School of Design and the Built Environment

A Dialogic Approach to Interpretation of Iranian Heritage

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) – updated March 2014. The proposed research study received human research ethics approval from the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (EC00262), Approval Number BE-183-2013.

Abstract

This thesis responds to two problems and a gap in Iranian heritage scholarship. It addresses widespread anxiety in Iran about the interpretation and extensive loss of heritage fabric. It answers the question of what interpretive strategies would ensure diversity of meaning, and therefore, stronger protection for Iranian heritage.

This thesis identifies the first problem as "monumentalism," which includes an over-emphasis on the aesthetic and historic aspects of heritage sites at the expense of analysis of their social and political dimensions. The second problem which is "simplification," concerns the theories and frequently unexamined assumptions that simplify the complexity of relationships in heritage sites into binary models. The gap in Iranian scholarship is located in the neglect by analysis of emotions, performances and embodied knowledge of heritage sites which are rooted in everyday practices and are often regarded as insignificant. This thesis argues that widespread anxiety and the gaps in scholarship are connected. This thesis, therefore, identifies an interpretation problem as a critical issue, and addresses the problems and the gap by theorising a dialogic (Bakhtin 1984) methodology and interpretation. This thesis theorises the problem of Iranian heritage as monologisation (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 80) and its imposition of uniform meanings constructed by an authoritarian state as absolute truth on a fluid, multi-faceted phenomenon. The contrast between the rigidity of the state and the diversity of meanings is a significant aspect that defines the problem. Such an interpretive problem embedded in monumentalism, over-simplification and monolithic reading is not unique to Iran (Byrne 1991, 231; Smith 2006, 11). Iranian monumentalism, however, can be interpreted as a "double-voiced hybridisation" (Bakhtin 1981, 356) of "Islamism" and "monumentalism" (Hodjat 1995, 269). This thesis argues that such hybridisation is fundamentally problematic and far from being adequate to protect Iranian heritage sites.

This study investigates two Iranian World Heritage Sites, Persepolis and Tabriz Bazaar which signify different interpretive orientations and enable broad analysis; they symbolise *Mirāse Farhangui* and *Yādegār,* two contrasting discourses of heritage that are fundamental to Iranian culture. I argue that Mirāse Farhangui can often be interpreted as an authoritarian discourse that makes visitors to heritage sites disempowered through monolithic interpretations and a denial of the diversity of meanings. By contrast, Yādegār, as evidenced in Tabriz Bazaar, is theorised through heteroglossia (Bailey 2012, 257; Bakhtin 1981, 272), as a community-oriented and familiar phenomenon which embraces the diversity of meanings as an energising force.

The author, as an Iranian diasporic scholar, conceptualises this thesis as a dialogism between Iranian voices and Western theoretical traditions which generates a "creative understanding" (Todorov 1984, 108) of contemporary Iran. I address the ethical question of subordinating Iranian scholarship to Western theory (Modarres 2012) through enacting a dialogue between Persian and Western academic literature.

I develop a dialogic methodology though "co-being" (Holquist 2002, 40) and "creative understanding" (Todorov 1984, 108) which are two fundamental concepts in Bakhtin's ontology/epistemology. Bakhtin elevated dialogue as the very essence of being, and fundamental for the understanding of human relations (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 295). Mirāse Farhangui and Yādegār refer to the same complexity and innate dialogic as the novel, the literary form that Bakhtin idealises as dialogistic. Dialogism which is used in different Western and non-Western contexts, discusses that self is always co-being and is created through others (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 294,295; Holquist 2002, 24). This investigation sheds light on different layers of meanings and the role of practices, emotions and embodiment in the

interpretation of Iranian heritage sites. It uses concepts of heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981, 272), monologism (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 95), exotopy (Todorov 1984, 109, 110; Morson and Emerson 1990, 53) and the carnivalesque (Bakhtin 1984, 19, 20).

This thesis demonstrates that Iranian heritage is polyphonic, in contrast to the monolithic construction of official discourse. The potential for improved interpretation in Iran can be found in existing aspects of Iranian culture that are currently suppressed as unauthorised or regarded as insignificant. This thesis argues that those aspects are necessary for the creation and continuation of rich heritage sites because richness does not merely reside in physicality, but also in the interplay between centralising and decentralising forces that animate heritage sites through the heteroglossia of meaning (Bakhtin 1981, 272). This thesis also argues that heritage sites would be ensured continuity of the fabric through Yādegār, an embedded discourse in Iranian culture which is dialogic and embraces everyday practices and emotions.

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Glossary of abbreviations

ICHTTO	Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Organization
ICHO	Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (before 2004)
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
UNESCO	United Nation Educational and Scientific and Cultural Organization
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
RICHT	[Iranian] Research Institute for Cultural Heritage and Tourism
SBU	Shahid Beheshti University
RUFHP	[Iranian] Revitalization and Utilization Fund for Historical Places
PPRF	Pārseh-Pāsargad Research Foundation
NIHI	[Iranian] National Immovable Heritage Inventory

Glossary of Persian names and concepts

Bāzārchā	بازارچه	A small bazaar that usually serves a neighbourhood. In concert with the grand bazaar, it creates a trading network that is extended all over the old town.
Bāzāri	بازاری	Bāzāri in Persian means "the individuals who are working at the bazaar", especially traders and merchants.
Bāzdeed	بازدید	Visit.
Chārsug, Charsoo	چارسوق	The intersection of two Rāstās creates a particular space which is known as Chārsug. They are usually larger, more spacious and covered with a complicated vaulting system.
Dālān	دالان	A roofed passage that connects two Rāstās or acts as an entrance to the main building.
Ehyā	احیا	A particular movement in Iranian heritage in the last decade of the twentieth century which is identified with adaptive-reuse.
Ey-Iran	ای ایران	Popular but unofficial Iranian anthem composed by the famous composer, Hossein Gole Golab.
Fārs	فارس	Name of a province in central Iran which is the location of Persepolis.
Haft-Sin	هفت سین	A banquette with seven elements with names starting with "س".
Hosseinieh	حسینیه	Ritualistic space which is used primarily by Shi'a branch of Islam, especially in Muharram ceremony.
Jiroft	جیرفت	Name of a city and region in central Iran which is also the location of an ancient civilisation with vast archaeological remains.
Mardomshenasi	مردم شناسی	Anthropology.
Marvdasht	مرودشت	The second largest city in Fārs province next to Persepolis.
Meerāsee	میراثی	The word is a polyseme and can signify heritage professional or a member of ICHTO. Personal observation and interviews refer to a third meaning; that is member of heritage cult. See page 34 for further clarification.
Mellat	ملت	Nation.
Melliat	ملیت	Nationality.
Muharram	محرم	Commemoration of the martyrdom of Imam Hussein which is widely celebrated by the Shia branch of Islam and associated with extensive mourning rituals and celebrations.
Nowruz	نوروز	Refers to the first day of the Iranian calendar which is associated with particular rituals and celebrations.
Pishraft	پیشرفت	Progress, development.
Rahmat	رحمت	A historically sacred mountain which is the location of Persepolis.
Rāstā, Rāsteh	راسته	The primary space of any bazaar is called Rāstā, in which the major daily activities take place. It consists of a modular linear space with two rows of the shops on either side. The Rāstās could also be described as

		covered streets. They are created by the repetition of a modular structure known as Chārtāghi.
Sabzeh	سبزه	A sprout that is grown in different forms as part of the rituals of Nowruz.
Sārā (or Khān)	سرا (خان)	A space which is used mainly for the accommodation of people, storage of goods and trading. Sara is a large complex containing a vast courtyard in the middle, usually surrounded by two-storey rooms. The rooms are used for the lodging of merchants, storing goods or as a workshop.
Sharia	شریعت	Islamic religious law.
Shia	شیعه	A branch of Islamic belief
Shiraz	شیراز	Refers to a city in central Iran and the capital of the Fars province.
Tabriz	تبریز	Refers to the name of a city in north-west Iran and the capital of the East-Azerbaijan province.
Takhte-Jamshid	تخت جمشید	Persepolis.
Tār	تار	An Iranian musical instrument.
Timcheh	تیمچه	A space with the same function as Sārā, but without accommodation facilities. The significant difference between the two types of building is that the central area in Timcheh is covered with a complicated vaulted roof. Timcheh may also act as an entrance to the Sārā.
Vadaye' Melli	ودایع ملی	A term for heritage in Persian which means entrusted national objects for safekeeping.
Vatan	وطن	Homeland.
Vatanparasti	وطن پرستی	Nationalism, Patriotism.
Waqf	وقف	A Waqf is a self-governing trust established under sharia by a living man or woman, for the provision of a designated social service for eternity.

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Explanation

Journeys in this thesis refer to the encounter between me as an investigator and the vibrant everyday life of Tabriz Bazaar. Such an encounter is called a "journey" because it is grounded in an empirical engagement with space. As reflected in Appendix One, each of my three journeys signifies my individual participation in the dynamism of Tabriz. I represent each journey in form of a text that clarifies conservation, everyday practices and the relationship of the city to Tabriz.

I have used a code to refer to the texts as a source of data. In this code, "J" signifies a journey and "Par" refers to the paragraph in that specific journey. In this way, J3. Par.11 refers to paragraph eleven of my third textual representation of journey. I discuss in the methodology chapter the concepts of exotopy and embodied knowledge as a theoretical basis for the journeys.

The identity of the Iranian interviewees is kept confidential. Any reference that might reveal the identity of participants is avoided and a particular system of coding has been implemented to cite the interviews. All interviews with Iranian participants are translated to English by the author of this thesis.

INTRODUCTION

On 28 October 2016, thousands of individuals gathered around the tomb of Cyrus the Great in the World Heritage Site of Pasargadae to celebrate the birth of the father of the nation. The government banned the ceremony, forced travel agencies to cancel tours, and surrounded the tomb with security fences, but a huge crowd gathered and broke into the site to commemorate Cyrus Day.[1] Some groups chanted slogans against Arabs and in praise of Cyrus, and in support of the Pahlavi monarchy. Many were arrested by the security forces and prosecuted for immoral expressions and behaviour (D.W. 2016; Euronews 2017). At the same time, Ayatollah Nouri Hamedani, a high-ranking Shiite cleric, condemned the celebration and demanded punishment for the participants who "chant the same slogans [about Cyrus] that we chant about our Supreme Leader" (Sharafedin 2016, Par. 5). The support for Pahlavi and the severe reaction of the Iranian government should be read in the context of the controversial events of the Shiraz Art Festival (Gluck 2007) and the 2500 Year Celebration of the Persian Empire (Grigor 2005; Stevenson 2008). In those events, both Pasargadae and Persepolis acted as a theatrical stage and "centre of gravity of the world" (Shawcross 1989, 39) to promote a modern Perisan Empire.

[1] Borobalatar. 2016. '*Dargiri Mardom Ba Ma'moran.*' YouTube Video, 1:45. https://youtu.be/Q5Io-OodZDA accessed 07/03/2017.

Eight years earlier, in 2008, under the pressure of media and the public, the government commissioned a group of cultural heritage professionals, including me, to inspect recent conservation work at the tomb. The controversial repairs were criticised by the media and resulted in widespread expressions of public anxiety about unacceptable management and conservation (Mehrnews 2008). It was widely discussed that the poor quality of conservation work had resulted in the roof of the tomb collapsing and the remains of a royal body being revealed accidentally (Seemorgh 2009). Community groups believed that the government concealed the story and secretly destroyed the bones for political reasons (Seemorgh 2009, Par. 17). The final report approved the quality of conservation and rebutted the rumours, due to heavy pressure from the government. The report was quickly announced in a press briefing at Pasargadae (Talebian 2008), and emphasised that the operation was under the supervision of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In the atmosphere of mistrust between the Iranian state and the public, concerns were never allayed (Jamejam 2009a; Mehrnews 2008). Even though the birthday of Cyrus the Great is unknown and royal remains are considered as unauthentic by archaeologists, the celebration at the tomb of Cyrus illustrates a lively power struggle between an authoritarian government and resisters about the meanings of Pasargadae. The second indicates public concerns about the physical relics of a pre-Islamic site which are often ignored, repressed or poorly addressed by the state because of nationalistic and monarchist expressions that government regards as anti-revolutionary and against Islam.

This introduction provides an overview of attempts made to fulfil the objectives of my study. The chapter clarifies thesis question, explains thesis statement, sketches a background of the problem of Iranian heritage, and discusses why dialogism is taken as the theoretical umbrella. The introduction clarifies the structure of the thesis and contextualises the case studies of Persepolis and Tabriz Bazaar. Also, this introduction defines the concepts that signify a particular meaning for this thesis.

Thesis question

The thesis question emerges from an overwhelming sense of disquiet among Iranian community groups about extensive loss of heritage fabric and a monolithic official interpretive orientation; what interpretive strategies would ensure diversity of meaning and stronger protection for Iranian heritage? This inquiry is structured by five

objectives to provide an answer, from many possible answers, to the research question. First, it engages in a critical dialogue with the literature to develop a theoretical setting and reveal orientations and absences in the scholarship. Secondly, it identifies multiple interpretations and discourses that exist in selected heritage sites including Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis. Thirdly, it clarifies the relationships within and between interpretations of Iranian heritage and establishes an understanding of the dialogues. Fourthly, it elucidates the concepts of interpretation and protection; and, finally, it clarifies an alternative interpretive strategy, entrenched in Iranian culture, that would respond to the the crises in the protection practices of Iranian heritage. This thesis, therefore, is more than a historical study of two selected cases, Persepolis and Tabriz Bazaar, in search for their so-called authentic meaning.

Thesis statement

This thesis argues that the "critical condition" (Beheshti 2003; Hodjat 2015) of Iranian heritage, as reflected in widespread disquiet among community groups (IRNA 2015; Mehrnews 2010, 2015; Mokhtari 2015; Radmanesh 2013), is related to extensive loss of Iranian heritage fabric (Beheshti 2004, 2) and is linked to the frozen interpretative strategy of the government. This thesis illustrates different dimensions of Mirāse Farhangui as a monolithic discourse and identifies the interpretive problem of Iranian heritage as monologised (Bakhtin 1984, 80) since Mirāse Farhangui can have the effect of transforming heritage sites from a dynamic becomingness into a unitary and lifeless physicality. Mirāse Farhangui is the approach used by the government and is officially defined:

> Mirāse Farhangui consists of relics which indicate man's historical progress and serve as a basis for a better knowledge of human identity and their path of cultural progress, thus providing for man's admonition. (Samadi 2003, 53)

I argue that interpretive problem, firstly, emerges from a monologised (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 80) strategy and its imposition of uniform meanings constructed by an authoritarian state as absolute truth on a fluid, multi-faceted phenomenon. The second dimension of the interpretive problem resides in "monumentalism" which includes an over-emphasis on the aesthetic and historic aspects of heritage sites at the expense of analysis of their social and political dimensions. The third dimension which is "simplification," concerns the theories and frequently unexamined assumptions that

simplify the complexity of relationships in Iranian heritage sites into binary models. Such an interpretive problem is not unique to Iran. Although such a tendency embedded in monumentalism, over-simplification and monolithic reading is not unique to the Iranian context (Byrne 1991, 231; Smith 2006, 11), in Iran, as will be discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight, Mirāse Farhangui is more rigid and less hegemonic, due to the resistance of different groups. Less hegemonic but more forceful tendency is evident in processes that are more authoritarian than the West. Western heritage processes "tends to present [heritage] places as passive rather than dynamic" (Stephens 2012, 662) and, in contrast to Iran, transforms heritage engagement into a subtle, deliberate and hegemonic discourse (Smith 2006, 11).

This thesis contributes in polysemic scholarship and emerges from the literature that conceptualises heritage as more-than-representational (Lorimer 2005). It demonstrates that Iranian heritage is polyphonic, in contrast to the monolithic construction of official discourse. This research, through Bakhtinian scholarship, posits interpretation as a dialogical process of creating and understanding heritage which involves heritage objects (material or immaterial), addressees (visitors, experts, officials, local communities), and official heritage interpreter (e.g. state) (Figure 1). Thus, the potential for improved interpretation in Iran can be found in existing aspects of Iranian culture that are currently suppressed as unauthorised or regarded as insignificant. This thesis discusses that those aspects are necessary for the creation and continuation of rich heritage sites because richness does not merely reside in physicality, but also in the interplay between centralising and decentralising forces that animate heritage sites through the heteroglossia of meaning (Bakhtin 1981, 272). This thesis, therefore, selects a qualitative method and develops a methodology from the concept of exotopy (Morson & Emerson 1990, 53; Todorov 1984, 109, 110), autoethnography (Silverman 2013; Given 2008; Reed-Danahay 1997), and more-than-representational theories (Lorimer 2005) through which neglected aspects of Iranian heritage, including affective, performances, and everyday understanding can be explored. The journeys, as illustrated in Appendix One, represent a dialogism between researcher and the "space as lived" (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith 1991, 34) in Tabriz Bazaar.

This thesis responds to the question of the research by identifying an alternative discourse in Iranian culture. Yādegār encapsulates a more inclusive interpretive strategy than Mirāse Farhangui because, firstly, it is based on a heteroglossic

understanding of Iranian heritage sites that embraces diversity of meaning as an energising force. Secondly, it demonstrates a community oriented and participatory conservation practice that integrates familiar acts of daily life, emotions and performances into protection system. Thirdly, Yādegār goes beyond the dominant ideology of Mirāse Farhangui —monumentalism— and transform heritage sites into an ongoing becomingness. In this way, heritage sites are not exclusively defined from their frozen physicality, aesthetic and historical values. Heritage sites would be ensured continuity of the fabric through Yādegār, an embedded discourse in Iranian culture which is community oriented, dialogic, and embraces everyday practices and emotions.

In the practices of the state, Mirāse Farhangui encapsulates both physical and abstract understandings. In addition, it is a discourse with a strong political connotation that evokes "national pride" (Rafsanjani 1992, quoted in Talebian 2004b, 163) and unifies "Iranian identity." (Khatami 2001, quoted in Talebian 2004b, 164) It also positions Islamic heritage against pre-Islamic heritage and interprets pre-Islamic relics as symbols of "oppression and despotism" (Khamenei 1989, quoted in Talebian 2004b, 164). Such a definition encapsulates a monumentalist, abstract and authoritarian interpretation. Mirāse Farhangui denies multiplicity and imposes a unified meaning which is based on Islamised values and the suppression of disputes.

This thesis identifies interpretive concerns in the public, media, experts and official expressions, and clarifies problematic orientations and a gap in Iranian heritage scholarship. The gap and the problems include the oversimplification of heritage under blanket assumptions and binary positioning, ignoring social and political aspects through conservatism and censorship, and dismissing the everyday understandings of heritage sites. These orientations and gap, as will be discussed in Chapter two, indicate the contribution of Iranian heritage scholarship to the monologisation of Mirāse Farhangui. The concept of protection in this thesis goes beyond the conventional notion of conservation that is expressed in Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964) and Burra Charter (ICOMOS 1999). It demonstrates organisational, collective or individual practices, focused on the fabric or intangible aspects to enhance the endurance of heritage sites.

Background

The topic of this research is an echo of widespread anxiety about the confusion engendered by conflicting interpretations and the massive destruction of historic relics. Such apprehension, which will be discussed in Chapter one, is expressed in different forms by the public in media (Heydaripour 2010; Mehrnews 2010, 2015; Mokhtari 2015; Mozaffari 2015, 849,850; Shamoradi & Abdollahzadeh 2014, 233-243), by the experts in academic publications (Assari & Assari 2012; Hejazi 2008, 243; Lawler 2003, 974; Madjidzadeh & Pittman 2008, 69; Sarmento & Kazemi 2014, 145) and interviews and by the officials in the statements and government reports (Beheshti 2003, Par.1; 2004, 1-3; Rahimzadeh 2008, 18-21). It must be noted that I cannot name certain interviewees to protect them from a repressive government. As an Iranian and a heritage expert, the author of this thesis has experienced the shared anxiety by witnessing the enormous loss of tangible/intangible heritage, and unsuccessful efforts to bridge the barriers between government and the community. In Chapter Four, this thesis discusses two examples of such effort in *Ehyā* (adaptive-reuse), in which the government, due to political reasons, terminated significant projects.

In the context of censorship and lack of reliable statistics, the media surprisingly reports many cases of vandalism (Khairi & Sadrai 2002), negligence (Tait 2005), and systematic plunder (Mousavi 1996; Negahban 2006) which are a significant indicator of the severity of the problem.

Mirāse Farhangui

The Persian term Mirāse Farhangui (**میراث فرهنگی**) is fundamental to this study as it is used as a signifier for the official discourse of Iranian heritage. In different thematic chapters, this thesis analyses and demonstrates the various dimensions of the official discourse of Iranian heritage. There is another contradictive position that discusses the Persian phrase conveys a single meaning that represents Iranian Cultural, Handicraft and Tourism Organization (ICHHTO). Such a position, which I critically review in Chapter Two under monumentalist literature, emerges from a particular stance that denies the discursive nature of Iranian heritage. I firstly clarify that Mirāse Farhangui semantically is a polyseme; as a popular word, it is used by different individuals in various meanings. The multiplicity of meaning occasionally creates confusion in colloquial language and rarely in media. Secondly, I identify the discursive meaning embedded in the term and demonstrate that Mirāse Farhangui for community groups,

academics (Hanachi & Yadollahi 2011; Hodjat 1995; Mozaffari 2015, 2016; Rahimzadeh 2008) media (IQNA 2017; Mehrnews 2011; Sahraian 2017; Tasnimnews 2017), heritage law (Samadi 2003, 2007), and official documents (Beheshti 2004; ICHO 1996) represents the process of producing and organising a dominant meaning and a value-system (Edgar & Sedgwick 2008, 96). Thirdly to avoid the confusion, I explain how this thesis follows discursive scholarship, official documents and legislative texts which clearly distinguish between meanings by using different signifiers. So, I disagree with the monumentalist stance that reduces understanding of Mirāse Farhangui into merely that advanced by ICHHTO. Such a position is inadequate because it dismisses the discursive and polysemic nature of the term. To avoid confusion, Mirāse Farhangui signifies the official discourse, and ICHHTO the governmental organisation.

A polyseme

Community groups assign different meanings to Mirāse Farhangui which include a dominant and official understanding of Iranian heritage, a shortened form of "*Sazman-e Miras-e Farhngui, Sanaye'e Dasti, va Gardeshgari"* [2] (ICHHTO), and occasionally heritage objects. For an Iranian addressee, the polysemy of popular term in media is not confusing because the intended meaning can be understood in the context. For example, when Mirāse Farhangui is used with Persian word "**قاچاق**"[3] it probably signifies heritage objects (IQNA 2017; Tasnimnews 2017; Vista 2017). Mirāse Farhangui in conjunction with "**سازمان**"[4] signifies ICHHTO (Beheshti 2003, 2004; ICHO 1996). Such polysemy, especially in interviews and daily conversation, can create meaning confusion. For example, Abdi (2013, 2014) in different interviews attributes a devastating situation to Mirāse Farhangui. He uses the term in different meanings including heritage objects, a discourse, or ICHHTO. For the same reason, official documents, academic literature, and legislative texts carefully distinguish between different meanings and use multiple signifiers to avoid confusion.

An official narrative

In the official documents, Mirāse Farhangui encapsulates different meanings. Resignation letter of Beheshti (2004), and the executive policy of ICCHTO clearly

[2] سازمان میراث فرهنگی صنایع دستی و گردشگری
[3] Trafficking
[4] Organization

distinguish between Sazman-e Miras-e Farhangui and Mirāse Farhangui. The first refers to the governmental organisation (ICHHTO) (Beheshti 2004, 1,2,3,5,11) and the latter is used in various context including a concept, a topic (*Mozu'*) (Beheshti 2004, 1), understanding (*Fahm*) (Beheshti 2004, 8), something that encapsulates different values, something that can be promoted, studied and researched (Beheshti 2004,3,5). In another significant example (ICHO 1996), which I have analysed in Chapter Four, the executive policy dominantly uses Mirāse Farhangui with specificities of a discourse. Mirāse Farhangui, thus, includes significant national treasures (ICHO 1996, 2), is a particular understanding that "ought to" be promoted (ICHO 1996, 5), a significant topic for research (ICHO 1996, 6), and includes inherent values that should be discovered (ICHO 1996, 7). In this way, Mirāse Farhangui in official documents encapsulates different meanings, but mostly depict a specific value system that demonstrates power struggle between authorised and unauthorised understandings.

Academic literature

Academic literature, similarly, uses the term Mirāse Farhangui in different meanings. Hodjat, who has published his thesis in two languages of English (Hodjat 1995) and Farsi (Hodjat 2001), provides an example of the polysemic nature, and the discursive meaning of Mirāse Farhangui in the literature. Hodjat employs two explicit signifiers which leave no space for confusion; those are Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangui (in English version "Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization") and Mirāse Farhangui (in English version "cultural heritage"). As evidence of using Mirāse Farhangui as a discourse, Hodjat had dedicated an entire section in chapter two (Hodjat 2001, 165-209) to explain Mirās Farhangui before twentieth century, a period that ICHO did not exist. This thesis in Chapters Two and Four critically reviews Hodjat's book and analyses discursive nature of Mirāse Farhangui in his publications. My analysis demonstrates that, as a significant scholar and proponent of official discourse, Hodjat employs the term Mirāse Farhangui to explain, theorise, and expand an ideology. The ideology which is based om monumentalism and Islamism. Other Iranian prominent academics use the similar terminology and distinguish between Mirāse Farhangui (discourse) and Sāzmān-e Mirās-e Farhangui (ICHO) to explain and address the official discourse including Negahban (2006, 16), Adl (2007), and others (Fadainejad & Hanachi 2014; Rahimzadeh 2008). So academic literature uses the term as a polyseme and carefully

distinguishes between different meanings, and the term Mirāse Farhangui dominantly represents discursive attribute.

Mirāse Farhangui in legislation

Iranian heritage legislation encapsulates an unambiguous definition of Mirāse Farhangui and discursive attributes. This thesis in Chapter Four analyses the legislative context of Iranian heritage and clarifies a complex polyphony and five statutory paradigms which are embedded in the concepts of *Vadaye'e Melli, Atighāt, Farhang,* Islamised Heritage, and *Ehyā*. Each indicates a distinctive power struggle between multiple voices. In this way, the term Mirāse Farhangui represent an abstract understanding of the past which is dominated by historicity:

> Mirāse Farhangui is the remaining works of the past which signify humankind's behaviour along history. By knowing Mirāse Farhangui, understanding identity, tracking the cultural movements and production of the knowledge is made possible.[5] (Samadi 2003, 53)

Thus, Iranian heritage law uses the Persian term Mirāse Farhangui as a signifier for an authorised understanding of heritage. Through the Persian term, the law establishes a totalitarian value system of ethical practices which is based on monumentalism and focuses on the materiality of heritage.

