized those Iranian intellectuals who had embraced Western ideas and values and thus had created an environment vulnerable to Western hegemony (Boroujerdi 1996, 68–69). Persuading Iranian intellectuals to re-evaluate their passive acceptance of Western values, Al-i Ahmad "called for an awakening and resistance to the hegemony of an alien culture that increasingly dominated the intellectual, social, political, and economic landscape of Iranian society" (Boroujerdi 1996, 68).

Al-i Ahmad also regarded Shi'ism as an important dimension of Iranian identity, prescribing the revival of Shi'a Islam as the most effective cure for the disease of Westoxication (Boroujerdi 1996, 72). Perceiving the clergy as the sole social class that had not been influenced by the hegemony of Western culture, Al-i Ahmad adopted a perspective which regarded Shi'ism as a "mobilizing political ideology" (Boroujerdi 1996, 75). However, Al-i Ahmad was not the sole intellectual who believed in the revolutionary potential of Shi'ism. Ali Shari'ati, who was later regarded as "'the main ideologue' of the 1979 revolution" (Boroujerdi 1996, 105), also sought to convince his audience that a revived Shi'a Islam is the sole medium capable of bringing salvation and justice to Iranian society (Grigoriadis and Ansari 2005, 328). Promulgating the discourse of *bazgasht bi khishtan* (return to the self), Shari'ati presented an Islamic utopia achieved only by returning to the Shi'ite self. However, he interpreted Shi'ism as permanent revolution against all forms of oppression imposed by feudalism, capitalism, and imperialism, believing that this revived revolutionary Shi'ism would lead the society towards a

classless utopia (Abrahamian 2008, 144). Whereas the official narrative of Iranian nationalism appreciated Western civilization's technological advance and glorified pre-Islamic Iran, Al-i Ahmad negated the domination of Western values and Shari'ati highlighted a revolutionary interpretation of the Shi'ite past, both challenging the significance of the official narratives propagated by the state.

The impact of this intellectual narrative of Iranian nationalism was that it influenced not only the state's narrative of nationalism but also official policies. The state adopted some elements of the intellectual alternative narrative, employing it for its own political purposes. Published in 1977, *Bi Su-yi Tamaddun-i Buzurg* (Towards the Great Civilization) presented a perspective towards the West which was very different from what the Shah had provided in his first book in 1961. According to Ansari (2007), the Shah criticized "the immoral lifestyle of the West" and "the unfair international system which serves the industrialised world" (Ansari 2007, 238). Interestingly, the Shah echoed Al-i Ahmad's critique of Westoxication, cautioning Iranians against "becoming 'Westoxicated'" (Ansari 2007, 238), arguing that "Iran will avoid the mistakes of the West and head towards a glorious future" (Ansari 2007, 238). However, aside from the Shah's critiques of the West, the most striking aspect of the book was that the Shah attributed sacral dimensions to his monarchy, believing himself to be "Divinely Guided" (Ansari 2007, 238). The Shah considered the monarchy to be a necessity for "the religious and spiritual well-being" of the Iranian nation (Grigoriadis and Ansari 2005, 327), arguing that

> An important point to note is the real meaning of the word *shahanshahi*, which cannot be explained in ordinary historical terms. When it is necessary to translate into a foreign language, it is normal to translate it as 'Imperial', but the meaning of the Western term Imperial is simply political and geographic, whereas from the Iranian perspective, the term *shahanshahi* has more than the normal meaning, it has a spiritual, philosophical, symbolic, and to a great extent, a sentimental aspect, in other words, just as it has a rational and thoughtful relevance, so too it has a moral

> and emotional dimension. In Iranian culture, the Iranian monarchy means the political and geographic unity of Iran in addition to the special national identity and all those unchangeable values which this national identity has brought forth. For this reason no fundamental change is possible in this country unless it is in tune with the fundamental principles of the monarchical system. (quoted in Grigoriadis and Ansari 2005, 327)

In addition to the Shah's critique of the immorality of the Western societies, his articulation of sacral monarchy and his claims for the spiritual leadership of the Iranian nation can be regarded as a method by which the Shah legitimized his rule by adopting the opposition's counter-discourse (Grigoriadis and Ansari 2005, 328).

However, the emphasis on the spiritual aspects of the Shah's monarchy was not the state's sole response to the legitimacy crisis posed by various revolutionary articulations of Shi'ism. The state's patronage of some Sufi orders and the propagation of Iranian mysticism, especially during the last decade of the Shah's reign, were another approaches adopted by the state to provide a quietist articulation of Shi'ism as a counter-ideology to political Shi'ism (Bos 2002, 119). Since the Shi'a clergy did not theologically recognized monarchs as legitimate rulers, the Shah sought to achieve the support of prominent Sufi masters who claimed for possessing divine knowledge. In addition, the state's patronage of some Sufi orders might encourage the loyalty of some Sufi masters who were able to disseminate the official ideology to their followers (Bos 2002, 113).

In a collection of scholarly essays published in 1978 by an academic American publisher, the German scholar Wilhelm Eilers, in his essay entitled "Educational and Cultural Development in Iran during the Pahlavi Era," regarded the Shah as a follower of Jalal al-Din Rumi, a 13th-century Persian poet and Sufi, and introduced Rumi's Sufism as "the guiding philosophy of Iran" (Eilers 1978, 323). Eilers also observed that "many members of higher society quite openly

confessed to belonging to one of the existing dervish orders" (Eilers 1978, 323). In this context, the Shah's sacral monarchy could find a new meaning if one regards the resemblance between the notions of "divinely guided monarch" in the Pahlavi's official ideology and "*wali*" (*waliallah* or friend of God) in Sufism which refers to a Sufi master who disseminates his divine spiritual knowledge to her/his disciples.

In addition to its role as an authenticating ideology, the mystical interpretation of Shi'ism also aligned with the state's policies as it was admired by European Orientalists who in their search for lost spirituality turned to studying Shi'ism as an esoteric tradition. In his search for universal religiosity, the French philosopher and Orientalist Henry Corbin (1903 - 1978) highlighted mystical dimensions and interpretations of Shi'ism, which had a long tradition of its own in Shi'ite history, defining Shi'ism as "an 'immanent' and transhistorical esoteric tradition" (Bos 2002, 32). Corbin was influenced by Martin Heidegger's critique of technological modernity, defining the West in terms of "the alienating hegemony of the technological mode of life" (Bos 2002, 36) which, according to him, had destroyed man's authentic being (Bos 2002, 36). In addition, Heidegger's critique of Western philosophy for its concentration on epistemology since Descartes influenced Corbin to turn to Iranian philosophy and mysticism. Influenced by the Persian philosopher-mystic of the 12th century, Shahab al-Din Suhravardi, Corbin regarded mysticism as a mode of knowledge that addressed the issue of being and was thus capable of transcending the discursive nature of philosophy (Green 2005, 220–22). Accordingly, Corbin saw philosophy and mysticism as manifested in intellectual works of Iranian Shi'ite mystic figures to be complementary parts of the same journey (Green 2005, 222).

In addition to his emphasis on the importance of Shi'ite gnosis, Corbin also saw pre-Islamic Iran as an important source for Islamic thought. He perceived the spirituality of Islamic

Iran as the continuity of pre-Islamic Zoroastrian Persia (Shayegan 2011). This led him to give symbolic meaning to Persia, indicating that the Persian world was "not merely a nation or even an empire, but an entire spiritual universe, an arena for the history of religions" (quoted in Shayegan 2011). In his book *En Islam iranien* (1971—73), Corbin indicated that

> Within the Islamic community the Iranian world constituted, from the beginning, an entity of which the characteristic traits and temperament can be explained only if one considers the Iranian intellectual universe as forming a whole, before and after Islam. Islamic Iran has been the country par excellence of the greatest philosophers and mystics of Islam. (quoted in Shayegan 2011)

Corbin's Heideggerian critique of the West contributed to those discourses in Iran's intellectual community that criticized the domination of Western technology and machinery, while his perception of Shi'ism as otherworldly gnosis influenced some Iranian intellectuals who, because of their official responsibilities, were able to transmit the idea of mystical Shi'ism from the intellectual community to official circles. Seyyed Hossien Nasr, indeed, was one of the most influential figures among Corbin's disciples who later founded the Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy (Anjuman-i Shahanshahi-yi Falsafih-yi Iran) in 1974 by the patronage of Iran's Queen who accepted Nasr's proposal to be the honorary chair of the Academy's Boards of Trustees (Boroujerdi 1996, 124–25). Corbin was among scholars affiliated with the Academy (Boroujerdi 1996, 125n19). Nasr, who later became the head of the Queen's office, defined the goals of the Academy:

> The goals of the academy are the revival of the traditional intellectual life of Islamic Persia; the publication of texts and studies pertaining to both Islamic and pre-Islamic Persia; making the intellectual treasures of Persia in the field of philosophy, mysticism and the like known to the outside world;…and, finally, discussing from the point of view of tradition various problems facing modern Iran. (Boroujerdi 1996, 125)

As discussed in Chapter One, during the early 1920s, some nationalist historians and thinkers, including Abbas Iqbal Ashtiani and Hussein Kazimzadih, in their attempt to indigenize the religion and to incorporate it into nationalist narratives, introduced Shi'ism as Iranian Islam. Between the 1950s and the 1970s, the intellectual contributions of Corbin and other like-minded thinkers reinforced the previous narrative of Iranian Islam and added a new dimension to the official narrative of Iranian nationalism that now defined Iran as a land of spirituality and mysticism. In particular, it appears that Corbin and other thinkers' belief in the impact of pre-Islamic spirituality on Shi'ite esoteric tradition influenced the official narratives that now brought to the fore the notion of Iranian Islam.

This idea is reflected in the book *Cultural Policy in Iran* (1973), which, as already discussed, was prepared for UNESCO by the Pahlavi state: "the 'Islamization' of Iran was matched by a corresponding 'Iranization' of Islam and the Iranians, by adopting a special Islamic doctrine, Shi'ism, and by developing it, introduced Iranian civilization into the world of Islam" (Behnam 1973, 10). These statements clearly reduce religious differences to ethnic (and perhaps racial) distinctions between Iranians and non-Iranians. However, this form of differentiation is also highlighted by the feature of mysticism, as according to the book, "compared with Sunni orthodoxy, Shi'ism has a broader outlook and is open to mysticism" (Behnam 1973, 11). These statements demonstrate that for the Pahlavi state Shi'ism had strong nationalist implications and functions. Thus, it is not surprising that the Pahlavi state endeavored to regulate the interpretation of Shi'ism based on its own political agenda.

In contrast to revolutionary interpretation of Shi'ism presented by the opposition, the state supported a quietist interpretation (Bos 2002, 118–19) which not only rejected political Shi'ism but essentially recognized Shi'ism as an Iranian mystical form of Islam. In fact, the state

through the appreciation and support of mysticism contended with and regulated an interpretation of Shi'ism that essentially aimed to overthrow the monarchy. In addition, representing Iran as the land of spirituality, the Shah was able to blame Western societies for their immorality, responding to increasing accusations made by the opposition who criticizes his dependence on the West. As the leader of the land of spiritually, the Shah was also able to introduce himself as a divinely guided monarch, sanctifying his rule.

