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CHAPTER 13

TWO REVIVALIST MOMENTS IN IRANIAN CLASSICAL MUSIC

LAUDAN NOOSHIN

The social history of Iranian classical music in the twentieth century has been inexorably shaped by Iran's complex relationship with the outside world, particularly with Europe and—post World War II—the United States. In this chapter, I focus on two periods of recent Iranian history in order to explore notions of musical revival and their applicability to Iran. A number of scholars have proposed theoretical models for understanding the nature of musical revivalism and different kinds of revival. What is interesting in the case of Iran is that the two historical "moments" that I examine—the first in the 1960s and 1970s, the second following the 1979 Revolution—appear to represent the far ends of a continuum perhaps most clearly set out by Max Peter Bauman in his discussion of "conflicting models" of "purism (with a tendency towards stabilizing or even regressive preservation) and of syncretism (with a tendency towards reinventing the past by emancipatory creation to the point of breaking the local and regional frontiers" (1996: 80). Although these two trajectories might seem diametrically opposed, both emerged from essentially the same impulse: a reaction against the progressive encroachment of Western music and culture in Iran during the twentieth century. For my discussion of these two historical periods, I draw primarily on extant historical sources (including the very few scholarly writings that address issues of revival in this tradition), as well as on published and personal interviews with musicians and others. I conclude by considering the postrevival implications for contemporary Iranian classical music practice.

Musical Modernizers: 1920s–1940s

The first period of revival discussed is that of the 1960s and 1970s, a time when the processes of modernization and Westernization started by the first Pahlavi monarch, Reza

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Shah (r. 1925–1941), gained increased momentum under the rule of his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (r. 1941–1979). Because it was primarily a reaction against these processes that constituted one of the main drivers of the first revival, I begin by outlining some of the earlier changes and the key figures who helped to bring them about. From the early decades of the twentieth century, music was impacted first by the arrival of sound recording and later by broadcasting, the establishment of formal public concerts, the institutionalization of music education, the adoption of music notation, and the increasing popularity of imported instruments such as piano and violin. Coinciding as such changes did with the early attempts of the Pahlavi regime to forge a distinctly Iranian form of modernity, such developments became imbued with what later came to be termed *qarbzadegi*,[1] an "intoxication" with the West and things Western.[2]

The most prominent musical "modernizer" of the first half of the twentieth century, and perhaps the most controversial figure in Iranian music history, was Ali Naqi Vaziri (1887–1979), a former army colonel who, in the period following World War I, traveled abroad for the purpose of studying music, the first Iranian to do so. After several years in France and Germany, Vaziri returned to Iran in 1923, the same year that Reza Pahlavi assumed control as Prime Minister following the 1921 coup d'état. Many of the new ideas that Vaziri brought with him from Europe resonated strongly with the hegemonic discourses of the time that promoted the (rapid) transformation of Iran into a modern, secular nation-state. Vaziri became immensely influential in musical circles in the 1930s and 1940s, not least through his position as principal (from 1928) of the Madreseh-ye Musik, the first music school in Iran (run under the auspices of the Ministry of Education; this school became the Honarestan-e Ali-ye Musiqi conservatory in 1938). Although not a central figure in the later discussion here, many of those who will be considered saw themselves as standing against the reforms set in train by Vaziri and his followers, and it therefore seems pertinent to outline certain aspects of his work that came to be viewed as particularly problematic in later decades. Essentially, Vaziri set about modernizing Iranian music according to models he had encountered abroad: establishing large ensembles of traditional instruments, composing pieces for those ensembles in which Western functional harmony was applied to Iranian melodies, holding public concerts where these and other pieces were performed, promoting the use of staff notation and "modern" forms of music education, and so on.[3] With the gradual rise of a Western-oriented middle class (increasingly educated abroad), among whom Western ideas and products were both fashionable and status symbols, Western music—and Iranian music refashioned according to Western models—came to accrue significant cultural capital. This was also the period when the Tehran Symphony Orchestra, the first orchestra in Iran, was founded as the Municipality Symphony Orchestra in 1933 by Gholamhossein Minbashian.

The significance of Vaziri's work for the current discussion is that it was embedded within a growing debate around the nature of modernity in Iran and the place of traditional values and culture within it. For Vaziri and his followers—including author and musician Ruhollah Khaleqi, who wrote the first and perhaps still best-known history of Iranian music (two volumes originally published in 1954 and 1956, respectively)—the

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future lay in following Western models in order to "improve" Iranian music, and they drew on a number of discourses to articulate this position. Perhaps the most problematic was the notion of *musiqi-ye 'elmi* ("scientific music"), an expression used by Vaziri and his associates to refer to Western (European classical) music. Hence, Western music was "scientific" and Iranian music was its opposite—"unscientific," thus setting up a polarized binary from which many things followed: everything that Western music had—notation, large ensembles, harmony, and so on—was "scientific"; any music that lacked these attributes was not. This "self-othering" of Iranian traditional music (at that time generally known by the term *musiqi-ye sonnati*) was regularly invoked by musicians and others and became so deeply embedded in local discourse that, even though such terms later became largely discredited, one still comes across them. As with Reza Shah, the verdict of history on Vaziri's work is that he was a man of his time, a time when government policies autocratically sought to position Iran on a trajectory of modernization and Westernization, and he should be understood in that context.[4]

For the discussion that follows, the revivalism of the 1960s and 1970s can only be understood relationally since it was principally concerned with reacting against the kinds of reforms initiated by Vaziri and thereafter strongly promoted by the government. Owe Ronström characterizes revival movements as being "engaged in struggles of one kind or another" (1996: 9). Among the examples he gives, the first beautifully epitomizes the form of revivalism that emerged in Iran in the 1960s, particularly in relation to moral aspects of the debate:

> Fight against modernity. Tradition is often used as a natural opposition to modernity. Modernity is seen as the distorting power, the agent of cultural entropy; tradition is history, stability, continuity. Often the struggle against modernity is expressed as a moral obligation to save the world, country, region or whatever from cultural demise and from unwanted change, or at least to change the direction of change into a morally better path. The moral aspect is important in understanding the passion of the fighters and the presence of so many "burning souls" within revival movements.
>
> (1996: 8–9)

In the battle against musical modernity, Vaziri became the embodiment of the modernizing "evil" against which revival moralizing was directed.