Mirāse Farhangui: a discursive phenomenon

This thesis in different chapters demonstrates a power struggle between Mirāse Farhangui and unauthorised interpretations. It shows that Mirāse Farhangui is unresponsive to such a dynamic and complex environment. In the case of Persepolis, a vast region of farms, villages, mines and urban area is frozen as a buffer zone, without consideration for the everyday life of citizens, social and political contexts and the natural topography of the land (Yazdani 2011, 49, 50). The idealised approach of Mirāse Farhangui forces broad restrictions on the everyday lives of individuals which results in adverse effects (ICHHTO 2017, 3, 4). World Heritage Sites, including Tabriz Bazaar, Pasargadae, Golestān Palace and Meidan-e Emam, are constantly under pressure by the similar urbanisation and development (UNESCO 2013, 112; 2015; 2017, 170). In this way, entire districts are demolished through urbanisation, bulldozers destroy archaeological sites, and heritage places are uprooted. Even the core

[5] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

of World Heritage Sites, which usually are in better and safer condition, are damaged through development projects. Of these, the Sivand dam (Vidal 2004), Jahan-Nama (BBC 2005) and Susa (Jamejam 2009) are examples of challenges that arise between a rigid interpretation and a dynamic context. "*Nabudie Mirāse Farhangui*" (obliteration of cultural heritage), is expressed by the head of Iranian ICOMOS (Hodjat 2014) and has become a popular phrase (BBC 2011; Hodjat 2016; Sahraian 2017; Talebian 2017).

The anxiety about Nabudie Mirāse Farhangui, which I discuss in Chapter One, is best exemplified in the controversial interview with Beheshti, the former head of Iranian the Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Organization (ICHHTO). He describes with a most vivid image the anxiety among cultural elites toward the loss of national heritage: "Nabudie Mirase Farhangui in the last 50 years is one hundred times worse than the damages that occurred during the Mongol invasion" (Beheshti 2003, Par.1). The analogy of "the Mongol Invasion" connotes a common sense of a dire condition of heritage. The Mongol Invasion in Iranian collective memory indicates a most dreadful conquest from the thirteenth century when Mongolian troops "… came, they sapped, they burnt, they slew, they plundered and they departed" (A Persian witness from thirteenth century, quoted in Lane 2003, 1).

Iranian heritage scholarship is the ideal ground from which to understand the rigid and unresponsive interpretation of heritage embedded in Mirāse Farhangui. In Chapter Two, this thesis identifies three gaps in Iranian heritage scholarship which indicate the tendencies of oversimplification, denying polyphony, ignoring social and political aspects, ignoring everyday life in heritage sites and overemphasis on the historical and aesthetic dimension. These partiall approaches, embedded in dichotomous models of West/East, experts/non-experts, elite/common, progress/counter-progress, fail to shed light on the multifaceted nature of the problem (Beheshti 2004, 1-3; Grigor 2009, 13; Hodjat 1995, ii, 169; Niknami 2005, 346; Rahimzadeh 2008, 18-20). Many academics identify the non-indigenous roots of the Mirāse Farhangui as the primary problem (Abdi 2001, 52; Grigor 2004, 18-20; Hodjat 1995, ii; Malekshahmirzadi 1987, 134) which is partial and inadequate. In contrast, this thesis demonstrates that the problem of Iranian heritage is more of an interpretive issue; it is rooted in the monologisation of Mirāse Farhangui as a repressive, rigid and monumentalist discourse which claims to possess the truth about the meaning of heritage site. Such tendencies overlook the complexity of the Iranian context which is

socially and politically dynamic and polyphonic. Academic literature, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, unwittingly promotes polysemy as a problem because, in their viewpoint, multivocality threatens Iranian unity and identity. Both official and academic literature marginalise the unofficial meanings under fear of decentralisation and enforce a single meaning as absolute truth to create a monologised system. This thesis, by examination of different cases, demonstrates that decentralisation is a vital part of a dynamic system and the Nābudie Mirāse Farhangui is an inseparable facet of monologism.

This thesis responds to the partial approaches of scholarship with a multifaceted perspective. It also responds to oversimplification and binary theoretical models by developing a dialogic methodology. This study also addresses the monologism by theorising an alternative discourse which is called as Yādegār and is already embedded in Iranian culture.

A multifaceted approach

The structure of this thesis, in eight chapters and three appendices, explores Iranian heritage through the different prisms of mapping, legislation, memorialisation, power struggles, conservation practices, time-space, and everyday life. These headings are chosen because each fulfils a particular objective and discusses a different aspect of the problem.

Chapter one explores the problems of Iranian heritage and its consequences which are semantically expressed by the obliteration of Iranian heritage. The problem is discussed in contrast to dynamism and polysemy of heritage sites.

Chapter Two critically reviews the scholarship of Iranian heritage. It identifies problems and a gap in the scholarship. The scholarship impacted by Western rationalism and Cartesian Dualism (Gardiner 2000, 9; Harrison 2013, 206; Heidegger 1962, 87; 1984, 132) uses oversimplified and binary models, incapable of addressing the complexity of relationships in heritage sites. Also, this chapter identifies insufficiently studied dimensions of heritage sites embedded in everyday practices. Finally, the critique of heritage literature clarifies an emerging scholarship that chooses an interpretive approach and conceptualises Iranian heritage as discursive and polysemic.

Chapter Three addresses the shifts of theoretical approaches in heritage scholarship toward intangible reading (Araoz 2011, 59) and uses of non-

representational theories (Waterton & Watson 2013, 551). By discussing Bakhtinian philosophy and its critics, Chapter Four justifies dialogism for the study of Iranian heritage. It develops architectonics of a dialogic methodology based on co-being, creative understanding, heteroglossia, and exotopy which can address the gaps in Iranian heritage scholarship. Also, different aspects of the research design, including analytical tools, data collection and validation of findings, are discussed.

Chapter Five argues and illustrates that Iranian heritage is polyphonic. To identify often ignored and suppressed voices, this thesis examines three sites of dispute which are the subject of public anxiety. Those cases are Alishāh in Tabriz, Tent City in Persepolis, and Iranian Heritage Legislation. The polyphonic nature of the three cases is demonstrated by examination of power struggles between layers of meanings and social actors. The analysis connotes a complex and dynamic situation which is in contrast to the unitary and frozen attitude of Mirāse Farhangui.

Chapter Six explores polyphony from the viewpoint of memorialisation as an act of interpretation to explore the diversity of memories and their relationships. The analyses demonstrate that memorialisation is intertwined with heritage sites through various performances, including celebration, graffiti, mapping, and production of monuments (Niven & Paver 2009, 4-6). The chapter discusses the process of memorialisation by examination of graffiti in Persepolis and mapping in Tabriz. Under the light of heteroglossia and different memorialisation theories (Foucault 1980; Halbwachs 1992; Levy & Sznaider 2010; Nora 1989; Ricoeur 2004; Wertsch 2002, 2009) the chapter examines the dialogism of remembering and forgetting, memory and history, universal and particular memories, and finally counter-memories.

Chapter Seven covers a gap in scholarship and explores Tabriz Bazaar as a lived space. It identifies Yādegār, an entrenched discourse in Iranian culture, as familiar but different from Mirāse Farhangui. This chapter explores Yādegār through creative understanding (Todorov 1984, 108), exotopy (Morson & Emerson 1990, 53; Todorov 1984, 109, 110) and everyday practices (Bakhtin 1984; de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984; Gardiner 2000; Highmore 2002; Lefebvre 1991; Tiwari 2010). Chapter Seven should be read in the context of my three journeys, narrated in Appendix One. The journeys connote exotopic approaches to Tabriz Bazaar with different objectives. The first journey focuses on everyday practices in Tabriz Bazaar as a World Heritage Site and a marketplace. The second journey explores heritage protection as a familiar phenomenon, and event-ness. The third journey discusses the domain of everyday life

by the examining the boundaries of the buffer zone, and the interaction between the two dynamisms of heritage and city. The concept of exotopy (outside-ness) encapsulates the Bakhtinian notion of creative understanding (Todorov 1984, 108) in which the heritage site and the researcher dialogically create knowledge. Tabriz Bazaar, through the lens of exotopy, is analysed as a "molten lava" of events (Bakhtin 1990, x), un-finalised (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 295) and "familiar" (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 93).

Chapters Eight and Nine examine another aspect of the discourse of Mirāse Farhangui and monologisation. This study, through Bakhtinian concepts of "monologism" (Morson & Emerson 1990, 56, 57) and the "carnivalesque" (Bakhtin 1984, 19, 20), analyses the way that Persepolis alternates between two extremes of monologisation and the carnivalesque of Nowruz. Chapter Eight explains the monologised state through a triadic model: firstly, overemphasis on historical and aesthetic aspects; secondly, appropriation of Western Orientalist (Said 1993) tropes as absolute truth; and thirdly, disempowerment of visitors. In such a model, Persepolis emerge from an overemphasis on historical and aesthetic dimensions and is significantly influenced by the Orientalist tropes of "conflagration" (Mousavi 2012, 58, 59), "Nowruz" (Ghirshman & Gilbert 1964; Pope 1957) and "Imperial Monument" (Frankfort 1946, 11; Root 1979, 1, 309). The idea of the Imperial Monument, however, is the most critical aspect of monologisation, from which a sense of disempowerment is created and imposed on the visitors. Monologised Persepolis is relatively a dead and frozen site, strictly controlled and highly de-familiarised.

Chapter Nine addresses the contrast between a monologised state and the carnivalesque of Nowruz, and also the vast confrontations between the state and visitors of Persepolis. Persepolis sways between a de-familiarised frozen interpretation and a grotesque realism. I discuss that the second face of Persepolis, which in the common sense is considered as a crisis and a form of vandalism, is a complex phenomenon. Through the concepts of second life and "grotesque realism" (Bakhtin 1984, 4, 5, 19, 20), this thesis clarifies that carnival not only explains the collapse of monologisation, but also subverts the value system of Mirāse Farhangui. From a dialogic perspective, carnivalesque is not a problem, but an inseparable façade of the monologisation of Persepolis. The problem is the dialogue of disagreement, in which different voices attempt to eliminate each other and strive for having the final word.

The concluding chapter addresses the findings and discusses the significance of the research in the context of scholarship of Iranian heritage and the new prospects that this study opens for investigation.

Dialogic methodology

Dialogism offers a methodology to explore the complexity of Iranian heritage, and conceptual means to address the gaps in the scholarship and identifies an alternative discourse in contrast to Mirāse Farhangui. In addition, it is an established theory in social studies (Hirschkop 2002) and different branches of humanities, including pedagogy (Matusov 2007), gender studies (Francis 2012) geography (Folch-Serra 1990), cultural studies (Jin 2017), and particularly in heritage studies (Halewood & Hannam 2001; Harris 2011a; Ooi 2001; Rakic & Chambers; Rogers 2007).

This thesis develops a dialogic methodology in response to criticism of Bakhtinian dialogism. As discussed in Chapter Four, scholars criticise dialogism as an incoherent school (Brandist 2002, 3-8; Morson & Emerson 1990, 3, 4; Todorov 1984, xii, 11-13), or as solely a literary theory which is misused through oversimplification and fragmentary reading (Matusov 2007). Bakhtin (1986, 103) and other scholars (Brandist 2002; Dop 2002; Emerson 1997; Shepherd, Brandist & Tihanov 2004) responded to such criticism and clarified the complex nature of Bakhtin's scholarship. This study develops a methodological approach based on a review of scholarship in Chapter Four. It develops such methodology in an architectonics which is tailored for Iranian heritage study, and is ontologically identified by constructivism (Bryman 2012, 29, 30; Grix 2010, 61), and epistemologically by interpretivism (Gadamer 1989; Grix 2010, 82-84; Heidegger 1962). This thesis falls into the camp of constructivism which sees heritage as a phenomenon and as a meaning continually accomplished by social actors (Bryman 2012, 32). As philosophers, including Gadamer (1989) and Heidegger (1962) discuss, interpretation includes the being as it undergoes complex experiences within the natural and cultural world. Interpretation not only indicates to a methodology for the humanities but also underpins all forms of understanding and fundamental to being human (Ablett & Dyer 2009, 217). Heritage, in this way, is both understood and constructed through a dialogic interpretation.

Dialogic methodology encompasses Bakhtinian concepts of heteroglossia, monologism, exotopy, and the carnivalesque, to shed light on different layers of meanings in Iranian heritage sites and their relationships. The methodology goes

beyond the boundaries of representational theories (Waterton & Watson 2013, 551) and focuses on lived space (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith 1991, 39) and everyday practices (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984) to identify Yādegār, the alternative discourse of Iranian heritage. This thesis, however, must address the significant issue of using a so-called "Western" theory to examine an Iranian problem and clarify the standpoint of this research.

My place

Without unpacking my position as a researcher this thesis cannot be entirely understood because, as I illustrate in Chapter Three, I am a significant interplayer in the "creative understanding" and "exotopy" of Iranian heritage. My place as a researcher is defined by various identities that profoundly shape my stance, values and orientation. In this way, I am defined by my social, political and ethnical identities including a diasporic Iranian scholar, a middle-class person, a heritage expert, and being a male individual. Living at the intersection of multiple identities creates a dynamic and multifaceted context through which Iranian heritage can be dialogically interpreted.

I am a heritage professional who has worked in different fields of architectural conservation, adaptive reuse, management, policymaking, education and research for more than 20 years. In a patriarchal society such as Iran, the positions of authority are often occupied by individuals who benefit from the privilege of being masculine. Since 1999 when, as an architect and heritage officer, I started my career in ICHHTO, I devoted my life to the cause of protection of Iranian heritage because I was an advocate of returning to the indigenous values, techniques and forms which, in my belief, was best embedded in Iranian vernacular architecture and taught by scholars including Pirnia and Memarian (2010). Such understanding was profoundly shaped by canons of monumentalism, nationalism, and anti-Western rhetoric of Shariati, Shayegan (1992), and Fardid (Mirsepassi 2017). Although I was an advocate of Mirāse Farhangui in theory and practice, such position gradually changed as I participated in Ehyā movement, acted as a community liaison in Pardisan Scheme (Tolouashtiany 2003) and Revitalization and Utilization Fund for Historical Places (RUFHP). Dealing with different owners, community groups and local decision makers revealed those aspects of heritage that are commonly dismissed by blanket terms such as insignificant

and mundane. By working in Tabriz Bazaar, I also understood the importance of grassroots movements and volunteerism in protection of heritage sites.

Moving to Australia and later Canada as a migrant was a critical moment in such transformation because different values and concepts opened unexplored perspectives toward my identity and culture. Starting PhD at the Curtin University, I delved into anglophone literature and Western theories of heritage studies. Thus, I stand in the overlapping boundaries of many understandings of heritage that originate from Iranian and Western cultures. This thesis, as an outcome of such dynamism, is a dialogic creation that links various understandings and theories to shed light on the Iranian heritage.

Dualism of the West and Iran

Is it ethical and relevant to use Western theories to respond to an Iranian problem? I am an Iranian, from inside the Iranian cultural landscape, who is using so-called Western theories to address a problem. In my view, using Western theories and even being a diasporic Iranian does not make me a Western scholar. I see my thesis as contributing to Iranian heritage scholarship. In my view, polyphony is not a Eurocentric ideal, but a specificity entrenched in Iranian culture that should be negotiated, clarified and promoted. I am using my body and knowledge, as an Iranian, to explore heritage sites. This important aspect makes my thesis more than theoretical and representational. I see my thesis a possible response to the call to "negotiate internal national values" (Harris 2016, 175). Even the most extreme anti-Western argument which can be found in the rhetoric of Westoxification (Ale-Ahmad 1982; Shayegan 1992), is constructed from René Guénon scholarship, Heideggerian philosophy, and the movement of nativism. The Supreme Leader of Iran unwittingly uses the same Western concepts to oppose the West. Does this make Ayatollah Khamenei an Iranian corrupted by Western ideas? This is exactly what Iranian scholars, inside and outside Iran, have been doing for many years.

I disagree that critique of Iranian scholarship is not ethical and that a lack of social/political study and submission to monologisation are simply different cultural approaches. In my view, these tendencies are linked to oppressive political power, conservatism and censorship. The monolithic reading of heritage has been very useful in the creation of a modern Iranian identity in the 20th century. Unfortunately, this tendency is not working anymore. I do not see diversity and polysemy merely as a

Western concern, because they are currently subject to a dynamic debate in Iran wherever censorship allows.

The binary of the West and Iran has been followed in Iranian scholarship for many years. One of the reasons that I choose dialogism is that Bakhtin opens doors for new possibilities and goes beyond the binaries.

Yādegār

This study discusses Yādegār through dialogism; it demonstrates three aspects of "event-ness" (Bakhtin 1990, x), familiarity and ordinary, and an un-finalised dialogism at the heart of Yādegār. It covers a gap in the literature and demonstrates Yādegār in contrast to the dominant theoreticism and monumentalism of Mirāse Farhangui. Yādegār indicates the conceptualisation of the heritage site as familiar. Yādegār, in this way, promotes a particular understanding of space which emerges from the messiness of the world. It is unsystematic and narrates the "unpredictable quality of daily life" (Gardiner 2000, 16). Most importantly, this thesis discusses Yādegār as embedded in Tabriz Bazaar and encapsulating a conservation practice which is globally commended for the uniqueness of community involvement and linking tangible and intangible dimensions (ICOMOS 2010, 139, 140; Radoine 2013, 12-17).

The case studies

This thesis examines Persepolis and Tabriz Bazaar. Both heritage sites signify outstanding historic, social and aesthetic values, and are listed in Iran's National Immovable Heritage List and World Heritage. Tabriz and Persepolis are selected among more than 30,000 nationally registered and 22 World Heritage Sites (2018). The case studies, in this way, are considered as symbolising two distinct modes of interpretation, Mirāse Farhangui and Yādegār, with a variety of differences and similarities.

Persepolis is in the centre of Iran, 650 kilometres south of Tehran and close to Shiraz, the capital of Fars province. Unlike Tabriz Bazaar, which is an urban heritage and located in the busy heart of the city, Persepolis is situated in a rural area and in a relatively isolated situation. Persepolis is significant for its historical and aesthetic values, including "grandiose architectural creation," "monumental doorways," and "sculpted surfaces" (ICOMOS 1980). Codella (2007, 108) discusses that Persepolis represents the most exquisite form of the architectural tradition and artistic talent of the Achaemenid epoch. In 550 B.C, the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty, Cyrus the

Great, established a Persian multinational empire embracing various civilised states of the ancient Near East (Ghirshman 1978; Schmitt 1983, Par.5). It endured until overthrown by the Macedonians in 330 BC.

Persepolis, as a symbol of Iranian identity, is subject to widespread anxiety. This uneasiness is due to inadequate protection practices (Bazljoo 2004, 73) and power struggles over the space. This thesis analyses such power struggles in an exploration of the Shah's Tent City in Chapter Five, and carnivalesque of Nowruz in Chapter Nine. I discuss in Chapter Eight that Persepolis symbolises a forceful and rigid interpretation of Mirāse Farhangui that is based on the disempowerment of visitors. Persepolis, at the same time, is the place of many significant events, including 2500 Years Celebration of the Persian Empire (Grigor 2005; Stevenson 2008), Shiraz Art Festival (Gluck 2007, 21; Hodjat 1995, 201) and the folk festivity of Nowruz. These events provide an ideal situation to study space, unapproved voices, and power struggles over the heritage place.

Tabriz Bazaar, similar to Persepolis, covers a vast area and includes 29 hectares of interconnected, covered brick structures, buildings and enclosed spaces. In contrast to Persepolis, Tabriz Bazaar is a vibrant site and encapsulates a complex network of structures and pathways in the heart of the city of Tabriz. The city of Tabriz is located 600-kilometres north-west of Tehran, and is the capital of East-Azerbaijan, one of the Turkic-speaking provinces in Iran. The population of the city is nearly 1.6 million (2010). According to UNESCO, Tabriz Bazaar encompasses social values, including a living social structure and the "most complete socio-cultural complexes among Bazaars" (ICOMOS 2010, 136,137). Tabriz Bazaar is also considered as a successful model of heritage conservation and community participation (Radoine 2013, 5), having received international awards.

Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis are identified as encompassing the universal values which are fundamental notions in World Heritage (WHC 2015). Tabriz and Persepolis also encapsulate complex relationships between a variety of voices and a wide range of social and cultural actors. At the same time, the cases signify crucial differences which enable a broader analysis of the problem of monologisation.

Definition of terms to be used in this thesis

Many concepts in cultural theory, including identity, memory, and heritage, are known to have slippery meanings (O'Sullivan et al. 1994, xii). This study does not deny the

complexity, or the fluidity of meanings assigned to the terms, but for the purpose of this thesis, clarifies terms as necessary.

i. Heritage

Heritage is a slippery notion and challenging to define. This thesis, however, uses a particular definition of heritage which is derived from the Iranian context and goes beyond social and cultural process and the representational role of heritage objects (Waterton & Watson 2013, 551). Such approaches, though clarifying, separate heritage places from the actual event-ness of everyday life, and subordinate their familiar aspects. In the Iranian context, heritage is commonly connoted by the word Mirāse Farhangui. *Mirās* lexically indicates to family inheritance of a primarily material nature (Dehkhoda 1998). Mirāse Farhangui (cultural heritage) and *Mirāse Tabi'i* (natural heritage) are two common forms of heritage. In this thesis, Mirāse Farhangui relates to the monumentalist interpretation of heritage which is officially defined as follow: "Mirāse Farhangui is the remains of the past which signify humankind's behaviour along history" (Samadi 2003, 131). In this way, heritage is a cultural concept and strongly connected to physicality, the past and history.

In a report (Samadi et al. 2010) which was commissioned by the Iranian government and prepared by more than 25 experts from different fields of heritage industry, Mirāse Farhangui is defined as pervasive and much more than historical. Under four categories,[6] a diverse range of cultural and natural representations, both historical and non-historical, are identified as part of Mirāse Farhangui. Although the loose definition covers material and intangible representations and hypothetically everything, Mirāse Farhangui shows a monumentalist tendency "to want to regard social practices, skills and traditions as the equivalent of heritage objects, places or landscapes" (Byrne 2009, 129).

As discussed earlier, this thesis uses another understanding of heritage which is articulated through the word Yādegār. Yādegār has no precise equivalent in English and lexically carries considerable meanings. It often signifies transferring intangible qualities, including wisdom, advice, knowledge, words, and eminence from person to person, or generation to generation, to be remembered (Dehkhoda, 1998). Yādegār is the everyday interpretation of heritage.

[6] *Manghul* (movable), *Gheire-manghul* (immovable), *Tabi'I* (natural) and *Ma'navi* (intangible).

ii. Interpretation

In this study, interpretation has two meanings. First, it indicates the particular definition of heritage interpretation which is widely recognised through the iconic work of Tilden (1957). The second signification, however, relates to a broader philosophical context, mostly in a hermeneutic sense, by which an ontological/epistemological stance is connoted. In this thesis, the notion of interpretation is used in the second meaning. Interpretation, therefore as some philosophers argue (Bakhtin 1993; Gadamer 1989) is necessarily a dialogical process. As Figure 1 demonstrates, dialogical interpretation is a process of creating and understanding heritage which involves heritage objects (material or immaterial), addressees (visitors, experts, officials), and official heritage interpreter (e.g. state).

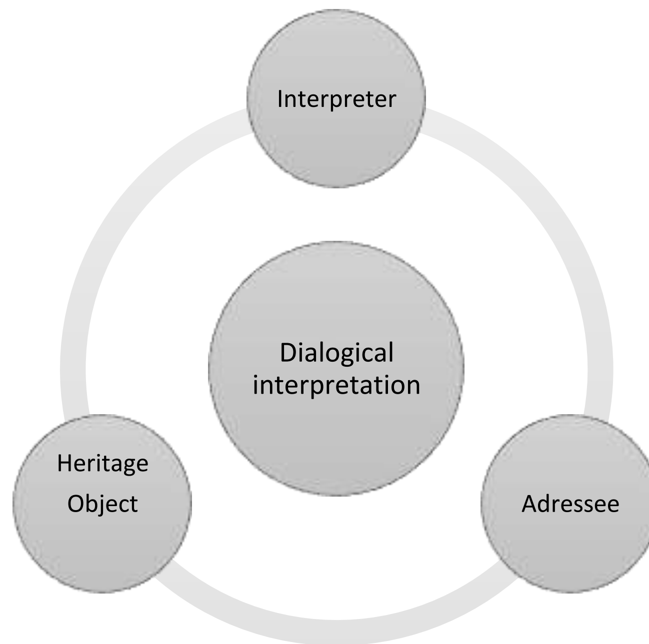

Figure 1: Interpretation of Iranian heritage in this study refers to a dialogical relationship between heritage objects, addressee and official interpreter. Heritage is created and understood through such triadic interaction. Source Shahin Tolouashtiany.

This study uses the second form of interpretation as a process of understanding and creating multiple meanings for different addresses. In my view, interpretation is a complex dialogism which assigns contested meanings to heritage by different actors. Interpretation thus creates conflicts, an essential specificity for a living heritage site, co-existence, cooperation, and agreement. It involves not only the humans, but also

the natural setting and the objects in a never-ending process of meaning making. In such a process of interpretation, every voice is recognised as having a role, whether as a supporting or contradicting force, in the continuation of the heritage site.

iii. Tradition

This thesis uses the term tradition to discuss graffiti at Persepolis and the Shiite interpretation of sacred space. Tradition, in this investigation, is different from "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm & Ranger 2012) and intangible cultural heritage (ICH) (UNESCO 2003). ICH is the product of a specific way of understanding the world, and of a standpoint which is critiqued by the term "Cartesian Dualism" (Gardiner 2000, 9; Harrison 2013, 206). In such a conceptualisation, every phenomenon is understood in a binary supposition including tangible/intangible, mind/matter and physical/metaphysical. This thesis agrees with the idea that ICH is part of the present systematism of heritage, and is primarily created to cover non-Western cultural representations of heritage (Smith & Akagawa 2008, 1). Though ICH has brought a positive transition to a more fluid interpretation of heritage, the dominant monumentalist approach reduces traditions to heritage objects (Byrne 2009, 229). Although tradition indicates many representations that are recognised by UNESCO as ICH, it connotes a different ontological standpoint.

Analysis of Tabriz Bazaar in Chapter Six and Seven and Alishāh in Chapter Five demonstrates that the language of tradition, unlike many nativist discourses including Islamism and traditionalism (Boroujerdi 1996, 14), is not based on a frozen past. On the contrary, the present and the past are fused in a way "which passes a happening on from generation to generation" (Benjamin 2004, 371). The traditional understanding is changeable: "it does not preclude innovation and change up to a point" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012, 2). Tradition thus goes beyond the dualities, including past/present, high/low, and especially tangible/intangible (Lefebvre 1991, 123). It transforms heritage places to a model of dynamic reinterpretation of the present (AlSayyad 2004, 7). In an idealised form, by the collapse of detachment and dualism, as Harrison (2013, 216) suggests, heritage emerges as a collaborative process and a dialogue between individuals, objects and space which, maintains the past in the present.

iv. Memorialisation

Nora (1989, 2001a) gives us useful concepts to debate memory and memorialisation which still resonate after thirty years. This thesis draws on Nora and defines memorialisation as a conscious process of the creation of a monument into a "site of memory" (Nora 1989, 7). Memorialisation thus is an intentional and systematic act of heritage discourse to transform an existing historical place into what Choay describes as an invented "historic monument" (Choay 2001, 1, 5, 6). Memorialisation is an act of interpretation, and therefore signifies a particular understanding of a place, and at the same time, the creation of meaning. It involves conservation, reconstruction, mapping, documentation and celebration.