The emergence of both revolutionary ideology, advocated by committed intellectuals, and mystical ideology, supported by the state, had practical consequences in Iranian musical society. In this situation, the mystical interpretation of Iranian classical music, propagated particularly by Daryush Safvat, the founder and administrator of the Center for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music, attracted the support of the state. However, the revolutionary articulation of Iranianness propagated by committed intellectuals encouraged the members of *Chavush* Group, particularly Muhammad-Reza Lutfi, to employ Iranian classical music to express their revolutionary ideas through their compositions and performances. Both of these approaches to Iranian classical music, however, should be examined in the particular socio-cultural situation of Iranian society in the aftermath of the Second World War in which an emerging popular culture came to dominate many cultural values of Iranian society. This situation, reinforced after the 1953 coup, encouraged the dissatisfaction of some of musicians who saw Iranian classical music in danger.

Popular Music in Media and Its Political Functions

The modernization of Iranian music was not limited to the systematization and institutionalization of the music pursued by modernist musicians. The expansion of gramophone-record production and consumption during the reign of Reza Shah was another factor which imposed new changes to Iranian classical music. The emergence of the middle class and the construction of new venues, such as hotels, restaurants, cinemas, and theaters, which provided new settings for the consumption of music, encouraged an increasing popularization of gramophone records in Iranian society (Aghamohseni 2014, 82–83). The expansion of the new medium, however, gradually introduced new values to Iran's music scene. Since gramophone companies produced records based on their business objectives, the emerging record buying public gradually became the patrons of Iranian classical music, which had been previously supported by the Qajar court, courtiers, and the nobility. Indeed, such a fundamental shift in the patronage system influenced professional musicians and encouraged them to compose and perform more popularized and less sophisticated forms of Iranian classical music.

This new trend, initiated in the 1930s by musicians such as Abul-Hasan Saba, Isma'il Mihrtash (b. 1903/04) and Sayyid Javad Badi'zadih (1901/02 - 1979/80) (Mohammadi 2010, 123), was continued in the 1940s by musicians who had mostly trained under Saba and had sufficient knowledge of Iranian classical music. These musicians, who were mostly violinists, performed their compositions with orchestras consisting of Western instruments although they rarely employed Western harmony. This generation of musicians had a great impact on Iran's musical scene from the 1940s to the 1960s to the extent that the ethnomusicologist Sasan Fatemi calls this period *asr-i viulun* (the age of violin) (Fatemi 2004, 31). From the 1940s onwards, the state became the new patron of this popularized genre of Iranian music. These musicians

performed on Radio Tehran from the first years of its establishment in 1940; however, their influence was reinforced from 1956, when the popular *Golha* program was initiated and began to broadcast the musical works of these musicians, notably Ali Tajvidi (b. 1919/20), Mahdi Khalidi (1919/20 - 1990/91), Humayun Khurram (b. 1930/31), Habibullah Badi'i (1933/34 - 1992), and Parviz Yahaqqi (b. 1935/36).

The *Golha* program was a series of radio programs which aired for almost twenty three years, from 1956 to 1979 (Lewisohn 2008, 79). These programs had great influence on the Iranian public and their appreciation of Persian poetry and music; however, they also introduced new changes in the performance of Iranian music. In these musical programs, the arrangement of musical sections differed from their conventional arrangement in classical performances (Pirnia and Nakjavani 2012). As a result, these radio programs paved the way for further popularization of musical programs by adopting more varied and flexible arrangements. At the same time, a specific style of performance recognized as *sabk-i navazandigi-yi radiu* (radio performance style) emerged which tended to present a more popularized performances of Iranian classical music (Himmati and Azizi 2001, 11).

However, Iranian classical music was also influenced by popular music. The Allies' occupation of Iran in 1941 and the subsequent democratic social sphere encouraged the flourishing of previously banned cultural forms in the public, including *musiqi-yi mutribi* (the music of *mutrib*s). Although this style of popular music had been mainly performed in weddings and private venues, from the mid-1940s several cafés in Tehran began to use this style of music, now called *musiqi-yi kafi-i* (Café Music), to attract the people from lower urban classes, who mainly resided in poorer neighborhoods in southern Tehran (Fatemi 2014, 204–05). During the following years in which the music was expanded to cabarets, restaurants, and theaters, some

popular musicians developed their repertoire by imitating Arabic and, less commonly, Indian popular songs (Shay 2000, 70). During the same period, new types of popular music with Persian lyrics also appeared which adopted elements of Western popular music (Shay 2000, 70).

However, various forms of Iranian popular music were first disseminated when two new established radio stations under the auspices of the armed forces, the Air Force and Gendarmerie, started broadcasting the music around 1950[21](Fatemi 2014, 215). Despite the short lifetime of these radio stations, they paved the way for broadcasting popular music from the early 1950s on Radio Tehran, the country's main radio station (Lewisohn 2015, 598). The activities of these popular musicians were eliminated from Radio Tehran in 1955; however, Iranian popular songs influenced the music broadcast on radio in some ways. Popular tunes influenced light songs aired on the radio in the following years (Fatemi 2014, 215–216). In addition, some of popular musicians modified their tunes, trying to appropriate their music for the "modern" audiences (Fatemi 2014, 215–216). Some instrumentalists who succeeded in continuing to perform on the radio swung between traditional and popular styles, adopting some elements of popular style in their classical performances (Fatemi 2014, 216). Notably, some well-known vocalists, who basically performed in traditional styles, began to perform in popular contexts, such as weddings, nightclubs, popular films, and the recording industry (Shay 2000, 70). From the late 1960s, even the *Golha* program, essentially produced as an antidote to popular music in 1956 (Lewisohn 2015, 599), attracted some musicians, such as Akbar Gulpayigani, Humiyra, Hayidih, and Mahasti, who later used elements of popular music in their *Golha* performances perhaps to satisfy their audiences' expectations (Fatemi 2004, 31).

[21] Jane Lewisohn indicates that the Air Force radio station was established "in the period directly after the Musaddiq crisis of 1953" (Lewisohn 2015, 598). However, based on other publications in this period which reflect classical musicians' dissatisfaction with radio programs, it appears that the broadcast of Iranian popular music had begun some years before 1953. For instance, see the interview with Mushir Humayun Shahrdar (Amir Jahid 1954, 37; 40).

The dissemination of Iranian popular music and its influence on classical performances evoked various reactions among the advocates of Iranian music who regarded popular music as an unauthentic genre of music. Intellectuals' and classical musicians' objections to Iranian popular music (Hemmasi 2010, 53) were intensified by various factors: the low social status of popular musicians in Iranian society (Hemmasi 2010, 49); the perceived associations between cafés and cabarets, as main settings for the performance of Iranian popular music, and prostitutes and pimps (Hemmasi 2010, 53); and the association of some female singers with prostitution (Mahvash, as the best-known popular singer, was known to have been a prostitute) (Hemmasi 2010, 53). They perceived popular music as a new threat to Iranian music, not only because of the musical weakness of such performances, as mostly claimed by modernist musicians such as Ruhullah Khaliqi (quoted in Sipanta 2003, 304–305), but also due to the counter-nationalist connotations of such hybrid musical pieces, especially those influenced by Arabic tunes (Shay 2000, 70).

Musicians' dissatisfaction with radio programs was intensified by the introduction of a new genre of Westernized popular music in the mid-1950s. Although the rhythmic structure of Western popular songs and dances were already used by popular musicians (Amir Jahid 1954, 37), the new Westernized popular songs were composed outside of the modal frame of Iranian *dastgah*s, using only western instruments (Shay 2000, 70), and adopting vocal styles of Western popular music (Breyley 2010, 204). From the 1960s, Westernized popular music came to be a substitute for Iranian popular music, attracting a greater audience in Iranian society; this new genre represented the modern life for its consumers who perceived themselves as "modern and 'up-to-date'" (Shay 2000, 80). The Westernized forms of popular music also attracted the

support of the state and were heavily promoted through the National Radio and Television (NIRT) (Hemmasi 2010, 56).

From the early 1950s onwards, the dissatisfaction with the popularity and dissemination of popular music provoked various responses. Ruhullah Khaliqi in the introduction of his book *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran*, published in 1954, indicated that the threat of popular music had encouraged him to write the history of Iranian music (Khaliqi 2002, 1:15). Articles published in the second half of the 1950s clearly portray that Khaliqi and many others criticized the state for broadcasting musical programs which, according to them, were unworthy and corruptive. It appears that the dissatisfaction with radio programs gradually encouraged some of these critics to perceive radio programs as an official conspiracy that pursued the state's political benefits. Khaliqi, in his notes published after his death as the third volume of *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran,* indicated that

> If you want [to know] the truth…the chaos in the situation of radio music…has not been improved and will not be improved; because [the authorities] do not want to improve [radio music]. Now, who is responsible–wise men know! (Khaliqi 2002, 3:23)

The significance of Khaliqi's statement can be understood if one consider the socio-political situation of Iranian society after the 1953 coup in which the state strengthened its control over the Iranian music scene and sought to regulate musical practices based on its own political objectives. In the aftermath of the 1953 coup, the state deployed suppressive approaches to discourage the society from engaging in unapproved political activities. However, these suppressive approaches were not limited to bloody suppressions, as occurred in the uprising of June 1963, but also involved the use of policing techniques, massive arrest, terror tactics, public executions, and deportations. The expansion of bureaucratic structures also enabled the state to

regulate the social sphere by "bureaucratic means" (Sharifi 2013, 132). In this situation, Iran's musical society suffered from bureaucratic regulations that sought to control the Iranian music scene according to official discourses.

After the 1953 coup, due to the United States' financial support and the increase in Iran's oil revenue, the Iranian state gained financial power by which the state was able to establish new governmental institutions within which further performance and educational opportunities were provided for musicians. In addition to establishing new organizations, orchestras, ensembles, and radio programs which encouraged the employment of musicians within governmental institutions, even the Conservatory for National Music, which was initially established by the Society for National Music under Khaliqi's directorship, gained the state's support and became a public institution in 1956 (Khaliqi 2002, 3:194). The ethnomusicologist Ella Zonis, who did her fieldwork research in Iran between 1963 and 1965 (Zonis 1973, x), observed in her evaluation of state policies regarding music that

> In Tehran today it is virtually impossible for a Persian musician to make his living by music without being affiliated with the Ministry of Art and Culture or the Ministry of Information. But a frequent complaint of Persian musicians is that becoming an employee of the government restricts one's freedom immeasurably. Musicians must write and play the kind of westernized Persian music or traditional Persian music favored by the current administration. Indeed, the control of the bureaucracy appears to be so considerable and the personal disagreement so intense that some Persian musicians and musicologists prefer to live abroad. There is virtually no room for musical dissent in Iran.[22] (Zonis 1973, 198–200)

In this situation, it is not surprising that in contrast to musicians' active participation in political events between 1941 and 1953, as previously discussed in Chapter Two, no explicit sign of political resentment or protest appeared among professional musicians from 1953 to

[22] The Ministry of Information supervised radio programs before the establishment of the National Iranian Radio and Television (NIRT) in the late 1960.

1978. However, the private notes and letters of prominent musicians, such as Ali-Naqi Vaziri and Ruhullah Khaliqi, published in recent years clearly portray their belief in the corruption of the state during that period (Vaziri 1998i, 406; Khaliqi 2006d, 494). Considering the closed and suppressed political atmosphere in Iranian society in the years after the coup, such bold criticisms were not explicitly expressed in the public writings of these figures published in music periodicals. However, Khaliqi's statement about radio programs, mentioned previously, and his implicit criticism of the official policies demonstrates that he considers a political dimension to the dissemination of popular music through national media, implicitly criticizing the state's political objectives.