Among the many changes occurring at this time, perhaps the most significant was the arrival of broadcasting in 1939 and the establishment of Radio Tehran, the programming of which included a significant amount of music and which became available for the first time to a mass audience, thus helping to shift traditional music out of its previously elite circles. Vaziri assumed directorship of the Music Department at Radio Tehran in 1941 and, from this time onward, gathered together a group of musicians who became closely associated with the radio; it is noteworthy that many of these were Vaziri's own pupils or associates. And it was this "radio generation" that the revivalists later became particularly critical of, invoking discourses that represent variations on the "struggles" described by Ronström, including the "fight against commercialization" and against foreign incursions into national musical expression. For instance, former head of the

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Music Department at the University of Tehran, Majid Kiani, comments on radio programming during this period, claiming that the music did not adhere to the canonic *radif* repertoire, but that musicians instead played freely ("be radif nemipardākhtand va be soorat-e āzād minavākhtand") (2004: 152).[5] Kiani criticizes Radio Tehran for not seeking to preserve (*hefz*) Iranian culture and for broadcasting music that is "pleasing to the public" (*āmeh pasand*) and "non-Iranian" (*qeyr-e Irāni*), particularly that drawing on Turkish and Arab influences. Thus, some musicians came to regard the radio as producing a somewhat acculturated form of Iranian music, and, of course, it was this music that was reaching the largest audience, many of whom were experiencing traditional music for the first time. More broadly, alongside changes within the traditional music culture, during the 1950s, Western music of various kinds became increasingly available through the import of recordings (at this time, still on vinyl disc). The high symbolic and cultural capital attached to such music, combined with a certain view that traditional music was increasingly incompatible with a modernizing nation, led to a decline in interest in traditional music.

The First Revivalist Movement: Return to the Qajar Ancestors

> Revivals are a coming together, a convergence of various circumstances and personal motivations centring on the fascinations and emulation of a music culturally and historically distanced from the present. Music revivals are a product of both specific historical circumstances as well as the general intellectual and social trends.
>
> (Livingston 1999: 81)

What, then, were the main circumstances and motivations that led to the emergence in the mid-1960s of the first revivalist movement? Some of these have been mentioned: the growing marginalization of traditional music at a time when the social and political landscape was marked by the relentless march toward modernization and Westernization; and, alongside this, the wide availability of mediated forms of music (most obviously through the radio), increasingly viewed by some musicians as deviating from the "authentic" tradition. There was another important driver that I discuss later: the influence of certain Western scholars and musicians who visited Iran from the late 1950s and whose writings also became available in translation, most notably as articles in the magazine *Majaleh-ye Musik* (Music Magazine). Many of these individuals promoted a strongly preservationist agenda.

In the mid-1960s, then, a number of musicians became interested in researching and promoting historical playing styles as a means of returning to an idealized, more "authentic" past. And it was the pre-Pahlavi Qajar period (1785–1925) that became the focus of such idealization, this particular period having been denigrated since the 1920s

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as a symbol of regressive tradition and "backwardness" through the discourses of the modernizing Pahlavis.[6] This was the start of what music sociologist Mohammad Reza Fayaz (one of the few Iranian scholars to have written critically about this period) calls "the journey back to history… [as] one old technique after another was revived and Qajar musicians experienced a renaissance" (1998: 103). And it was not just Qajar music, but specifically the court repertoire of the period between c.1850 and 1900 which came to be presented as the historically "pure" (*asil*) tradition. To be validated as *asil*, music's historical pedigree had to be traceable directly to the Qajar ancestors and a time before the modernizing excesses of the Pahlavis. The paucity of historical records prior to this, particularly between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, rendered other possible (earlier) authentic pasts inaccessible—this was as far back a journey as the historical record would permit. Talking to musicians and others about this period, sources are divided on the question of whether this began as a deliberate turn to Qajar practice or simply as an attempt to ground the music in less acculturated forms, thus leading to a search for historical rootedness that inevitably found expression in earlier, "purer" (that is, pre-Pahlavi) forms. Indeed, the extent to which local discourses explicitly framed what was happening in terms of revival is unclear: it seems that the equivalent term, *ehyā*, was not widely used (although some sources suggest that it was used by Dariouche Safvate, regarded by many as the spiritual leader of the revival movement; one also finds occasional references to *bāz-sāzi* ["reconstruction"/ "rebuilding"]),[7] and musicians tended to explain their practice as a search for "authenticity" and "purity," rather than a return per se (Sasan Fatemi, personal communication, August 2012). Local discourses will be considered further later.

The revivalists would perhaps not have gained such prominence without the framework of institutional support within which they worked and from which they were inseparable. The most important development in this regard was the founding, in 1970, of the Markaz-e Hefz o Eshāeh-ye Musiqi-ye Irani (Center for the Preservation and Propagation of Iranian Music, henceforth Markaz), a year after the establishment of the first university Music Department in Iran, at the University of Tehran. The Markaz operated under the auspices of the state-run Iranian Radio and Television Organization and was intended to be a center of research and teaching through which the tradition of Iranian classical music would be preserved. The co-founder and director until 1980 was Dariouche Safvate, and it was Safvate who became one of the primary figureheads of the revival movement. The work of the Markaz nicely illustrates Livingston's observation that "revivals almost always have a strong pedagogical component in order to pass on the tradition in a controlled manner" (1999: 73), and it did this by gathering together musicians not involved with the radio (and therefore not generally known to the public) including, in the early years, such masters as Nur Ali Borumand (1905–1978), Said Hormozi (1897–1976), Yusef Forutan (1891–1978), Asghar Bahari (1905–1995), Abdollah Davami (1899–1980), and Mahmud Karimi (1927–1984). Promising young musicians, many of whom were students at the University of Tehran, were invited to study at the center, to carry out research, and later to teach there. This included several who went on to become prominent musicians, including Mohammad Reza Lotfi (b. 1947), Hossein

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Alizadeh (b. 1951), Parviz Meshkatian (1955–2009), Majid Kiani (b. 1941), Dariush Talai (b. 1953), Jalal Zolfonoun (b. 1937), and Parisa (b. 1950). Significantly, as will be discussed later, it was some of these very musicians who spearheaded the second revival of the early 1980s. The Markaz became a magnet for those concerned with the preservation of traditional music in Iran, since it gave young musicians direct access to some of the most knowledgeable individuals of the older generation—described by Dariush Talai (head of the Music Department at the University of Tehran at the time of writing in 2012) as "masters in possession of the heritage" (*ostādān-e mirāsdār*)—many of whom would not under normal circumstances have agreed to teach at a public institution. The Markaz was marked by its focus on tradition, and teaching therefore took place without notation, an approach that contrasted with other institutions at this time, most notably the University of Tehran, where musical literacy was a requirement. The current director (in 2012), Majid Kiani, describes the Markaz in the early days as being an environment in which:

> students would consult completely historical [*kāmelan qadimi*] sources and they would play on the basis of those until that music would find continuity [with the present; *tadāvom paydā bokonand*].
>
> (2004: 153)

The Center was well-resourced, housing an archive, rehearsal and recording facilities, and an instrument-making section. Students were even provided with funding to enable them to focus on their studies and research (Talai in Shahrnazdar 2004a: 19).[8]

As well as the institutional support provided by the Centre, the prestige of working within a well-resourced, government-sponsored organization was an important factor in the influence exercised by revivalist ideas. However, it should be noted that this influence was felt almost exclusively within the relatively closed circles of musicians rather than among the general public. The latter continued to experience Iranian classical music primarily through the "acculturated" media of radio (and, by the early 1970s, television) and commercial recordings (mainly on cassette), including recordings of radio programs such as the *Golhā* series.[9] The older masters who taught at the Markaz generally shunned public musical life, preferring to follow traditional modes of amateur connoisseurship. The activities of the Markaz rarely included public performances or recording, but instead focused on education and research; recordings that were made were largely for study purposes (Kiani 2004: 154). In hindsight, it becomes clear that the Markaz played a dual role in those early days, one intended, the other not: first, as a center for preserving the traditions of Iranian classical music from the acculturating forces of modernity; and second, as an incubator for a new generation of innovators who emerged into the public arena in the mid to late 1970s, before transforming the classical music in the 1980s.