The term memorialisation is used in Chapter Six to explore the relationships between the concepts of memory and heritage. The study covers the transformation of Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis from environments of memory (Nora 1989, 7) to sites of memory, by analysing historical maps and graffiti tradition. In Nora's argument (Nora 1989, 2001a, 2001b), the concept of the site did not indicate merely memorials, graves, archives or museums. It also signified flags, emblems and even the Napoleonic Code. The concept, later, widely expanded to cover representations including organisations, fairy-tales, concepts, laws, and specific days (Niven & Paver 2009, 6). Memorialisation in this thesis focuses on a narrow spectrum of representations, including heritage sites. The concept of the site encapsulates physical locations through which a particular interpretation is expressed and intentionally created from vestiges of the past[7] to articulate certain political, aesthetic and social expressions.

v. Theoreticism and systematism

The two intertwined ideas of theoreticism and systematism are used to address a particular aspect of Mirāse Farhangui and World Heritage. Such an aspect originates from the rationalism of Western modernity, an epistemic position that Descartes discusses as "Clear and Distinct Perception" (Descartes 2013, 43). In Cartesian philosophy, objectivity and subjectivity, body and mind, are inherently separated (Descartes 2013, 32-38; Staiff 2014). Such separation, therefore, creates dichotomies,

[7] The term "vestiges of the past" is first used by Biruni (Biruni & Sachau 1879, ix), a famous Persian scholar, to refer "monuments or vestiges of generations of the past that have been preserved up to the author's time, meaning by monuments or vestiges the religious institutes of nations and sects, founded in more ancient times, and, more or less, still practised and adhered to by the Oriental world about AD 1000."

including cognitive knowledge versus embodied knowledge. The dominant view in cognitive science regards the body as inferior in its understanding of nature. Embodied knowledge is fundamentally dependent on bodily interactions for the process of knowing, while cognitive knowledge relies on abstract rationalism (Wilson & Foglia 2017). The dominance of cognitive knowledge has been challenged by arguing the significance of body as a knowing tool (Adams 2010; Aizawa 2007), or as French philosopher Merleau-Ponty notes (2011, 144) "It is knowledge in the hands which is forthcoming only when bodily effort is made and cannot be formulated in detachment from that effort." The consequence of such dualism is the separation of knowledge as lived experience and the desire to replace everyday life with theoretical abstractions which in Bakhtin's term is a "specific peculiarity of modern times" (Bakhtin 1993, 8). Theoreticism can be understood as: " The rationalist project of subordinating everyday life to a formalized, metaphysical system projected by a hypostatized consciousness which devalues or expunges any experience or viewpoint that it cannot fully assimilate" (Gardiner 2000, 48).

Such duality and detachment from lived experience also give birth to the concept of a system in which humans have no place and a phenomenon that is governed by metaphysical and autonomous laws. In other words, "an organization in which every element has a place in a rigorous hierarchy…" (Morson & Emerson 1990, 27,28). Moreover, we are not present in the systematism as an answerable human being (Bakhtin 1993, 7). That is, abstract and detached observation prevents us from actively participating in the event-ness of everyday life.

vi. Architectonics

Architectonics is a Kantian concept. In Kant's argument, architectonics signifies the art of constructing systems (Kant & Guyer 1998, 691). This thesis, however, uses the term in a Bakhtinian sense. Bakhtin fundamentally transforms the idea. By emphasising the event-ness of the life which encompasses an ongoing series of single acts, he proposes an unsystematic attribute of the concept of architectonics (Morson & Emerson 1990, 70). In Bakhtinian dialogism, architectonics is an alternative term for the system to cover its fundamental problems: "… [especially] that it does not necessarily contain any human being" (Morson & Emerson 1990, 70). Bakhtin defines the term as: "Architectonics — as the intuitionally necessary, non-fortuitous

disposition and integration of concrete, unique parts and moments into a consummated whole — can exist only around a given human being as a hero" (Bakhtin 1990, 209).

The notion of architectonics is highly connected to the concept of embodied knowledge and event-ness. In this thesis, architectonics signifies an unsystematic and non-hierarchical form which organises events symbolically and cognitively. Architectonics does not merely rely on abstract and theoretical cognition, but emerges around a human being, from everyday life and bodily experience. By describing heritage through architectonics, one also acknowledge limits of theory which must be kept within clear boundaries (Bialostosky 2006, 356; Gardiner 2000, 47,48). It means our values, acts and judgements must emerge from bodily and lived experience in contrast to theoretical constructions. In other words, it originates from the familiarity of the world.

vii. The familiar

The familiar, or familiarity, as will be discussed in Chapter Seven, does not reference something that is known, but phenomena and practices that often escape one's attention because they are taken for granted (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 93). De-familiarisation, in contrast, indicates transforming ordinary phenomena to something abstract and detached from everyday practices. Two examples of familiarisation/de-familiarisation are Tabriz and Persepolis. This thesis discusses Tabriz Bazaar as a familiarised heritage which emerges from simple daily acts of walking, singing, selling, buying and decorating. Every single act, at the same time, is connected to other events, and generates a complex network of actions. The everyday life of Tabriz Bazaar, as portrayed in the journeys in Appendix One, can be considered as a "molten lava" of events (Bakhtin 1990, x).

Chapter Eight discusses Persepolis as a de-familiarised phenomenon. Firstly, Persepolis is dominantly a production for high culture, and secondly, it is interpreted through theoreticism. The contrast between the two examples, as discussed in Chapter Eight, is best exemplified in conservation practice. In Tabriz Bazaar, conservation relies on humans who are answerable to others and who co-create Tabriz Bazaar as a heritage place (Gardiner 2000, 55), not complex systems with rigorous hierarchy (Morson & Emerson 1990, 27, 28). In Persepolis, however, the reconstruction refers to a top-down, highly politicised and a complex metaphysical system. It is a

performance which is primarily imposed by the state to create a “holistic vision of a glorious past projected onto a utopian future” (Grigor 2005, 23).

By exploration of selected cases and theorising the interpretation of Iranian heritage, this thesis offers an answer from many possible responses to the problem of monologisation in Iranian heritage. The first step of such an investigation must discuss and clarify the problem which is the topic of the first chapter in this thesis.

CHAPTER ONE: "OBLITERATION" OF IRANIAN HERITAGE

Haj Ahmad, a reputable and respected senior merchant in Tabriz Bazaar, in an interview with the author of this thesis, said anxiously: "It seems that everything is collapsing and [Tabriz Bazaar] looks like a shattered book. I go to *Ta'zieh*[8] and mourning ceremony, but everything seems out-of-place." What problems arise in Iranian heritage that provokes community groups, professioals, and officials to openly talk about *Nabudie Mirāse Farhangui* (the obliteration of cultural heritage) and use emotional metaphors including "shattered book,"[9] " a rotten corpse," and "Hiroshima after the blast" (Abdi 2013), "Mongol invasion" (Beheshti 2003), "total obliteration" (Hodjat 2014), "an emptied shell,"[10] " collapsed,"[11] to describe its dismal condition? These comments indicate that there is serious problem in Iranian heritage that needs to be addressed. This chapter attempts to clarify the problem and its effects. This thesis illustrates that the problem resides in the Iranian government's attempts to control interpretation, and its reliance on the official Iranian heritage discourse, that is, Mirāse Farhangui. The results are negative attitudes towards the polysemy and dynamism of everyday life which are regarded as problems rather than as positive heritage outcomes.

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[8] A ceremonial performance in commemoration of the Karbala battle.
[9] Interview with Haj Ahmad, interviewed on 13/05/2014.
[10] Interviewee I-1, interviewed on 18/05/2014.
[11] Interviewee I-9, interviewed on 22/05/2014.

The anxiety of Haj Ahmad and others arises from many crises in tangible and intangible heritage. In recent years, hundreds of hectares of urban heritage fabric and thousands of heritage houses have been destroyed by religious institutions and private owners. For example, in the holy city of Mashhad, around 360 hectares have been cleared. In the world heritage city of Yazd, 57 hectares, and in Shiraz, 200 hectares of heritage urban zones were demolished (Huseini 2015). According to Masjidjamei (2011), the former councillor of Tehran, more than 800 heritage houses have been demolished in Tehran in recent years. More than 220 members of parliament wrote an open letter on the destruction of the historic fabric of Mashhad (ISNA 2016). The clash between the government and community groups over the meanings of heritage has intensified, and often leads to prosecution and emprisonment (Sharafedin 2016). Many ancient trees, which were revered by the local community as sacred heritage, were cut down by the Awqaf Organisation (Ashkevari 2010) on the pretext of the need to "fight against superstition" (Ghasemian 2008). Amongst 25 vulnerable Iranian languages, a unilingualist government policy has resulted in the extinction of two, and 14 are endangered (Moseley 2010). Many other examples which are discussed in this thesis including Sivand, Isfahan, Jiroft, and Tabriz Bazaar, indicate the poor state of interpretation, adminstration and conservation.

According to official statistics, more than 11,000 individuals were arrested in 2014 (DW 2014). The Kalmākareh cave (Iran-Daily 2015) and the Jiroft civilisation (Huseini 2008) are good examples. In the case of Jiroft (Tarafdari 2004), the locals who had been suffering from long-lasting drought and poverty looted a significant archaeological site from the Bronze Age. The officials intentionally ignored the plunder for political benefit, since they thought that plundering was one way to solve the problem of poverty (Lawler 2003, 974; Madjidzadeh & Pittman 2008, 69). More than 400 individuals were arrested and sentenced to a maximum of ten years' jail under heritage law when the artefacts started to appear in the European market; the locals were regarded as savages in propaganda on the issue (Lawler 2003, 974; Madjidzadeh & Pittman 2008, 69). A similar story can be found with reference to the Kalmākareh cave (Chubaki 2016), in West Azerbaijan province (Akbarloo 2016), Persepolis, and Pasargadae (ISNA 2008), and many other places. The charges of "savagery" against the plunderers (Tarafdari 2004, 1), however, is a simplistic interpretation of a complex context in which the local community struggles with poverty, development and urban expansion.

This thesis demonstrates that such examples are connected to the authoritarian interpretive strategies of Mirāse Farhangui, or in theoretical term, monologisation. Heritage is a discursive phenomenon (Byrne 2009, 229; Smith 2006, 56) and is connected to the wider social and political contexts. Through analysis of different examples, this thesis ilustrates that Mirāse Farhangui assigns negative meaning to polyphony and dynamism, although they are two particularities entrenched in Iranian culture. Such orientation is associated with the destruction of heritage fabric, the rigidity of an inefficient administration (Niknami 1999, 2005), and a confusion of meanings which are widely discussed by community groups (Mozaffari 2015, 849,850), officials and heritage experts (Beheshti 2003; Niknami 2005; Rahimzadeh 2008).

"Nabudie Mirāse Farhangui" (obliteration of cultural heritage) is a popular phrase and is used by different individuals to articulate their depth of unease (BBC 2011a; Hodjat 2016; Sahraian 2017; Talebian 2017). Whilst such problems are widely linked to the fast disappearance of heritage fabric, as Hodjat, the head of Iranian ICOMOS notes, it is also linked to intangible aspects, including "national culture, Persian language, traditions and norms" (Hodjat 2014, Par.1).

To illustrate the problem, different dimensions of the widespread anxiety about the state of heritage in Iran must be discussed. This thesis explores the poor state of Iranian heritage in the context of the different conceptualisations of heritage by the public, experts, and heritage scholarship. This chapter also discusses the concerns of the many lay persons and heritage professionals (Beheshti 2004, 2; Shamoradi & Abdollahzadeh 2014, 233-243). This clarification of the problem will be completed through a critique of Iranian heritage in Chapter Two. Thus, Chapter Two demonstrates that Iranian heritage literature often overlooks the social political context of heritage sites and focuses on monumentality.

Widespread anxiety

There are no reliable statistics about the disappearance of heritage environment in Iran, due to censorship, conservatism, and what I regard as mismanagement. Inadequate funding, low quality of conservation works, and overcentralisation (Niknami 2005, 345) are a few examples of such mismanagement. The critical situation, however, is evident through various expressions in media, interviews, and government documents which report the plundering of archaeological sites (Majidzadeh and Asadi 2003, 974;

Madjidzadeh and Pittman 2008, 69), the systematic destruction of tangible heritage by the government agencies (Afazeli 2007), and the predations of urbanisation (ICOMOS 1980, 2010, 2015, 2017). The role of heritage sites as a significant element in Iranianness and national identity (Abdi 2001; Grigor 2005, 2009; Mozaffari 2010) intensifies the scale of such concern. To clarify such uneasiness, the apprehension of individuals is discussed in respect of three categories: the public, heritage professionals, and my own concern.

i. Public anxiety

Public unease is expressed through media (IRNA 2015; Mehrnews 2010, 2015; Mokhtari 2015; Radmanesh 2013), by the activism of NGOs, (Mozaffari 2015), by the many legal actions of delisting,[12] and by the participants in this study. Public sensitivity toward heritage has drastically intensified in the last twenty years (Beheshti 2004, 4; Shamoradi & Abdollahzadeh 2014, 233-243). According to Beheshti, the change is partly in concert with a reformist program to improve historical consciousness among Iranians.[13] Such awareness has resulted in campaigns resisting the divisive decisions by the government. According to ICHHTO, more than 600 NGOs are established in the heritage field (Badashti 2015).

The Sivand dam in Fars province is perhaps the most famous example of such dissatisfaction and social activism (Mozaffari 2015, 849, 850). As a pre-Islamic site and a symbol of Iranian monarchy and nationalism, Pasargadae has a negative meaning for the Islamist government. Widespread anxiety about the building of the dam adjacent to Pasargadae encapsulated not only the physical aspects of the site, but also popular nationalistic interpretations versus Islamic ones. Construction of the dam became widely controversial in 2008 and started a political dispute (Shamoradi & Abdollahzadeh 2014, 233-243). The dam was constructed 17 kilometres south of the World Heritage Site of Pasargadae, and was considered by many news agencies, on Facebook, and in newspapers, as endangering the tomb of the Cyrus the Great, one of the most significant symbols of Iranian nationalism, but a figure despised by Islamist forces. The campaign, that was mainly active through the internet, was a turning point in Iranian heritage activism, with wide public protests against the authorised interpretation of the site. More than 4000 citizens brought a legal case against the

[12] https://divan-edalat.ir/show.php?page=ahoshow&id=8855 , accessed 22/05/2018.
[13] Interview with Beheshi, interviewed on 17/05/2014.

Ministry of Power (the builder of the dam) and the Iranian Cultural Heritage and Handicraft Organisation (ICHHTO) to court (Papi 2007). In the repressive environment of Iran, such action is an exceptional phenomenon. The government reacted to the protests as a matter of national security (Mozaffari 2015, 849). The government under the pressure of different community groups eventually funded an extensive salvage program to study the archaeological remains in Tang-e Bolaghi. Such an example demonstrates the authoritarian tendency of the state toward unapproved interpretations and polyphony.

The historic city of Isfahan is another example of such dissatisfaction and anxiety. The city has witnessed many cases of conflicts at places, including the Khosro Aga Bathhouse (Sarmento & Kazemi 2014, 145), Jahan-Nama building (Hejazi 2008, 243) and the Isfahan underground (Assari & Assari 2012). In each example, a vigorous public campaign emerged which symbolised a high degree of anxiety for lost historic fabric and inefficient heritage administration. Another example of the inflexibility of Mirāse Farhangui resides in conflicts with heritage owners. In last decade, many bankrupted heritage owners have removed their property from the National Heritage List via a court order.[14] The owners, who are not necessarily from the privileged social classes, are subject to the freezing of their assets, lack of financial support, and deprivation of ownership rights, based on an eighty-years-old piece of legislation. As a high-ranking official notes, the "listing of a heritage site means bankruptcy and a possible heart attack for the owners."[15]

Public dissatisfaction is also evident in interviews in this study. Individuals and the owners of heritage properties express their concerns about the future of heritage places in which they work, live and study. For example, one senior shopkeeper in Tabriz Bazaar talks about his concern for the future of Tabriz Bazaar.[16] A younger trader expresses the same concern and disappointment.[17] Public campaigns and oppositions are concerned with physicality and an authoritarian Mirāse Farhangui. The official interpretation ignores and supresses the meanings that visitors and different community groups assign to the heritage sites.

[14] See (*Contradictions in Decisions from Administrative Court Justice* 2011) in Appendix Two.
[15] Interviewee I-7, interviewed on 21/05/2014.
[16] Interviewee I-13, interviewed on 13/05/2014.
[17] Personal observation and field notes.

ii. Professional anxiety

Government reports explain the loss of heritage fabric and unofficial interpretations as major problems. The Executive Policies of ICHHTO, presented in Appendix One of this thesis, recommend a radical reformation in all aspects of heritage administration, to save “what is left of the Iranian heritage.” The resignation letter of the former head of ICHHTO, addressed to President Khatami, expresses similar uneasiness:

> …in nearly twenty years [1979-1997], hundreds of hectares of valuable historic urban and rural fabrics were destroyed by bulldozers, thousands of heritage buildings and hundreds of archaeological sites quietly crushed under the pressure of progress, and nobody was concerned.[18] (Beheshti 2004, 2)

The letter, however, notes that “misunderstanding” of heritage among officials, experts and community groups is the cause of the problem (Beheshti 2004, 1, 2). All groups, according to Beheshti, are unaware of true values and the meaning of Mirāse Farhangui.[19] Rahimzadeh (2008, 18-20), in a report about the registration process, discusses the incompetency of the organisational structure of ICHHTO and the inadequacy of legislation. A series of reports commissioned by ICHHTO, reveal vast deficiencies in management, administration and policies of the heritage sector (Samadi et al. 2010).

Government officials express candid statements in confidential interviews. A high-ranking manager in Ministry of Roads and Urbanisation describes the condition of Iranian heritage as a disaster.[20] The official also talks about two dogmatic standpoints in the government toward heritage: “Civil servants often see heritage as an obstacle to the development. A small minority, in contrast, choose an extremist approach under the pretext of conservation. These are both disastrous situations.”[21] Another heritage officer talks about Iranian heritage as highly politicised, and therefore, subject to demolition.[22] A third official talks about the superficial role of

[18] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[19] Interview with Beheshti, interviewed on 17/05/2014.
[20] Interviewee I-7, interviewed on 21/05/2014.
[21] Interviewee I-7, interviewed on 21/05/2014.
[22] Interviewee I-11, interviewed on 12/05/2014.

heritage in contemporary Iran, and its "empty symbolic functionality."[23] Another official, who is also a high-ranking member of the government, says that:

> I believe the decision makers in the government have no concern for heritage. Even the heritage experts at ICHHTO are so preoccupied with administrative matters that they have totally forgotten the cultural aspects … They see a heritage expert as a cliché who must always protest against Nabudie Mirāse Farhangui and accuse the others as ignorant traitors.[24]

A senior archaeologist stated, "heritage has collapsed… most of the problem comes from the ignorant technocrats who decide about heritage from aloft."[25] Another prominent archaeologist and academic explains his concerns about the future of heritage: "the government does not care for heritage at all. Individuals are worried about their daily life, and therefore heritage is the end of their list."[26] He also discusses the collapse of heritage in Iran. A senior expert and academic describes the situation in a bitter tone:

> One of the problems of heritage protection is that heritage has not found its place in the administration. We live in a confused situation. In eight years of Ahmadinejad's presidency, he intentionally and systematically destroyed ICHHTO. Iranian heritage has been damaged to such an extent that it requires a long time to be fixed. A significant number of experts have left and the remaining experts are so depressed that they see no hope for future.[27]

Another professional blames massive systematisation as the main problem: "We still concentrate on institutionalisation. We have never learnt our lesson from Ahmadinejad's office, when the heritage system acted as the main destructive force against Mirāse Farhangui."[28] Finally, a heritage professional directly discusses the problem of interpretation: "One can see senior heritage experts in ICHHTO, who talk

[23] Interviewee I-1, interviewed on 18/05/2014.
[24]Interviewee I-6, interviewed on 19/05/2014.
[25] Interviewee I-9, interviewed on 22/05/2014.
[26] Interviewee I-12, interviewed on 14/05/2014.
[27] Interviewee I-2, interviewed on 17/05/2014.
[28] Interviewee I-5, interviewed on 19/05/2014.

about heritage, but in fact, they speak about entirely different creatures."[29] Abdi (2013) in a controversial interview harshly criticises the condition of cultural heritage after the collapse of administration, due to the Ahmadinejad's policy: "[they] destroyed the organisation to such extent that nothing is left. Just like Hiroshima after the atomic blast, … ICHHTO has lost authority, credibility and legitimacy. It is nothing but a rotting corpse which we should bury as soon as possible"[30] (Abdi 2013, 118).

All the above conveys a profound concern about the condition of Iranian heritage among experts and professionals. Such concern, however, is not only directed toward the loss of physical material but is also about so-called misunderstandings about the true meaning of Mirāse Farhangui. In the professionals' views, heritage is not multivocal but encapsulates a unique and true meaning which must be uncovered and protected by official interpreters, *Meerāsees* (heritage professionals).

iii. Personal anxiety

As a heritage professional who worked in Iranian heritage for twenty years, I have experienced the same hopes, disappointments and worry witnessing the enormous loss of listed heritage sites and conflicts with unapproved meanings. Some of these unofficial interpretations are explored in this thesis, including the Tent City, Alishāh, Tabriz Bazaar, and the concept of *Ehyā* (adaptive-reuse). In my practice, like that of many other professionals, Meerāsees (heritage people/heritage professionals) were considered the true and unique interpreters of Iranian heritage. No government official or ordinary citizen, except us, would be allowed to enter into sacred realm of the uncovering the true meaning. One of the interviewees of this thesis clearly expressed this perspective:

> A governor once came and asked to excavate a hill where he thought there would be treasure. I told him nothing is there, but he insisted. I asked if he goes to a doctor and the doctor says he has appendicitis, would he insist that doctor first opens his abdomen and show the evidence. Won't he trust his doctor? I said "I am an expert and I tell you nothing is here. You must trust me and accept!" [31]

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[29] Interviewee I-6, interviewed on 19/05/2014.
[30] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[31] Interviewee I-9, interviewed on 22/05/2014.

Becoming a Meerāsee and a true interpreter, was not an easy task for me, and required years of effort and experience to gain the trust of other Meerāsees:

> Have you heard some individuals are known as Meerāsee? These people are initiated to a sect of heritage. They start to understand the heritage and fulfil their responsibility. Exactly, like a boy who undergoes the ritual of circumcision to become an adult and a man. One must become a man to protect heritage.[32]

In such an environment of professionalism and elitism, I felt a profound gap between Meerāsees and non-experts that was nearly impossible to cross. In my view, the vast disappearance of the fabric was nothing but the outcome of a deeper problem. I shared the same negative attitude with other Meerāsees about unauthorised interpretations; we dismissed multiple meanings of the sites, under blanket assumptions including "ignorance" and "unawareness of the people," [33] "apathy of the politicians,"[34] and "greedy developers."[35] Such a rigid, authoritarian and top-down conceptualisation of Iranian heritage was supported by the state through various legislations and a complex administration. Thus, other Meerāsees and I saw polysemy not as a positive particularity or an energising force, but a disturbance that must be stopped.

In the last years of my career, as an architect and heritage professional in ICHHTO, my fabric-oriented and top-down conceptualisation of Mirāse Farhangui gradually changed. Before leaving Iran, I wrote in a published paper:

> One cannot study and understand heritage sites without considering their meaning and their ongoing innate dynamism… the effort of researchers, in a reductionist tendency, is focused on the fabric. The similar problem applies to the conservation of buildings in which experts often concentrate on physicality and forget intangible aspects. The meaning of heritage sites cannot be understood unless studied in the [context] of social and political change. (Tolouashtiany 2009, 386)

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Interviewee I-2, interviewed on17/05/2014.

[34] Interviewee I-12, interviewed on 14/05/2014.

[35] Interviewee I-7, interviewed on 21/05/2014.

I still feel great concern as a diasporic Iranian scholar. My anxiety has only intensified as I have developed a dialogic approach toward the Iranian heritage problem. Seeing the problem from both inside and outside Iranian cultural landscape has clarified the complexity of an issue which cannot be addressed with ready-made solutions. The remedy involves extensive and long-term negotiation among Iranians that should include often-ignored voices.

Polysemy as a problem

As different examples of apprehension among professionals, and public and personal anxiety demonstrate, the discourse of Mirāse Farhangui promotes an authoritarian interpretation. In such a discourse, polysemy encompasses conflict as a negative idea which occures between Mirāse Farhangui and unapproved meanings and damages the fabric. This thesis clarifies that assigning negative meanings to polysemy and conflicts incited by Mirāse Farhangui are unacceptable interpretive strategies. They ignore the inborn dialogic qualities of Mirāse Farhangui and Yādegār.

i. Polyphony

Iran is geographically, socially, and culturally diverse. The natural topography of Iran demonstrates considerable variations (Abbaspour & Sabetraftar 2005, 710). Contemporary Iran has witnessed several revolutions (Foran 1994; Poulson 2005) and social movements (Fadaee 2012; Mozaffari 2015). There is diversity in many cultural representations, including song and music (Farhat 2004; Miller 2012), sexuality (Afary 2009; Shamisa 2002), spirituality (Babayan 2002; Scott 1990), languages (Amanolahi 2005, 39), and vernacular architecture (Lewis 2018). UNESCO's World Heritage recognises the diversity of Iranian heritage. Iranian World Heritage Sites demonstrate a variety of significances, including spiritual values in a group of Christian monasteries, (ICHHTO 2008) a mosque (ICHHTO 2011a), and a precinct related to Sufis (ICHHTO 2010). Heritage sites range from 3200 BC in Shahr-i Sokhta (ICHHTO 2014b) to the nineteenth century in Golestan Palace (ICHHTO 2013). Iranian heritage sites are located in contrasting natural environments of mountainous areas, desert, and even monsoonal places. They range from civilisations including Tchogha Zanbil (UNESCO 1979), Shahr-i Sokhta, Persepolis (ICOMOS 1980), and Pasargadae (ICHHTO 2004), to living city centres including Tabriz Bazaar (ICHHTO 2009; ICOMOS 2010) and Yazd (ICOMOS 2017).

Grigor (2004, 2009) argues that in the twentieth century, Iranian heritage was the engine for the creation of hegemonic culture, literature, artistic taste, and chauvinistic nationalism. In such a context, heritage was formed as a monologic discourse, a tool of propaganda, and a unifying force with a strong tendency toward elitism. Such a discourse, however, ignored the different voices in Iranian society, which as Cronin (2003a, 1) discusses, reacted with strategies of resistance and avoidance of dominant power. Mirāse Farhangui, therefore, originated as an inflexible, elite-defined discourse which was highly unresponsive to the complex and polyphonic context of Iran. Although this tendency was a deliberate and successful strategy in making a modern nation state, Chapter Five will show that this monolithic tendency continued even after the 1979 Islamic Revolution, and does not work in a mobile world which must grapple with the complexity of globalisation, the World Wide Web, climate change, mass immigration, and myriad social and political crises.

The sub-interpretations of heritage or, in a Bakhtinian sense "voices" (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, xxii), signify different imperatives, ideologies, and sign systems. Voices are the echo of interaction between grand narratives, including nationalism, Islamism and progress, with the ideology of monumentalism. Sub-voices like Ehyā, for example, influenced by the ideological implications of progress, stand at the overlapping boundaries of discourses of Mirāse Farhangui and of progress.