The dissemination of popular music was partly the consequence of the emergence of popular culture in a society that experienced vast socio-economic structural transformations. These changes that resulted in the expansion of a class of middle class professionals, however, encouraged certain changes in cultural norms and practices, paving the way for emerging popular culture. In this situation, the alienation of Iranian society from the state, as previously explained, motivated the society to regard the state as responsible for every perceived corruption and failure. In particular, some Iranian musicians who directly experienced the state's control over musical practices and venues regarded the vast dissemination of popular music through national media as a part of an official program that pursued certain political objectives. This perception motivated these musicians' reactionary response and resistance.

However, these musicians' perceptions of the political motivations of radio programs were not completely untrue. The ethnomusicologist Sasan Fatemi assumes that radio stations established by the Air Force and Gendarmerie, which aired Iranian popular music for the first time, aimed at improving the image of the military in the public during the unstable political

period in the late 1940s (Fatemi 2014, 215). However, the strong social association between "stars" of Iranian popular music, such as Mahvash, and hooligans (Fatemi 2014, 207–08), who later cooperated with the army in the 1953 coup (Abrahamian 1982, 280), may lead one to understand the political function of broadcasting such music programs that essentially sought to provide social support for the army during the political crisis of 1953.

This political use of media for creating social support was pursued especially after the coup. In his interview with an American scholar in 1954, General Farzanigan, the director of Propaganda and the Government Spokesman under General Zahidi, Musaddiq's successor after the coup, confessed that the Zahidi's government deployed radio programs to relieve political tensions in the society. Accusing Musaddiq of giving impossible promises to the Iranian public, he presented the state's method for imposing the disciplines of "a normal quiet life" (quoted in Learner 1958, 394), which, according to him, people needed:

> The people now must be shown, not simply told, the virtues of a normal quiet life…How are we going about this? Well, there is a National Orientation Committee whose mission is to tame people and to give them hope. Depolitizing [sic] the media is one technique: we now have a radio station broadcasting only music from 11 A.M. to 11 P.M. (an idea pretty popular in the States and very appreciated here). At the same time, we just signed a contract with the Varga firm in Sweden for delivery of radios, starting with 2,000 and gradually increasing to 5,000 per month, at one-third of their current price in Iran. (quoted in Learner 1958, 394)

The politics of taming people was pursued in the following decades. As the ethnomusicologist Stephen Blum confirms, the use of musical programs as a means of propaganda were pursued even after the White Revolution (Blum 1972, 219). An official report about the percentage of music programs aired by three transmitters in 1971 indicated that "the percentage of music programmes in relation to the total number of programmes was 49.2 per

cent for Radio Iran, 90 per cent for Radio Tehran, and 100 per cent for the Tehran FM transmitter" (Behnam 1973, 35). This massive broadcast of music demonstrates that the state, which had suffered from the political action of the Iranian public in the aftermath of the Second World War and particularly under Musaddiq's government, pursued the policy of depoliticization by expanding musical programs that did not carry political implications and thus tacitly served official demands.

This massive broadcast of Iranian and Western popular music and their influence on producing the light and popularized forms of Iranian classical music in media encouraged the dissatisfaction of some musicians who played important roles from the late 1960s onwards, although they were motivated by different concerns. Notably, Nur-Ali Burumand, Daryush Safvat, and Muhammad-Reza Lutfi provided practical responses to the perceived corruption of musical programs broadcast on media. For Nur-Ali Burumand, musical programs were the symbol of a musical change; thus, he cautioned against losing the aesthetics and musical values of the Qajar musical tradition. From a different perspective, Daryush Safvat perceived popular music aired on the media as a source of the society's moral corruption. In his search for finding a remedy, Safvat endeavored to purify Iranian classical music from worldly commercialism and consumerism by adopting a mystical perspective that elevated classical music to a form of spiritual practice. In this socio-cultural context, the members of the *Chavush* Group, particularly Muhammad-Reza Lutfi, perceived the emerging popular culture as a symbol of Iranians' alienation from their authentic roots. Under the influence of the notion of committed art, they armed themselves with Iranian classical music to cure this alienation which they regarded as a consequence of the state's political corruption. Indeed, all these responses should be considered in light of the socio-political situation of Iranian society during the 1960s and the 1970s in which

intellectuals cautioned against Western acculturation and called for a return to the authentic Iranian self.

Nur-Ali Burumand: The Leading Master

After establishing the Conservatory for National Music, Khaliqi invited some classical musicians to teach in the Conservatory. This became a procedure in educational institutions related to music, including the Department of Music established by Mehdi Barkechli in 1964 at the University of Tehran. Accordingly, Nur-Ali Burumand, as a classical musician, was invited to teach in the Department in 1965. In Burumand's funeral in 1975, Barkechli referred to Burumand's qualifications for being invited by the Department: "a deep and scholarly knowledge of Iranian authentic music and international [music]" (Barkechli 2001, 41). These were two criteria totally aligned with Barkechli's ideas and activities which aimed to present Iranian classical music as an ancient but learned music expressible with scholarly precision on both domestic and international levels. For Barkechli, Burumand was the sole classical musician who was able to fulfill such criteria.

Nur-Ali Burumand is generally regarded as the leading teacher of the revivalist movement of the late 1960s and the 1970s. He was born in 1906/07 to a wealthy family, with his father being a jeweler who "owned several villages" (Nettl 2002, 138) (Karimi 2001, 5). His father's home was a meeting place of well-known musicians and poets. During his childhood, Burumand learned the *tar* for three years from Darvish Khan, a prominent late-Qajar master-musician. He later pursued his interest in Iranian music, learning under Samsam al-Dawlih, Yusuf Furutan (1891/92 - 1978/79), Abul-Hasan Saba, and Musa Ma'rufi. He initially travelled

to Berlin to attend a secondary school. During his residence, he began to learn the piano and attended concerts of Western classical music. After returning to Iran for few years, he travelled to Berlin again to study Medicine; however, towards the end of his doctoral studies, he lost his sight and had to return to Iran in 1938/39 (Karimi 2001, 5–6).

Burumand then devoted his life to Iranian classical music, pursuing his education in music under Rukn al-Din Mukhtari, Habib Sama'i, Reza Ravanbakhsh, Abdullah Davami, and Isma'il Qahrimani (Karimi 2001, 6). Qahrimani (b. 1906/07), who was a disciple of legendary Qajar musician Mirza Abdullah, became the source of his musical authority as Burumand learned the *radif* of Mirza Abdullah from him during twelve years. Burumand was one of those master-musicians who was invited by the General Administration for Fine Arts to provide an authentic version of the *radif*. He was also invited to teach in the Conservatory for National Music. Concurrent with his activities in music, Burumand taught German language in the Advanced College (Danishsara-yi Ali) and later at the University of Tehran. He was also familiar with the French and English languages. All these factors helped Burumand to be invited by Barkechli to teach in the Department of Music at the University of Tehran. He was Bruno Nettl's teacher during Nettl's fieldwork research in Iran. Burumand was also invited to the University of Illinois in 1967 to teach a seminar on Iranian music (Nettl 2002, 135). As a leading instructor, Burumand also played a key role in the Center for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music in the late 1960s and the early 1970s.

Despite the availability of only one of Burumand's lectures on a radio program and its transcription, his high status among revivalists justifies further consideration of his ideas as reflected in his lecture. The lecture, initially delivered in the seventh Shiraz Arts Festival in 1953. Two notions, related to the purpose of this study, are highlighted in Burumand's lecture:

his disapproval of improvisation in Iranian classical music and his objection to the use of notation in the education of Iranian classical music. In his lecture, however, he places greater emphasis on the former rather than the latter. Burumand begins his lecture by defining Iranian classical music as *musiqi-yi asil* (authentic music):

> *Musiqi-yi asil* (authentic music) like every authentic thing, is…a music [that] possesses attributes which…are very excellent….When we talk about…an authentic [i.e. thoroughbred] horse, it means [that] its father, its ancestors, all [are] distinguished and have possessed very excellent attributes which now, this horse also has those attributes and is excellent and authentic [i.e. thoroughbred]. Our Iranian music is the same[23]. (Burumand 2012)

Burumand defines authenticity of music based on its relation to its ancestry. He makes an analogy to highlight the significance of the lineage of Iranian classical music. Despite using a different vocabulary, Burumand, like Barkechli, highlights the significance of having a connection with a source of authenticity that is in the past. Burumand was a member of the nobility and the notion of lineage assumed major importance among the nobility. Thus, meanings attached to the notion of authenticity in Burumand's narrative sought to elevate the status of Iranian classical music in comparison with other genres of music.

After defining the notion of authentic music, Burumand focuses on the issues of *badihih navazi* (improvisation) in Iranian classical music. For him, improper improvisation is the most important problem in the performance of Iranian classical music during his time:

> But, an issue has been in Iranian music and that issue is "improvisation" [through] which musicians performed what they wanted…. but when we think deeply about their musical performance, we see [that their music] totally differs from [Iranian] authentic music. (Burumand 2001, 17)

[23] These statements were transcribed and translated by the author from a part of the audio recording of the lecture available on YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XAaXeEmmAhU.

Burumand, then, clarifies his argument by making an analogy between a lecture and a musical performance. According to him, the present improvisation resembles a lecture in which the lecturer provides many proverbs to sweeten his speech while she/he neglects to present her/his main argument (Burumand 2001, 17–18): "Improvisers, who are in [the realm of] Iranian authentic music today, work in this way; [they] always make sweet proverbs and neglect the principle subject" (Burumand 2001, 18). Burumand's statement can be understood only if one considers the situation of Iranian classical music in the 1960s and the 1970s in which popularized forms of classical music had dominated Iran's musical scene and were largely broadcast on the radio.

In his lecture, Burumand also advocates the idea that "Iranian music is not 'writable' [i.e. not transcribable]" (Burumand 2001, 18). For him, since many musical and non-musical delicate features are involved in the performance of Iranian music, these features can be transmitted only through a direct education from a master to a disciple (Burumand 2001, 18). Nettl's interpretation of Burumand's educational approach clarifies his experience of Burumand's teaching: "he believed firmly that in order to learn a musical system, one must approach it in part through the thought behind it, as articulated by musical intellectuals" (Nettl 1984, 182). Nettl summarizes Burumand's ideas indicating that "the preservation of a musical culture involves more than just the sound; the way it is learned, the attitudes held towards it, the ideas one had about it also had to be preserved, were part of the music" (Nettl 1984, 183). Burumand's arguments also demonstrate his concern for maintaining the integrity of the musical tradition, a notion which was previously emphasized by Iranian musicologists.

However, despite his emphasis on the education of Iranian music by means of oral transmission, Burumand used an analytical method in his teaching of the *radif* which

distinguished him from other classical musicians (Alizadih and Tala'i 2005, 206). Burumand, now as a university professor, analyzed the *radif* through his teaching, appropriating the musical tradition for both his Iranian and non-Iranian modern audiences who wished to learn Iranian classical music. Perhaps Burumand's analytical approach in teaching the *radif* encouraged Barkechli to regard him as a master-musician who possessed "a deep and scholarly knowledge of Iranian authentic music and international [music]" (Barkechli 2001, 41).