A central feature of the return to Qajar "authenticity" was the increased attention afforded to the canonic repertoire known as *radif*. This collection of several hundred pieces arranged according to mode, memorized during training, and subsequently

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forming the basis for improvised performance, was formalized by the Qajar court musicians from the mid-nineteenth century onward, most likely drawing on earlier, less formalized collections of pieces and melodic fragments. Providing a framework for creative performance and existing in variant forms, the *radif* took on a new (quasi-ideological) role in the 1960s as a way of measuring musicians' adherence to tradition, motivated in part by the perception that knowledge of the *radif* was being lost. Moves were also made at this time to standardize the *radif*, the most grandiose scheme being the government's attempt to publish a definitive version of the repertoire, for which purpose a committee of prominent musicians was appointed that was ultimately unable to reach agreement.[10] However, one particular version of the *radif*, that of Qajar court musician Mirza Abdollah (1843–1918), did gain ascendancy, mostly through the teaching of Nur Ali Borumand, who, through his positions at both the University of Tehran and the Markaz, arguably became the most influential teacher at this time. It was largely through Borumand's efforts that the *radif* of Mirza Abdollah, as taught by himself, became presented and promoted as the most authentic version of the repertoire.[11] Somewhat ironically, then, in setting himself up as a representative of the authentic premodern tradition, Borumand was obliged to draw on the very modernizing processes of standardization in order to validate this particular version of the *radif* over others, in contrast to earlier practices in which different versions coexisted.[12] This is a clear example of how "revivals are both a reaction against and a product of modernity; that is, they partake of the discourse of modernity even as they set themselves in opposition to certain manifestations of modernity" (Livingston 1999: 81).

In the promotion of the *radif* and the emergence of a more rigid approach to the repertoire, we can clearly see the processes of objectification, commodification, and reification that Ronström argues are central to revival movements: "We separate a piece of the ever-changing flow of life and hold it up for ourselves as an object for appreciation, for study and as a model for action" (1996: 11). As musicians became increasingly judged on their connection with the past—implicitly understood as the Qajar past and demonstrated through knowledge of and adherence to the *radif*—and as discourses around notions of authenticity became increasingly moralistic, polarized binaries emerged in which the work of earlier musicians such as Vaziri became discredited and branded as "inauthentic." In particular, the quality of *esālat* ("purity") became associated with music at this time and references to "traditional music" (*musiqi-ye sonnati*) were gradually replaced by "pure" or "noble" music (*musiqi-ye asil*). "Purity" came to index "authenticity" and a powerful discursive network emerged, eventually rendering these terms the most value-laden concepts in Iranian music.[13]

By the late 1960s, concepts of "authenticity" and "purity" had become firmly embedded in the discourses of Iranian music culture: to be authentic meant being in touch with the music's nineteenth-century roots, and music came to be judged on its relationship with this particular segment of the past. From this time onward, the "atmosphere of Iranian music became full of the past" (Fayaz 1998: 104), and what Kiani calls the "currency of purity" (*nerkh-e esālat*, 2004: 153) became the most valued aspect of music. Performances, recordings, and publications were dominated by retrospection,

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including the revival of old playing styles and the collection, reconstruction (*bāz-sāzi-e āsār-e qadimi*, Kiani 2004: 153), and publication of old pieces. This nostalgia for the Qajar past has continued through several decades, evidenced, for instance, in the proliferation of recordings entitled "in memory of…" (*be yād-e…*) in recent years. Nostalgia has become an immensely marketable commodity; as Bigenho observes, "Nostalgia for any kind of authenticity is a repetitive theme in questions of modernity" (2002: 167). Once again, we can note a central irony: that whereas the preoccupation with "authenticity" emerged in direct response to the rise of modernity, perceived loss of tradition, and so on, and the resulting discourses positioned tradition and modernity as antithetical, "the very categories of 'modern' and 'traditional' are themselves productions of modernity," thus highlighting one of the "paradoxes of modernity, the ways in which the 'traditional' takes on a profile precisely in relation to the 'modern' " (Bigenho 2002: 165).[14] Thus, although many musicians of the 1960s saw themselves as standing against modernity, they drew on discourses that were very much part of modern thinking; indeed, the music itself was arguably as much a product of the processes of modernization and Westernization as that of Vaziri, so strongly criticized by traditionalists (see also Talai in Shahrnazdar 2004a: 19).

In many ways, the appeal to Qajar practices and repertoires constituted a return-to-roots form of revivalism familiar elsewhere: the reaction to a perceived loss of musical traditions—specifically knowledge of the *radif*—and the desire to resurrect a musical past with a strong focus on retrospection and nostalgia. According to Livingston, this is the "centrepiece of music revivals, around which all else is secondary":

> In all musical revivals, the most important components for the formation of the aesthetic and ethical code are the ideas of historical continuity and organic purity of the revived practice. The term "authentic" is most commonly employed to distinguish the revived practice from other musics and to draw attention to its supposed "time depth"…. In revivalist discourse, historical continuity is often used to imply authenticity and vice versa. "Authentic" music is believed to have been passed on through the generations outside of (or in spite of) mainstream markets.
>
> (1999: 74)

Much of this characterization aligns nicely with the case of Iran in the 1960s and 1970s, despite the fact that, as noted, the term "revival" (*ehyā*) itself was not widely used; and, indeed, "movement" is perhaps too strong a term for what was a relatively small number of musicians, notwithstanding their immense influence. Fayaz describes the "return to the fundamentals of purity" (*bāzgasht be mavāzin-e asil*, 1998: 96) as a search for a lost identity, and Talai similarly explains that there was a strong sense among musicians of "something which had been lost [*az dast ratfeh*] which needed to be regained [*bāz-yāft*] and rebuilt [*bāz-sāzi shavad*]" (personal communication, August 2012). Certainly, an important element of the discourse was preserving Iranian national identity in the face of incursions from abroad, mostly from Europe and North America but also from neighboring Middle Eastern