Each voice consists of many sub-interpretations which are created by community groups and individuals. For the same reason, the main voices are described as representational. Representation is the process of putting into concrete form (that is, different signifiers) an abstract ideological concept (O'Sullivan et al. 1994, 265). It involves creation of meaning through language (Hall 1997, 28). In many different examples throughout this thesis, the sub-voices create a dynamic polyphony through their ideological differences. For example, the discourses of nationalism and Islamism are both categorised under the voice of nostalgic because of their similarities in the conceptualisation of time, space and heritage. Many sub-voices fall on overlapping boundaries and signify double-voiced topographies (Bakhtin 1981, 324). In this way, particular interpretations can be categorised into the voices of progress, nostalgia, everyday practices, traditions, and globalisation.

The voice of progress

The voice of progress is particularly evident in the heritage buffer zones of Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis, where the site is in conflict with the wider context. Analysis of Tabriz, Persepolis, Alishāh and the Tent City illustrates many conflicts with urbanisation, industrialisation and developments. The voice of progress covers a variety of narratives, including the "Great Civilisation" (Pahlavi 1961) and Islamic Vision (Khamenei 2003). The sub-voices of progress, however, share a particular conception of time and use the Enlightenment concept of progress for construction of a specific language. The concept of time is generated on the dialectics of "space of experience" and "horizon of expectation" (Boym 2001, 9,10; Jordheim 2012, 153; Koselleck 2004). The voice of progress, dominantly a Eurocentric discourse, is a product of encounters between colonial powers and Iranian modernity. The modern Iranian self, in this framework, was constructed from the eyes of others, mostly Europeans, as a traditional and backward phenomenon. A good example of such interpretation can be seen in the memory of backwardness in Tabriz Bazaar which is discussed in Chapter Five. The voice of progress in its radical form assumes Europe or the West as the "horizon of the expectations" for Iranian modernity, and entails "non-contemporaneity of the contemporaneous Iranian and European societies" (Tavakoli-Targhi 2001, 4, 143). In the context of progress, Iranian identity has been shaped by a rupture with its past: this will be discussed in Chapter Six. The Iranian voice of progress, influenced by the Orientalist conception of the East (Bhabha 1996; Said 1978), sees the past as static, backwards, authoritarian, frozen, and ontologically different from the modern world-view. The ideology of the voice of progress is dominated by the "…absolute truths, the rational planning of ideal social orders and the standardization of knowledge and production" (Harvey 1989, 9). Controversial intellectuals, including Kasravi (Abrahamian 1973, 273), is symbolise such an encounter. As cited by Aghaie (2004, 57), Kasravi harshly contradicts the traditional ritual of Muharram (ICHHTO 2011b), the commemoration of Karbala battle, as a symbol of ignorance and backwardness.

The voice of nostalgia

There are many voices with seemingly opposing ideologies in Iranian heritage that share a similar orientation toward the past. They are yearning for a lost home that no longer exists, whether a lost Persian Empire, in the discourse of nationalism, a golden

Islamic civilisation, in Shiism, or authentic traditional/indigenous culture, in traditionalism/nativism. Nostalgia, as Boym (2001, xviii) notes, can use a language either for reconstruction of the lost home (restorative nostalgia), or to focus on the pain of separation (reflective nostalgia). Nostalgic Islamism and nationalism, though they use different languages, values and ideologies, are similar in one aspect; they are "dependent on the modern conception of unrepeatable and irreversible time" (Boym 2001, 10). In this respect, nostalgia as a product of the rupture with the past has a close relationship with progress and monumentalism. Nostalgic voices connote a dialogic relationship with Mirāse Farhangui that often turns into conflict. This thesis will discuss examples of such relationships, including in 2500 Year Celebration of the Persian Empire (Grigor 2005; Stevenson 2008), conducted at Tent City in Persepolis in 1971 (Tait 2005; Zirak 2002).

Everyday voices

The voices of everyday practices encompass the forces and actors who shape heritage from below, particularly through the daily actions, feelings, and emotions of ordinary individuals. The voice of everyday life can be understood through philosophies of the familiar and the ordinary (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 93), suspicion of abstract rationality (counter-theoreticism), conceptualisation of heritage as unsystematic (Gardiner 2000, 48) and, finally, through open-endedness. The voice of daily life conceptualises heritage through bodily experience, engaged with daily acts, and not as constructed through a "purely cognitive relation to the others and our lived environment" (Gardiner 2000, 48). Such an interpretation of heritage is formed by an individual's daily acts and desires, event-ness, and emotions. Through the lens of the owners and users of the houses, mosques, baths, schools and bazaars, these sites are "lived spaces" (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith 1991). Space is ruled by norms different from the ethical system of monumentalist heritage, or the totalising rationalism of the voice of the progress. This thesis will analyse the voice of everyday practices in Chapter Seven.

The voice of tradition

The introduction discussed the difference between tradition, invented tradition (Hobsbawm & Ranger 2012), and intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO 2003). The voice of tradition is a primary force in shaping heritage sites, as seen, for example in Alishāh, in traditional management in Tabriz Bazaar, and in graffiti in Persepolis.

Mirāse Farhangui studiously ignored or even confronted traditions by focusing on the materiality of the sites. The emergence of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), however, has transformed tradition into part of Iranian heritage administration. There are more than 1350 nationally listed intangible heritage representations (ICHHTO 2014a) to which the same monumentalist policies of protection are applied by the government. In 2006, the Iranian government signed the Intangible Heritage Convention and listed many events and traditions including Nowruz (UNESCO 2003, 2016).

The voice of globalisation

The voice of globalisation creates a constant pressure on Iranian heritage through the discourses of Orientalism, world heritage and international tourism. Global forces have had a huge impact on the formation of Iranian heritage since the sixteenth century, through the notions of antiquity and treasure hunting (Malekshahmirzadi 1987, 131-136). This impact continued in the twentieth century, through joint archaeological excavations and the commodification of heritage. In late modernity, by the introduction of World Heritage, global tourism and World Wide Web, the global voice amplified.

In this thesis, the relationships between the national discourses of Mirāse Farhangui, Orientalism and World Heritage are considered to be the most significant effect of globalism. This thesis will interpret these relationships in Chapter Eight as alternating between confrontations and co-voicing. From one side, Mirāse Farhangui under the impact of Orientalist narratives creates a frozen interpretation of Persepolis, and from the other side, it opposes Orientalism through the lens of nativism and traditionalism. In both conditions, Orientalism is an outside element to Mirāse Farhangui but necessary for its existence. Such a concept in Bakhtinian philosophy is called transgredience (Todorov 1984, 95).

ii. Polyphony in memorialisation

One of the most revealing examples of the negative orientation of the state toward polyphony resides in the ways that Mirāse Farhangui suppresses unofficial memories in heritage sites. Whereas Mirāse Farhangui supports a unified memorialisation for heritage places including Persepolis, and rejects individual and particular memories, the marginalised memories resist the authoritarian Mirāse Farhangui. The conflicts, as discussed in Chapter Six regarding Persepolis, show the repression of mystic and

mythic memories as “gibberish superstition” (Aldawleh 1897, 316) in favour of rationalism and nostalgic historical memory.

By analysing historical maps in Tabriz Bazaar and the graffiti tradition in Persepolis, universalised and particularised memories are interpreted as conflicting forces. The analysis reveals a complexity in which one repressive memory controls the heritage sites and marginalises the memories of individuals and community groups. Persepolis, for example, transforms into an arena of struggle between memories of Solomon, Jamsheed, the Persian Empire (Sami 1976, 215), dark memory of oppression (Khamenei 2008), memories of a spiritual place (Ibnu'l-Balkhi 2005, 126), and countless individual memories of visitors. As discussed in Chapter Six, by banning the graffiti tradition in the twentieth century, such particular memories are excluded from official interpretation. The official memory, however, is constantly challenged by personalised and particular memories. In Chapter Nine, this thesis explores the particular memories that reappear and challenge the dominant memory during the Nowruz festival.

Dynamism as a problem for the state

Another dimension of the anxiety about Nābudie Mirāse Farhangui (obliteration of cultural heritage) emerges from the antagonism between a fluid culture and the rigidity of official interpretation. The focus of Mirāse Farhangui is on aesthetic and historical values of the sites and the fabric. In such an orientation, the social and spiritual values of heritage sites and the intangible aspects are often underestimated or debased. Mirāse Farhangui, as will be illustrated in Chapter Eight, idealises a rigid interpretation that is dominated by an atmosphere of formality and de-vitalisation. In such an orientation, the dynamism of everyday practices embedded in simple daily actions, including singing, walking, touching, decorating, are considered as severe threats to the integrity of the fabric, and, therefore, highly controlled.

The contrast between the frozen interpretation of Mirāse Farhangui and the fluid orientation of everyday practices is one of the most critical aspects of a problem which is rarely addressed in Iranian scholarship. These conflicts are signs of a vibrant and resisting community, and especially evident in the Tabriz Bazaar. In this way, the fluidity of everyday practices, in which physicality is subject to constant change, contradicts the frozen attitude of official conservation standards.

Conclusion

This chapter clarifies the reasons why Iranian heritage is in a perilous condition. It explains that the problem of Iranian heritage emerges from assigning negative qualities to the innate dynamism and polysemy of heritage sites. The problem is evident in the different examples, the widespread anxiety, the emotional expressions, and the popular words of Nabudie Mirāse Farhangui (Hodjat 2014) and "Mongol invasion" (Beheshti 2003). The next task of this investigation is to critique Iranian heritage literature, in order to clarify new facets of Mirāse Farhangui as a monologised discourse.

CHAPTER TWO: CRITIQUE OF IRANIAN HERITAGE LITERATURE

How do Iranian scholars illustrate, conceptualise and explain heritage? This chapter analyses the themes in Iranian heritage scholarship and identifies gaps in the scholarship. The chapter demonstrates that Iranian heritage scholarship is dominantly shaped by Mirāse Farhangui, a cultural concept which includes universal meaning and is firmly connected to the physical expression of the past and history (Samadi 2003, 131). Iranian heritage scholarship encompasses publications that explore and discuss Iranian heritage and its representations, whether published by Iranians living in Iran or by Iranian diasporic scholars. This excludes Orientalist (Said 1978) literature centred on Iran's history, art and architecture that is published by non-Iranian scholars. Orientalist literature will be separately examined in Chapter Seven due to its significant impact on the discourse of Mirāse Farhangui.

Chapter Two is the first part of a distributed literature review. The literature review is distributed because of the complexity and variety of discussions that are necessary in order to reach a conceptual platform. Such complexity demands comment on a large body of literature, including dialogism, the philosophy of familiarity, memorialisation, nationalism, globalism, and Orientalism, that cannot be organised

into a single chapter. Critique of heritage scholarship, in particular, will be presented in Chapter Three when I discuss different methodologies in heritage studies and develop a dialogic methodology. Review of other academic debates, including mapping, graffiti, and the philosophy of familiarity, are distributed across Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

This thesis examines diasporic literature as part of Iranian heritage scholarship, though they demonstrate vast differences. Diasporic scholars live in culturally different environments, have better access to academic resources, rely heavily on Western theories, and benefit from a relatively free political atmosphere. However, they are not immune to ideological oppression by the Iranian government. Many of the diasporic scholars, because of their personal, familial and scholarly links in Iran, are as restricted in commenting on Iranian politics and the authoritarian government as their Iranian associates and may face harassment if they criticise the dominant political power. Such pressure, however, has not prevented a significant body of diasporic scholars to critically questioning authoritarian policy of the government about heritage sites (Mozaffari 2015; Niknami 1999, 2005; Shamoradi & Abdollahzadeh 2014). Such literature, which is called polysemic in this thesis, indicates an outstanding difference from the mainstream scholarship. Polysemic literature is heavily drawn from Western theoretical tradition. Polysemic literature analyses the social and political context of Iranian heritage (Mozaffari 2012), conceptualises heritage as interplay between different ideologies (Daryaee 2006; Mozaffari 2014), and focuses on the role of individuals in meaning making (Harris 2016). In such a context, this chapter discusses four paradigms of scholarly debates in Iranian heritage scholarship: discursive, monumentalist, disciplinary and polysemic. As a diasporic scholar, my argument emerges from polysemic literature, and I identify three orientation and gaps in Iranian heritage scholarship which are linked to the authoritarian and monologising tendency of Mirāse Farhangui.

The first scholarly orientation embodies an oversimplified conceptualisation of Iranian heritage. Iranian heritage literature often dismisses the multiplicity of the actors and the complexity of their relationships as an embedded aspect of meaning making in Iranian heritage sites. Such a tendency results in binary models constructed from blanket theoretical assumptions of postcolonialism (Bhabha 1996; Said 1993), Orientalism (Said 1978), and expectations of historical progress (Boym 2001, 25; Koselleck 2004, xiv). Ignoring complexity reduces Iranian heritage to dichotomies of

expert/non-expert (Abdi 2001; Negahban 2006), orient/occident (Grigor 2004, 8; Hodjat 1995, i,114), elite/ordinary (Grigor 2009, 9), coloniser/colonised (Abdi 2001; Hodjat 1995; Modarres 2012, 193), and traditional/modern (Grigor 2009, 23-31) which are far from adequate to address the multifaceted problem of Iranian heritage. Influenced by the Western construction of heritage under Cartesian dualism (Gardiner 2000, 9; Harrison 2013, 206; Heidegger 1962, 87; 1984, 132), such a conceptualisation of Iranian heritage is not polysemic, but implies monolithic meaning.

The second orientation is evident in an overemphasis on historic and aesthetic dimensions, and often seems to overlook social and political aspects (Afsar 1996; Mansouri & Ajorlo 2003; Mostafavi 1964; Negahban 1996; Sami 1974; Shahbazi 2001). The problem consists of an interpretive tendency to see heritage as an "object," for example in the case of graffiti at Persepolis (Mostafavi 1964, 235-251; Sami 1974, 2), and not as a process or a discourse. Such a problem is particularly evident in the lack of reflection on heritage interpretation itself, except in an emerging scholarship from outside of Iran (Harris 2016; Mozaffari 2014). The extensive disciplinary literature of archaeology, art history, architecture, and management of heritage, from inside and outside of Iran, is evidence of an emphasis on the physicality of heritage (Bazljoo 2004; Britt Tilia 1972; Motamedmanesh 2016; Mousavi 1996; Niknami 1999, 2005; Schmidt 1953). In rare cases of discursive analysis of Iranian heritage, the Islamist discourse of Iranian heritage is not often included, and the analysis chronologically avoids discussing the shifts after the 1979 Islamic Revolution (Grigor 2009; Mousavi 2012; Negahban 2006).

In such an environment of binary theoretical constructions, conservatism, monolithic meaning making, and fabric-oriented debates which can be interpreted as monologisation, a significant gap in Iranian heritage literature emerges. This chapter confirms that the dynamism of Iranian heritage sites has seldom been studied through the philosophy of ordinary, everyday practices and as lived space (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984; Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith 1991). The first and the second orientations in Iranian heritage scholarship, discussed above, imply that the emotions of the users, the voices of inhabitants and the ways that communities interpret heritage sites through daily actions, are often dismissed as insignificant. Iranian scholarship, both within and without Iran, often seems to interpret the sites as devoid of life and dominated by theoreticism (Bakhtin 1993, 7, 8).

Discursive literature

Discursive literature conceptualises Iranian heritage as a discourse, and not merely through an object-oriented perspective. The literature constitutes a minority in the scholarship and conceptualises Iranian heritage as unified under an ideological value-system. Discursive scholarship often uses representational theories (Waterton & Watson 2013, 551) including Critical Discourse Analysis (Locke 2004; Wodak & Meyer 2009) which seeks understanding of the cultural role of heritage objects in meaning making. Discursive literature portrays Iranian heritage as a social and cultural phenomenon, by analysing the different uses of language in construction of knowledge within the Iranian heritage context (Edgar & Sedgwick 2008, 96). Grigor (2004, 2007, 2009) discusses Iranian heritage through the lens of modernisation and historical progress, Abdi (2001) in terms of nationalism, post-colonialism and historical progress, and Hodjat (1995, 2001) through the lenses of Shi'ism, traditionalism and postcolonialism.

Grigor (2003, 2004, 2007, 2009) examines the concept of heritage as an ideological force. She is a pioneer in the study of Iranian heritage through the prism of architecture and the politics of space. She discusses the political and social forces that shape Iranian culture at the beginning of the twentieth century. In her argument, historical ruins and modern memorials acted as commemorative spaces for a hegemonic discourse of modernisation (Grigor 2009, 23-31). With an elitist slant, Grigor states that "the discourse of cultural heritage [in Iran] began in 1922 with the establishment of the Society of National Heritage (SNH)" (Grigor 2004; 2009, 9). SNH is a non-governmental organisation that was established at the beginning of the twentieth century by influential political figures. Grigor conceptualises heritage as the engine of a forceful modernisation that is imposed by a group of political elites: "in short, Iran's cultural heritage was modern Iran's political *raison d'être*" (Grigor 2009, 13). She also discusses the enforcement of a new architectural *Zawq* (taste) by the same intellectuals, based on the forms and Achaemenid architectural motifs of the pre-Islamic epoch (Grigor 2004).

In Grigor's argument, the complexity and intertextual nature of heritage has been reduced to a one-dimensional narrative of modernisation. Non-elite groups, including merchants, guilds, Shiite clergies and peasants, have no voice in the discourse of heritage. This standpoint has been criticised by scholars (Cronin 2003a, 3) who argue for the significant role of different community groups in Iranian

modernity. They are marginalised classes who participated in shaping heritage by everyday tactics (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 35, 36) of resistance (Cronin 2003b, 1). This thesis, in Chapters Four and Six, discusses examples of creative resistance against forceful urbanisation and demolition of fabric by the Pahlavi regime in Tabriz Bazaar. In Grigor's argument, however, Iranian heritage is a Eurocentric phenomenon with substantial political implications. SNH, in 58 years, erected many mausoleums, started more than 60 preservation projects, a national museum, and a public library, to create a "a new order and a new Iran" (Grigor 2004, 18). The official Iranian discourse of heritage is identified with the opposing and contradictory practices of conservation and demolition. An example of the first is the conservation of pre-Islamic sites that has been justified in the official discourse, and of the second, the demolition of historical buildings from the Islamic period on the pretext of urbanisation and development (Grigor 2009, 37). Grigor's model of heritage, which is Eurocentric and top-down, contains a methodological problem that dismisses the embedded complexity of the phenomenon. As a space-based study concentrated on heritage sites, and in a Lefebvrian sense (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith 1991), Grigor's argument does not go beyond the physical space and imagined space. My analyses in this study clarifies that the same heritage sites are examples of lived space of the everyday with considerable political and social impact.

The second dimension of Grigor's argument is related to heritage as a Eurocentric concept. She discusses that the authoritarian discourse not only excludes ordinary Iranians (Grigor 2004, 19) but is also "formulated along Western lines" (Grigor 2004, 18). This argument implies that Iranians are voiceless and that Western readings of heritage are universal and can be imported and imposed. The Western scholarly tradition, as discussed in the introduction, emphasises the slippery and complicated nature of the cultural concepts including heritage (O'Sullivan et al. 1994, xii). This is in contrast with the tendency of Iranian heritage literature which sometimes takes the Western concept of heritage ahead of their own, as progressive and universal (Abdi 2001, 73; Niknami 1999, 1, 2). Western scholars debate the polysemic nature of heritage in a variety of ways: as commercialised tradition (Giddens 2000, 44), hyperrealism (Baudrillard 1994; Eco 1986), or a process that is impossible (Lowenthal 1998, xxi) or unnecessary to define (Harvey 2001, 2). It is illustrated to be a dissonant concept (Tunbridge 1996), fundamentally shaped by conflict. Heritage is also discussed as a social construction and a discursive

phenomenon with a hegemonic nature (Smith 2006). The idea of heritage is also developed to cover intangible aspects (Byrne 2009; Smith & Akagawa 2008; UNESCO 2003). The necessity of heritage in contemporary life has been elevated to be part of human rights for individuals and community groups (Logan, Langfield & Nic Craith 2009; Silverman & Ruggles 2007). Heritage also diverges from solemnity and historicity by accommodating popular culture, games, leisure, movies, music and theme parks (De Groot 2016; Halewood & Hannam 2001). In Grigor's argument, a primary question in the "import/impose" model arises and needs to be clarified: how can a slippery, contested and polysemic concept like Eurocentric heritage be imported and imposed, unless, as Niknami proposes (Niknami 1999, 1, 2), it is transformed into a frozen reading?

The relationship between Mirāse Farhangui and the Western concept of heritage, discussed in Chapter Eight, is a complex and dialogic phenomenon. Such dialogism is evident particularly in the interplay of Orientalism and Mirāse Farhangui in the interpretation of heritage sites including Persepolis which alternates between submission and resistance. The use of a simplistic model of a post-colonial relationship in which Iran is a voiceless receiver of an imposed Eurocentric concept is, of course, not equate to describe such complex hegemony. The voices of Iran and the West are intertwined in the creation of the concept of Iranian heritage. In Grigor's universal and monumental model, the polyphonic nature of Iranian heritage and the voices of tradition and everyday life are not important. Chapter Seven contradicts such assumptions by uncovering different voices and everyday interpretations of Iranian heritage. it demonstrates that such voices fundamentally shape Iranian heritage by creative "tactics" (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 35,36) of resistance, amalgamation and avoidance.

Hodjat, with a postcolonialist orientation, discusses the Iranian discourse of heritage as manipulated by Western ideas. In his view, cultural heritage in Iran is "afflicted" by the "ailment" of " Western concepts" (Hodjat 1995, preamble page 2). Hodjat, however, in apparent contradiction to Grigor, idealises a new discourse of Iranian heritage as an Islamist phenomenon (Hodjat 1995, 2001). The difference between Islamic and Western ideals of heritage, says Hodjat, resides in their orientations to the past. By widely referencing different Western scholars, especially Lowenthal (1985) and Hewison (1987), he discusses the way that the Western discourse of heritage is dominantly shaped from a nostalgic orientation toward the

past. Muslims, in contrast, look at the past "to learn from it" (Hodjat 1995, 16; 2001, 34): "Muslims have been ordered to think about mortal life, victories and downfalls of kings and god's rewards and punishments" (Hodjat 1995, 17).

Hodjat's new discourse, which is defined from Islamic values, is idealised to replace an alien Eurocentric discourse. The problem, in Hodjat's view, is that, firstly, Iranian heritage has been defined through "alien viewpoints" (Hodjat 1995, ix) and cultural values and, therefore, has been rejected by Iranians. Secondly, these alien values and practices have debased the authentic values and traditions of Iranian society. By ignoring the polyphony in Iranian culture and focusing on a monolithic approach, he claims that the universal values in Iranian society are nothing but Islamic values. In this way, Hodjat's construction of Iranian heritage is monologic and dismisses or ignores many voices, including progress, tradition, nostalgic nationalism, globalisation, and everyday practices which are strongly connected to heritage sites. The widespread anxiety among many social groups which was discussed in Chapter One contradicts the rejection of the concept of heritage by Iranians. Hodjat ignores the strong attachment of many social groups who successfully defended Persepolis, at the first year of Islamic revolution, against the "large popular rush to destroy Persepolis" (Hodjat 1995, 201).

There is an inconsistency in Hodjat's conceptualisation of Iranian heritage; though he contradicts the orientation of West toward the past as nostalgic, his alternative discourse is also nostalgic. His argument for returning to Islamic values is nothing but a restorative nostalgia toward a golden and lost Islamic past, because, as Boym notes (2001, 54), it entails two narratives, "conspiracy theory" and "restoration of origins." Iranian nativism, according to Boroujerdi (1996, 14), is "the doctrine that calls for the resurgence, reinstatement or continuance of native or indigenous cultural customs, beliefs and values." Islamism, as reflected in the works of scholars including Shariati (1980), Fardid (Mirsepassi 2017), and Motahari (1980), proposes returning to Islamic values to create a revolutionary political ideology (Fazeli 2004, 142). Hodjat, therefore, is among intellectuals who contributed to the development of the anti-Western rhetoric of *Gharbzadegi* (Westoxification), including Ale-Ahmad (1982) and Shayegan (1992). Westoxification is defined as "The fascination with and dependence upon the West to the detriment of traditional, historical and cultural ties to Islam and [the] Islamic world" (Esposito 2004, 337). The concept of Gharbzadegi is the basis for an anti-Western cultural movement which protects traditional culture and targets "the

revitalization of peasant culture, the extension of rural and nomadic studies and an emphasis on religious and Islamic culture” (Fazeli 2006, 3).

Under the influence of nativism and Islamism, Hodjat’s argument recognises a crucial role for heritage in the battle between Iran and “Global Village overlords” (Hodjat 1995, i). There is a “hegemony of alien cultures” (Hodjat 1995, 114, i) that threatens Iranian identity. In the conflicts of Iranians with the “Global Village overlords” (Hodjat 1995, i) “cultural heritage can play a decisive role in recovering identity” (Hodjat 1995, i). He conceptualises Iranian-Islamic identity as authentic and Islamic values as “prevailing in our society” (Hodjat 1995, ii). Hodjat and Grigor clarify two faces of the same coin which is the monolithic orientation of Mirāse Farhangui. Hodjat’s idealised heritage can be seen to replace an ideological and authoritarian interpretation with another. Grigor’s conceptualisation connotes a nostalgic interpretation of the past based on the reconstruction of a modern Persian Empire (Grigor 2005) and “Great Civilisation” (Pahlavi 1994). Hodjat, from the other side, “revives Iran’s national and Islamic identity” (Hodjat 1995, 296) by returning to Islamic values. The post-colonial narrative and binary positioning of Iran against the West in the rhetoric of Gharbzadegi is incapable of clarifying many other subtle interpretations in between. In an Islamised conceptualisation, Iranian heritage is universal and devoid of the inherent polyphony of Iranian culture. In such an orientation, what is the place of Jewish, Christian and Zoroastrian heritages that are linked to community groups who identify themselves as Iranians? Islamised Mirāse Farhangui interprets pre-Islamic representations as symbols of a dark past, despotism, and oppression (Khamenei 2008). In this way, the Islamised model of Iranian heritage is a significant example of literature that promotes monologisation.

Disciplinary approaches

In disciplinary literature, Iranian heritage is represented as elitist, non-indigenous, progressive and monologic. Such an approach reduces the complexity of the problem to dichotomies, including antique trade/archaeology (Negahban 2006, 16), indigenous/Western (Abdi 2001, 52; Hodjat 1995, 114; 2001), global/national (Modarres 2012), and non-experts/experts. Iranian archaeologists dominantly shape the disciplinary approach of heritage. Negahban (2006), Abdi (2001), Malekshahmirzadi (1987), Niknami (Niknami 1999, 2005) and Modarres (2012), among many others, have investigated the transformation of archaeology as a

discipline and as part of heritage discourse. In such an orientation, a historiographical approach is dominant, in which Iranian archaeology is presented as a series of historical events in progress. Such analysis starts from pre-modernity (Abdi 2001, 53,54; Hodjat 1995, 128,129; Malekshahmirzadi 1987, 134), a vague chronological assumption when individuals practised treasure hunting (Hodjat 1995, 124; Negahban 2006, 24), were ignorant of heritage values, and lived through traditionalism (Abdi 2001, 53, 54; Hodjat 1995, 128, 129; Malekshahmirzadi 1987, 134). Malekshahmirzadi (1987, 134) for example says, "It appears that Iranian's interest in heritage was initially shaped as a temporary hobby and often was destructive."[36] Hodjat notes:

> …the rulers, taking advantage of their position and power, firstly due to their ignorance of the cultural value of historic relics, secondly because of their eagerness to offer their good services to foreigners in exchange for their support, and thirdly in reason of the considerable material benefits involved, provided the conditions necessary for the excavation, acquisition and sale of cultural goods to foreigners. (Hodjat 1995, 131)

The discussion then continues by showing how archaeology has entered Iran through Europeans, in a supporting (Negahban 2006) or criticising approach (Mousavi 1996). The establishment of modern institutions and administrations are considered as symbols of progress and enlightenment. In mainstream literature, the notions of archaeology and heritage are often confused and treated as the same (Abdi 2001; Negahban 1996).