Burumand's statements, particularly his concerns about improvisation, should also be analyzed in the context of Iranian musical society in the late 1960s and the 1970s. It appears that Burumand's argument about improvisation was downplayed by other musicians as they saw Burumand as one who was merely able to perform based on his own *radif*. This is reflected in a writing in which Nettl indicates that Burumand refused to teach him about improvisation: "but then, I had met some other musicians who said that Burumand never did improvise, but only played his memorized *radif*" (Nettl 2002, 140). Although this view may be partly true in explaining Burumand's motivation for ignoring the significance of improvisation in Iranian classical music, Burumand's perspective on improvisation should be examined by considering that the popularized forms of Iranian music, which adopted more flexible musical structures, had dominated the music scene during that period. This motivated the dissatisfaction of those musicians, such as Burumand, who saw their musical values in danger.

To understand Burumand's concern, it is important to consider that Burumand was a connoisseur of Iranian classical music, not a professional musician. From the late nineteenth century, according to Khaliqi' historical narrative in *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran*, some members of the nobility performed Iranian music in private venues, although they did not pursue the music professionally because of their high social status. These "amateur" musicians hosted classical

musicians, providing private settings for the performance of classical music (Khaliqi 2002, 1:207–08). According to the classical master-musician Abdullah Davami, these meetings also had significant educational functions (Davami 1976, 11). These private musical circles, as the ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl reports, still maintained in the 1960s. In his interview with Nur-Ali Burumand, as one of these musicians, Nettl realized that "there are still a few well-to-do musicians who prize their 'amateur status' because they can perform as, when, and for whom they choose, without following the direction of an employer or patron" (Nettl 1978, 153).

Since these elderly and wealthy "amateur" musicians did not need the financial support of the record buying public or the state, they were able to maintain their musical taste without the pressure of the emerging middle class and the new socio-cultural conditions of Iranian society after the Qajar period. Therefore, while the new socio-political situation demanded the production of less sophisticated forms of Iranian music, these connoisseurs, who might establish their cultural identities in relation to the Qajar cultural manifestations, were able to pursue their aesthetic values found in the Qajar music in their musical circles.

However, the transformation of the socio-economic structure of Iranian society resulting from development programs threatened the existence of this social class as these programs raised the position of technocrats and bureaucrats while they diminished the power of the traditional nobility and landlords (of which Burumand was one). Unsurprisingly, Nettl observed that

> The now-dwindling number of amateur musicians of high status is in a sense replaced in the socio-musical structure by the musician who holds a job in a respected non-musical field, such as the civil service, banking, or law, and who practices his musical profession largely in the evening, teaching and occasionally playing. (Nettl 1978, 153)

Thus, the production of popularized forms of classical music, as a consequence of both the official policies and the expansion of the middle class, encouraged the dissatisfaction of this

group of connoisseurs who not only gradually lost their influence and power in the society, but also saw their cultural and aesthetic values in danger. Considering the further institutionalization of music through the establishment of new conservatories and universities, supervised by the state, during this period, one may conclude that even Burumand's appraisal of the master-disciple relationship was partly a reactionary response to the gradual elimination of these wealthy connoisseurs from the educational settings of Iranian classical music.

Daryush Safvat: Purifying Iranian Classical Music

The second reaction to the current socio-cultural situation of Iranian society was exhibited by musicians who advocated for the mystical significance of Iranian classical music. Daryush Safvat, the founder and director of the Center for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music, highlighted the mystical interpretation of Iranian classical music. In response to the increasing growth and dissemination of popular music in Iranian society, he presented Iranian classical music as a kind of mystical practice. Indeed, Iranian musicians were not alienated from mysticism and Sufism. During the Constitutional era, many prominent musicians were connected to *Anjuman-i Ukhuvvat* (The Society for Brotherhood), a Sufi organization which held concerts and meetings to disseminate constitutionalist ideals (Khaliqi 2002, 1:79–84). Many musicians, including Ali-Naqi Vaziri, belonged to the *Safi-Ali Shahi* Sufi order (Khaliqi 2002, 2:46). In addition, Khaliqi in several parts of his *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran* introduced other earlier musicians who also found spiritual attributes within Iranian classical music (Khaliqi 2002, 1:138–39; 255).

However, from the 1960s onwards, a new trend emerged in Iran's music scene which explained the "sad," melancholic aspects of classical tunes by providing a mystical interpretation of the music. Authenticating Iranian classical music based on its connection with Sufism, the advocates of this perspective gradually overlooked all other functions of music in Iranian society. Sufism was transformed from a personal belief or the collective identity of its followers to an ideology which legitimized the music not only among Sufis but for the Iranian public on a national level. Among those who emphasized the mystical significance of Iranian classical music, Daryush Safvat provided the most articulated interpretation.

Born in Tehran, Daryush Safvat (1928/29 - 2013) started learning music from Habib Sama'i in 1944 (Miller [1977?], under "Elder Masters"); however, his main master was Abul-Hasan Saba who taught him the *setar* and *santur* from 1947/8 to 1957 (Nasirifar 1990, 441). Due to his knowledge of the French language and Iranian music, he was sent to France by the General Administration for Fine Arts to teach Iranian music in *Le Centre d'Études de Musique Orientale* (CEMO) at the Sorbonne University in 1960/61 (Safvat 2003, 196–98). In collaboration with the musicologist Nelly Caron, Safvat wrote a book about Iranian music, entitled *Musique d' Iran: Les Traditions Musicales* (1966), whose material was based on Khaliqi's *Nazari bi Musiqi* as well as Safvat's own knowledge of Iranian music (Safvat 2003, 198). During his residence in Paris, he also studied International Law at the Sorbonne University where he received his PhD degree.

In 1965, he returned to Iran and from 1966 started his teaching in the Department of Music at the University of Tehran. In 1966, Safvat's book was published in Paris, attracting the attention of Reza Qutbi, Queen Farah's cousin and the director of the National Iranian Radio and Television (NIRT) (Musayyibzadih 2003, 80–81). In the last chapter of his book in which he

describes the situation of Iranian classical music in modern times (Caron and Safvate 1966, 237–40), Safvat cautions against the danger of the gradual demise of classical music in Iranian society, proposing the establishment of an organization for preserving and disseminating the music (Caron and Safvate 1966, 239–40). Safvat's idea proposed in the book attracted the support of Qutbi. Based on Safvat's proposal, the Center for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music was established under the auspices of the National Iranian Radio and Television (NIRT) in 1969 and Safvat became the first director of the Center (Musayyibzadih 2003, 81). Until the 1979 revolution, Reza Qutbi's support of Safvat played a significant role in the success of the Center and its revivalist activities (Musayyibzadih 2003, 86).

The establishment of the Center was the most effective and concentrated effort by the state to revive Iranian classical music. The Center's revivalist activities were comprised of three divisions: education, research, and performance. In education, several master-musicians, including Nur-Ali Burumand, Sa'id Hurmuzi (1897 - 1976), Yusuf Furutan, Abdullah Davami, Mahmud Karimi (1927 - 1984), Ali-Asghar Bahari, Ghulam-Hussein Bikchikhani (b. 1918), and Mahmud Farnam (b. 1906), were invited to the Center to teach the graduates of the Department of Music at the University of Tehran (Mosayyebzadeh 2003, 82; 84–85) (Miller [1977?]). These graduates were funded by the Center (Alizadih and Tala'i 2005, 220). Later, the Center developed its educational purposes by accepting new students from outside the University of Tehran (Mosayyebzadeh 2003, 85). Some graduates of the Department of Music became responsible for the education of these new students during the following years. The education of the *radif* by means of oral transmission became the principle educational priority while the significance of ethical ideals and attitudes were greatly emphasized (Musayyibzadih 2003, 83).

In addition to conferences and publication activities, non-Iranian scholars and musicians were also invited to visit the Center and give lectures (Musayyibzadih 2003, 85–86).

In research, the Center's main objective was the reconstruction of old pieces and the revival of the musical elements of the Qajar music such as instrumental techniques and rhythmic structures. The Center's research involved various activities, including the comparison of various versions of the *radif* by different master-musician in order to define the most authentic performance of the *radif*, the revival of the performance style of prominent master-musicians such as Habib Sama'i, and research on musical instruments in order to improve their structure or timbre. During this period, the Center's archive collected 2643 musical pieces, whether notations or recordings from aging master-musicians (Mosayyebzadeh 2003, 83; 85). In regard to performance, the Center's policy was to confine its students as the performance was mainly seen as an obstacle to their education. However, the Center's reputation gradually encouraged the performance of the best students in the international Shiraz Arts Festival (Mosayyebzadeh 2003, 84; 86).

In addition to emphasis on the classical approaches to the performance and education of Iranian music, the Center also propagated the ethical and mystical dimensions of Iranian music. In particular, Safvat, as the director of the Center, presented Iranian classical music as a kind of mystical practice in particular in various written works. In his essay "Irfan va Musiqi-yi Irani" (Gnosis and Iranian Music) published by a governmental organization, *Sazman-i Jashn-i Hunar* (the Organization for [Shiraz] Arts Festival), in 1969, Safvat sought to articulate the relationship between Islamic Mysticism and *musiqi-yi asil-i Irani* (Iranian authentic music). The main aspect of his article is his construction of a historical narrative to authenticate his perspective on music. His historical narrative, however, demonstrates his dissatisfaction with the current socio-cultural

situation of Iranian society. Thus, although he indirectly rejects the use of notation in the education of Iranian music, the main target of his criticism is the populist approach of the media and the broadcast of popular music.

Safvat provides a historical narrative that makes a sharp distinction between the Islamic period and modern times. Through his narrative, Safvat defines the Islamic period as *dawrih-yi irfani* (the gnostic period) (Safvat 1969, 57), which covers the period from the emergence of Islam to the beginning of modern times. According to Safvat, during this period, "all the manifestations of the art and science of the Iranian nation had been in the hands of *urafa* (Sufis)" (Safvat 1969, 57). He describes this period as the climax of the artistic and scientific achievements of Iranian civilization (Safvat 1969, 57). However, by describing modern times as *dawrih-yi gharbzadigi* (the period of Westoxication) (Safvat 1969, 57), Safvat refers to this period as the termination of the first golden period and, accordingly, all its artistic and scientific achievements, implicitly ignoring the official propaganda about developments achieved under the Pahlavi state. Considering the negative connotations of the term "Westoxication" in Iranian society during the late 1960s, Safvat's narrative clearly demonstrates his critical perspective on Iran's modernization and its effects on Iranian society.

Safvat makes the same distinction between Iranian classical music and popular music, linking the former with spirituality while associating the latter with moral corruption. On one hand, Safvat cautions against popular music and the populist approach of the mass media, which he describes as "charlatanism" (Safvat 1969, 74), bringing into question the notion of stardom and its association with fame and wealth. His critique of popular music opposes cultural products and values introduced by the states as symbols of modernity and modern life. On the other hand, Safvat introduces Iranian music as a spiritual and mystical practice, indicating that the

understanding of mysticism and its purposes is a prerequisite for the deep perception of Iranian "authentic" music (Safvat 1969, 67). Rejecting the westernized methods of education (Safvat 1969, 87), Safvat ascribes spiritual dimensions to the *radif*, representing it as a means of access to internal mystical aspects of music (Safvat 1969, 88). Through his description of the educational significance of the *radif*, Safvat not only introduces the oral transmission from a master to a disciple as the sole true educational method, but he also implies that the spirituality embedded in Iranian classical music is transmitted to a disciple through this method.