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countries. Musicians were no doubt influenced by the general preoccupation among Iranian intellectuals for several decades previously with notions of nativism and racial purity (see Boroujerdi 1996 and Manafzadeh 1999), the latter most starkly evidenced in Reza Shah's alignment of (Aryan) Iran with Nazi Germany during World War II, eventually leading to his removal from power by Allied forces. Parallels with revival movements elsewhere can also be seen in the discourses used by contemporary musicians to talk about the role of the Markaz in the 1970s, including the element of "struggle" highlighted by Ronström and discussed earlier. Consider the following from an interview with Talai:

> The Markaz defended music and informed people about real [*vāqei*] and pure/noble [*asil*] music. It trained a generation of musicians who had aims, who believed in what they were doing; and because of this at the time of the revolution, they could establish a better connection with so-called "events of the day" and music was able to play an important role in this process. (in
>
> Shahrnazdar 2004a: 20)

This was a battle in which "real" music was to be defended against its acculturated Other (i.e., Vaziri et al.). And, like other revivals, this one was in part an appeal to a largely constructed past. As Slobin notes, "it's clear to many trained observers that even when people seem to be reviving things, that is, exhuming them and breathing life into them, what they get is something new" (1983: 37). Other than a few recordings of Qajar masters from the early twentieth century (generally of poor quality) that students at the Markaz were able to study, the tangible historical evidence for revivalist claims is tenuous. Even in the case of the *radif*, against which so many appeals to authenticity are made, there is no unbroken chain of transmission from the Qajar court musicians to the mid-twentieth century. However, approaching this from a different perspective, and viewing revival as "an overt and explicit act of authentication" (Bohlman 1988: 130), one can understand the "purity" movement as concerned not so much with validating a Qajar past, but rather as appealing to that past in order to validate *new* practices of the present.

The Influence of Western Musicologists

In exploring the various factors that led to the emergence of revivalist ideas in the 1960s, it is interesting to consider the increasing number of foreign musicians and musicologists who visited Iran at this time and whose writings became available in translation. Mohammad Reza Fayaz is one of the few scholars to have written about the influence of these individuals on ideas about the preservation of Iranian music—ideas that were quite new to Iran—arguing that they helped legitimate the stance of traditionalists. In

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particular, he considers the work of French ethnomusicologist Alain Daniélou, who visited Iran several times and who became known through translations of articles and speeches published in *Majaleh-ye Musik*. For instance, a conference paper presented in Venice in 1957, in which Daniélou appealed to the people of Asia to preserve their musical traditions and denigrated "hybrid" music ("hybrid" translated into Persian as *dorageh*, lit. "two-blooded" or "mixed race"), was later published in *Majaleh-ye Musik* (issue 29). Daniélou also played a central role in the 1961 International Musical Congress, which was held in Tehran and focused on issues of preservation.[15] Fayaz examines the impact in Iran of the conference and the resulting publications. In his summing-up speech—published in *Majaleh-ye Musik* 54—Daniélou called on musicians to keep their traditions pure, countering the arguments of those who accused traditionalists of ossifying the music. One of the outcomes of the conference was a set of recommendations to avoid "hybrid" music and promoting traditional methods of teaching. Daniélou was not alone: other musicians also visited Iran at this time and contributed to the discursive trope according to which "Easterners" were spoiling their musical traditions whereas "Westerners" tried to save those same traditions (Fayaz 1998: 96–97).

According to Fayaz, Daniélou's ideas generated much debate in Iran, and he identifies two broad responses. The first is exemplified by Ali Mohammad Rashid (a writer for *Majaleh-ye Musik*), who, in an article in issue 32 (in response to the Venice paper published in issue 29), suggested that some musicians objected to Daniélou's assumption that "development" in Iranian music would necessarily lead to "mixed race" music, whereas others accused Westerners of seeking to hold back the development of Iranian music and create a fossilized museum culture in order to maintain their oriental Others. Many asked by what authority an outsider like Daniélou could make such recommendations. Fayaz also reports on a roundtable discussion on the subject of acculturation, which took place during the Shiraz Arts Festival in 1968, at which Iranian composer Shahin Farhat argued that change is inevitable, against the views of ethnomusicologist panel members Daniélou and Trần Văn Khê. Conversely, there were local musicians who supported the views of Daniélou and other foreign ethnomusicologists and welcomed the attention given to what they saw as the plight of Iranian classical music.[16] And it was just at the time when such debates were taking place that Nur Ali Borumand and other "forgotten" musicians emerged onto the scene. I am not arguing here that ethnomusicologists such as Daniélou played a defining role, but that their presence was one of a number of factors that helped foster conditions conducive to the nurturing of revivalist thinking.

"The Pastness of the Present"

The discussion so far has suggested a number of reasons for the emergence of revivalist ideas in Iran in the 1960s and how these resonated with revival movements elsewhere. In this section, I probe further into the notion of historical veracity, drawing

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on Livingston's observation that revival movements are often as much about creating "a new ethos, musical style and aesthetic code in accordance with [their] revivalist ideology and personal preferences" (1999: 70), as an "accurate" construction of the past. Similarly, Bohlman notes that "revival relies heavily on new symbols masquerading as the old" (1988: 131). Setting aside for the moment the question of why music from the Qajar period should necessarily be "purer" than that of any other period of Iranian music history, the fact is that there is little tangible evidence of Qajar performance practices before the arrival of sound recording in Iran in the first decade of the twentieth century; moreover, surviving recordings from this time bear little relation to "traditionalist" performances of the 1960s and 1970s. In particular, the revivalist idea that performance should adhere closely to the *radif* seems not to be evidenced through early recordings but was largely a later construction. Comparison with other revival movements may be illuminating. Consider, for instance, the rather striking parallels between Iran in the 1960s and 1970s and the "Early Music Movement" (or "Authentic Music Movement," more recently Historically Informed Performance [HIP]) in Europe and the United States: one finds the same moralizing and emotive debates, similar counterarguments about fossilization and the creation of a museum culture, and similar appeals to historical authority to authenticate something that is thoroughly contemporary. Of particular relevance here is the work of Richard Taruskin, who points to the close aesthetic and historical parallels between the twentieth-century phenomenon of "authentic" performance and something apparently far removed from it: musical modernism, exemplified (he suggests) most clearly through the music of Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971). As Taruskin observes, Stravinsky had close personal links with some of the pioneers of the early music movement, most notably (visionary/elder statesman/ "prophet") Arnold Dolmetsch, and he argues that the musical sounds promoted as "authentic" had little to do with historical accuracy and much to do with modernist aesthetics, in both composition and performance. For Taruskin, so-called authentic performances of early music lie firmly within the domain of modernity; from this perspective, one can understand revival as "a process of traditionalisation that goes on in the present, to create symbolic ties to the past, for reasons of the future" (Ronström 1996: 18), or what Taruskin describes as "the pastness of the present and the presence of the past" (1988). As Bohlman observes:

> The past is consciously invoked to serve as a surrogate for the present. … The practice of constructing continuity by selectively choosing, and not infrequently selectively inventing, the past is a particularly modern phenomenon.
>
> (1988: 130)

Similarly, in Iran, what were arguably thoroughly contemporary musical practices in the 1960s and 1970s were validated through appeals to historical continuity.