Negahban (2006, 16), in his autobiography, illustrates the dominant and conventional image of an Iranian heritage expert who must fight with bureaucrats, corrupt political figures, foreign archaeologists and ignorant locals. The fact that he is considered one of the most significant archaeologists in Iran and known by some as the "father of Iranian archaeology" (ISNA 2011, Par. 16) intensifies his impact. He describes the illegal antique trafficking as a defining force in the politics of heritage sites, including Marlik (Negahban 1996): "this plundering not only here but also in the majority of countries with remnants of ancient civilisations, is a common practice" (Negahban 2006, 16).[37] Negahban conceptualises heritage in the form of dichotomies

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[36] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[37] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

between antique plundering and archaeology; one is destructive and morally wrong and the other is good, scientific and protective. In the simplified discourse of good and evil, the main heroes are the archaeologists. Others including local community and none-elites have been reduced to "*Arbabrojou'e Semej*" (importunate clients) (Negahban 2006, 170) who are afflicted by "gold fever" (Negahban 2006, 173) and "conspiracy" (Negahban 2006, 178). In his conceptualisation of heritage, nationalism has a decisive role; Iranian identity, embedded in valuable historical relics, must be protected against foreign archaeologists (Negahban 2006, 266-268), royal court members (Negahban 2006, 147), and locals who misuse their power and influence to plunder national treasures. He also disdains Westernised wealthy Iranians who are mindlessly mimicking foreigners in respecting heritage sites with no understanding of their true values (Negahban 2006, 190). Negahban's model of meaning-making is an excellent example of the scholarly debate that promotes Mirāse Farhangui, because it is oversimplified, monologic and focuses on materiality and historic values.

Abdi (2001) and Modarres (2012) position their argument in a broader context. Development of archaeology for Abdi and Modarres is a context within which to examine nationalism and ethics. By following Said's work on postcolonialism (1978; 1993), they rely mostly on an unhelpful binary opposition between Iran and the West and the coloniser and the colonised to develop a model of meaning-making.

Modarres starts the discussion with an observation: "When browsing through the recent English language literature on Iranian excavations and archaeology, there is hardly any mention of or reference to research done by Iranians" (Modarres 2012, 193). By dividing the archaeologists into foreign (North American/European) and local (Iranian), she explores the apparently trivial Iranian contribution to academic literature, despite the establishment of a rich local archaeological tradition since the 1970s. Modarres draws the reader's attention to an apparent unethical aspect of reporting the local endeavour. Foreign scholars, regarding Iranian archaeologists as inferior, consider their excavations only as a data resource, a "practical training field" to "experiment with their methods and theory building" (Modarres 2012, 202). She offers "postcolonial and multi-vocal archaeology" (Modarres 2012, 209) as a solution to this attitude and its effects. By using the analogy of a "mosaic," she conceptualises every new piece of research as part of a greater image that shapes our understanding. Her analogy of the mosaic, however, does not clarify the relationships between pieces

of mosaic, between pieces and the whole picture, and between the picture with other possible pictures outside the metaphorical mosaic.

Modarres's significant contribution clarifies asymmetrical power relationships between national and global forces. The subordination of Iranian heritage literature in the global context is an ethical problem for Western scholarship. Such simplification of archaeology/heritage fails to explain two significant aspects. Firstly, the global and the national forces cannot be conceptualised as unified discourses because they both include different interpretations, value-systems and practices. In many cases, including Tabriz Bazaar, the local archaeologists and the national counterparts do not share exactly the same interpretation of archaeological sites. Secondly, as an ethics-oriented argument, the ethical aspects of "multi-vocal archaeology" (Modarres 2012, 210) remain unclear. Thirdly, the relationships of the national and global are not limited to mere contestations and negligence. As the analysis of Iranian legislation in Chapter Four indicates, the relationships between the foreign and local archaeologists is much more complex. It includes resistance, submission, fusion and cooperation. She also discusses the Iranian Islamic Revolution as a turning point because it has bestowed "independence" from the "West" (Modarres 2012, 205) to archaeological study (Modarres 2012, 208). This use of the term "independence" in an intertextual (Kristeva & Moi 1986) phenomenon including archaeology/heritage, in which many concepts and theories are intertwined, requires more clarification. In Chapter Seven, I analyse different representations of Persepolis and demonstrate that Orientalism and Mirāse Farhangui are co-beings and, in their dialogic relationship, they define and create each other.

Niknami, in an opposite interpretation of archaeology, considers Iranian archaeology as inferior to Western archaeology because it "afflicted by" lack of scientific method, social science theory and multi-disciplinary strategy. In addition, Iranian archaeology is rigid and isolated from the public, social and political debates. In his argument, Iranian archaeology is frozen in a state that resembles "world archaeology of the early 1960's" (Niknami 1999, 1,2). In a nutshell: "Iranian archaeology was simply left behind, 'out of date', and generally atheoretical. I also stress that its traditional authority structure prevented discussion of new ideas" (Niknami 1999, 3).

Niknami's conceptualisation of archaeology is discussed through the idea of historical progress. In such a theorising, Iranian heritage/archaeology is conceptualised

as backward, and the Western tradition of archaeology as developed, and as the horizon of expectation (Tavakoli-Targhi 2001, 4). Though he briefly mentions the shift between a “monolithic national school” and “many-side approach” in Iran (Niknami 1999, 6), he never explores the complexity of transition between these two states. His remedy for the problem is based on theoreticism, and he suggests more systematisation, a “master-plan for [the] future” and opening doors to the institutions of the developed countries (Niknami 1999, 7). In his argument, the “virtual state of crisis” (Niknami 1999, 4) can be remedied by “adopting new [Western] ideas,” and “constructing a new organisation” (Niknami 1999, 3). Though he identifies the monolithic aspect of Iranian heritage and partly clarifies the consequent deficiencies, he does not discuss the broader social and political context of such tendency. His argument, therefore, is far from adequate to address the problem of monologisation.

Abdi (2001) explores nationalism through the transformation of archaeology as a discipline. His objective is to clarify the “...uses and abuses of archaeology and ancient history in promoting nationalism…” (Abdi 2001, 52). Similarly to Grigor, he illustrates archaeology as a concept that is imported by Iranian elites to the ‘blank slate’ of the Iranian context. Elitism has antagonistic dimensions in his argument. Iranian society, according to Abdi, is divided into two classes of “public” and “educated Iranians” (Abdi 2001, 52). He discusses that there is no fundamental difference in the conception of an “authentic” past and history between the two classes, except that educated groups use sophisticated methods to construct the past. Neither elites nor the public, however, confer a “developed” (Abdi 2001, 52) conception of archaeology, nationalism, history and heritage. Contradictorily, he conceptualises archaeology as a field that is shaped by the educated elites, including politicians and intelligentsia who are “unaware” of the values of heritage.

In a similar vein to Niknami (1999, 2005), Abdi conceptualises archaeology as universal and historically progressive. Abdi uses the term “development” (Abdi 2001, 51, 52, 73) on different occasions to describe the transformation of archaeology in Iran. By doing so, as Tavakoli (2001) argues, he falls into the mainstream of Iranian literature that assumes Western societies are “the horizon of expectation” and “ahead of their own time” (Tavakoli-Targhi 2001, 4). In this way, Abdi defines Iranian archaeology as abused by political elites, manipulated, and sometimes backwards. Also, archaeology is considered historically progressive and reaching a state of “established scientific inquiry” (Abdi 2001, 73). In addition to the conceptualising

archaeology as universal and progressive, Abdi takes the term archaeology for granted and it is never properly defined. In his paper, archaeology signifies a host of meanings—a branch of knowledge, as practice, heritage, past, and history.

In different disciplinary approaches, archaeology is considered as an imported construction: "Nationalism and archaeology were both imported to Iran in the 19th century by Western-educated Iranians" (Abdi 2001, 51, 74). They also conceptualise heritage solely as Eurocentric and a modern construction. The voices of tradition and everyday practices are reduced to passive recipients. As an example, Abdi argues that the lack of an indigenous development "prevented both nationalism and archaeology from a natural and gradual development in the context of Iranian culture" (Abdi 2001, 52). Abdi's argument, like Negahban's and those of other disciplinary literature, considers the process of monologisation not as a problem, but as a necessity for progress, protection of national identity, and conservation of the fabric.

Fazeli (2004, 2006) explores the transformation of anthropology which is a significant branch in the discourse of Mirāse Farhangui. He explores two fundamental questions: "How has anthropology been relevant to Iranian society in the last century? How did political changes affect Iranian anthropological enterprise?" (Fazeli 2004, 2). By using a combination of ethnographic methods and discourse analysis, he recognises nationalism (1906-1941), nativism/anti-modernisation (1950-1979), and finally Islamism (1979-) as three periods in Iranian anthropology. In his argument, anthropology has become a field of interaction between many political forces and discourses. He conceptualises anthropology in Iran as a challenge between the two camps of "modernisation theory" and "dependence theory." The first camp indicates the discipline as a bi-product of modernisation, and the second as the symbol of imperialism by "Western political and economical interests" (Fazeli 2006, 201). In this way, anthropology is discussed dominantly through historical progress and postcolonialism.

Samadi, in a series of publications (Samadi 2003, 2007b; Tolouashtiany et al. 2010), studies the laws through which heritage is defined and legislated. As a lawyer and significant actor in the legislation process, he presents valuable information and examines different legislations in their historical context. In his argument, the law is a cultural representation through which transformation of heritage can be better understood (Samadi 2003, 13). I had the chance to interview Samadi before his unexpected death in 2013. In this interview, he radically criticised two different aspects

of Iranian heritage—the administration, and misunderstandings in Iranian heritage. He also discussed many dimensions which he never debated openly in his publications. The interview shows a fundamental problem in Iranian heritage scholarship, in which an atmosphere of conservatism and censorship is dominant. As previously discussed, even the diasporic scholars are not immune to the effects of an authoritarian Iranian government. In this way, there are always hidden layers in any given phenomena that is never being revealed to the public. In such a context, Samadi considers his work as "…an opening to draw academic attention to the legislative context" (Samadi 2003, 14).

Discursive scholarship in Iranian heritage, compared to the main body of literature, is significantly scarce. The third paradigm of publication which is called monumentalist in this research, represents a non-discursive understanding of the Iranian heritage sites. This category encompasses the majority of Iranian heritage literature, emphasises the aesthetic and historic dimensions of heritage, and often ignores the social/political facets.

Monumentalist literature

Monumentalist literature is object-oriented. It does not consider heritage as a discourse, so focuses on the materiality and historic-aesthetic dimensions. It constitutes the massive publications that have accumulated since sixteenth century. While monumentalist literature provides essential information on physicality, history and architecture, its monumentalist and partial perspective cannot provide an overall understanding of Iranian heritage. It is unnecessary and impossible for this thesis to explore all the publications that extensively discuss excavations, physical features and historical aspects of Iranian sites, from the disciplines of architecture, art history, archaeology and anthropology. This thesis discusses publications on Persepolis as a striking example of monumentalist literature, and for its symbolic position in Iranian heritage scholarship. Such exploration clarifies the dominance and significance of monumentalism as an ideological force.

Persepolis embodies an accumulation of scholarly work since its so-called discovery in the sixteenth century. Mousavi (2012) discusses the massive range of studies that have explored Persepolis in four distinctive phases. First, from the sixteenth to nineteenth century, when Persepolis was the focus of early European travellers and explorers, including Flandin (1851), Figueroa, who "re-discovered"

Persepolis, Della Valle (1665), who copied the cuniforms for the first time, and many others. Second, the European diplomats and envoys in the neinteenth century who studied Iran and Persepolis "to collect information" (Mousavi 2012, 123). Third, the dawn of archaeology in Iran, when Persepolis was subject to systematic excavation and historical study by Orientalist figures, including Herzfeld (1928, 1935), Schmidt (1953), Ghirshman (1964), Pope (1957), and many others. Fourth, between 1939-1979, when the foreign archaeologists left Iran and the government took over Persepolis excavations. Mousavi, however, stops at this point, and does not go further to explore Persepolis after the 1979 Islamic Revolution. Possibly this is because of restrictions imposed by the atmosphere of conservatism and authoritarianism which was discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

Many Iranian archaeologists including Shahbazi (2001), Mostafavi (1964), and Sami (1974), have studied the architectural remains and reported on their excavations. They not only shaped archaeology as a scientific discipline in Iran (Fazeli 2006, 38-40), but also contributed to the construction of Mirāse Farhangui as a monumentalist discourse. Sami (1974, 3-12), for example, discusses the memories of ancient kings in Persepolis through historical graffiti. In Chapter Five, this thesis also interprets graffiti as conveying significant information about memorialisation, the perception of time, and the life of Iranian culture. Sami, however, mainly focuses on "historical significance" and "artistic values" of different calligraphic styles (Sami 1974, 2). A similar approach to understanding the graffiti of Persepolis can be observed in Mostafavi (1964, 236-251). Shahbazi (1976) concentrates on the monumental aspects of Persepolis and its aesthetic and historic values. The economic, social and political implications of the site on the neighbouring areas, and especially on the local community, have never been studied. Also, the monumentalist literature in Persepolis seldom shows an in-depth understanding of the site after the Islamic Revolution (Daroogheh-Nokhodcheri 2014, 152-161). In Chapters Four and Five, this thesis discusses a similar tendency in Tabriz Bazaar where intangible aspects have a decisive role in its continuation and dynamism.

Polysemic literature

Polysemic literature not only discusses Iranian heritage as discursive and in the context of political and social change but also as encompassing different connotations that various social groups assign to physicality. Diasporic Iranian academics, as well as

non-Iranian scholars, contribute to the polysemic scholarship. Though polysemic literature is scarce compared to the main body of Iranian heritage literature, it shows a vast difference between scholarship of inside and outside Iran. Mozaffari, for example, analyses Persepolis (Mozaffari 2010, 2014), the Islamic Department of National Museum (Mozaffari 2012), the unfinished museum of Pasargadae (Mozaffari 2016), and heritage NGOs (Mozaffari 2015) in order to explore different ideological forces and meanings in Iranian heritage sites. He argues that there is a dialectical relationship between geographical locations and "the manner in which identities relate to and connect with locations" (Mozaffari 2014, 227). Iranian heritage is created through the interplay of different conceptualisations, including "traditional cultural patterns … with the more global aspects of modernity" (Mozaffari 2016, 198). In the case of Persepolis, such interaction occurs between the pre-Islamic collective identity and a Shiite identity in the form of co-existence (Mozaffari 2014, 2). In this way, not only the Iranian identity but also the meanings of heritage sites as well as identities are a dynamic and polysemic phenomenon.

Daryaee (2006) discusses different interpretations of the past in late antiquity in Persia. He addresses a continuous debate for (Yarshater 1971) and against (Shahbazi 2001) the historical amnesia about the Achaemenids. Daryaee illustrates a more polysemic and complex relationship between history and memory. In his argument, the Achaemenids, as a historical memory, are intentionally removed from the Sassanian records and remained as mythical memory. By coining the term "Zoroastrian notion of memory", he argues that "the Achaemenids were only important regarding their function as transmitters of the holy religion and the texts which was brought to an end by Alexander" (Daryaee 2006, 502).

Melikian-Chirvani explores the historical consciousness of Iranians through the graffiti of Persepolis. His argument, in contrast to Sami (1974, 2) and Mostafavi (1964, 236-251), goes beyond the physicality and aesthetics of historical graffiti. He explores different innate meanings of poems and expressions and their relationship. He uses the analogy of a "fugue" to describe the complexity and the harmony of diverse meanings and the links with space (Melikian-Chirvani 1971, 38).

Harris (2016) explores the complexity of curatorial challenges in Pasargadae in which multiple conceptions of heritage are involved. She proposes a poetic interpretation in which visitors are more emotionally engaged. She also suggests a dialogic form of relationship between mythical and historical understandings of the

sites and spiritual/ monumental functionality of Pasargadae. In poetic interpretation, not only is the experience of natural landscape involved but also the emotions and imagination of visitors are provoked. Harris, however, discusses the complexity of such curatorial strategy in the monologising environment of Iranian heritage and repressive religious discourse. Though she uses a polysemic approach to interpret the heritage site, she also differentiates between a Eurocentric "celebration of diversity" embedded in the concept of World Heritage, and a cultural multiplicity that originates from "national values" (Harris 2016, 175).

By using the representational theories, including semiotics and discourse analysis, polysemic scholarship discusses the understandings and symbolic role of heritage objects and sites in the Iranian cultural landscape. Such conceptual orientation, however, cannot answer particular questions about bodily experience, everyday life, and embodied knowledge. Harris, however, by using the poetics of space, goes beyond the representational approaches (Waterton & Watson 2013, 551, 552) of polysemic literature. She discusses the relationship between the concepts of cultural landscape and the individual's experiences that each visitor brings to the site. She argues that there is a significant role for the bodily interaction in meaning making that involves "vision, hearing, touch, smell, memory" (Harris 2016, 180).

This thesis agrees with Harris's argument on the significant role of bodily experience in interpretation and meaning making, and that the everyday practices of users and visitors are inseparable qualities of heritage interpretation. This thesis will analyse everyday practices in Tabriz Bazaar in Chapter Six, in order to develop an alternative understanding of Iranian heritage through the discourse of Yādegār.

Conclusion

Chapter Two discusses an environment of binary theoretical constructions, monolithic meaning making, and fabric-oriented debates in Iranian heritage scholarship. This tendency, which is interpreted as monologisation, indicates the particular orientations and gaps in Iranian heritage scholarship. It defines scholarship as scholarly publications from outside and inside Iran which discuss Iranian heritage. Chapter Two identifies two broad categories of scholarly debates: discursive literature that discusses Iranian heritage in the context of social and political shifts; and object-oriented literature that focuses on materiality of heritage, history, and aesthetics. This chapter also discusses Iranian heritage literature in four particular groups of theory—

discursive, disciplinary, monumentalist and polysemic. It is argued that the orientation of literature toward monumentalism, elitism and binary positioning, is part of problem of Iranian heritage, and supports the process of monologisation of Mirāse Farhangui. Also, there is a significant gap in the scholarship, that emerges from dismissing the everyday interpretations of visitors and users. The next chapter will discuss methodologies that can help address the problems and gaps in Iranian heritage scholarship.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter Three creates a conceptual framework by providing answers to the questions which are essential for addressing the problem of Iranian heritage; what constitutes the "reality" of Iranian heritage? Does Iranian heritage have an existence independent of human beings? Alternatively, does it encompass meanings inherent in the objects and sites, as the object-oriented literature often proposes (Britt Tilia 1972; Sami 1976; Ghirshman 1978)? Thus, my conceptual framework emerges from three intertwined aspects. Firstly, I critically review anglophone literature of heritage and demonstrate a shift in methodologies from heritage as objects with a fixed meaning, toward heritage as representations of multiple meanings, and finally heritage as non-representational. Secondly, I illustrate the position of this thesis toward "reality" of Iranian heritage as "constructed." Thirdly, the dualism of representational and non-representational theories is examined, and the term more-than-representational theory (Lorimer 2005, 85) is introduced. I discuss that relationship between two sets of theories is not dichotomous, as often argued in the mainstream literature, because they share similar ontological position and in scholarship are used together. This chapter concludes selection of dialogism as a more-than-representational theoretical umbrella. This is because although in dialogism the collective symbolic order is considered significant, it is merely a "part" of the knowledge (Anderson and Harrison 2010, 14, 15); such

knowledge, as is discussed in Chapter Four, should be completed by embodiment, practices, and emotions. So, Chapters Three and Four are interconnected and in Chapter Four the dialogical research method is expanded and discussed.

Heritage; different approaches

It is necessary to analyse different approaches to heritage in order to develop a methodology for this thesis. This necessity is emphasised by Pickering (2008, 2), who discusses the significance of reflection on the research methods that is generally overlooked in Cultural Studies (Pickering 2008, 2). Waterton and Watson (2013), Pickering (2008), and Sorensen and Carman (2009) examine theoretical approaches in Heritage Studies from different standpoints. Western scholarship thus demonstrates a shift in understanding of heritage (Logan and Wijesuriya 2016) from tangible to intangible (Smith and Akagawa 2008; UNESCO 2003), from expert-oriented to community-oriented (Harrison 2013), and from frozen monumentality to process-oriented. This transformation is particularly evident in the emergence of the concept of “cultural landscape” which was introduced to the Iranian context in 2004 by listing Bam in the World Heritage register (ICOMOS 2004; WHC 2015, 19). The emergence of cultural landscape in the West encompasses a fundamental change in the conceptualisation of heritage sites, from a frozen monumentality toward a lived experience of space which connects culture and nature (Rössler 2006, 334). Cultural landscape not only represents “combined works of nature and of man” (UNESCO 1972, Article. 1) but it also connotes “a looser boundary that permits links between a site and wider life” (Harris 2016, 179). Also, the concept of cultural landscape challenges the monumental and iconic conceptualisation of heritage sites (Taylor and Lennon 2012, 2) embedded in The Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964), Burra Charter (ICOMOS 1999), and other monumentalist declarations.

Waterton and Watson (2013, 548, 550, 551) divide theoretical approaches into three broad paradigms of “theories *in* heritage,” “theories *of* heritage,” and, “theories *for* heritage.” In their argument, the first paradigm emerges from disciplines of archaeology, architecture, art history, and anthropology, in which the focus is primarily on the material culture and object of heritage. The first category thus often takes the concept of heritage for granted and seldom examines it on an ontological level. Scholarship of “theories *in* heritage” (Waterton and Watson 2013, 548) seek to solve the heritage problem in a practical sense and from a management perspective.

The second paradigm of "theories *of* heritage" moves "thinking about heritage away from its object toward its social and cultural context and significance" (Waterton and Watson 2013, 550). Lowenthal (1998, 1985) and Hewison (1987) illustrated an abstract conceptualisation of heritage as a whole through postcolonial theory, postmodernism, Marxism and constructivism (Waterton and Watson 2013, 550). The third paradigm emerges in response to the challenges and questions that two other paradigms are unable to address. They are unable to answer the questions about the role of individuals' experience, the everyday aspects, and the emotions, in the creation of heritage places and interpretation of museums. The category of "theories *for* heritage" (Waterton and Watson 2013, 551) thus uses a variety of theories to go beyond representational conceptualisation of heritage objects and their textual/visual significations.

Another classification of literature can be found in Sorensen and Carmen (2009) who discuss Heritage Studies as a unique and emerging discipline in the Arts and Humanities. Through introducing different outlooks, they classify the approaches into three broad paradigms. Their classification, in contrast to Waterton and Watson, is not based on theoretical orientations but is on a "shared focus on a particular data resource" (Sorensen and Carman 2009, 6). The first category includes those methods that conceptualise heritage as text and use discourse analysis, historiographical analysis of archival material, and ethnography, to interpret many possible meanings that are constructed by different social groups. The second group concentrates on "people's attitudes and behaviour" (Sorensen and Carman 2009, 5) without defining the term "people." Finally, the third category analyses the physicality of heritage.

Pickering classifies two groups of scholarly investigations under the duality of textual analysis versus empirical approaches (Pickering 2008, 3). The empirical engagement, in his argument, deals with lived experiences of individuals and social groups. The relationship between researcher and researched is on a "subject/subject" (Pickering 2008, 19) basis and is not based on detachment from an isolated object. In subject/subject relationships, the research turns into a dialogue between researcher and researched. This is a significant point that will be further developed in this chapter through the Bakhtinian concept of creative understanding (Todorov 1984, 108). Pickering discusses methods of research including qualitative and quantitative, textual analysis (mainly visual materials), and, finally, empirical engagement. He does not argue that qualitative/quantitative methods are in opposition, but that they are

approaches that complete each other. The two final chapters of Pickering's book particularly focus on the methods of investigation in the past, and "the potential ways of situating memory and utilising it in empirical cultural studies research" (Keightley 2008, 176).

The arguments and different classification of methodologies by Pickering (2008), Sorensen and Carman (2009), and Waterton and Watson (2013), demonstrate an increasing awareness about the significance of reflection in methodologies in Heritage Studies. They also show a shift in methodologies from conceptualisation of heritage as objects with fixed meaning, toward heritage as representations of multiple meanings, and finally heritage as created from everyday practices, and the emotions of individuals and performances. There is, however, a significant difference between the arguments of Pickering (2008) and Waterton and Watson (2013). Pickering does not argue that qualitative/quantitative and textual/empirical methodologies are two approaches in opposition. Representational and non-representational approaches, according to Waterton and Watson (2013) , are separated and constitute a dichotomy.

This thesis critiques the dualism of non-representational and representational theories to clarify its position and rationalise dialogism as a comprehensive theoretical umbrella. This thesis, however, agrees with Pickering about the non-dichotomous nature of classification, and that dichotomising of representational and non-representational is unnecessary.

Non-representational literature (Lorimer 2005; Thrift 2008; Vannini 2015; Anderson and Harrison 2010; Dewsbury 2003) includes diverse theoretical positions that can hardly be categorised under one umbrella (Vannini 2015, 3). They are often identified for "their collective critiques of representational thought" (Waterton and Watson 2013, 552). In such a standpoint, representation undermines "emotions, passions, and desires, and immaterial matters of spirit, belief, and faith" (Dewsbury 2003, 1907). In this way, non-representational literature constitutes a variety of approaches that do not prioritise the role of representation in their understanding of phenomena (Anderson and Harrison 2010, 2). Instead, they rely on embodiment, performances and emotions:

> The focus falls on how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring

> urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions. (Lorimer 2005, 85)

The binary supposition of representational and non-representational is based on the assumption that they are methodologically separated and different. Considering the eclectic nature of the non-representational camp (Vannini 2015, 3) and its diverse theoretical orientations (Lorimer 2005, 82), such dualism and firm separation is under question. This thesis criticises such dualism through three dimensions. Firstly, as Anderson and Harrison (2010) argue, both categories originated historically (Anderson and Harrison 2010, 4), and ontologically belong to constructivism (Grix 2010, 61; Bryman 2012, 29,30). Secondly, many examples of heritage literature can be found (Byrne et al. 2011; Ablett and Dyer 2009; Harris 2016; Stephens 2012), as will be examined in this chapter which discusses heritage sites from both perspectives at the same time. Thirdly, dialogism in itself denies the dichotomy between representational and non-representational theories. Dialogism goes beyond dualism by embracing the ontological position of co-being and the epistemological position of creative understanding. My position, therefore, is that there is no ontological/epistemological opposition between representational and non-representational approaches, and their difference is a matter of methods. One approach interprets phenomena by concentrating on the structure of symbolic meaning (Anderson and Harrison 2010, 4) and the other by constructing meaning from "experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements" (Lorimer 2005, 85). In this way, the term "more-than-representation" (Lorimer 2005, 85), instead of non-representation, is a more precise signification. This term emphasises a non-dichotomous relationship between representation and diverse open encounters in the realm of practice.