Safvat implicitly ignores the state's propaganda on the development of Iranian society; however, he also distances himself from revolutionary discourses. He adopts a paradoxical approach towards the traditional clergy. He appreciates the restriction of music in the Islamic law as, according to him, it merely eliminated the practice of music performed in immoral festivities and venues (Safvat 1969, 61). However, he criticizes the Shi'a clergy, which he describes as *ruhaniyun-i qishri* (the superficial clergy), representing them as ignorant to the spiritual dimensions of Iranian music. Instead, he admires Sufis as "true" spiritual leaders who understand and acknowledge the mystical significance of the music (Safvat 1969, 59–60).

Although Sufis generally have challenged the authority of the clergy in Iranian society, these statements should be interpreted by considering the socio-political situation of Iranian society in the late 1960s and the 1970s in which revolutionary Shi'ism was presented by some components of the opposition as an alternative to the official ideology of monarchism. In this essay published by a governmental publisher, Safvat implicitly criticizes the westernization of Iranian society while distancing himself from the opposition by providing a mystical interpretation of Iranian classical music.

Representing "authentic music" as a kind of spiritual music, Safvat tries to create a spiritual lineage for the existing classical music, fabricating a historical narrative to authenticate his perception of Iranian music. Since Safvat reduces Iranian classical music to a set of perceived mystical values and correlates this music with "relaxation and balance" (Safvat 1969, 104), he ignores the significance of performers' virtuosity, associating technical proficiency with excitement, acrobatics, and pomposity (Safvat 1969, 104). He introduces three musicians as the true source of spirituality in Iranian classical music: Aqa Hussein-Quli, Mirza Abdullah, and Habib Sama'i. However, except for Mirza Abdullah who was widely well-known for his ethical attitude, generosity, and nobility (Khaliqi 2002, 1:104), Iranian musicians recognized Aqa Hussein-Quli and Habib Sama'i as famous master-musicians who had possessed a high degree of musical knowledge and virtuosity (Khaliqi 2002, 1:113).

This process of reconstructing the history becomes even more problematic in the case of Habib Sama'i. In providing his historical narrative, Safvat heavily relies on Khaliqi's narrative in *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran*, but he also adds his own judgements to justify his perception of Iranian music. Khaliqi describes Sama'i's father as a faithful musician belonging to the *Ni'matullahi* Sufi order, describing his performance as a kind of devotion (Khaliqi 2002, 1:138–39). Khaliqi also admires Habib Sama'i for his unique traditional style of performance, his artistic taste, and his impact on his audiences; however, he also refers to Sama'i's ethical issues, such as his excessive drinking, his unbalanced life style, and his pessimism and hopelessness (Khaliqi 2002, 3:28–29). Overlooking Khaliqi's narrative of Sama'i's life, Safvat refers to Sama'i's father and his spirituality, attributing his spirituality to his son to present his son, Habib Sama'i, as a source of "gnostic" music.

In addition, Mirza Abdullah and Aqa Hussein-Quli were widely recognized as the source musicians of the Qajar music in Iranian society, as reflected in Khaliqi's historical narrative published in 1954. But Habib Sama'i, who had died in 1946 at the age of 50, would not have been regarded as a source musician in his contemporary musical community. In addition, Khaliqi's narrative demonstrates that some *santur* players of the Qajar court were well-known among Iranian musicians. This may raise a question as to why Safvat introduces Sama'i as a source of mystic classical music when Sama'i was recognized as neither a mystical figure nor a source musician.

In introducing Iranian music as mystical music, then, Safvat emphasizes that both performers and audiences should attain a certain degree of spiritual maturity in order to produce and consume the music properly. Qualifying musicians based on their spirituality, Safvat regards performers' purity and moral character as a necessary factor to any performance based on "authentic" music (Safvat 1969, 100). However, he also applies a criterion for qualifying listeners. Safvat introduces Iranian music as a mirror that reflects the audience's spirituality, indicating that the lack of interest in Iranian music illustrates an audience's lack of spiritual maturity (Safvat 1969, 105). Surprisingly, he advises listeners to seek their spiritual perfection if they wish to find the spiritual meaning of Iranian music (Safvat 1969, 75).

Safvat's criteria for both musicians and audiences clearly demonstrate a radical shift from ideas advocated by Vaziri's followers who took the first steps towards reviving the Qajar musical tradition. While Vaziri's followers endeavored to secure the maintenance of classical music by attracting their modern audience, Safvat not only disregards any change but also provides an interpretation of the music which demands the audience's faithfulness and loyalty. One may find a parallel between the state's official nationalism and Safvat's interpretation of Iranian classical

music: while the state defined nationalism in terms of individuals' loyalty to the Shah, who was introduced as the sole representative of the Iranian nation, Safvat prioritizes classical music over its audience, evaluating their morality based on their relations with the music. Accordingly, he demands an audience's loyalty to what he considers to be a representative of Iran's bright "gnostic" past.

The consequence of such a perception of Iranian music is more evident in Safvat's other publication entitled *Pazuhishi Kutah Darbarih-yi Ustadan-i Musiqi-yi Iran va Alhan-i Musiqi-yi Irani* (A Brief Research on the Masters of Iranian Music and Iranian Music Tunes). As discussed earlier, as a result of Barkechli's efforts, a commission was established in the Ministry of Culture and Arts responsible for "examining the historical continuity in principles of Iranian music" (Barkechli 1976, i). Based on the commission's decision, Safvat's book was published by the Ministry of Culture and Arts in 1971. The book focuses on the history of Iranian music from the pre-Islamic period to the present, although it briefly discusses musical terms in historical treatises and different versions of the present *radif*. The book conforms to Barkechli's historical narrative of Iranian music but in a more comprehensive approach, considering a greater number of pre-Islamic musicians and medieval theorists. The book also heavily relies on Khaliqi's historical narrative in *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran*, introducing the prominent musicians of the Qajar and Pahlavi periods. However, there are two aspects of this publication that differentiate it from previous ones: Safvat's mystical perspective on Iranian classical music and his evaluation of Iranian music under the Pahlavi period.

In his book, Safvat creates a direct relationship between the socio-economic conditions of any society with the significance of music in that society. As he states in the introduction of his book, "music is a perfect mirror in which the progress or the decadence of a society can be

clearly observed" (Safvat 1971, 1). He emphasizes the role of Iranian monarchs and Islamic caliphs in creating an encouraging situation for musicians, interpreting the growth or decline of music during different eras within this fundamental framework. Interestingly, he puts great emphasis on the significance of music in the reign of Nasir al-Din Shah (1848 - 1896), the Qajar monarch, considering his interest and regard for Iranian music as an essential factor in the development of music during his reign (Safvat 1971, 50). Overlooking a nearly three-decade time lapse between the end of Nasir al-Din Shah monarchy and the beginning of the Pahlavi dynasty, Safvat even evaluates musicians who lived during Reza Shah's reign in their connection to the period of Nasir al-Din Shah's monarchy: "…many musicians mostly began [learning] music in the *Nasiri* period [i.e. Nasir al-Din Shah's reign] at the time of their youth or childhood; [their] strength and reputation reached their height during Reza Shah the Great's reign" (Safvat 1971, 62).

In addition, while he praises the Qajar monarchs for their support of musicians, he is completely mute about the state's support during the Pahlavi period. He even attributes the increase in the number of musicians after the Second World War to the development of mass media in Iran (Safvat 1971, 72), disregarding any support of the state. Safvat's evaluation of the Qajar and Pahlavi periods become more evident if one considers the number of prominent musicians in each period described by Safvat. Safvat introduces 36 musicians of the *Nasiri* period, 26 musicians of the Reza Shah period, and only three contemporary musicians after the Second World War, which signifies Muhammad-Reza Shah's reign.

Safvat's evaluation of the contemporary Iranian music, indeed, should be interpreted according to the fact that, as previously discussed, he essentially regards the media as destructive to "the understanding of the spirit of Iranian music" (Safvat 1971, 73). Creating a sharp

distinction between *darungarai* (introspection) and *burungarai* (extroversion) in music, he associates the former with "depth," "spirituality," and "faith" achieved through "meditation and contemplation and study in the spiritual aspects of Iranian authentic music" (Safvat 1971, 73). He positions the latter in a polar opposite manner, defining it as an artistic "decline and decay" resulting from the populist approach of the mass media, thus regarding "inattention to media" as a necessary perquisite to achieving "introspection" (Safvat 1971, 73). Echoing the principles of Sufi mysticism, he categorizes music as a way to achieve spiritual awakening which demands a high level of devotion and sincerity:

> …—Iranian music is not merely a gymnastics [display] on the instrument— [it is] a kind of worship and abstinence. [It belongs to] *maqulih-yi ishraqi* (an intuitive category) which is not achieved with a [worldly] formal knowledge. It demands a purified inside and [a] sincere act. The *salik* (follower) of this path should be pious and pure and [should] devote the self…and free [her/himself] from everything that creates [worldly] dependence. (Safvat 1971, 73)

Although Safvat has borrowed his materials from Khaliqi's *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran*, he evaluates prominent musicians based on his own criteria, criticizing some of them who, as he stresses, had sought to satisfy their modern audiences, instead of performing based on the values of the authentic music of Iran. For instance, disregarding Ali-Akbar Shahnazi's musical authority in Iran's musical society, Safvat sharply criticizes Shahnazi, accusing him of pursuing a populist approach:

> Although this master has inherited his great father's art, [he] has not benefited from his [father's] uncompromising attitude. Therefore, [he] mostly pays attention to…who are his audiences and what should be played to satisfy their moods. Perhaps, it can be said that if Haji Ali-Akbar Khan had inherited the uncompromising attitude of his great father, our national music would have had another [i.e. better] situation. (Safvat 1971, 66)

The importance of such criticism will be apparent if one considers that Shahnazi had been one of the most prominent classical musicians from the 1920s to the 1960s, not only because of his family lineage (he was the son of Aqa Hussein-Quli, the legendary Qajar court musician) but also due to his own unique and sophisticated style of performance, his virtuosity, and his own version of the *radif*. He was one of those master-musicians who was invited by the General Administration for Fine Arts to a series of sessions which sought to provide an authentic *radif*. Indeed, Shahnazi brought many changes to his father's style, creating his own style of performance, but in all aspects he was respected as a living example of a classical musician.

Ironically, Safvat's statement illustrates how even the most authoritative representatives of a musical tradition may be accused of disloyalty and insincerity or may be regarded responsible for the destruction of traditional styles during the process of reconstructing and reinventing a tradition. Indeed, for Safvat, the preservation of a perceived classical style, as practiced in connoisseurs' circles, was more important than what was performed by classical musicians who had borne the tradition to the present. This also clarifies why Safvat expresses his admiration for Qajar musicians, evaluating contemporary musicians based on their pursuit of the Qajar music.

The remarkable aspect of Safvat's evaluation of current musicians is that his critique of Vaziri's innovations is not as sharp as his critique of Shahnazi. He criticizes Vaziri merely because, according to him, Vaziri had not enough knowledge to "improve and promote" Iranian music:

> Ustad Vaziri began his artistic work at the time of great masters such as Aqa Hussein-Quli and Mirza Abdullah and the others, and the right approach for him would have been to initially gain all their knowledge and then improve and promote that with his genuine and inherent talent. But Ustad Vaziri did not take this path. He first cut his relations with Iranian traditional music and then went to Europe to learn

> Western music, and then with reliance on his western knowledge decided to invent a new music for Iran. He invented such music but did not succeed. However, no one doubts…that Vaziri is a great genius. (Safvat 1971, 70)

A comparison between Safvat's descriptions of Vaziri's and Shahnazi's contributions reveals that, for him, Shahnazi was responsible for the perceived deviation from the authentic music of the past even more than Vaziri; Shahnazi failed to pursue his father's authentic music while Vaziri merely failed to improve the music. Like Burumand, and perhaps under his influence, Safvat felt the danger of the musical change from classical musicians, who pursued their own interpretation of music, more than modernist musicians who advocated for the necessity of adopting Western techniques.