Perhaps one of the most disturbing tropes to emerge at this time was that centered around notions of racial purity, often expressed through metaphors of

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pure-bloodedness, as seen both in the specific discourses of musicians and scholars and in the general preoccupation with historical extraction and nativism. As noted earlier, for instance, Daniélou's "hybrid" was translated as *dorageh* ("mixed race," lit. "two-blooded"), a term used in a negative sense to refer to music that had lost its purity and thereby its national and cultural identity. Indeed, terms such as *dorageh* have become part of a well-established discursive network in which notions of purity, authenticity, and identity are indexically linked. Such linkages depend on an underlying and unquestioned understanding that being pure blooded is a good thing for music, the opposite being invoked through terms such as "bastard" (*harāmzādeh*) or "contaminated" (*āloodeh*, Kiani 2004: 150). This position was voiced most polemically by Borumand, for example, in the following extract from a speech presented at the 1968 Shiraz Arts Festival: "When we talk about a thoroughbred horse, we mean a horse whose mother and father and entire genealogy is known—and is distinguished. *Musiqi-ye asil* is the same" (quoted in Fayaz 1998: 103).[17] This parallel between "pure" music and a thoroughbred horse is intriguing, invoking as it does notions of good breeding and distinction. So naturalized and embedded did such discourses become in Iran that even contemporary musicians who have distanced themselves from the ideological rhetoric of authenticity continue to use them. For instance, discussing a piece previously criticized by Kiani, Hossein Alizadeh validates the music by referring to "the piece's exact birth certificate" (*shenāsnāmeh-ye daqiq-e āsār*), thereby indexing its history and pedigree (in Shahrnazdar 2004b: 216).[18]

In seeking to understand where such discourses come from, Livingston's observation that "many revivalists seem to be in search of a personal authenticity in historical forms" (1999: 74) may prove particularly revealing if one explores the motivations of those who spearheaded the cleansing of Iranian classical music from its purported impurities. Indeed, one of the distinctive features of revival movements is "the central role played by a few individuals" (70). Livingston suggests that " 'core revivalists' are not unlike the prophets and visionaries integral to Wallace's 1956 model of the cultural revitalization process who communicate their vision to, and organize, a select group of converts" (Livingston 1999: 70). Wallace's pioneering work on "revitalization movements" focuses on religious movements, but his writings are especially relevant in understanding the central role of charismatic individuals in music revivals, who often play a similar prophetic role and lead a small but committed core of followers.[19] In the case of Iran, the two central "visionaries" were the co-founders of the Markaz: Dariouche Safvate, its first director, and Nur Ali Borumand, who can easily be identified as "elder statesman/repository of traditional repertoire" (Slobin 1983: 39), the latter enshrined in the *radif*. Indeed, the religious analogy can be taken further in the sense that the *radif* arguably acquired a status akin to a sacred text by the late 1960s. Safvate was the more publicly influential and polemical of the two, with his often outspoken views on musicians working at the radio and other followers of Vaziri. Already in 1959, in a published interview entitled "Goftogoo dar bareh-ye Dirigism-e Honari" ("Discussion About Dirigisme in Art"),[20] Safvate was advocating a new brand of centrally controlled management of music activities. This

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kind of approach became strongly evident in later years, in his somewhat doctrinaire directorship of the Markaz. Eventual differences between Safvate and Borumand led to the latter's departure from the Markaz in the mid-1970s. Borumand's influence, however, was felt primarily through the large number of pupils who studied with him, many of whom went on to become influential figures in their own right. A closer focus on Borumand, and specifically on certain aspects of his biography, may be illuminating in relation to some of the discourses reported above.

Born into an aristocratic family, Borumand was raised in a household frequented by musicians, poets, and artists, and, at the age of twelve, he began studying *tār* (long-necked plucked lute) with the renowned Qolam Hossein Darvish Khan (1872–1926). In 1922, he was sent to Germany, where he attended secondary school and also became familiar with European music, taking piano lessons for two years. While studying medicine, Borumand continued to pursue his musical interests, but failing eyesight and eventual blindness led to his return to Iran in 1938, from which time he devoted himself entirely to Iranian music. Borumand spent the next thirty years living a rather secluded life and continuing to study *tār* and *setār*. It wasn't until the 1960s that he emerged into public life, after being invited to advise on and participate in a number of government-sponsored activities and—from the mid-1960s—to teach *radif* at the University of Tehran's Fine Arts Faculty (before the formal establishment of the Music Department in 1969) and later at the Markaz. Borumand was not primarily a performer and was therefore little known to the general public; however, he became highly regarded as a teacher, largely through his detailed knowledge of the *radif*, accumulated through many years of study with several prominent masters. Borumand's significance lies largely in the fact that he studied with masters who were in direct receipt of Mirza Abdollah's *radif* (see During et al. 1991: 62; Nettl 1987: 142–143), his main teachers—Esma'il Khan Qahremani and Haji Aqa Mohammad—being among the most highly regarded of Mirza Abdollah's pupils. In particular, as noted, many consider the *radif* that Borumand studied intensively with Qahremani over a period of about twelve years (During et al. 1991: 63) to be the version closest to Mirza Abdollah's original, particularly since the route of transmission through Qahremani and Borumand was not affected by Darvish Khan's attempts to popularize the tradition. As Fayaz observes:

> Borumand had all the qualities to make him suited for this [leading the revival movement]. Raised in an aristocratic and art-loving family, studied with the best masters of the time; attachment to pre-Vaziri music and great knowledge of that; ability as a performer and teacher. . .. and good memory.
>
> (1998: 95)

With its historical roots in the royal courts, Iranian classical music has long been associated with privilege, authority, and power. Revivalists of the 1960s and 1970s effectively sought to recreate a time before modernization and Westernization, before the 1906 Constitutional Revolution set in train the processes of disempowering royalty, a time when the aristocratic order was in place, and with Iranian classical music firmly within