Constructed reality

Both representational and more-than-representational approaches belong ontologically to the camp of constructivism (Grix 2010, 61; Bryman 2012, 33) and epistemologically to interpretivism (Grix 2010, 82-84; Bryman 2012, 30,31; Gadamer 1989; Heidegger 1962). Constructivism is an ontological position

> that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors. It implies that social phenomena and categories are not

> only produced through social interaction but that they are in a constant state of revision. (Bryman 2012, 33)

Embracing constructivism necessarily implies "preoccupation with representation: especially, by a focus on the structure of symbolic meaning (or cultural representation)" (Anderson & Harrison 2010, 4). Individuals must make sense of the world through the collective symbolic order, organise their experience, and justify their actions. In this way, the object of investigation, including heritage sites, museums and historic objects, are being conceptualised as a text that represent "collective symbolic order" (Anderson & Harrison 2010, 4). In that sense, the presumably different scholarships of representational and more-than-representational are not ontologically separated. In more-than-representational theories, the collective symbolic order is taken seriously but constitutes only a "part" of the knowledge (Anderson and Harrison 2010, 14, 15) which should be completed by embodiment, practices, and emotions. Both approaches thus are identified with two perceptions: first the recognition of the arbitrary and invented nature of phenomena and secondly emphasis on the diverse and contested nature of meaning (Anderson & Harrison 2010, 5).

Reality in extreme form of constructivism, particularly in post-modern literature, is often defined entirely dependent on our knowledge and without an existence of its own (Smith 2006, 13). Such a definition, which considers reality as equal to discourse, is criticised for missing the links between knowledge, practice and social change (Smith 2006, 15; Fairclough 2013, 2004). In heritage literature Smith (2006, 15), for example, adopts a version of Discourse Analysis which is based on the ontological position of critical realism. The advocates of critical realism, who are inspired by philosophy of Bhaskar (1989), claim that it can address the missing link between knowledge and practice through a triadic theoretical assumption. Firstly, there may be a physical reality of heritage but its knowledge can be attained purely through discourse. Secondly, heritage has "real" consequences, and thirdly, it has power on people's lives. Although Smith emphasises that their approach is different from constructivism, her ontological position clearly falls under representational understanding of heritage and, as Fairclough describes, a moderated form of constructivism (Fairclough 2004, 916). This is because the reality in work of Smith is seen through Critical Realism; that is, she anchors her analysis "firmly in an understanding that social relations are material and have material consequences."

(Smith 2006, 13) So, in work of Smith and other proponents of critical realism, reality is constructed in a way that has actual consequences on everyday practices.

In the context of gaps in Iranian heritage scholarship within which emotions, everyday practices, and performances, are considered as insignificant, choosing a theoretical approach that can address more-than-representational interpretation is a must. A combination of both perspectives can interpret important qualities of heritage sites, including multiple possible meanings, and the role of different community groups and individuals in meaning-making. Dialogism encompasses the conceptual means to illustrate heritage sites as the interplay of physical and discursive constructions, and as embodied experiences. Such conceptualisation is made possible by different dialogic concepts, including exotopy, creative understanding, heteroglossia, and the carnivalesque. This thesis will analyse different examples of heritage literature in the two groups to clarify this position.

Heritage as representation

Representational theoretical approaches conceptualise heritage as social and cultural processes and more than a collection of objects. They posit heritage as a social construction and interpret different contested meanings of heritage sites. Scholars who embrace representational approaches interpret "the *symbolic* practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate" (Hall 1997, 25). They use, for example, semiotics (Rakic and Chambers 2008), discourse analysis (Smith 2006a), grounded theory (Daengbuppha, Hemmington & Wilkes 2006), and dialogism (Harris 2011; Halewood & Hannam 2001; Harrison 2013).

Rakic and Chambers (2008) explore the conflicts between universal and national readings in the Acropolis in Athens through semiotics. By analysing different textual materials in light of the theories of Peirce (1998) and Saussure (1966), they analyse the existing literature on the national versus universal debates, and then focuse on the semiotic analysis of promotional texts and images that are published by the Greek government (Rakic and Chambers 2008, 148). Their semiotic analysis emerges from the similar approaches of Uzzell (1984) in the analysis of tourism marketing, and Echtner (1999), who suggests six phases of semiotic analysis for tourism and heritage sites. All these models, however, share a fundamental assumption that ontologically views heritage as a social construction, and interprets the sign-system of multiple meanings in the representations.

Discursive analysis of heritage is another approach that is widely accepted in Western scholarship. Harvey (2001), Smith (2006), Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge (2000), Byrne (1991), and many others, view heritage sites as representations of contested meanings, ideologies and power relations. Byrne (1991, 229) for example, discusses the hegemonic nature of archaeology as a Western construction through analysis of different local contexts and the use of the concept of universal values. He argues that in Western countries, different measures including conservations ethics, heritage agencies, heritage inventories, and protection by law, have been established for the management of archaeological resources (Byrne 1991, 230). He asks why, in many developing countries with different priorities and cultural values, the same measures in the management of archaeological sites are appropriated (Byrne 1991, 231). The answer resides, Byrne says, in the hegemonic nature of Western heritage which is embedded in universal values and imposed on non-Western culture. This thesis will discuss the hegemony of the Western construction of Persepolis and the relationships between Mirāse Farhangui and Orientalism through the lens of "organic hybridisation" (Bakhtin 1981, 360; Morson and Emerson 1990, 342) in Chapter Seven.

Smith (2006), by assuming heritage as discursive which indicates a particular social and political context, uses Critical Discourse Analysis (Locke 2004) as an ideal platform. Her argument "… aims to illuminate the links between discourse and practice and the light this can shed on human relationships and social actions and issues" (Smith 2006, 15). The hegemonic reading of Western heritage, coined by Smith (2006) as the Authorised Heritage Discourse, originated from "elite class experiences" (Smith 2006, 299) and is related to so-called inherent cultural values of monumentality, aesthetics and professionalism. According to Smith, many representations entail the hegemonic and ideological nature of the Western conceptualisation of heritage. For example, the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964) and World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972) promote and to some extent impose (Byrne 1991, 231) universal values and uses of heritage on non-Western cultures (Smith 2006, 87).

The Foucauldian and discursive reading of heritage has become an important approach in the scholarship. Authorised Heritage Discourse, for example, explains the gap between experts and different community groups, the dominance of monumentalism, vast institutionalisation, and heritage power struggles. However,

Critical Discourse Analysis as a representational approach cannot entirely explain the individualised aspects of heritage sites, because, as Blommaert (2001, 16,17) argues, it lacks the means to analyse the everyday context of discourse and lived experiences. The significant role of emotions and performances in the creation of heritage, as will be discussed in the following section and in Chapter Six, requires a creative understanding.

Heritage as performance, emotion, and embodiment

The second group of heritage literature explores new methods and theories which cover performances, emotions and embodiment. These examples, as demonstrated earlier, are evidence that being more-than-representational is not necessarily in opposition to the representational conceptualisation of heritage. Through theories including Actor-Network Theory (Byrne et al. 2011), hermeneutics (Ablett and Dyer 2009), cultural biography (Stephens 2012), poetics of space (Harris 2016), and dialogism (Ooi 2001; Rogers 2007; Harris 2011), scholars concentrate on actions, practices, experiences and emotions that constitute multiple meanings and define the relationships between individuals and space. Chapter Four will analyse the dialogic scholarship of heritage in a separate section because of its importance.

Byrne et al. (2011) examine museum collections not as static objects that are devoid of life and frozen in storerooms and behind glass cases, but as a complex network between objects, space and individuals. Museum collections thus are continually forming social relationships between communities, curators, administrators and anthropologists (Byrne et al. 2011, 4). They identify the relationships between place, object and individuals by exploration of agency and materiality through "distinct social and material networks." Such connectedness not only defines the individual's perception of time and space, but also transforms the context and "gives these historical collections a new life force and relevance in contemporary society" (Byrne et al. 2011, 21).

Ablett and Dyer (2009) discuss hermeneutics as a relatively neglected theoretical setting, but one that is ideal for heritage study. Hermeneutics, in their view, especially the readings of Gadamer and Heidegger, can overcome the duality of nature/culture in Western thought (Ablett and Dyer 2009, 210). They suggest a new definition of heritage interpretation which can bring balance in the asymmetrical relationship between visitors and official interpreters (Ablett and Dyer 2009, 216).

They see hermeneutics as an efficient theoretical position because it recognises the role of visitors as notable actors in the process of interpretation. Also, the philosophy of hermeneutics implies that the official interpreter (usually experts) "cannot and should not attempt to completely control or impose the meanings" (Ablett and Dyer 2009, 224).

Stephens (2012) explores the relationships of various social groups and objects (war memorials) as a dynamic and changeable phenomenon. He criticises the monumentalist approach of Burra Charter (ICOMOS 1999), because it "tends to present places as passive rather than dynamic, not in the process of 'becoming'" (Stephens 2012, 662). Cultural biography (Gosden and Marshall 1999) shows that a memorial is not lifeless materiality, but is a dynamic space in which significance and identity are created through interaction. It concerns the "mutual evolution" between community groups and memorials (Stephens 2012, 648). Cultural biography "may help make connections between communities and war memorials to give particular social meaning and emphasise the uniqueness of a place shaped by changing contexts"(Stephens 2012, 661). In this way, Stephen's argument goes beyond physicality and meaning and involves the practice of memorialisation between groups, individuals and space.

Harris (2016), by using concepts of the poetics of space and cultural landscape discusses the particular mode of interpretation of Pasargadae. Interpretation, she says, embraces the idea of an "active visitor" who brings his/her emotions and experience to the site and " having [the] ability of the whole body to be, in a sense, a reaction to the world" (Harris 2016, 180). A poetic interpretation of Pasargadae, as Harris discusses, by encouraging perception through emotion and the body, provides an opportunity to include local nomadic tribes and villagers in the process of meaning-making (Harris 2016, 181). In this way, active visitors create their own micro-narrative of the site because "Poetics move beyond representation to insistence on the immediacy of lived experience" (Harris 2016, 185).

These examples are evidence that being more-than-representational is not necessarily in opposition to the representational conceptualisation of heritage. In Chapter Four, by adopting the same approach, I posit dialogism as the methodology of this thesis because Bakhtinian philosophy encompasses representational and non-representational and encapsulates conceptual apparatus to address the problem of official discourse of Iranian heritage, Mirāse Farhangui.

Conclusion

Chapter Three posits a conceptual framework which embraces three aspects. Firstly, this chapter analyses the Western tradition of Heritage Studies and discusses the recent shift toward more-than-representational theories embracing them within the existing analysis. Secondly, it explains the conceptualisation of the "reality" of Iranian heritage as "constructed." Thirdly, this chapter embraces more-than-representational term (Lorimer 2005, 85) by criticising the dualism of representational and non-representational and emphasising on their non-dichotomous relationship, because they share a similar ontological position and in many examples of scholarship are used together.

CHAPTER FOUR: BAKHTINIAN METHOD

Chapter Four discusses and theorises the Bakhtinian method as a more-than-representational theory. To develop this argument, I firstly define dialogism, secondly, answer why dialogism is an ideal theory to investigate Iranian heritage, and thirdly, review the criticism of dialogism in the scholarly literature. Finally, this thesis will argue for a dialogic methodology that is based on the ontology of co-being and epistemology of creative understanding. In the second section, I clarify different aspects of research design including data collection methods, interpretation of data and triangulation.

Dialogism

The word dialogism often signifies a collection of interrelated theoretical concepts which were developed by Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975) and later interpreted, expanded and completed by different scholars (Kristeva and Moi 1986; Todorov 1984; Holquist 2002; Morson and Emerson 1990; Tiupa 1998; Brandist 2002; Dop 2002; Bostad et al. 2004; Renfrew 2015). Dialogism describes existence and human relations through the concept of dialogue, that in turn exceeds the mere exchange of meanings between individuals. The dialogue is the very essence of being and understanding of human relations: “Life by its very nature is dialogic” (Bakhtin and Emerson 1984, 295). In other words, the self is always co-being and created through others (Holquist 2002, 24). Bakhtin, a literary theorist, recognised the form of

the novel as an ideal ground to study dialogism, because of the multiple time, space and meanings involved in its creation (Bakhtin 1981). He developed significant theories to study the novel, including heteroglossia, carnivalesque, exotopy, and creative understanding. Some of these concepts, including heteroglossia, "…[have] become extraordinarily popular in literary and anthropological works since the 1980s" (Ivanov 1999, 100).

Bakhtin theorises the concept of heteroglossia (Bailey 2012, 256; Ivanov 1999, 100) which has great significance for this investigation. Heteroglossia was originally used for the analysis of the novel, and is sometimes translated as the "social diversity of speech types" (Bailey 2012, 256). This thesis uses heteroglossia to discuss the interplay and power struggles between various discourses, meanings and ideologies within and without Iranian heritage sites. Heteroglossia is a Greek term in which *hetero* means different and *glōssa* means language. According to Bakhtin, language is never a unitary system of meaning-making, and encompasses the social and ideological tensions within the society of that language (Dop 2002, 92; Morson and Emerson 1990, 139). Heteroglossia, therefore, entails two dimensions: firstly, the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs, and secondly, the tensions and conflicts among those signs based on the socio-historical associations they carry with them (Ivanov 1999; Bailey 2012). Todorov and Dop, as interpreters of dialogism, divide the first dimension by using two terms heterology and polyglossia. Heterology demonstrates the diversity "inside" a unitary discourse, and the tensions. Heterophony/heteroglossia explains the diversity of discourses and relationships "between" different discourses (Todorov 1984, 56-58; Dop 2002, 93-99).

The relationship between different voices inside a discourse and between discourses are described through a model of the interacting network of ideologies and performers creating centrifugal and centripetal forces. One creates processes of centralisation and unification through an official discourse, and the other decentralisation and dis-unification (Bakhtin 1981, 272). Centripetal force, as Bakhtin describes, is the outcome of the struggle to maintain the official order. The order should not be considered as a static system: "It is a task, a project, always ongoing and ever unfinished and it is always opposed to the essential messiness of the world" (Morson and Emerson 1990, 139). Iranian heritage, however, contains contrasting voices which defy the official order. The world-views create opposite forces against the centripetal orientations and give birth to the decentralisation movement. The

centrifugal forces, in this way, cannot be conceptualised as single unified opposition. Bakhtin debates that the state of heteroglossia requires a degree of maturity (Bakhtin 1981, 67). In other words, any given polyphony could not be considered as heteroglossia unless it is founded on the dialogue of agreement (Tiupa 2008; Todorov 1998).

Bakhtin develops an epistemological stance which is known as exotopy (outside-ness) (Todorov 1984, 108). In the process of creative understanding, neither subject nor object lose their identity in favour of the other. Exotopy provides subjective/subjective relationships between researcher and researched. They enter a process of creative understanding in which the researcher at first becomes a part of the culture but preserves his/her identity. The understanding then turns into an inter-subjective dialogue between two (or more): "where the knowledge takes the forms of a dialogue with a 'thou' equal to the 'I' and yet different from it" (Todorov 1984, 108).

> After looking at ourselves through the eyes of another, we always return – in life – into ourselves again, and the final, or, as it were, recapitulative event takes place within ourselves in the categories of our own life. (Bakhtin 1990, 17)

Bakhtin, therefore, offers a significant possibility for the problem of empirical engagement, the question of the researcher's involvement and embodied knowledge that Pickering proposes (Pickering 2008, 19). This thesis will expand the idea of outside-ness as part of the methodology in this chapter, and as part of exploring everyday practices in Chapter Six. I will develop a method of investigation for everyday practices and space as lived through the bodily experience.

Above all, Bakhtin discusses co-being (Holquist 2002, 24; Todorov 1998) and event-ness as the ontological position which conceptualises heritage sites as an unfinished task. Event-ness, as theorised by Bakhtin (1993) and interpreted by others (Gardiner 2000; Holquist 2002, 23) describes the immediacy of life. Bakhtin's subject, in contrast to Descartes (2013, 32-38) is not defined by the separation of body and mind and primacy of mind over the body. Bakhtin's subject is a bodily person who thinks and acts in the stream of a "once occurrent event of being" (Bakhtin 1993, 7) against the experience of a constantly changing series of contexts (Renfrew 2015, 29). Being-as-event, therefore, should be lived through and not passively perceived from above: "We must grasp the nature of the concrete deed or 'act' as it constitutes the

essential 'value-centre' for human existence" (Gardiner 2000, 49). In other words, the primacy of life over reason (Dop 2002, 26).

In this way, being for Bakhtin is always meaningful in relation to others. As Bakhtin states: "I cannot manage without another, I cannot become myself without another; I must find myself in another by finding another in myself" (Bakhtin and Emerson 1984, 287). Bakhtin theorises transgredience to demonstrate the interconnectedness of being: "Transgredience designates elements of consciousness that are external to it but nonetheless absolutely necessary for its completion, for its achievement of totalisation" (Todorov 1984, 95). Transgredience, for example, describes the relationships of Tabriz Bazaar and the city as two phenomena that define each other, and without one, the other cannot exist.

i. Why dialogism?

Iranian heritage contains the same complexity as a novel, and therefore, is an ideal ground to consider dialogue as described by Bakhtin. As Figure 1 demonstrates, the process of heritage interpretation is conceptualised as an unfinished task between object, addressee, and Mirāse Farhangui. The literary form of the novel and the heritage site encompass a complicated network of codes acting on different scales, and are capable of creating a variety of interpretations according to the socio-cultural background of the reader (visitor, local community), the intention of the writer (official interpreters), and of the actors (heritage objects).

Dialogism can address the Iranian heritage problem from both representational and more-than-representational (Lorimer 2005, 85) positions. Through the concept of heteroglossia, the interplay of the voices within Mirāse Farhangui and between Mirāse Farhangui and other discourses, including progress, Islamism, and Orientalism, can be identified. In this way, heteroglossia entails representational approaches within the theory of dialogism. It is an analytical tool for the study of a particular use of languages and representations to interpret multiple social, cultural and political connotations and their relationships (Bakhtin 1981, 272). Bakhtin also develops the concepts of exotopy, co-being, event-ness and creative understanding. These concepts mark dialogism as an ideal theory for studying heritage as lived through embodied knowledge and everyday practice. Exotopy, in particular, is a powerful analytical tool which defines the researcher as a "concrete, bodily person, who thinks and acts in the stream of once-occurrent events" (Renfrew 2015, 28). Iranian heritage sites as lived spaces of

everyday, in this way, can be studied through a more-than-representational position (Lorimer 2005, 85).

Furthermore, dialogism has been used in many different cultural contexts, and through it, a multiplicity of social relations and humanities has been explored. This includes Indian culture (Bandlamudi and Ramakrishnan 2018), Iranian mourning ceremonies (Rahimi 2011), African popular art (Barber 1987) and South Asian diaspora (Bhatia and Ram 2004). Since the introduction of Bakhtin to Western scholarship, a vast literature has emerged in different disciplines which is evidence for the capabilities of dialogism to describe complex human relations. It has been used, for example, in pedagogy (Matusov 2007), gender studies (Francis 2012), social science, geography (Folch-Serra 1990), cultural studies, and heritage (Ooi 2001; Harris 2011; Rogers 2007; Halewood and Hannam 2001; Rahimi 2011; Giraudo 2018).

Dialogism has been known in Iranian scholarship since 1994, when Pouyandeh (1994) published a significant collection of essays on dialogism. Since 1994, all Bakhtin's books have been translated and many papers have been published in Farsi (Oskoui 2017; Ghanipour, Mohseni and Haqiqi 2015; Rezvanian 2014; Rezvanian and Faez 2012). As with Western scholarship, the discovery of Bakhtin created much excitement which an Iranian scholar describes as "extraordinary" (Amnkhani 2012). The extent of familiarity with dialogism in Iranian scholarship offers the potential for an efficient dialogue with the Iranian readers.

ii. Criticism of dialogism

There are many criticisms related to Bakhtin's works: for example, inconsistency, translation, censorship in the Soviet Union, lack of referencing and use of pseudonyms (Todorov 1984, xii, 11-13; Brandist 2002, 3-8; Morson and Emerson 1990, 3,4). Brandist (2002), for example, discusses several dimensions in dialogism as the "problems of Bakhtin studies" (Brandist 2002, 1). The first is related to his particular terminology which is sometimes confusing. He illustrates, for example, that Bakhtin uses the terms "monologue" and "dialogue" as polysemy. He defines the concepts to bear sociological and philosophical loads that are quite unusual: "This left the way open to and indeed encouraged, a wide range of interpretations" (Brandist 2002, 2). The second aspect is related to imprecise translations from Russian to English: "Up to ten different translators have published work by a writer whose terminology is very

specific, often rendering key concepts in a variety of different ways" (Brandist 2002, 2). Also, in Brandist's view, some translations entail significant mistakes and omissions. Brandist, however, conceptualises the "Bakhtinian research programme" (Brandist 2002, 173) as developing, particularly in literary and cultural studies. It appears that dialogism is extraordinarily flexible "and seemed to explain a whole new range of phenomena" (Brandist 2002, 173). In this development, the "hard core" of dialogism has been refined, and looser "auxiliary, observational hypotheses" have been contested (Brandist 2002, 173).

Holquist (2002) uses a classification of literature that is helpful for differentiating between criticisms. He separates "students of Bakhtin" into "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" camps (Holquist 2002, 181,185). The first group concentrates on the "figure of Bakhtin himself, seeking better to understand his life and works" (Holquist 2002, 181). A much larger group is more interested in "exploiting Dialogism as a tool for pursuing their own research" (Holquist 2002, 181). This thesis, as part of the extrinsic scholarship, does not seek an "authentic" understanding of Bakhtinian scholarship. From an extrinsic viewpoint, many problems, including censorship in the Soviet Union, lack of referencing and use of pseudonyms (Todorov 1984, xii, 11-13; Brandist 2002, 3-8; Morson and Emerson 1990, 3,4) are adequately discussed and clarified by the intrinsic literature (Shepherd, Brandist and Tihanov 2004; Emerson 1997; Brandist 2002; Dop 2002). This thesis, therefore, addresses those criticisms that are related to the objective of this research, and to the development of a methodology. This includes the problem of translation (Brandist 2002, 2), different interpretations of dialogism (Brandist 2002, 2; Dop 2000; Ongstad 2004; Holquist 2002, 183), and the application of dialogism as an interdisciplinary theory.

Matusov (2007) discusses the sharp contradictions between prominent Bakhtinian interpreters in terms of misapplication and abuse of Bakhtin's work in education. Shepherd, for example, criticises scholars who use dialogism in a "mechanical and unsubtle" way and without inadequate knowledge of "how Bakhtin came to assemble his potent analytical instruments" (as quoted in (Matusov 2007, 216)). Brandist (2002), in a similar way, notes "While Bakhtin's name routinely appears in new studies, applications are already often mannered and mechanical, adding little of substance to our established knowledge" (Brandist 2002, 172). Such criticism appears to be a reaction to those scholars who use dialogism in a fragmented way and without a comprehensive understanding of its ontological position. This thesis

agrees with such criticism and will demonstrate that significant examples of the fragmented and simplified use of dialogism can be found in heritage scholarship. This thesis, however, disagrees that dialogism must only be used in the literary studies. According to Bakhtin:

> Our analysis must be called philosophical mainly because of what it is not: it is not a linguistic, philological, literary, or any other special kind of analysis (study) … our study will move in the liminal sphere, that is, on the borders of all aforementioned disciplines, at their junctures and point of intersections. (Bakhtin, Holquist and Emerson 1986, 103)

In addition to Bakhtin's comment against framing dialogism in a particular field, many disciplines, including cultural studies (Gardiner and Bell 1998; Gardiner 2000, 1993), ethics and sociology (Bauman 1993), and queer theory (Ruffolo 2016), have benefited from Bakhtin’s philosophy as a point of reference.

Secondly, I have no knowledge of Russian language and fundamentally rely on English translations in my research. However, this thesis has compared different translations for important concepts. There is a considerable difference, for example, between Todorov (1984) and the translations of Holquist and Emerson (Bakhtin 1981; Bakhtin, Holquist and Emerson 1986) of the term heteroglossia. As Dop notes, the two latter translations lose the differentiation between heterology and heteroglossia which signify two different meanings (Dop 2002, 94). Another problem is that “Commentators on Bakhtin have tended to choose one period of Bakhtin’s career and treat it as definitive, a practice which has produced a variety of divergent versions of Bakhtinian thought” (Brandist 2002, 4). This thesis examines both Bakhtin’s original works and significant interpretations, to further address the problem of fragmentary and simplified readings of dialogism. In doing so, different readings of dialogism have been analysed in the context of complications including translation and periodic reading. By choosing such a position, three camps of structuralist, post-structuralist, and triadic interpretations are identified (Ongstad 2004; Dop 2000; Dop 2002).

The different interpretations of major theoretical programs is not exclusive to dialogism. For example, Locke (2004) considers the different interpretations of Critical Discourse Analysis as a positive aspect. In response to the diversity of interpretations of dialogism, this thesis does not conceptualise dialogism as a sect, as a totalitarian school, or as absolute truth. The diversity of interpretations defines

dialogism as not being a systematised school or totalising ideology. Some might see the diversity of interpretations as confusing (Holquist 2002, 183), but it permits continuous debate, flexibility, and innovation. In contrast to totalising theories, this heterogeneity of the versions confirms that dialogism is instead an unsystematic, un-finalised architectonics, and a prosaic phenomenon (Morson and Emerson 1990, 6, 7).

iii. Different interpretations

Bakhtinian philosophy has been semantically considered as dialogical principles (Todorov 1984), a dialogical perspective, a dialogical approach (Lahteenmaki 1998), or dialogical alternative, a Bakhtinian research program (Brandist 2002), and a Bakhtinian school and dialogics (Bostad et al. 2004, 66). This thesis classifies the scholarship of dialogism in three camps—structuralism, post-structuralism, and triadic positioning.

The structuralist interpretation of dialogism is in search of a coherent and orderly system in Bakhtin's scholarship. In this way, the structuralist interpretation separates some concepts, including heterology, chronotope, exotopy, from the others to construct a systematised model of understanding. Another aspect is related to the reduction of ideas into different meanings, for example, dialogue into intertextuality (Kristeva & Moi 1986; Zbinden 2006, 18-22). The leading scholar in this cluster is Todorov, who considers "there is no development in Bakhtin's work. Bakhtin does change his focus …his thinking remains fundamentally the same… instead of development there is repetition" (Todorov 1984, 12).

The post-structuralist publications offer the relativist approach of dialogism. This group often conceptualises dialogism as opposed to monologism (Ongstad 2004, 68). The former is ideologically considered right and the latter wrong. Such understanding demonstrates a relativist, unsystematic and open-ended conception and criticises the structuralist reading. In post-modern literature, there are two influential works on Bakhtinian thought—Holquist (2002) and Morson & Emerson (1990). Holquist mixes the relativity theory of Einstein with dialogism, and also considers dialogism as "… is itself not a systematic philosophy" (Holquist 2002, 16). With the same attitude, Morson and Emerson find the "unsystematic" and "prosaic" (Morson and Emerson 1990, 15) as the core concepts of dialogism. Postmodern readings are criticised because they assume that no truth is possible (Todorov 1998, 7) and all

options are equally valid: “facts and evidence only matter in relation to subjective interests and perspectives” (Dop 2000, 8).