In general, the examination of Safvat's monograph reveals his negative view towards the Pahlavi state. Safvat generally relates the significance of music in each period to the socio-economic situation of the society, highlighting the role of monarchs in creating a satisfactory situation for the public, regarding this as an encouraging factor in the cultivation of music. Considering that this book was published in 1971, as a part of celebrations for 2,500 years of the Persian monarchy when the Shah enjoyed the climax of his power promising the arrival of the "Gate to Great Civilization," Safvat through his historical narrative and his evaluation of musicians not only overlooks all social and economic improvements implemented under the Pahlavi's rule, but he also admires the Qajar period, described by the Pahlavi state as the dark period of Iran's decadence. While implicitly challenging the significance of socio-economic achievements under the Pahlavi state, Safvat's historical narrative, by attributing mystical aspects to Iranian music, aligns with the official discourse that represented Iran as the land of spirituality.

The *Chavush* Group: Politicizing Iranian Classical Music

Among musicians who performed Iranian classical music, the notion of committed art was pursed by some former students of the Department of Music at the University of Tehran and the Center for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music. Establishing *Guruh-i Chavush* (the *Chavush* Group) in the lead-up to the 1979 revolution, these young musicians introduced Iranian classical music as a form of resistance against the state which they regarded as the symbol of moral and political corruption. During the months before the revolution, the group came to produce revolutionary songs based on the *dastgah* system, although some elements of Western music were also employed in these compositions. The establishment of the *Chavush* Group, however, was a result of efforts previously initiated by the members of the *Shayda* Ensemble, especially its director Muhammad-Reza Lutfi.

Muhammad-Reza Lutfi (1947 - 2014) was a prominent performer of the *tar* and *setar* among a new generation of musicians who had studied under old classical musicians, particularly Nur-Ali Burumand, during the late 1960s and 1970s. Born in Gorgan, he came to Tehran around 1966/67. In Tehran, he was introduced to intellectual circles through which he became familiar with critical poetry and literature by socially minded literary figures (Lutfi 2014b, 173). Lutfi studied for five years in the Conservatory for National Music in which he learned the *tar* under the prominent master-musician Ali-Akbar Shahnazi. He also pursued his education in the Department of Music at the University of Tehran from 1970/71 (Ava-yi Shayda 2015). The political atmosphere of the University of Tehran in which the leftist arts students discussed theoretical discourses, such as socialist realism, also influenced Lutfi's ideas (Lutfi 2014b, 173). During the second year of his study in the Department of Music, he was invited by Daryush Safvat, who taught in the Department, to study in the Center for Preservation and Propagation of

Iranian Music (Lutfi 2009, 27). However, due to his political views and his disagreement with the political ideas of Safvat who sought to attract governmental support, Lutfi had to resign from the Center (Lutfi 2009, 28–29).

During the fourth year of his study in the Department of Music, he was introduced to Amir Hushang Ibtihaj who was in charge of the radio's *Golha* program at that time (Lutfi 2009, 29). Ibtihaj had been in sympathy with the leftist Tudih Party before the 1953 coup (Ibtihaj 2013, 1:169), and he still had his connections with the members of the Party. He was invited by Reza Qutbi, the director of the National Iranian Radio and Television (NIRT), to take the responsibility of the *Golha* program from 1972/3, and after two years he took charge of the Radio Music Department until his resignation in 1978 (Ibtihaj 2013, 1:246–51).

Ibtihaj had a great impact on Lutfi's intellectual and professional life. He supported Lutfi to establish the *Shayda* Ensemble in 1974/5 (Ibtihaj 2013, 1:267). The *Shayda* Ensemble mainly performed Lutfi's compositions as well as his reconstruction of old pieces in many radio programs and concerts until the revolution. Ibtihaj also influenced Lutfi's ideas as he introduced Lutfi to prominent literary figures, such as Siyavash Kasra'i and Mahdi Akhavan Salis who had experienced the 1953 coup (Lutfi 2014b, 173). As Lutfi later indicated, "considering the [socio-political] conditions, I learned many things in discussions with these individuals and [they] made me very aware that my responsibility in art is not limited to the responsibility of performance; but [it] is at the very least a social responsibility" (Lutfi 2014b, 173). A day after the bloody suppression of September 1978, Ibtihaj, Lutfi, and other members of Shayda Ensemble resigned from the radio (Ibtihaj 2013, 1:277–79). Joining revolutionary protests and demonstrations (Lutfi 2014a, 95), Lutfi came to compose revolutionary songs, disseminating them in demonstrations. Many of these revolutionary compositions were released during the first years of the revolution

by the *Chavush* Group, an institute established by Ibtihaj, Lutfi, the members of the Shayda Ensemble, and some other musicians in 1978 (Ibtihaj 2013, 1:282).

Although the voice of this musical stream is not reflected in pre-revolutionary publications, a publication by Lutfi dated 1956 can help us to recognize Lutfi's perspective on Iranian music during that period. Lutfi published his transcription of the *radif* of Abdullah Davami in 1956. In his introduction to the book, he provided a brief historical narrative which introduced his perception of Iranian classical music and its modernization during the twentieth century. Lutfi argues that the nobility, who had previously supported Iranian classical music, were influenced by Western values and became alienated from their own values and culture. According to Lotfi, this alienation resulted in the corruption of "the proper values of Iranian music" (Lutfi 1976, 7). Thus, constructing a dichotomy between Western-educated musicians and classical musicians, Lutfi introduces the former as attackers of Iran's musical tradition while he recognizes the latter as its guardians:

> The incognizant devotees of the music, who had returned to Iran under the influence of flamboyant salons and [concert] halls, launched a severe onslaught on Iranian traditional music from which Iranian music has not yet been able to rise again. Despite such an attack on our music, *paymardan-i hunari* (determined artists) came to preserve the past values with their resistance, and to add new values to the world of Iranian music with their own knowledge. (Lutfi 1976, 7)

Lutfi introduces many Qajar and contemporary musicians who, according to him, had endeavored to preserve classical music and had resisted western-educated musicians. Among these musicians, he also mentions Nur-Ali Burumand, Ali-Akbar Shahnazi, and Abdullah Davami who was his own teachers (Lutfi 1976, 8). Interestingly, he overlooks the fact that Burumand was from a wealthy family and, as the member of the nobility, possessed qualities that were rejected in Lutfi's narrative.

In Lutfi's narrative, the history of Iranian music in modern times is essentially interpreted as a kind of struggle between two forces: Western-educated musicians who had launched an attack and classical musicians who had safeguarded this tradition through their resistance. Considering the socio-political situation of Iranian society in 1956, Lutfi's narrative demonstrates that, for him, the preservation of Iranian classical music is perceived as a kind of political activism: a non-violent resistance against the hegemony of western-educated elite who had been alienated from their real Iranian selves. Thus, it is not surprising that the Shayda Ensemble, under his directorship, largely reconstructed and performed pieces by old or Qajar master-musicians in order to revive their music. Lutfi also used these pieces in his own improvisatory performances.

However, according to Lutfi's narrative, resistance is not enough to compensate for damages imposed by western-educated musicians on Iranian music. For him, musicians should arm themselves with their knowledge. Lutfi perceive musicians' innovation as a tool (or weapon) which enables them to confront and struggle against issues created by western-educated musicians. For Lutfi, innovation is a necessary component of preserving tradition which complements a musician's resistance against the corruption of the musical tradition. Perhaps, this perception of musical innovation as a kind of resistance motivated Lutfi and his like-minded colleagues, such as Hussein Alizadih (b. 1951) and Parviz Mishkatian (1955 - 2009), to introduce new forms of composition and new styles of performance. This perception of innovation also empowered these musicians to compose revolutionary songs to express their social and political views.

However, one must notice that these innovations were sometimes based on musical techniques initially introduced by Western-educated musicians. In addition to the use of the bass

tar (*tarbas*), invented by Ali-Naqi Vaziri, to perform linear counterpoint or to balance the high-pitched sound of Iranian instruments in some compositions, Lutfi sometimes employed chorus and military drums to intensify the revolutionary aspects of his songs. Notably, Lotfi expressed his historical narrative as an introduction to his transcription of the *radif* of his teacher Abdullah Davami; while he challenged Western-educated musicians, he employed their methods to preserve the tradition.

This inconsistency between ideas as expressed in the publications and actions as manifested in compositions and transcriptions, however, can be best explained by the notion of "multiple modernities." As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, Mahdavi (2013) explains that Muslims have adopted three main perspectives in their response to the challenge of modernity. While some of them regard Western modernity as the sole solution to the existing crisis of their societies, others introduce Western modernity as a source of the problem, inviting a return to their own Islamic traditions. Mahdavi introduces the third perspective, the reformist view, which challenges both previous perspectives, stressing that these responses do not truly capture the complexities of the issue of modernity in Muslim societies. According to Mahdavi, the reformist approach recognizes the possibility of different paths towards modernity and invites a dialogue between tradition and modernity, advocating the notion of multiple modernities.

Lutfi's musical activities, including his compositions, performances, and transcriptions, can be viewed as an attempt to provide an alternative to the adoption of Western modernity as advocated by modernist musicians during the 1920s and the 1930s. In fact, Lutfi presented an alternative modernity that did not necessarily negated Iran's musical tradition. While he highlighted the significance of preserving the musical tradition, his perspective towards

modernity enabled him to search for modern innovative approaches that secured the future of Iranian classical music in the changing society of Iran.

This response should be considered in light of the socio-cultural situation of Iranian society in the 1970s in which the mainstream culture was greatly influenced by Western cultural products. In the liner notes of the third cassette produced by the *Chavush* Group, Ibtihaj, who was the Secretary of the *Chavush* Group in 1979, indicated that

> During the dark period of despotism, despite all [idle] boasts that were argued in "support" of national music, [musical] work wandered around in *mutribi* and debauchery, and music prevailed not as an art but a setting for the pleasure of characterless nobility and a means of fun and entertainment for the upstart wealthy, and such hollow music with the help of colorful artificial make-up used for the narcotization…of people's minds, and traders of the market of *ibtizal* (banality i.e. decadence) also used that [music] as a beneficial commodity….The purpose and the plan of this group is the propagation and flourishing of Iranian national music as a high art. The life and dynamism of every true art depends on maintaining [its] connection to the past while remaining in harmony [with] the [present] time and [being] responsive to the needs of society. This is a characteristic which exists in the *Chavush* group, and its creations and innovations drink from the spring of Iranian traditional music. (Ibtihaj 1979)

Published almost a year after the revolution, Ibtihaj's writing clearly demonstrates the hostile attitude of the *Chavush* Group towards the Shah's regime. As the content of the liner notes conveys, these musicians' main concern was cultural manifestations which they regarded as a symbol of the state's political and moral corruption. Ibtihaj's statement defines the goals of the *Chavush*, not in opposition to Vaziri's ideas but in opposition to "*mutribi"* and "debauchery," the cultural practices ignored by Vaziri almost 50 years earlier. Ibtihaj also insists on what Lutfi had indicated in his book three years earlier, though in different words: the significance of having musical roots (i.e. the preservation of tradition) and the importance of considering the present needs of the society (i.e. the innovation in tradition). This reformist

approach explains why the leaders of the *Chavush* Group later became the most innovative classical musicians in the post-revolutionary music scene.