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that order. Borumand's analogies with horses and "pure blood" start to make sense when one considers his own extraction and the fact that he was one of the last of a long tradition of the leisured aristocratic amateur musician before Iranian classical music moved into the public domain and the realm of the middle classes and intellectuals. In his incisive analysis of Borumand's role at this time, Fayaz suggests that "for someone of noble or aristocratic birth [*asilzādeh*], proving purity [*esālat*] as the most important value is tantamount to proving himself" (1998: 108), and he asks whether Borumand's approach to historical purity might be partly understood as a form of personal validation. While such discussion highlights the potentially defining role of key individuals in any social movement, and no matter what Borumand's personal motivations might have been, it is important to understand that his ideas became influential primarily because he was in a position to promote them through his role as instructor of *radif* at both the University of Tehran and the Markaz; no other musician had such a profound impact as a teacher in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Returning to the work of Taruskin, there are some interesting conceptual parallels between Borumand and Stravinsky that I believe are worth noting briefly. Borumand may have encountered Stravinsky's music during his time in Europe, but there is no evidence that he was familiar with his writings. Still, there are some fascinating similarities between these two musicians. As a self-appointed guardian of "pure" music and "objective" performance, Stravinsky adopted a quasi-ideological approach in his writings and performances. His sharpest rhetoric was directed at the performer, who he believed should be a transmitter of music with the minimum of interpretation, as set out in the series of lectures that were later published as the *Poetics of Music* (first English-language edition, 1947):

> It is the conflict of these two principles—execution and interpretation—that is at the root of all the errors, all the sins, all the misunderstandings that interpose themselves between the musical work and the listener and prevent a faithful transmission of its message.
>
> (Quoted in Taruskin 1988: 181)

He continues by invoking similarly loaded terms such as "criminal assault," "conscience," and "betrayal." Such statements are strongly reminiscent of Borumand's views regarding the interpretive freedom of the performer and the sanctity of the *radif* text. Like Stravinsky, Borumand's ideal performer is a transmitter of what already exists, with the minimum of interpretive intervention, and he regularly commented negatively on the practice of improvisation. In light of these observations, it is interesting to note certain similarities between these two men in terms of their social backgrounds and the possible implications for their views on music. For instance, Taruskin discusses Stravinsky's complaints, in relation to performances of Bach's music, about the "lack of understanding of the interpreter's obligations, this arrogant pride in numbers, this concupiscence of the many, [that] betray a complete lack of musical education" (from Stravinsky's *Poetics of Music*, quoted in Taruskin

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1988: 182). Taruskin observes, "we need not . . . hire a psychologist to investigate what the phrase 'concupiscence of the many' would have meant to a Russian aristocrat uprooted by the Bolshevik revolution" (Taruskin 1988: 182). Likewise, Borumand was from an aristocratic background (and indeed had close links with the Pahlavi royal family) and lived through a period in which the aristocracy lost much of its power in Iran. From this perspective, his somewhat doctrinaire position might be understood as a more or less conscious act of reliving an archaic aristocratic status quo, an ideologically driven preservation of the tradition for a musically informed elite. Although the context is very different, the case of Borumand seems to illustrate well the "view of revival as social elite" as discussed by Neil Rosenberg (in relation to the American folk song revival movement of the 1950s and 1960s), "in which revivalists, in transforming traditions, represent the established political and social agendas of the group from which they emerge" (1993: 19). Rosenberg contrasts this with the "view of revival as social consensus," which accords more closely with the post-1979 period to be discussed shortly. In this sense, the first revival aligns with yet another of the "struggles" listed by Ronström—that of class (1996: 9).

Ultimately, I would suggest that the revivalism of the 1960s and 1970s was not just about the music—I might venture to suggest not *even* about the music—but was rather a means of validating a particular contemporary position arising from a complex set of social and personal circumstances. Seeking to reclaim the notion of "purity" from those who set themselves up as the "authenticity police" (*pāsebān-e sonnat va esālat*, 1998: 100), Fayaz suggests that "[i]n truth, the direct result of increased sensitivity to historical purity was a decreased concern with artistic purity. . .. the price paid for historical purity was to injure, change and even lose the tradition" (Fayaz 1998: 106). Although relatively little research has been undertaken on the reception of Iranian classical music during this (or any other) period, such evidence as there is suggests that lay audiences in the 1970s were largely uninterested in matters of historical veracity. According to Fayaz, many became alienated by discourses of purity, and Iranian classical music became marginalized as audiences dwindled (Fayaz 1998); but perhaps that was the intention. At the same time, however, what the purists regarded as "acculturated" radio programs, such as the *Golhā* series, remained popular.

Postrevolutionary Renaissance: Revival as Renewal

By the mid-1970s, there began a process of bifurcation led by the new generation of graduate musicians, including several who had studied at the Markaz. Combining a strict classical training with a widening of musical horizons, many of these musicians began to question the pursuit of tradition for its own sake and started to create music

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that resonated with and responded to contemporary issues and which extended the repertoire in new directions. As Livingston observes:

> After a tradition has been "revived" the question always arises as to the balance between "preservation" of the tradition (i.e. strict adherence to revivalist stylistic parameters) and innovation, even innovation that is intended to win over a greater audience for the tradition. Frequently this tension is responsible for the breakdown of the revival.
>
> (1999: 71)

This characterization nicely sums up the situation in Iran at this time; and indeed, the tension between preservation and innovation remains a site of contestation. What is interesting is that the first ("purist") revival sowed the seeds for what was later to emerge as another, very different kind of revival following the Revolution of 1979. Several classical music groups were formed at this time, and many of the changes were led by the two most prominent: the Sheyda Ensemble, established in 1974 by Mohammad Reza Shajarian and Parviz Meshkatian (and named after the prominent Constitutional Period poet, Mirza Abbas Khan Sheida, or Sheida-ye-Esfahani 1873–1949); and the Aref Ensemble, established in 1977 by Parviz Meshkatian, Hossein Alizadeh, and Mohammad Reza Lotfi.

As with the first revival, a number of factors contributed to the second, perhaps the most significant being the sociopolitical climate of the time, particularly in the lead up to and aftermath of the Revolution of February 1979, an important aspect of which was the assertion of national sovereignty after decades of external interference in Iran's affairs. The Revolution thus triggered a widespread "return to roots" interest in traditional arts and culture, and, as part of this, Iranian classical music experienced an extraordinary renaissance, attracting mass audiences for the first time in its history. Despite the often crippling restrictions that artists faced under the new Islamic Republic, this period is widely regarded as one of renewal, but of a kind that was very different from that of the 1960s and 1970s, one closer to the "syncretic" end of Bauman's continuum, in which musicians seek to "reinvent[ing] the past by emancipatory creation to the point of breaking the local and regional frontiers" (1996: 80). Further, Bauman's observations with regard to the Swiss situation are very apposite to Iran at a time when "the escape into the utopia of the past was replaced by hope for a better future" (Bauman 1996: 80). Alongside the general postrevolutionary fervor and the sense of entering a new era of possibilities, there was a feeling of release among musicians, both from the moralizing of traditionalists and from the previous regime's kowtowing to the West. This was a time of experimentation—experimentation that had started in the mid-1970s—as musicians used new formal structures and new instrumental colors and drew on influences from regional traditions, particularly from Kurdish music, since a number of prominent classical musicians at this time were of Kurdish heritage. Kurdish influences included the introduction of the *daff* frame drum (not hitherto used in the classical music) and the widespread use of additive meters (5, 7, 13, and so on).[21] It was also at this time that

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instrumental music began to gain independence from the voice for the first time, largely through the work of musicians such as Hossein Alizadeh (see Nooshin forthcoming).