The triadic (three-folded) position, the final category, has appeared in academic literature recently (Dop 2000; Tiupa 1998; Ongstad 2004). The triadic group is distinguished by the use of a threefold structure instead of a dyadic one to explain a dialogic relationship. The key presenters of this notion equally criticise structuralist and postmodernist versions of dialogism, and demonstrate that a dyadic structure provides an incomplete understanding of dialogism. The triadic structure has been developed to describe the epistemological aspect (Dop 2000), aesthetics and utterance (Tiupa 1998), and communication (Ongstad 2004). The reason for a threefold structure is that: “three is the smallest number of components that are necessary for establishing (a definition of) communication” (Ongstad 2004, 83). The triadic literature uses the later writings of Bakhtin and especially emphasises on the notion of a super-addressee as a significant element in dialogism.

iv. Dialogism in heritage scholarship

As discussed in Chapter Two, the literature review is distributed in different chapters due to the extensive and complex discussions. Critique of dialogism in heritage scholarship is a significant part of the literature review, because I illustrate that compared to other disciplines, dialogism is rarely used in Heritage Studies, occasionally misinterpreted, and never used to investigate Iranian heritage sites. The scholars who apply dialogism in heritage scholarship often reduce the concept of dialogue, as an ontological/epistemological position, into a mere exchange of meaning between two interlocutors. They also mechanically apply a single concept, for example heteroglossia, without considering its link to other concepts of dialogism.

In museology, Harris (2011a) addresses the problem of the simplification of dialogism in relationships between visitors and curators. She criticises the “monologic visitor experience,” although curators often choose dialogism as an ideal form of communication. In her argument, certain museums reduce the idea of dialogue to “simple interactive exhibition devices,” (Harris 2011, 59) thus ignoring the ontological orientation of Bakhtin’s scholarship.

Ooi (2001), on the other hand, studies the National Museum of Singapore and debates how the past and present animate each other. Ooi’s argument is an example of the fragmentary approach which is somehow a simplification of Bakhtin. Using the

single concept of chronotope, and ignoring heteroglossia and exotopy, Ooi suggests the term "dialogic historicism," and argues that "neither the past nor present dominates, but instead each animates the other" (Ooi 2001, 178). In this way, displaying any given object in a museum and generating meaning is a dialogic process between the "world-of-the-past" and the "world-of-presenting-the-past" (Ooi 2001, 178). Such theorising highlights the role of the objects and curators, without addressing the significant role of visitors in meaning-making. In Ooi's simplified argument, the Foucauldian curatorial narrative is "bad," and dialogic is "good." One promotes the primacy of present on the past, and the other develops a temporal dialogue. She ignores the fact that in a dialogic sense, both present and past consist of a complex network of participating interpretations which are constantly in the process of meaning-making. Furthermore, how can such a complex dynamism between past and present maintain an "order" without collapsing?

Rahimi (2011, 69-70) discusses unofficial performances in Muharram, a religious ceremony in commemoration of the Karbala battle, though the lens of the carnivalesque. The argument explores a familiar phenomenon for every Iranian, and is far from the formality and seriousness of an official ceremony which encapsulates complex ritualistic performances. The carnival, in this context of Karbala, is a place where male participants show off their masculinity by carrying heavy standards. The procession, as the most sacred ritual with a variety of symbolic meanings, is full of fighting and lewd talk. The boys and girls who participate in the ceremony flirt and exchange their phone numbers, instead of mourning and remembering the third holy Imam in Shia belief. Rahimi's argument is a good example of using the concepts of "grotesque realism" (Bakhtin 1984, 19, 20) and "second life" (Bakhtin 1984, 5, 6) in Iran, and in so doing, clarifying popular and unapproved interpretations of an intangible heritage (ICHHTO 2011). This thesis emerges from Rahami's discussion and will demonstrate in Chapter Eight that the Nowruz festival in Persepolis encompasses the specificities of the carnivalesque. In the Nowruz festival, an interplay of high and popular cultures occurs, marginalised voices of community groups appear, and contrasts between different interpretations become explicit.

In addition to the above cases, other examples can be found that show a fragmentary and simplified attitude toward dialogism. Rogers (2007, 54) criticises the preservation of rock-art historic sites as "freezing them in their (pre)historic condition," while the essence of the place is not in the material remains, but in the

cultural dialogues and relationships. Halewood and Hannam (2001) examine the Vikings' heritage tourism in forms of theme parks, museums and festivals through the lens of the Bakhtinian carnivalesque. Folch-Serra (1990) in a more comprehensive approach, argues a notion of a "dialogical landscape" which is not conceptualised in a systematic way, but through the carnivalesque and heteroglossia. He does not expand his argument on the possibility of dialogism in geography. Baron (2016), in the field of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), reduces the idea of dialogue to communication. This tendency in heritage scholarship demonstrates a significant opportunity to examine museums and heritage sites through the lens of dialogism.

To address fragmentation, this thesis uses different concepts of dialogism from within its ontological/epistemological position. This thesis, therefore, is a dialogic process in itself; it is a creative understanding and a dialogism between the writer, the reader and the object of study which is Iranian heritage. In this discourse, the findings and discussions should not be considered as a finished project. This thesis is an ongoing conceptualisation of Iranian heritage and its related problems.

While dialogism provides an overarching theory for this thesis, other theories should be integrated to the dialogic methodology. These auxiliary theories, as Morson and Emerson (1990, 10) warn, must share an ontological standpoint that is similar and compatible with dialogism. Memorialisation theories (Nora 1989; Young 1993; Boym 2001; Whelan 2016; Wertsch 2002) elucidate multiple memories of the past in the Iranian heritage. Theories of space (Soja 1996; Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith 1991; Lefebvre 2004) act as a medium between the two other approaches (dialogism, memorialisation) to describe the relationships between social actors and the materiality of heritage.

Dialogic methodology

This thesis develops dialogic methodology on the primary assumption that existence and knowledge are both dialogic phenomena. This assumption implies that firstly, the world is fundamentally created through co-being which is a complex, interconnected network of acts (Holquist 2002, 24); and secondly, that knowledge of the world is possible through creative understanding (Todorov 1984, 108). In this way, any given heritage site, such as, in this study, Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis, are ontologically constructed through internal and external dialogism. Moreover, the process of meaning-making and interpretation are also dialogic phenomena which occur between

multiple actors and generate a heteroglossia of meaning (Bailey 2012, 256; Ivanov 1999, 100). In this thesis, dialogic methodology is also defined by the carnivalesque, hybridisation (Bakhtin 1981, 360; Morson and Emerson 1990, 342), and the chronotope (Bakhtin 1981, 84) which will be discussed in chapters Five, Six and Seven.

i. Co-being

In the dialogic model, any given entity is defined as co-being because existence is created through dialogue with others:

> …Authentic human life is the open-ended dialogue. Life by its very nature is dialogic. To live means to participate in dialogue: to ask questions, to heed, to respond, to agree, and so forth. In this dialogue a person participates wholly and throughout his whole life: with his eyes, lips, hands, soul, spirit, with his whole body and deeds. He invests his entire self in discourse, and this discourse enters into the dialogic fabric of human life, into the world symposium. (Bakhtin and Emerson 1984, 295)

Creation of self through otherness implies that the heritage site is a broad network of interconnection between linked participants (Holquist 2002, 40). Without others and seeing through the eyes of others, a total image of the heritage site is impossible (Todorov 1984, 95). Even "obliteration of heritage" as a source of anxiety for some Iranians is meaningless when it is not seen through the eyes of others "in all cemeteries, there are only others" (Todorov 1984, 98). Humans and culture, in Bakhtin's view, are in a state of becoming. They do not surrender to authority and are far from the certainty of dogmatism; they "struggle painfully in the search for confidence" and "fragile agreements" (Todorov 1998, 7). The meaning of Persepolis is a dialogic becomingness between the Tent City, Knowledge Pavilions, the Iranian government, visitors and disputed memories. These are examples of "transgredience" (Todorov 1984, 95) through which Persepolis is constantly created. So even the so-called unauthentic parts of the site including the Tent City and Knowledge Pavilion are "transgredience" (Todorov 1984, 95) for Persepolis because they are external and at the same time, necessary for the totalisation and becomingness of the site.

Heritage sites, similar to the novel, are in the unfinished task of becoming. It is ongoing because of the constant interplay between a centralisation and de-centralisation processes, interpretations, politics and so on. An unfinished becoming

implies that heritage is in a constant "event of being" (Morson and Emerson 1990, 177). Event-ness, as theorised by Bakhtin (1993) and interpreted by others (Gardiner 2000), focuses on the immediacy of everyday life. In other words, it shows the primacy of life over reason (Dop 2002, 26). Seeing heritage sites through event-ness implies that knowledge which is attained through theoreticism (Gardiner 2000, 48) cannot explain the complex interconnectedness of events. It requires a particular interplay between researcher and heritage which in Bakhtinian terms is known as creative understanding (Todorov 1984, 108). Such knowledge is created by looking beyond the primacy of mind over body which is known as Cartesian dualism (Heidegger 1984, 132; 1962, 87; Gardiner 2000, 9; Lefebvre 1991, 123), experiencing heritage through embodiment, and exploring the sites through everyday practice and through the philosophy of the familiar/ordinary.

ii. Creative understanding

By theorising existence as dialogic, this thesis will analyse epistemological aspects, including the dimensions and limitations of understanding, and how this understanding can be attained. This thesis, therefore, answers the following questions: what is the relationship of the investigator, the heritage sites and the reader of the present text? Should heritage site be considered as a voiceless object or as a space of lived experience? Do I have to consider my "self" with my cultural background and emotions to be an obstacle to acquiring knowledge or a vital part of the process of interpretation? Should I separate myself from the heritage sites, observe them from afar, or participate in their event-ness? These questions can be answered in the context of the dualism of object/subject, embodiment and heritage as lived experience.

Mind and body

I illustrated in Chapters One and Two that Mirāse Farhangui is widely dominated by monumentalism and dismisses the lived experience of everyday as insignificant. In other words, Mirāse Farhangui dominantly conceptualises heritage sites through theoreticism (Gardiner 2000, 48). Theoreticism is not only based on the primacy of abstract cognition over embodied knowledge, but also separates heritage sites from everyday practices in a repressive orientation. To understand the importance of embodied knowledge in creative understanding, this thesis discusses separation of body and mind in Western scholarship.

Many scholars (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith 1991; Harrison 2013; Gardiner 2000; Heidegger 1984) contradict the separation and the primacy of mind over body which is known as Cartesian dualism. Descartes' argument is based on the fact that one can doubt the existence of the material world but cannot question the existence of oneself as a thinking entity. He concludes then that thoughts belong to a non-spatial substance that is distinct from matter (Descartes 1850; Newman 2014). By drawing such a strict line between the subject (observer) and object (things), he constructs an "abstract reason and mind/body dualism which has been the hallmark of instrumental rationality" (Gardiner 2000, 9) in the Western world. For Lefebvre, such separation transforms into a living dualism which in turn is a fake and superficial conceptualisation (Lefebvre 1991, 123). In Heidegger's view, rationalism is a powerful device. He comments mainly on the dualism of object/subject (Heidegger 1984, 132; 1962, 87) which is potentially distorted by metaphysical assumptions. Bakhtin, in a similar approach, proposes the idea of exotopy as an alternative to such dualism.

Exotopy (outside-ness) proposes a different relationship between the object and the subject which is not based on the primacy of one over the other. Through the prism of outside-ness, the dynamism of heritage monument and the researcher are responsible for the creation of meanings. They enter the process of creative understanding in which the researcher at first becomes a part of the culture but preserves his/her identity. The understanding then turns into an inter-subjective dialogue between two (or more): "where the knowledge takes the forms of a dialogue with a 'thou' equal to the 'I' and yet different from it" (Todorov 1984, 108). Outside-ness, therefore, is neither an emic nor an etic position. Outside-ness presents a middle way between the two apparently totalising stances of subjectivism and objectivism, in which one dominates the other. In the first instance, the object and the subject become unified, the researchers project themselves into the investigated text, and the heritage place has no voice of its own. This relativist approach implies that any different observer could create his/her truth without any priority over others' truths. This subjectivist position is especially supported by post-modern scholars who consider heritage as a blank slate which is written by different community groups. In this way, heritage sites, as Young proposes "…remain inert and amnesiac, dependent on visitors for whatever memory they finally produce" (Young 1993, xiii).

The objectivist approach in its extreme form implies the observer entirely loses identity in the process of understanding. In this way, heritage site is considered as a natural object, and entails a universal inherited meaning. The heritage site imposes a sense on the observer and the role of the user is to "uncover" the meaning (Tilden 1957, 163). Objectivism, both as an ontological position and as an ideology, adopts the methods of natural science in the study of culture. In this approach, Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis can be best understood through the scientific method and simple observation:

> The objective theory of truth … allows us to make assertions such as the following: a theory may be true even though nobody believes it, and even though we have no reason for accepting it, or for believing that it is true; and another theory may be false although we have comparatively good reasons for accepting it. (Popper 2014, 305)

The concept of outside-ness, by proposing a middle way between the two absolutisms of objectivism and subjectivism, is a significant element in the architectonics of this study.

Journeys and daily actions

Daily actions including walking, encompasses significant aspects of creative understanding by linking the body, space and mind. In Chapter Six, this thesis uses a method of investigation called "journey." The concept of journey is derived from exotopy and uses the bodily experiences of walking, talking, drinking and eating to explore the often-ignored daily lives, emotions and practices in Tabriz Bazaar. Three journeys, as a dialogue between researcher and the dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar, encompass creative understanding of heritage site through embodiment. The identity of the researcher as "I" is never lost in the hyper-dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar. I am led by my previous experience, knowledge, emotions and values. I respond to the emergence of the events, and at the same time, I create deeds that define heritage as event-ness. I use my body and mind to explore Tabriz Bazaar. Event-ness is a mutual creation and co-being between Tabriz Bazaar and me. I explore the heritage site through lived experience which is another significant dimension of the architectonic. To understand the significance of daily actions and its relationship with exotopy, this thesis will discuss de Certeau (1984), Lefebvre (1991), Bakhtin (1984) and others, including Tiwari (2010), Gardiner (2000a), and Highmore (2002).

In everyday life, the simple daily acts of walking, cooking, reading and decorating transform into creative deeds with a variety of political implications. Walking, for example, is a potential means of discovering the urban environment through transforming place into space. Walking facilitates the interpretation of the city's abstract geography which is embedded in cartographical abstract mapping. The walkers, "whose bodies follow the thick and thins of an urban text" (de Certeau, Giard and Mayol 1984, 95), create an unconscious way of interpretation. To be in place is to "be other and to move toward the other" (de Certeau, Giard and Mayol 1984, 105).

Lived experience, embodied knowledge and daily actions including walking are a significant part of everyday life from a critical standpoint. Lefebvre, for example, discusses rhythm analysis and the concept of lived space. In his view, society and space are defined by different repetitions. In pre-modern societies, this repetition is connected to the cycles of nature. In modernity, this repetition continues but is the result of technology, work, and production rather than the natural world. Thus there is a "mechanical overtone, brushing aside the organic aspect of rhythmed movements" (Lefebvre 2004, 6). Rhythm, therefore, provides a significant way to understand the world, cities and space. It describes the idea of seeing through bodily experience and emphasises the interpretation of space as lived. As Harvey (1989, 218) states, "The history of social change is in part captured by the history of the conceptions of space and time and the ideological uses to which those conceptions might be put." Thus, the relationship between a physical environment and cultural practices, the interaction between individuals and the materiality of heritage, and the values assigned to the architectural aspects can be described.

According to Lefebvre (1991) and Soja (1996), space is constructed through the interaction of three different dimensions. The experienced space applies to those aspects that are related to the physical spatial practices. In the case of Iranian heritage, this relates to the built environment, and the flow of material and goods, information and communications. Space as imagined connotes imagination and perception in the forms of map-making, codes, signs, and discourses of heritage. Both Soja and Lefebvre, however, go beyond the dichotomy of real space and imagined space, as they identify another dimension. The third aspect is produced by the interaction of the first and second spaces, that is, experiencing the material and the mental realm simultaneously: "the lived space emerges when the qualitative aspects of the space rather than the quantitative ones become prominent" (Tiwari 2010, 35). Journey,

therefore, is an analytical tool to explore the space as lived which is embedded in daily actions, desires and emotions.

Philosophy of familiarity

The third aspect of creative understanding is related to the concept of the prosaic (familiar). Creative understanding embraces those aspects of understanding which, in the monumentalist and abstract conceptualisation of Mirāse Farhangui are regarded as insignificant. In dialogism, this mode of understanding is called "prosaic". The prosaic, which will be further discussed in Chapter Six, is based on counter-systematic thinking (Morson and Emerson 1990, 25) and "unfinalizability" (Morson and Emerson 1990, 36-49).

For Lefebvre, the prosaic mode of everyday life is a negative aspect of the modern age. He criticises contemporary life for a lack of style in contrast to ancient civilisation, and as being against the poetic of life: "the prose of the world spread, until now it invades everything literature, art and objects – and all the poetry of existence has been evicted" (Lefebvre 2000, 29). In Bakhtin's conceptualisation, the prosaic indicates a different notion entailing two distinct meanings. The first, which is beyond the scope of this study, signifies a literary theory that is opposite to the poetic. The second meaning is much broader and indicates the significance of everyday life and the philosophy of the ordinary: "…the everyday is the sphere of constant activity, the source of all social change and individual creativity. It is the truly interesting and the ordinary is what is truly noteworthy" (Morson and Emerson 1990, 23). Familiarity does not refer to insignificance but to phenomena that usually escape one's attention. Individuals practice their familiar knowledge of space by simple acts which "[are] as blind as that of lovers in each other's arms" (de Certeau, Giard and Mayol 1984, 93).

The prosaic mode of understanding proposes that any phenomena, including Iranian heritage, can be interpreted from the event-ness of life. Event-ness, as discussed earlier in this chapter, indicates a "once occurrent event of Being" (Bakhtin 1993, 7) against a constantly changing series of contexts (Renfrew 2015, 29). Being-as-event, therefore, implies the primacy of life over reason (Dop 2002, 26) and should be lived through: "We must grasp the nature of the concrete deed or 'act' as it constitutes the essential 'value-centre' for human existence" (Gardiner 2000, 49). A familiar understanding, as in de Certeau's argument, drives from single daily acts: "Life must be understood as a continuous series of singular acts and each act, or

‘event’, must be grasped on its own terms, as an ‘experiential and sensuous given’” (Bakhtin 1993, 4).

The philosophy of the familiar defines the links between representational and more-than-representational (Lorimer 2005, 85) approaches. It does not deny the necessity of a representational understanding of Tabriz Bazaar. Such an opposition results in a collection of incoherent, fragmented acts, desires and performances. On the contrary, a familiar understanding helps us to know the limitation of abstract cognition and reminds us that a discursive interpretation of heritage should not replace the centrality of everyday practices.

The interpretation of heritage in Mirāse Farhangui , as will be discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, removes the familiar from heritage and replaces it with abstract concepts of *Farhang* (culture), *Tārikh* (history) and a rigorous universalist moral system of heritage (Smith 2006; Waterton, Smith and Campbell 2006). Such displacement results in the creation of systems that are detached from the dynamism of everyday practices and governed by its internal principles. In this way, Mirāse Farhangui turns heritage conservation into a series of abstract moral principles which are expressed in guidelines (Taghizadeh et al. 2009). These principles, disconnected from the event-ness of lived experiences, are designed to control everyday life from a top-down position.

A familiar understanding contradicts the abstract moral system of Mirāse Farhangui which fails to cope with particulars and functions mechanically. An example of such rigid and mechanical understanding will be discussed in the case of Alishāh in Chapter Four. Such a moral system is a form of absolutism that denies the event-ness, complexity, and ongoing nature of heritage sites. If standards and principals lose their contact with the flow of everyday practices, (which has happened in Mirāse Farhangui) they transform to abstract systems that are governed by their own internal laws (Gardiner 2000, 48). As Bakhtin states, these are the laws in which the human life has no place:

> The detached content of the cognitional act comes to be governed by its own immanent laws, according to which it then develops as if it has a will of its own… we are now controlled by its autonomous laws or, to be exact, we are simply no longer present in it as individually and answerably active human beings. (Bakhtin 1993, 7)

The philosophy of the ordinary is against the system "…in the sense used by structuralists, semioticians and general system theorists: an organisation in which every element has a place in rigorous hierarchy…" (Morson and Emerson 1990, 27,28). Heritage, from the familiar viewpoint, has no structure, pattern and system but the architectonics. Bakhtin uses architectonics as an alternative term for the system's fundamental problem. A system "…does not necessarily contain any human being" (Morson and Emerson 1990, 70). Familiarity implies that the state of heritage is usually messier than an orderly system because it is a combination of habits, desires and unpredictable events. Heritage, in this way, is unsystematic.

iii. Research design

By discussing the ontological and epistemological positions and the rationale of dialogic methodology, this thesis details the research design, including analytical methods, data collection, and validation of the findings. As discussed earlier, this thesis aims to examine representational and more-than-representational aspects of Iranian heritage, to address the gaps and answer the research question. Based on an ontological/epistemological orientation, this thesis uses various qualitative methods in the collection, analysis and interpretation of data. A qualitative strategy, according to Creswell (2014, 45) and Grix (2010, 124) deals with open-ended questions and responses and case studies, and belongs to constructivist knowledge. The qualitative strategies "collaborate with participants," " bring personal values to the study," and "collect participant meanings" (Creswell 2014, 127).

This thesis choses a combination of qualitative methods to address the research question because of a particular condition of Iranian context, the complexity of issues, the dynamic of the power in Iran, using the "personal experience" of the researcher, and observing ethical considerations. In this way, quantitative method is a less applicable option for the study of multiplicity of meanings in Iranian heritage.

Firstly, there is no reliable/accessible statistics about Iranian heritage sites. Due to the politically tense environment, the rare statistical data is often regarded as confidential by the Iranian government. Gathering statistical data turns into an expensive, time-consuming and politically risky method.[38] Moreover, any attempt to collect statistical data or accessing existing information about heritage sites is regarded

[38] In recent years many dual-citizen and foreign scholars have been arrested in Iran on the charge of being a security risk. This charge is based on their research activity and data collection in the field of humanity and social science which government sees as part of "soft war" against Islamic Republic.

as a national security issue by the Iranian government. Due to the conservatism and the potential risks to the researcher, participants and also Iranian heritage sites, data collection through questionnaire, tests and setting a controlled environment is not ethically an appropriate choice.

Secondly, the primary concern of this thesis is the polyphony of meanings, their conflicts, and suppression of unwanted voices by the dominant political power. This requires an in-depth understanding of power relations in Iranian heritage rather than large-scale analysis of quantitative data. Due to the complexity of the research problem and ongoing nature of heritage as a process, the qualitative method is the best choice. In this way, selecting an inflexible, structured and detailed setting in advance of study, as is often proposed in quantitative research, is not possible. Finally, my personal experience as an Iranian heritage expert is a significant source that cannot be easily dismissed. As a heritage professional, I have been involved in policymaking, research, site management and conservation practice of Iranian heritage for twenty years. Because of its subjective nature, such significant source of data can be only used through qualitative method. To conclude, qualitative research method is a more approachable option to address the research question because of the complexity and fluidity of the Iranian heritage, ethical issues, and particular condition of Iranian context.

Data and the methods of collection

This thesis has collected data from variety of resources, including archives, individuals, personal experience, heritage sites, publications, official reports, correspondence and the internet. This thesis uses qualitative methods to collect data through interviewing, autoethnography, and archival investigation. The collected data take different forms, including textual materials, audio-visual materials, and field notes. Data collection for Iranian researchers is a challenging task due to the highly politicised field of heritage, a dominant conservatism, censorship and a complicated bureaucracy. For non-Iranians and diasporic Iranians, this is much more complicated, due to the anti-Western position of the government and the risk of harassment and prosecution.

Archival material

The archival data is collected from different Iranian institutions, including ICHHTO, the National Museum, Shaheed Beheshti University (SBU), the Revitalization and

Utilization Fund for Historical Places, and provincial heritage offices in Tabriz and Shiraz. ICHHTO has documented and maintained a rich archive of 30,000 heritage sites over eighty years. The collection covers documents about archaeological excavations, ethnographic investigations, and the National Heritage List. In 2011, this valuable archive was subject to substantial damage due to administrative mismanagement. The relocation of the archive from Tehran caused the loss of irreplaceable historical documents. In addition, the online database of Iranshahr, which contained the records of the National Heritage List, was terminated for unknown reasons. In 2015, one of the resources of this thesis, the Cultural Heritage News Agency, was closed due to government pressure. SBU provided a notable documentary on Tabriz Bazaar which was produced in 1992. This movie covers valuable information on restoration activities, and interviews with the Bāzāris. A few documents are brought to the public for the first time, and some of them can be found in Appendix Three; for example, The Executive Policy of ICHHTO, recordings of the nominated committee for Inscribing Tabriz Bazaar in the World Heritage, the resignation letter of Beheshti and various materials from Pardisan Scheme Archive.

Autoethnography

This chapter discussed earlier the concepts of creative understanding, exotopy, and journey. Exotopy is related to using subjective experience so personal memories of specific events and meetings are used as part of exotopic investigations. Exotopy can be considered under a broader subjective-qualitative method which is widely known as autoethnography (Silverman 2013; Given 2008; Reed-Danahay 1997). Autoethnography is a blurred genre that "connects the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social, and political" (Given 2008, 48). In autoethnography the researcher often writes in first person, the narrative reveals hidden emotional and bodily experience, and focuses on the journey rather than destination. There is, however, a subtle difference between autoethnography and exotopy which resides in the philosophy of dialogism. In exotopy the stance of the researcher is neither emic nor etic; the researcher becomes a part of the culture and preserves identity, values and motives. A dialogue between two subjects as described in exotopic investigation implies that neither the researcher nor the object of investigation is dominant, and they enter an intersubjective relationship. Thus, the emotions, memories and reactions are

dialogic in nature and demonstrate more-than-representational aspects of the space, so are carefully observed and recorded.

As I discuss at the beginning of the Chapter Seven, the dynamics of everyday practices in a traditional marketplace like Tabriz Bazaar is complex and fluid. Choosing the appropriate methodology is the key element to investigate such dynamism. Exotopic Autoethnography was chosen to clarify intangible aspects of Tabriz Bazaar and analyse discourse of Yādegār as a dynamic, multilayered and polyphonic discourse. The journeys were conducted on three different days between May 24-26, 2014. In each occasion, I recorded my movements, took picture and took note of my emotions, bodily reactions, memories and events. The collected data were organised at the same night. Later, when I returned to Australia, collected data were transcribed, analysed and interpreted. In this way, the first journey narrates the daily life of Tabriz Bazaar, the second journey the conservation practices, and the third the boundaries of the site.

Interview

This thesis uses a qualitative model of interviewing which is semi-structured and shifted towards an informal conversation between the researcher and participants. Justification of the interview as a supplementary data collection and part of triangulation process resides in three aspects. Firstly, interview is an established empirical method in cultural studies (Pickering 2008) and qualitative research paradigm (Brennen 2017; Creswell 2014; Leavy 2014; Neergaard & Ulhoi 2007; Silverman 2013) which focuses on participants' feelings, emotions, experiences and values (Brennen 2017, 28) within their "deeply nuanced inner worlds" (Gubrium & Holstein 2001, 57). Secondly, semi-structured and unstructured interview provide an in-depth understanding of the process of meaning-making and power struggle by clarifying complex narratives (Davis 2008, 58). Thirdly, the qualitative interview is a powerful apparatus to uncover hidden layers of meaning in a "closed context" (Ahram & Goode 2016; Janenova 2019; Morgenbesser & Weiss 2018).