Conclusion

In the aftermath of the 1953 coup and particularly after the bloody uprising of June 1963, the Iranian state pursued a suppressive approach that sought to eliminate all dissent from Iranian society. At the same time, the society witnessed massive social, economic, and cultural transformations which reinforced existing socio-political tensions and encouraged political radicalism. In this situation, while the opposition advocated "committed art" as a medium to express revolutionary ideas, the state supported "mystical art" not only to relieve political tensions but also to achieve political legitimacy. Concurrently, the expansion of the middle class encouraged the further dissemination of popular music and the popularized forms of classical music. This trend also attracted the support of the state which sought the policy of depoliticization, aiming at discouraging the Iranian public from engaging in disapproved political activities.

In this situation, Iranian musicians provided different responses to the challenging socio-cultural conditions. Burumand, as a member of the nobility that was disappearing from the political and cultural scene of Iranian society, cautioned against musical practices which, according to him, deteriorated the authenticity of Iranian classical music: the prevalence of improvisation in performance and the use of notation in education. While his disapproval of the former targeted the popularized forms of classical music aired on the media, his criticism of the latter challenged Vaziri and his followers' ideas practiced in educational institutions. Like

Burumand, Safvat also presented his perspective on Iranian classical music in opposition to these two trends; however, he highlighted mystical dimensions of Iranian classical music to provide an alternative. Notably, in their discussions of Iranian music, both Burumand and Safvat put greater emphasis on challenging the popularized forms of classical music than Vaziri and his followers' approach to Iranian music.

Safvat's mystical interpretation of Iranian classical music attracted the support of the state as it aligned with state policies that highlighted the spiritual dimensions of the Iranian nation and, accordingly, the Iranian monarchy. However, under the influence of revolutionary discourses by the opposition, a new trend emerged during the 1970s which viewed the preservation of the musical tradition as a form of resistance which should be complemented with the innovation in the tradition to perform the task of revolutionary political action. The members of *Chavush* Group, and in particular Muhammad-Reza Lutfi, were representatives of this revolutionary perspective.

Chapter Five: A Review of Formative Discourses in the Revival of Iranian Classical Music

This study introduces eight distinct discourses which dominated and prevailed in the Iranian music scene from the 1940s to the 1970s. These discourses, which had certain influences on the practice of Iranian classical music, were presented by prominent musicians and scholars: Ali-Naqi Vaziri, Ghulam-Hussein Minbashian, Ruhullah Khaliqi, Parviz Mahmoud, Mehdi Barkechli, Zaven Hacobian, Daryush Safvat, and Muhammad-Reza Lutfi. Nur-Ali Burumand's perspective on Iranian classical music was also discussed because of his great role in training an influential generation of musicians during the late 1960s and the 1970s; however, this study shows that Burumand's views on Iranian music were rooted in the other dominant discourses of his time.

As discussed in Chapter One which covers the period between the 1920s and the 1930s, the first discourse pioneered by Ali-Naqi Vaziri advocated for the use of Western techniques and musical elements to secure the maintenance of Iranian classical music. While admiring the significance of Western techniques, the second discourse presented by Ghulam-Hussein Minbashian, however, disparaged the significance of Iranian classical music, associating the music with immorality and backwardness.

Chapter Two presents the third discourse advocated by Ruhullah Khaliqi who modified the ideas of his teacher Ali-Naqi Vaziri and initiated the first practical steps during the 1940s to recognize the Qajar music as an irreplaceable and valuable musical tradition. During the same time, Parviz Mahmoud pursued Minbashian's approach to Iranian classical music; however, he advocated for a new discourse that, by highlighting the purity of folk tunes, challenged the

significance of Iranian classical music, which according to him had been influenced by foreign Arabic music during past centuries.

In contrast, Mehdi Barkechli presented a different discourse that, as discussed in Chapter Three, authenticated Iranian classical music by providing a historical narrative, connecting the music to the ancient music of the pre-Islamic Sasanian period. Concurrently, Zaven Hacobian and later succeeding musicologists and ethnomusicologists questioned the universality of Western classical music, pioneering a new discourse that regarded a detailed study of Iranian classical music as a prerequisite to its development.

Chapter Four described two discourses developed in response to socio-political conditions. Safvat highlighted an existing perspective, presenting a mystical discourse that evaluated all musical practices based on their connection with spirituality, thus prioritizing Iranian classical music over other genres. Muhammad-Reza Lutfi provided a politicized discourse, presenting his innovative musical works that were created based on Iranian classical music as a form of political activism. The Iranian music scene witnessed all these eight discourses and their practical outcomes during three decades, from the 1940s to the 1970s.

All these discourses were formed and developed under specific social, political, cultural, and economic conditions of Iranian society between the 1920s and the 1970s. During this period, Iran's music scene witnessed tremendous efforts by educated musicians, trained in modern educational settings, who sought to make Iranian music accessible to the Iranian public, disseminating the music throughout the country. These efforts necessitated a certain level of systematization and institutionalization, as the music was now taught in music schools, conservatories, and universities to a greater audience. The first two decades of this period was dominated by the ideas of Ali-Naqi Vaziri and Ghulam-Hussein Minbashian, two musicians who

questioned the efficiency of the Qajar musical tradition for the changing needs of modern Iranian society. However, from the mid-1940s, a new trend emerged among Vaziri's students who gradually began to acknowledge the significance of the Qajar music and its bearers, classical musicians. Thus, while during the first period educated musicians emphasized the necessity of adopting Western techniques to secure the continuity and dissemination of Iranian music, during the second period educated musicians gradually inclined towards the preservation of Iranian classical music in its traditional form and began to appreciate the aesthetic values of the Qajar musical tradition. This new trend culminated in the late 1960s and the 1970, the period generally referred to as the period of the revival of Iranian classical music.

Accordingly, the period from the mid-1940s to the mid-1970s can be regarded as the period of formation, development, and culmination of a revivalist trend in the Iranian music scene before the revolution of 1979. As discussed in Chapter Two, the appreciation of the Qajar musical tradition emerged among Vaziri's students in the second half of the 1940s as a response to the socio-cultural conditions of postwar Iran in which Iranian society was exposed to direct Western influences. In addition, the hostile attitude towards Iranian music by the advocates of the superiority of Western music and the rise of various forms of Iranian and Western popular music in the public created growing concerns for Vaziri's students and followers, who, like their teacher, had to struggle to achieve greater opportunities for the performance and education of Iranian music.

From 1956 onwards, Vaziri's students' initial steps towards acknowledging the significance of the Qajar musical tradition gained the support of the state. As discussed in Chapter Three, as a part of a legitimizing program that sought to authenticate the Shah's power on both national and international levels, the state presented and propagated the Qajar musical

tradition (i.e. Iranian classical music) as a vital part of Iran's national heritage. The music, as the continuity of Iran's ancient music, now possessed strong nationalist meanings and connotations. At the same time, Iranian classical music attracted the attention of Western musicologists and ethnomusicologists who acknowledged its significance and emphasized the importance of the preservation of its traditional forms of performance and education. The development of cultural and scholarly relations with Western countries and the emergence of the first generation of Iranian musicologists and ethnomusicologists, who taught in conservatories and universities, were influential in the further recognition of Iranian classical music as a valuable musical tradition.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the period between the mid-1950s and the mid-1970s was also the period of political resentment against the state. In the Iranian music scene, the wide dissemination of popular music and its influence on classical performances in the media were considered as the sign of growing corruption in the culture, morality, and politics of Iranian society for which the state was responsible. In this situation, the socio-economic transformations of Iranian society, the consequent socio-cultural tensions, and the state's legitimacy crisis triggered three different responses that led to revivalist activities in Iranian musical society. The noble connoisseurs of Iranian classical music, such as Nur-Ali Burumand, who saw their social and cultural roles in Iranian society in danger, called for a return to the authenticity of the Qajar musical tradition, rejecting the music that was widely broadcast on media and had adopted certain changes to attract a greater audience. In this situation, those musicians, such as Daryush Safvat, who viewed Iranian classical music as a mystical practice believed that the music should be purified from the worldly commercialism and consumerism prevailed in the media. Under the influence of political opposition, other musicians, such as Muhammad-Reza Lutfi and other

members of the *Chavush* Group, armed themselves with Iranian classical music, presenting the preservation of the musical tradition as well as the innovation in the tradition as forms of non-violent political action. The efforts and contributions of musicians who promoted these three perspectives culminated in the revival of Iranian classical music during the late 1960s and the 1970s.

As previously discussed in the Introduction, the concept of music revival may seem to be insufficient or even misleading in describing the process of change that occurred in pre-revolutionary Iran's music scene as Iranian classical music had never died, although serious concerns about its future had been raised among both officials and musicians. In fact, the issue was not how to *revive* Iranian classical music, but as stated by the ethnomusicologist Ella Zonis who did her fieldwork research in Iran between 1963 and 1965 (Zonis 1973, x), the issue was how to secure the continuity of the music in future decades or in her own words, "how to keep it alive" (Zonis 1971, 327). However, the use of Hill and Bithell's theoretical framework, as defined in the Introduction, illuminates many features and dimensions that were influential in the formation, development, and culmination of this process of change, presented as a music revival in this thesis.

Hill and Bithell (2014) define a set of features and processes to identify revivalist movements: the dissatisfaction with existing cultural situation and the desire for cultural change, revising and reinterpreting historical narratives, authenticating, re-contextualizing, publicizing and disseminating. As the first feature of revivalist movements, Hill and Bithell discuss that music revivals, as a kind of activism, "are almost always motivated by dissatisfaction with some aspect of the present and a desire to effect some sort of cultural change" (Hill and Bithell 2014,

3–4). This feature is an important descriptor that explains different motivations of various agents who initiated and developed the process of music revival in the Iranian music scene.

According to Hill and Bithell, the revival may be inspired by "identity-bolstering motives" linked to "a perceived threat from foreign influences, including imperialism, Westernization, or globalization" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 11). The review of Khaliqi's writings demonstrates that, in addition to his dissatisfaction with the dissemination of popular music, he perceived the hostile attitudes of the advocates of the superiority of Western music as a serious threat to Iranian music. This situation motivated him to establish several institutions to secure the dissemination of Iranian music.

Hill and Bithell also suggest that music revivals may be employed by the state for political purposes (Hill and Bithell 2014, 12). They may be used to bolster the identity of a nation: "exalting the professedly ancient heritage of a specific ethnic group or nation may be a strategy for demonstrating, to oneself and the international community, the worthiness and validity of the group" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 11). From 1956 onwards, the Iranian state came to acknowledge Iran's cultural heritage to authenticate its legitimacy on both domestic and international levels. The dissatisfaction with a legitimacy crisis motivated the state to implement a cultural policy which highlighted the significance of Iranian traditions to authenticate the institution of monarchy. In addition, the Shah's positive nationalism, which perceived the alliance with the West as a kind of dialogue, necessitated the elevation of Iran's status in the international community. While the state improved and developed its relations with Western powers, it emphasized the significance of Iranian culture to introduce Iran as an important and influential member of the international community with an ancient history and culture. However, it was not only the Iranian state that encouraged revivalist activities for political purposes.