The early to mid-1980s was certainly an extraordinary time for Iranian classical music, as described by prominent vocalist Shahram Nazeri:

> It was as if a nation that had been asleep for centuries had woken; as if a fire had been lit in a reed-bed and each of these reeds, since they are burning, was obliged to think about itself, its society, its history. People gradually became interested in their own culture, because the reality is that for many years in Iran, there was a long period of loss of identity [*bihoviyyat*].
>
> (interview, August 21, 1999, Tehran)

This grassroots "awakening" drew in many who had hitherto been largely excluded from the classical tradition, including many women musicians and those from conservative religious backgrounds whose participation in music was previously rare. As such, the movement arguably brought about a gradual democratization of the tradition, in contrast with the strongly elitist nature of the first revival:

> Even religious families started listening to the radio and television; cassettes came, tape recorders came. Many families sent their sons and daughters, under the age of twenty, to music lessons. For example, there was a cassette called *Gol-e Sad Barg* published in 1363 [1984; a recording by Nazeri himself]. When it was published, believe me, there was a revolution in *setār*, such a story [*ye dāstāni shod*], in the space of eight or nine months, I'm not saying one million people, but something around this number came to participate in classes, girls and boys.
>
> (interview, August 21, 1999, Tehran)

I have written elsewhere about this period and the impact of the cultural policies of the new Islamic government on music and other areas of artistic activity (Nooshin 2005: 235–245).[22] In the early 1980s, there was little music on radio and television other than revolutionary anthems and military music, certain types of music—most notably popular music—were banned outright, and concerts more or less stopped. Yet, despite government restrictions, cassette recordings (the main medium of music circulation) of Iranian classical music were produced and distributed widely and were eagerly anticipated, in some cases becoming an emotive focal point for the new mood of national and political consciousness. Indeed, Iranian classical music assumed a dual antihegemonic symbolism at this time: first, in relation to Western culture and second with respect to government restrictions on music making, particularly in the context of tensions in the early 1980s between, on the one hand, the politicized pan-Islamic tendencies evident in government discourses and nationalist discourses on the other. Classical music (and poetry) represented an important challenge to government discourses at this time and, for many, provided an important means of affirming national identity. This movement also had its visionaries, individuals such as Shajarian, Nazeri, and Alizadeh, who, unlike those of the earlier revival, became well known to the public and, in some cases, akin to national heroes. Most significantly, for the first time in many decades, musicians set

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poetry that resonated with the historical moment, both from the same body of Medieval mystical poetry traditionally set, but also drawing on the work of contemporary poets such as Hooshang Ebtehaj (pen name Sayeh, lit. "shadow"), Javad Azar, Aslan Aslanian, and Mojtaba Kashani. In this way, classical music found a social relevance that it had arguably not had since the time of the 1906 Constitutional Revolution. Significant recordings at this time included a series of cassettes produced by the Chavosh Institute featuring prominent musicians such as vocalists Shajarian and Nazeri and composer-instrumentalists Alizadeh, Mohammad Reza Lotfi, Parviz Meshkatian, and members of the Kamkar family, among others.[23]

Although this discussion of the second revival is necessarily more cursory than that of the first, there are some points to note. First, some of the key innovators of the second revival were musicians who had studied at the Markaz with masters such as Borumand and who, in the early 1980s, found themselves in a directly contradictory position to those who continued the preservative work of the Markaz during this period. This was a generation of socially engaged and broadly educated musicians trained in the traditional repertoire but also attuned and responsive to the national mood. I would argue that they could only have become the innovators that they did through their rigorous training and in-depth knowledge of the *radif* gained at the Markaz; it was this that gave them the firm foundation on which to create, or to "fly," to use a metaphor of Shahram Nazeri's:

> In reality, the *radifs* came about so that a musician could place his foot on a firm basis [*bastar*] from which to fly. Like an architect who wants to construct a building needs a firm and correct foundation [*pāyeh*]…. or like a light that guides you and doesn't allow you to deviate [*monharef*].
>
> (interview, April 23, 2010, Tehran)[24]

In an important sense, then, the first revival can be seen as having (inadvertently) laid the groundwork for the second. The second important factor was the resurgence of national consciousness that followed the Revolution and that led to a new social receptiveness and audience for classical music. Whether the second revival could have happened without either is debatable. What the two revival movements shared was a concern with national identity and a rejection of Iran's strong cultural (and political) dependency on the West that marked the prerevolutionary period. Where they differed was that the first appealed to the past to legitimate practices of the present, whereas the second was determinedly forward-looking in its understanding of revival as renewal of the tradition through creation. Further, the second revival became an important part of the postrevolutionary social arena, in contrast to the first, which worked against the tide of social change in Iran in the 1960s and 1970s.

Conclusion: Postrevival Bifurcation

Bauman describes the "escaping into the utopia of the past on the one hand and escaping into the utopia of the future on the other" as "two sides of a Janus head" (1996: 80). What,

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then, does the Janus-like nature of the two revival movements described in this chapter—the first looking firmly to the past, the second to the future—tell us about musical revivals and their ideological underpinnings? And what have the postrevival implications been for the trajectory of Iranian classical music since the 1980s? Although the second revival grew out of conditions partly made possible by the first, I have hesitated to frame the former as a postrevival manifestation because each revival phase emerged from radically different social circumstances and with distinct discursive positionings. Certainly, this raises questions about the notion of postrevivalism and how we understand the relationships between revival moments. To some extent, the movement of the 1980s might be regarded as a reaction against the kind of adherence to *radif* orthodoxy and notions of musical purity that prevailed in the 1960s and 1970s. And yet, there was no explicit framing of the second revival in these terms at the time; indeed, the *radif* remained firmly in place as the underlying basis of the music. Further, I have been struck by the respectful tone with which those musicians who trained at the Markaz talk about the work of the masters there in the early 1970s, even where their current practice diametrically opposes the approach of that time. Since the 1980s, however, the Iranian classical music scene has nonetheless been marked by a fairly clear divide between musicians who somewhat trenchantly follow the path of the first revival and those who see themselves as extending the work of the postrevolutionary period.[25] In this sense, we are currently in a period of postrevival, in which the continuing strands of both movements are clearly evident in the schisms that mark Iran's musical landscape; indeed, the tension between them provides a space of public contestation, often aired in the national and musical press, over competing "authenticities," particularly in relation to role of the *radif*—either as a text to be adhered to more or less strictly or a source that provides a starting point for creative practice and a form of personal authenticity that is more to do with the spirit of the text than its letter. The first position is primarily to be found in some of the more prominent educational establishments and in the views of musicians such as Majid Kiani and Dariouche Safvate; one sees the second both among those postrevolutionary pioneers mentioned earlier who have continued their work over the past thirty years and among younger musicians who have, in recent years, become increasingly confident in developing a voice that goes beyond orthodoxy, and more recently even beyond the *radif* (see Nooshin forthcoming). If anything, these two postrevival "strands" seem to be moving further apart, the one presenting itself as the guardian of national heritage and identity, the other appealing to a rather different understanding of nationhood and "Iranian-ness," one that depends on the idea of tradition not so much as stasis but rather as something creative and organic. Whether these very different manifestations of (post)revival can be reconciled, and what shape any future post-postrevivalism might take, remains to be seen.

Notes

1. A term reportedly coined by University of Tehran philosopher, Ahmad Fardid, and the title of a highly influential book by Jalal Al-e Ahmad, published in 1962 (English translation

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1983) and subsequently banned under the Shah's regime. Transliteration from Persian to Roman script in this chapter follows conventionally accepted spellings of words where applicable; elsewhere, I have sought to convey the sound of spoken (standard) Persian as closely as possible.

2. For further discussion on the debate over modernity in Iran, see Milani (2003) and Mirsepassi (2000).
3. For further discussion of Vaziri's life and work, see Darvishi (1994, chapter 4), Khaleqi (1983a,b), Milanloo (2011) and Nooshin (forthcoming, chapter 3).
4. Similar processes were happening more or less concurrently in the new Turkish Republic under the rule of another military officer, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (see Atabaki and Zürcher 2004). Vaziri continues to evoke strong views among Iranian musicians, some of whom believe his reforms to have been ultimately damaging to Iranian music. See, for instance, Alizadeh in Shahrnazdar (2004b: 23).
5. All translations from writings and interviews in Persian are by the current author.
6. Again, there are clear parallels with the rejection of Ottoman culture in Turkey after the establishment of the Republic in 1923 under the leadership of Atatürk.
7. A term commonly used nowadays by musicians to talk about musical practices of the 1960s and 1970s.
8. See Kiani (2004), Miller (1999: 37–56), and Talai (in Shahrnazdar 2004a: 18–19) for further information on the history and activities of the Markaz. Sources give differing dates for the establishment of the Markaz, but the most reliable indicate the Autumn of 1349 (1970) as the correct date.
9. These highly popular music programs were broadcast on National Iranian Radio from 1956 to 1979. For further information, see the work of Jane Lewisohn, including http://www.golha.co.uk and Lewisohn 2008.
10. The lavish volume eventually published by the government was compiled by Musa Ma'rufi (see Barkeshli and Ma'rufi [1963]; also discussion in Nooshin forthcoming).
11. Kiani goes as far as to claim that Borumand was the *only* musician in receipt of Mirza Abdollah's *radif* as transmitted through Qahremani, with whom Borumand studied (2004: 149). In contrast to such discourses of stability, Borumand himself is reported to have told his pupils that he "corrected and improved" the *radif* as learned from Qahremani before teaching it; other sources have suggested that he deleted recordings of Qahremani to hide the fact that the *radif* taught by him was different from that of his master (Talai in Shahrnazdar 2004a: 93). Either way, there is no extant notated or recorded version of Mirza Abdollah's original *radif*, nor of that taught by Qahremani. Outside Iran, Borumand became known through the writings of two of his pupils, Bruno Nettl and Jean During.
12. Particular mention might be made here of another influential teacher, Ali Akbar Shahnazi (1898–1985), grandson of prominent Qajar court musician Ali Akbar Farahani (1810–1855), who taught a number of contemporary musicians, including Dariush Talai and Hossein Alizadeh at the Honarestan-e Melli (secondary school) national music conservatory before they went on to study with Borumand and others at the University and the Markaz. Talai reports that it was through Shahnazi that he and his peers first became interested in the *radif*, since noone else at the Honarestan taught *radif* at this time, the general trend being to play in the style of "radio musicians" (Dariush Talai, personal communication, August 2012). Shahnazi taught his own version of the *radif,* and his approach was reportedly much less doctrinaire than that of Borumand.

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13. Elsewhere, I have discussed the ideological issues surrounding the increasingly iconic position and authority of the *radif* from the 1960s onward (Nooshin forthcoming). This authority has recently been given added impetus internationally by the addition of the *radif* (in 2009) to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)'s Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. See http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00279.
14. See also Ronström (1996: 17), who makes a similar point with reference to the work of Norwegian folklorist Anne Eriksen and her proposition that " 'traditional folk culture' is in fact not a heritage from the past, but a product of modernity, an idea that has evolved as a conscious point of opposition to modernity, and therefore an organic part of it (Eriksen 1993)
15. See Archer (1964). A number of speeches and papers from this conference have been published in the Persian-language journal *Mahoor Music Quarterly* (established 1998).
16. Baumann also notes the role of cultural outsiders in promoting revival processes, referring specifically to the case of Swiss Alpine traditions (1996: 74).
17. During also quotes from Borumand as follows: "Authentic music means the music that, like everything else that is authentic, embodies qualities and is graced with a *sound lineage*" (1991: 201, my emphasis).
18. Of course, it is not only in Iran that genetic metaphors have been used in relation to music. Kartomi notes that "terms such as cross-fertilized, hybrid, creole, mestizo and mulatto have sometimes been confused in their meanings with negative attitudes to illicit breeding and interracial liaisons" (1981: 229), such that "pejorative expressions that seem to punish the offspring for the 'sins' of the parents spring from or lead to a disrespect for the qualities of the musical offspring" (228). There are fewer examples in which the genetic analogy is deployed positively to refer to " 'hybrid strength' [that] may work to the advantage of the offspring" (229). One example can be found in contemporary Brazil, where metaphors of musical "mixing" and "hybridity" are most often positively valenced—as something that strengthens rather than weakens music—to the extent of symbolizing modern Brazilian nationhood (see Moehn 2008: 171–172).
19. Slobin (1983: 38–39) gives several examples of revival movements initiated by, and revolving around, a small group of individuals, sometimes just one person.
20. See Rashidi (1959). I am grateful to Mohammad Reza Fayaz for bringing this article to my attention.
21. For further discussion of the Kurdish influence on Iranian classical music at this time, see During (1984: 21–22) and Simms and Koushkani (2012: 24).
22. See also During (1984) and Simms and Koushkani (2012).
23. The Chavosh recordings included two that featured female vocalists Hengameh Akhavan and Sima Bina, with music by Lotfi. These were banned shortly after release because the use of the solo female voice became prohibited soon after the revolution (except at all-female concerts).
24. Ronström makes a similar point but using a different metaphor: "Traditions can function as a springboard for rapid cultural change. By conjuring stability and continuity, solid groundwork is laid for radical modernization" (1996: 17).
25. The Markaz continues to operate, but under rather different circumstances. It has been renamed Markaz-e Hefz o Pajoohesh-e Musiqi-ye Irani (Center for the Preservation of and Research on Iranian Music).

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