According to Hill and Bithell, revivalist activities may be employed not only by the government, but also by protesters (Hill and Bithell 2014, 11). The activities of the members of the *Chavush* Group exemplified political motivations behind the performance, reconstruction, and education of the Qajar musical tradition as forms of non-violent political action.

In addition, Hill and Bithell observe that music revivals may be motivated by "dissatisfaction with aspects of the modern world" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 10). This dissatisfaction may be expressed through anti-commercialization, anti-consumerism, anti-capitalism and anti-mass media arguments which portray modernity as "a distortion or deviation from the 'natural' path, leading not to new horizons of unlimited opportunity but to alienation and confusion" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 10). Livingston also indicates that music revivals serve as "an alternative to mainstream culture" arguing for improving "existing culture" (Livingston 1999, 68). Both Burumand and Safvat, by questioning the significance of radio music, challenged the mainstream culture. In particular, Safvat adopted an anti-commercialization and anti-consumerism view towards Iranian classical music by advocating for the purifying and mystical dimensions of the music. In the eyes of the members of the *Chavush* Group, the mainstream culture was essentially defined as a means of narcotization of Iranian society. All these expressions, though with different motivations, provided alternatives to some aspects of the mainstream culture.

Hill and Bithell also introduce revising and reinterpreting historical narratives as the second important feature of music revivals. They indicate that revivals "depend on some kind of relationship with the past" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 12). This process "involves selecting from or reinterpreting history and establishing new or revised historical narratives" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 4). As discussed in Chapter Two, in his *Sarguzasht-i Musiqi-yi Iran* published in 1954,

Khaliqi distanced himself from Vaziri's negative evaluation of Qajar musicians expressed in the 1920s. Through his reinterpretation of the history of Qajar musicians, he acknowledged Qajar musicians' contributions to Iranian music, presenting a perspective which was different even from his own initial evaluation of Qajar musicians expressed in 1938. However, "different perceptions of history may shape both the rhetoric and actions of revivalists" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 13). During the late 1940s and the 1950s, aligned with his revised historical narrative, Khaliqi adopted a new attitude towards classical musicians. Some of Khaliqi's actions manifested his new perspective and attitude: the formation of the first orchestra consisted of only Iranian instruments in the Conservatory for National Music; Khaliqi's persuasion of former *kamanchih* player to perform on the *kamanchih* rather than the violin; and his invitation to classical master-musicians to teach in the Conservatory for National Music.

As the third process involved in revivalist movements, Hill and Bithell highlight the significance of the authentication and legitimization of revivalist activities, indicating that "the past is not only a source of inspiration, but also a source of legitimacy (or occasionally healing)" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 12). Barkechli's historical narrative, through which he connected Iranian classical music to Iran's pre-Islamic music, was an effort to provide a historical narrative that authenticated Iranian classical music based on existing nationalist criteria. Safvat and Lutfi also provided selective historical narratives to legitimize their musical practices. As Hill and Bithell state, revivalists may adopt a selective approach towards the past, romanticizing and associating the imagery or real past with "non-commercial musical expression" and "pre-modern simplicity" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 11). Safvat constructed pre-modern Iran as the period of Gnosticism to authenticate his mystical perception of Iranian music. His historical narrative empowered him to make a clear distinction between classical and popular music, associating the former with

simplicity, spirituality, and contemplation, while linking the latter with stardom, commercialism, consumerism, and thus immorality and decline. In his attempt to construct a spiritual lineage for Iranian classical music, he introduced three musicians, Mirza Abdullah, Aqa Hussein-Quli, and Habib Sama'i, as source musicians to authenticate his perception of Iranian music. Lutfi also authenticated his approach to Iranian classical music by providing a historical narrative which distinguishes Western-educated musicians from classical musicians. He portrayed modern times as the period of onslaughts against Iranian classical music, presenting the preservation of the musical tradition as a form of resistance.

However, the reinterpretation and revision of history are not sole approaches to the legitimization of musical practices. Revivalists use a variety of criteria to demonstrate the authenticity of their discourses and practices. Hill and Bithell indicate that "the types of criteria upon which authenticity hinges vary widely according to cultural and historical context"; however, they identify three main categories: product-oriented, person-oriented, and process-oriented criteria (Hill and Bithell 2014, 20). Iranian musicians also presented various criteria to authenticate their discourses and practices. Between the 1950s and the 1970s, Khaliqi, Barkechli, Burumand, Safvat, and Lutfi presented the *radif* as an authentic national repertoire to legitimize Iranian classical music threatened by competing genres of music, although they adopted different perspectives on the authenticity of musical practices based on the *radif*. However, the *radif*, as a product-oriented criterion, not only authenticated certain musical practices and related discourses, but it also legitimized those musicians who advocated its significance as a national repertoire.

In particular, Burumand, Safvat, and Lutfi connect their own knowledge of music to source musicians, as person-oriented criteria, to establish their authority in the Iranian music

scene. According to Hill and Bithell, since authenticity is intimately related to legitimacy and power, "establishing authenticity is often a crucial act if revival artists are to gain acceptance and respect for themselves and their music" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 19). Burumand highlighted the significance of the *radif* of Mirza Abdullah as he had trained under Isma'il Qahrimani who was Mirza Abdullah's disciple. In providing a spiritual lineage for Iranian classical music, Safvat referred to Mirza Abdullah, Aqa Hussein-Quli, and Habib Sama'i as source musicians while he himself was Sama'i former student. Lutfi emphasized the significant role of classical musicians, including his teachers Nur-Ali Burumand, Ali-Akbar Shahnazi, and Abdullah Davami, in the preservation of the musical tradition. Authenticating their practices by a process-oriented criteria, Burumand, Safvat, and Lutfi also highlighted the importance of oral transmission as the principle process through which Iranian classical music and its features and values can be transmitted.

As music revivals transfer musical practices from the past to the present, they entail a certain level of re-contextualization. This process, presented by Hill and Bithell as the fourth important process involved in music revivals, however, imposes certain changes to musical practices (Hill and Bithell 2014, 4; 15). Classical musicians' invitation to teach in conservatories and universities, initiated by Khaliqi and pursued by Barkechli, changed the conventional setting for the education of Iranian classical music. This shift in the educational context, however, encouraged certain transformations in the practice of Iranian music. The master-musicians' *radif*s had to be transformed to the *radif*, as the national grand repertoire, being standardized and appropriated for education and dissemination on a national level.

The shift in the educational context of Iranian classical music also had another practical consequence. Burumand transferred the music performed in connoisseurs' circles to modern educational contexts, such as university classes; however, this recontextualization necessitated a

transformation in his educational approach. Due to his educated students, both Iranian and non-Iranian, he had to adopt an analytical approach to provide a rationalized account of the music to attract his audience. Hussein Alizadih and Daryush Tala'i (b. 1952), the current master-musicians who were Burumand's students during the 1970s, confirm that what encouraged them to attend Burumand's classes was his analytical approach in teaching the *gushehs* of the *radif* (Alizadih and Tala'i 2005, 206). As discussed in Chapter Four, this analytical approach was later pursued in the Center for the Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music under Safvat's administration.

Safvat also re-contextualized Iranian classical music by reducing classical music to a form of mystical music appropriate for contemplation. In this way, he ignored all other functions of the music performed in various contexts, such as weddings, festivities, media, and modern concert halls. In addition, introducing Iranian music as a medium for expressing revolutionary ideas, the *Chavush* Group decontextualized the music. Although Iranian classical music had been employed by constitutionalists to propagate their ideas during the Constitutional Revolution, it was not generally performed in such contexts. Lutfi's use of chorus and military drums in some of his revolutionary songs clearly differentiated these compositions from classical performances. All these musical features served to present Iranian classical music in a political context totally different from the conventional contexts of its performance.

Hill and Bithell present publicizing and disseminating as the fifth feature of music revivals, indicating that "in order for a music revival to be successful, revivalists must publicize their selected tradition to new audiences and enable new performers to learn" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 24). To achieve this, revivalists may develop "new methods and infrastructures for transmitting, promoting, and disseminating the revived music" (Hill and Bithell 2014, 4),

including establishing national educational institutions, publishing collections of musical notation, producing musical recordings, and holding festivals (Hill and Bithell 2014, 24–27). In pre-revolutionary Iran, to secure the success of its revivalist project, the Iranian state inaugurated many musical events and institutions from 1956 onwards. The state manifested its interest in supporting Iranian music through producing radio programs, holding several festivals, establishing new educational institutions, founding new ensembles and orchestras, publishing a comprehensive version of the *radif* of Iranian music, recording the *radif* of a number of classical master-musicians, and reviving and reconstructing old instruments. The process of publicizing was also pursued on an international level at the same time. In addition to holding several international conferences and festivals in Iran, Iranian scholars actively participated in international conferences held by the UNESCO's International Music Council. All these activities encouraged the further recognition of Iranian classical music as Iran's national heritage during this period.

In this context, Burumand and Safvat disseminated their revivalist ideas in governmental institutions, such as the Department of Music at the University of Tehran and the Center for Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music. Their young students, including Muhammad-Reza Lutfi, also established the *Shayda* Ensemble and later the *Chavush* Group to pursue their performances according to their revolutionary aesthetic values and to teach their students based on their musical ideals.

The analysis of the process of change in the practice of Iranian classical music in pre-revolutionary Iran based on Hill and Bithell's theoretical model helps to identify some features of revivalist movements in the Iranian music society from the mid-1940s to the mid-1970s. Accordingly, four processes—the desire for cultural change, reinterpreting and revising historical

narratives, authenticating, and re-contextualizing—can be identified in Khaliqi's efforts during the mid-late 1940s. From the mid-1950s onwards, Barkechli's administrative and intellectual efforts, Iranian musicologists and ethnomusicologists' scholarly orientations, Burumand's teachings, Safvat's intellectual and administrative contributions, and Lutfi's musical works had certain practical consequences in regard to the revival of Iranian classical music. During this period, the Iranian music scene witnessed all five processes and features of revivalist movements. These processes reveal the gradual formation and development of revivalist discourses in Iranian musical society from the mid-1940s to the mid-1970s.

The analysis of the Iranian musical scene based on Hill and Bithell's framework shows that the post-revival phase corresponds with the situation of Iranian classical music in the post-revolutionary period. Considering distinctions between processes involved in the formation of music revivals and the post-revival phase, the analysis of the post-revival phase in the post-revolutionary music scene can be a point of departure for new comprehensive research on the revival of Iranian classical music.

In addition, to offer fruitful avenues of study on the subject of this study, it is possible to consider the issue from different angles. For instance, investigating the pre-revolutionary music revival by analyzing Iranian compositions created in different socio-political contexts between the 1940s and the 1970s can reveal whether existing discourses on Iranian music found practical counterparts in the music scene. Such research also reflects the ideas of musicians, such as Abul-Hasan Saba, who were not active in publishing their ideas although they played great roles in terms of education and performance.

This thesis also partly investigated the influence of Western Orientalism on nationalist discourses and how nationalist musicians and scholars employed the Orientalist narratives to

authenticate their ideas. This intellectual connection between the Orientalists and Iranian nationalists and its influence on musical changes in Iranian musical society, however, needs more consideration and can be the topic of another research project.

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