Hidden layers

In Chapter Five, I discuss the environment of conservatism in Iran which results in hidden layers of meaning in any given phenomenon. Those layers of meanings are never publicly revealed because of the censorship and highly politicised environment of heritage. Qualitative and semi-structured interviews, as well as observations,

allowed me to gain a more in-depth insight into the “hidden layers” of a closed context. This insight was not possible without a carefully designed research strategy, communication, and awareness of power dynamics.

Many researchers discuss the risks and limitations of investigation and data collection in authoritarian political systems which often results in unreliable data (Ahram & Goode 2016; Janenova 2019; Morgenbesser & Weiss 2018). For example, Janenova (2019) discusses three obstacles of researching and interviewing individuals in Kazakhstan including gaining access to government officials, the problem of “Half-Commitment,” and ethical and safety issues. She suggests a multi-dimensional approach to address the research issues; it includes careful research design, local network, understanding of informal practices, and triangulation of methods. Similarly, Malekzadeh (2016, 832) explains the Iranian context as a “hostile to outside investigators.” He suggests a triadic approach consisting of document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. Confronting similar issues, in 2014, I contacted more than thirty individuals and eventually was able to interview 16 participants. I explain my strategy of selecting the participants, procedure of interview, and structure and questions. In addition, I clarify the necessity and modalities of triangulation of data at the end of this chapter.

Procedure:

The research stratified the selection of individuals based on age (senior professionals, younger professionals), occupation (architects and archaeologists), social role (senior Bāzāris, community leaders, officials), and their stance (conservative, reformist). The participants were chosen from government officials in the Ministry of Roads and Urbanization, ICHHTO, consultants from the private sector, academics from Tehran University and Shaheed Beheshti University, site managers, and archaeologists to include a diverse range of heritage interpretation. For example, interviewees I-9 as a senior archaeologist and I-10 as an experienced architect are well known for their conservatism and monumentalist approach toward heritage sites. Interviewees I-2, I-5, and I-16 are commonly identified as advocates of a community-oriented interpretation. Unfortunately, no female participants responded to the initial contacts. In two cases, the female interviewees refused to participate because they were not comfortable of being recorded, and also for the potential risk to their safety and career. Such conservatism is not unexpected in a patriarchal society where women struggle

with gender inequality and a misogynistic interpretation of Shiite Islam. Both individuals, however, generously provided significant documents and information about Tabriz Bazaar.

My goal in the qualitative interview is not to obtain a large set of cases, but as Mason (2017) suggests, to reach theory-saturation point; that is until I get "a picture of what is going on and can generate an explanation for it."(Mason 2017, 70) The objective is to engage individuals in a "creative understanding" (Todorov 1984, 108) process that better uncovers the multivocality of professionals and ordinary actors. In doing so, rapport building is a significant challenge. To observe research ethics, each participant was given an explanation of the purpose of the research and asked for informed consent before an interview. Iranian individuals are often reluctant to sign written consent and being recorded. This is more evident in interviewing high-ranking officials who concern about their own safety. Such a problem, however, was less challenging for this investigation as interviews and observation were carried out at national and local levels, where I already had an excellent working relationship with the administration and staff. So, individuals who responded to initial contact keenly shared their knowledge, emotions and stories. In cases of I-2, I-3, I-9, and I-10, due to the willingness of participants, the interview exceeded the time frame and continued for hours. The exceptional openness of these Iranian individuals not only offered extensive information but also revealed layers of meanings to this research that are usually hidden from similar projects.

Structure and questions

The setting of the interview was semi-structured and included ten open-ended and flexible questions that focused on exploring three dimensions. The first dimension encapsulates the multiplicity of meanings in individual's interpretation of Iranian heritage. The second dimension aimed to clarify the interplay between two competing discourses of Mirāse Farhangui and the more inclusive and diverse discourse of Yādegār. The third dimension, which often carried out through unstructured dialogue and observation, focused on more-than-representational aspects.

The multiplicity of meaning was mainly examined through the first cluster of questions. Question One was designed to provoke the individual's interpretation of official discourse by asking: "what is Mirāse Farhangui?" Question Two inquired about "the role of Mirāse Farhangui in contemporary Iran," and the third,

“characteristics of Mirāse Farhangui.” A similar line of inquiry followed through Questions Seven and Eight which addressed the multiplicity of meaning in Persepolis and Tabriz Bazaar. The transcriptions then analysed in the context of definition of Mirāse Farhangui in legislation, official documents, memorialisation, and academic literature. Thematic chapters of this thesis demonstrate a multivocality in individual’s interpretation that often deviates from the official and authorised narrative of Mirāse Farhangui.

The second cluster, including Questions Four, Five and Nine, focused on clarifying the interplay of two competing discourses. The questions concentrated on the sites of conflict and power struggle between Mirāse Farhangui and, a more diverse and inclusive discourse, Yādegār. These questions targeted the topics of management, conservation and the risks to heritage sites of Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis in particular. So, in Question Four, I asked the interviewees about “significant deficiencies in management and conservation of Mirāse Farhangui” and in Question Five, “efficiency of the current system.” In Question Eight, I examined the participant’s view about “the risks and threats to Persepolis and Tabriz Bazaar.”

The third cluster was unstructured, spontaneous, and focused on a number of diverse areas which gave interviewees space to explore issues they considered important (Davis 2008, 80). Rough areas touched lived experience, memories, personal stories of suppression and distress, and hopes for the future. The interaction between the researcher and the participant, thus, can be defined as a dialogue rather than an interview. I carefully observed and noted non-verbal cues, verbal expressions, and emotions. In this way, many participants were interested to know about my experience of immigration as a heritage professional. They reacted to my experience as a wrong move (interviewees I-7, I-13) or encouraged me for my decision (interviewees I-11, I-12, I-15). Interviewees I-9, I-10, and I-12 shared their personal traumatic experience of working in the heritage field and expressed their disappointment and frustration. Interviewees I-14 and I-1 shared their hopes and fears about the future of Tabriz Bazaar. In general sense, I observed a dominant sense of apprehension among all participants about the future of Iranian heritage sites. Chapter Seven and the journeys in Appendix One demonstrate examples of such dialogue which include affective aspects, lived experience, stories, memories, and reflections. The third cluster, therefore, concentrated on more-than-representational aspects of Iranian heritage.

So, qualitative interview in accord with dialogical methodology embraces creative understanding, and therefore, is an ideal approach to examine the conflicts between Mirāse Farhangui and unauthorised interpretations of Iranian heritage. The particular design of the qualitative interview, as I describe in this section, enabled the researcher to obtain empirical representational data from the field, examine the more-than-representational aspects of Iranian heritage, and explore the hidden layers of meaning as part of data triangulation process.

Interpretation of data

A combination of different qualitative methods is used for examination of the collected data. In this approach, semiotics, discourse analysis, dialogic analysis and exotopy have been used for analysis and interpretation of collected materials.

The notion of discourse, as discussed by Deetz (2001, 32), is the centre of the dialogic research paradigm. This thesis emerges from scholarship that considers heritage as a discursive phenomenon (Byrne 2009; Waterton, Smith and Campbell 2006; Smith 2006), and clarifies a particular use of language. Discourse analysis is employed to discuss the shifts in the power struggles (O'Sullivan et al. 1994, 94) by analysing the ways a particular text links different discourses and represents ideologies. This thesis focuses on the ways each heritage actor exercises power and creates discourse, as Fairclough (2013) and Wodak (2009), among many others (Gee 2014; Locke 2004; Jørgensen and Phillips 2002), suggest. Various inquiries have been followed, including identification of significant signs, and related meanings, and examination of the paradigmatic/syntagmatic structures. I search for answers to the questions including how signs create a meaningful system, how such systems interact and enter into a dialogic relation with the other texts. What are the significant ideologies and political/social representations behind the data? Moreover, how the medium, including picture, drawing, map, and film, influence the text (Berger 2011; Fiske 2010)?

In a dialogic and discursive view, “identities are fragmented and always in flux because they are discursive productions and always emergent in the competing discourses of a given moment” (Baxter 2010, 39). This thesis, as a dialogic analysis, is more concerned with the “ruptures, struggles, and fragmentation” (Baxter 2010, 40) which identify discursive orientations. Each text, therefore, has been analysed through intra-discursive and inter-discursive scales.

As an example of representational analysis in a semiotic sense, Map [A] (Figure 6.1) is examined in the historical context of Persian-Ottoman disputes in the sixteenth century. Analysis of the map is based on the assumption that it not only represents physicality but also constructs space and connotes social, cultural and political ideologies of the landscape. It is also a representation of power struggles (Harley 1989), social construction, and expression of power/knowledge relations (Wood and Fels 1992; Dodge and Kitchin 2000). I focus on clarifying how the map acts as a sophisticated sign system, and how the process of creation of the map affects its meanings and form. In such an approach, the Ottoman tradition of cartography, including the process, the symbols, the colours, and the setting of the maps are significant aspects that should be considered. I examine landmarks, including the fortification walls and Alishāh, and examine the syntagmic-paradigmic transformation in different maps as a chain of events that form a narrative (Berger 2011; Fiske 2010). In this way, I clarify the hidden patterns that are generated by dialogic relationships inside the map and with other maps. Analysis of Map [A] (Figure 6.1) in the context of contemporaneous documents, including itinerary notes, official reports, chronicles, letters and other archival materials, reveals the meanings of Tabriz Bazaar in relation to the city.

Another example of representational analysis, with a focus on textual material and discourse analysis, is discussed in Chapter Five. By examination of two published books (Khairi and Sadrai 2002; Malakuti 1985) in a dialogic relationship, this thesis clarifies the interplay of Mirāse Farhangui and Shiite traditions. The analysis clarifies two ideological settings with different value-systems which enter into a dispute over a heritage site. In discursive analysis of the two texts, this thesis identifies a binary of two value-systems of the “sacred” and the “profane” with significant implications for Iranian heritage sites. The analysis, however, does not stop here. The dialogic relationship of the two books is further explored in the context of Iranian heritage legislation, the historical evolution of heritage, and the shifts in Iranian contemporary social settings. The analysis reveals a complex polyphony, in contrast to the monolithic official discourse of Mirāse Farhangui in Iranian heritage.

Non-discursive and exotopic analysis is used in Chapter Seven. I use my body and mind as a research tool to explore everyday life in Tabriz Bazaar. I position myself, with my knowledge, experiences and emotions, in a dialogic relationship with the lived space. I observe and record my emotional reactions, the resurgence of memories, and

bodily reactions through notes and recordings. I also observe and record the chain of events that my presence creates among individuals and communities and in space. I participate in daily actions of walking, buying and selling, eating, drinking, and the daily routines of heritage professionals. I listen to stories and share my stories with Bāzāris. In such an exotopic encounter, the journeys are dialogic creations between physical space, government, Bāzāris, heritage experts and me. In this way, exotopic encounter is both a method of data collection and an analytical tool. Analysis of the intersubjective relationship, therefore, is used in Chapter Seven to illustrate an alternative conceptualisation of Iranian heritage which is coined in this thesis as the discourse of Yādegār. Such analysis, however, is based on the centrality of daily actions and everyday practices.

Triangulation

This thesis uses triangulation as a validation strategy in qualitative research. Observation of the research issue from different points of view is achieved in both methods and data. Separate analyses are implemented through field observations, textual analysis, and interviews. Such triangulation involves, as Denzin notes, a "process of playing each method off against the other so as to maximize the validity" (Denzin 1973, 310). The data triangulation involves using data extracted from different forms, at different times, or from various sources (Flick 2004, 178). Historical maps of Tabriz Bazaar, as an example, have been analysed in parallel to contemporaneous historical texts. Graffiti in Persepolis, similarly, are examined in the context of historical chronicles. Carnivalesque in Persepolis is analysed through media analysis, interviews, pictures and personal observations.

Conclusion

Chapter Four identifies different aspects of a dialogical methodology based on the ontological position of co-being and the epistemological basis of creative understanding. Based on the analysis of scholarship and specificities of Bakhtinian philosophy, the chapter justifies dialogism as an ideal theory for addressing the problem of Iranian heritage, more-than-representational aspects of heritage, and the multiplicity of meanings. By clarifying of dialogical methodology and the research design, this thesis addresses the first objective of the research and analyses the polyphonic nature of Iranian heritage.

CHAPTER FIVE: POLYPHONY OF IRANIAN HERITAGE

Is Iranian heritage, as official discourse promotes, a unitary phenomenon encompassing universal meaning? If not, which voices other than Mirāse Farhangui contribute to the formation of heritage sites? This chapter aims to provide an answer to these questions by focusing on an examination of the polyphonic nature of Iranian heritage sites. This thesis will iluminate the relationships between voices in the following chapters. To identify often ignored and suppressed voices, namely everyday practices, this thesis examines three disputed sites which are the subject of widespread concerns (Amanasian 2016; Taghizadeh 2003). These are Alishāh in Tabriz, the Tent City at Persepolis and the Iranian Heritage Legislation. In contrast with the monologic discourse of Mirāse Farhangui, this thesis demonstrates that Iranian heritage is primarily polyphonic and dynamic.

This chapter interprets Alishāh in the context of different conceptualisations of space, including a mosque, a historic monument, and a modern civic centre. Such diverse conceptualisation connects Alishāh to a wider political and social background which is embedded in discourses of *Pishraft* (progress), *sonnat* (tradition) and Mirāse

Farhangui. The monolithic tendency of these voices creates a significant site of conflict which suffers from destruction and disputes.

Tent City, as part of Persepolis, is interpreted by commentators as the Golden City (Stevenson 2008), a shattered ruin (Khamenei 2008), and the House of Nations (Zirak 2002). Tent City, through different conceptualisations of space, is linked to the political agendas of *Eslahat* (reform) (Khatami 2012), *Tamaddone Bozorg* (Great Civilisation) (Pahlavi 1961, 1994), and Islamic revolution. In addition, the highly politicised site is shaped by conflicts between the discourses of Mirāse Farhangui, Pishraft and Islamism.

This chapter examines Iranian Heritage Legislation because it is a significant example of polyphony and constitutes different layers of meanings. This study establishes a wider scope for the analysis of Persepolis and Tabriz Bazaar in the following chapters. As Samadi (2003, 14) argues, such analysis also responds to a significant gap in Iranian heritage scholarship in which the legislative context of heritage has never been adequately analysed.

Alishāh

Alishāh[39] is an example of different meanings created by multiple totalising discourses that enter a power struggle over a significant heritage site. Alishāh covers seven hectares of prime land in the central zone of Tabriz city. At the middle of the site, a tall rampart-shape wall (Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2) can be seen from afar. The heritage site signifies exceptional historic, social and aesthetic values (ICHHTO 1931a). The multilayered meaning is shaped by its dynamism as a site-museum (ICHHTO 1931a; Khairi & Sadrai 2002), a modern civic centre (Moghtader, Andreef & Ecochard 1971, 46,47), a mosque (Malakuti 1985), and a war memorial. Alishāh, in this way, indicates multiple meanings. Such exceptional diversity encompasses protracted disputes between totalising interpretations. The disagreement between different interpretations has been marked by public campaigns, legal actions, and extensive loss of heritage fabric (Amanasian 2016).

[39] This thesis intentionally does not use *Arg* (citadel) as it is commonly referred to the site because Arg-e Alishāh demonstrates a single narrative from multiple narratives. As I discuss in Chapter Five, Alishāh at the same time is considered by some individuals as a mosque, as a mausoleum, military base, a city center, a spiritual space and a war memorial.

i. A historic monument

In 1932 Alishāh was registered in the National Heritage List at the same time as Persepolis. This simultaneity connotes the importance of Alishāh in the discourse of Mirāse Farhangui. According to the registration document, (ICHHTO 1931a, 5) the building signifies many historic, architectural, and social values. It was constructed in the fourteenth century AD by a powerful Ilkhanid minister but was never completed. The Ilkhanid were a Mongol Persian dynasty who ruled 1260 until 1335 AD. The primary function of the building is unknown, but it has been discussed that it was used

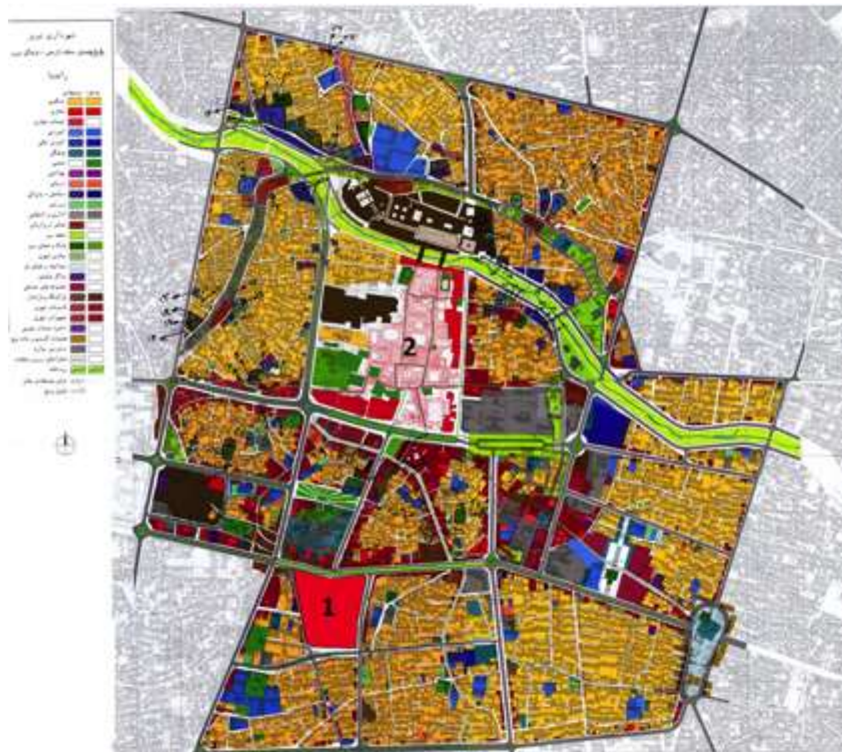

Figure 5.1: Locations of Tabriz Bazaar (1) and Alishāh (2) in the city. Source Municipality of Tabriz.

as a mosque, a mausoleum, and a fortification (Ajorloo & Babayloo 2014, 27, 28). One theory relates that the prominent structure is not the famous mosque which historians like Mustawfi (1340) describe, but is actually a mausoleum attached to the Alishāh mosque (Mansouri & Ajorlo 2003). It was used as a military base during the Russo-Persian Wars (ICHHTO 1931a, 6; Khairi & Sadrai 2002), and also during the Constitutional Revolution (Abrahamian 1979; Martin 2013; Tavakoli-Targhi 1990).

Alishāh was one of the more aestetically significant structures constructed in Iran, and its architectural and artistic value was a source of inspiration for subsequent buildings; “The minarets of the mosque of Qūsūn in Cairo which was completed in

730/1331, only eight years after the Egyptian embassy's visit to Tabriz city, were modelled on those of the Masǰed-e ʿAlīšāh" (Afsar 1996, Par.7). Italian merchants who visited Tabriz Bazaar between the tenth and fifteenth centuries described Alishāh as a building magnificent beyond measure (ICHHTO 1931a, 8). Its brickwork and mosaic tiles were admired by European travellers, including James Morier (1818, 226) and Robert Ker Porter (1821, 223).

The first nationally listed site in the city of Tabriz froze a vast area in the heart of the city. Alishāh was defined as a static site-museum with limited connection to the urban context and daily life. The law not only suspended the life of the core zone and froze its physicality, it also banned any use other than *Bāzdeed* (visits)(ICHHTO 1931a, 4). In the core zone any construction activity was prohibited, and in the buffer area, a protective zone which surrounds the historic core, the maximum height of the buildings was limited to eight metres.

Alishāh was transformed into a military fortification during the Russo-Persian wars in the nineteenth century (Ajorloo & Babayloo 2014, 31, 32). The site after such transformation was known as *Ark* (Citadel) which still bears the scars of bullets and explosions (ICHHTO 1931a; Khairi & Sadrai 2002). The high structure which can be seen from kilometres away is a symbol of national pride and collective Azeri identity which connotes memories of resistance against despotism and foreign invasion. The physical remains, therefore, go beyond historical and aesthetic values and symbolise social values of resistance and local pride. The strategic location in the centre of the city and the proximity to Tabriz Bazaar, as the dynamic heart of the town, creates an ideal site for urbanisation and a progress-oriented interpretation. Such interpretation which in this thesis is defined by the voice of Pishraft, conceptualises Alishāh as a modern civic centre.

ii. A civic centre

At the beginning of the twentieth century, forced urbanisation was a political instrument for the promotion of a new Iranian culture and identity (Cronin 2003a, 2003b; Grigor 2004, 2009). In such a context, the traditional marketplaces like Tabriz Bazaar that had outstanding political and social influence (Ashraf 1988, 547-549), were conceptualised as sites of resistance against the authoritarian government (Hanachi & Yadollahi 2011, 1033; Keshavarzian 2007, 237,238). As part of the strategies of Westernisation and modernisation, Alishāh was an ideal location which

could promote the Shah's ideology of the Great Civilisation and Westernised modernity. Consequently, an opera house, museum, civic centre and library were constructed in the heritage territory of Alishāh against the protective measures already in force (Moghtader, Andreef & Ecochard 1971, 46).

Figure 5.2: A view from Alishāh and the juxtaposed new mosque which is constructed against heritage protective regulations. Photograph by Shahin Tolouashtiany 2014.

Although an aim of the urbanisation was "to conserve the fabric and physicality of Bazaar [Tabriz] as a significant historical monument" (Moghtader, Andreef & Ecochard 1971), the new constructions damaged the integrity of the fabric. In 1932, promptly after the national registration of the site, the surrounding walls were destroyed "to join the building to the urban area" (Ajorloo & Babayloo 2014, 33). Between 1974 to 1978, part of the more recent structures were demolished to construct a park and urban infrastructures (Ajorloo & Babayloo 2014, 33). The new structures were built on unexcavated lands and in the buffer zone, against the protective regulations. By emphasising the social functionality of Alishāh, the discourse of Pishraft interpreted the site in contrast with the frozen meaning of the site-museum. In the three conceptualisations of the site, including the museum, war memorial, and urban centre, the fourth important interpretation was ignored. The spiritual significance of the site as a mosque was marginalised, and this eventually led to disputes after the Islamic Revolution. These conflicts revolve around the fourth

interpretation of a spiritual place defined by the voices of Shiite tradition and nostalgic Islamism (Malakuti 1985). Sacred interpretations challenge both monumentalist and progress-oriented interpretations.

iii. The disputes

After the breakdown of the Pahlavi regime in 1979, Alishāh was among the first heritage sites subject to an intense power struggle (Khairi & Sadrai 2002, 56-60). The historic monument was transformed from a modern cultural centre into a place dedicated to Friday Prayer. Friday Prayer, a collective ritual, is one of the practices in Islamic tradition with important political implications;

> I should say that Friday Prayers are a base: the base of faith, piety, insight and morality. We should not be intimidated by the term "base" just because this term is [one] among military terms and because it connotes war and other similar concepts… We are engaged in a war. However, this is not a military war; rather it is a spiritual, ideological, religious and political one. (Khamenei 2016)

Despite the resistance of local heritage professionals, the major historical parts of Alishāh were destroyed by dynamite; the opera house and library—as symbols of Westernised modernity—were demolished, and a huge mosque erected on the archaeological remains by an Islamic Charity Foundation established by Ayatollah Malakuti. The impact of the contestations, however, went far beyond the physical territory. In more than thirty years, numerous statements, interviews and books have been published, court trials were held, and many public campaigns against the operation have emerged. Alishāh has been transformed into a symbol of widespread anxiety about heritage, and the conflicts were reported in the media as a controversial act (Amanasian 2016; Taghizadeh 2003).[40]

Shocked by the extensive interventions, destruction, and the use of explosives, the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO) filed a lawsuit to stop the construction activities in 1999. A committee of experts was commissioned by the court to prepare a report. The outcome supported the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization position, but the final verdict was in favour of the interventions. The high court also

[40] See newspaper articles in Kayhan 12/10/1997 (*Be arge Alishah Inghadr Jafa Nakonid*), Kar va Karegar 09/10/1997 *(Vay Be Hale Arge Mazloom)*, Jomhurie Eslami 18/09/1996 (*Saye Virani Bar Sare Arge Alisha*h), Hamshahri 12/10/1997 (*Nagozarid Arge Alishah Nabood Shavad*).

refused an appeal, based on Sharia and *Waqf* imperatives. A *Waqf* is a self-governing trust established under sharia, by a living man or woman, for the provision of a designated social service for eternity (Kuran 2001, 841). Disappointed, the heritage organisation requested a Fatwa from a Grand Ayatollah in the holy city of Qom. A Fatwa is "the authoritative ruling of a religious scholar on questions of Islamic jurisprudence that are either dubious or obscure in nature or which have newly arisen without known precedent" (Algar 1999, 428). The result was the same: "Try to observe the ICHO's concerns on keeping the *Mehrab* [old walls], however, the mosque must be constructed according to the content of *Waqf*. If saving the old parts is not possible, the construction must continue" (Khairi & Sadrai 2002, 99).[41] The court verdict and the interventions in the media and the heritage literature were condemned as unjust and as against the law: "this is the pride of Azerbaijan which is crushed under bulldozers" (Amanasian 2016, Par. 20). This thesis illustrates that the arguments against interventions were emotionally based and failed to understand the profound social-political origin of the conflicts.

iv. Dialogue of the sacred and the profane: an Iranian binary

It is necessary to understand that the problems that beset Alishāh are not a unique phenomenon in Iranian heritage. Alishāh symbolises fundamental dilemmas and conflict between Sharia rule and heritage law. Numerous holy shrines and mosques are affected by contestation between the Shiite interpretation of space and Mirāse Farhangui. Alishāh, however, is an exceptional case, because such antagonism is explicit in a number of publications for and against the interventions. Two books that were written in response to each other provide an illuminating dialogue. The first book (1985) was published by the late Grand Ayatollah Malakuti (1923-2014), the high-ranking Shiite clergy who was responsible for the demolition of Alishāh. His book is couched in the language and the interpretation of the Shi'a tradition, as an old and continuous school of jurisdiction. The line of Shia jurisdiction which is known in Islamic tradition as the "Ja'fari school" goes back to the Imam Ja'far Sādiq (702-765), the sixth Holy Imam in Shia belief. The second book was written by two archaeologists and published by the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization. It tells the story of the Alishāh conflict from the Mirāse Farhangui viewpoint which is based on monumentalism and overemphasis on aesthetic and historic values. The analysis of

[41] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

these books demonstrates that the conflicts between the voices of Shiite understanding and Mirāse Farhangui emerges from two understandings of space. The contrast between two value-systems represented by a dynamic dialogue of the sacred and the profane.

Malakuti's argument emerges from the tradition of religious debates and is based on three lines of reasoning. In the first, he explores the history of Alishāh to prove the mosque is the authentic function of the site. In the second line of reasoning, he follows the tradition of Shi'a argument, by referring to the Holy Quran, *Hadiths* (the authentic quotes from Prophet Muhammad and Imams) and *Ijmā'* (consensus of Shiite clergies). In this way, he creates a theoretical platform to justify the decisions to destroy the eastern wall and demolish the archaeological remains. In the third part, mostly in volume two, he criticises the opposition and contradicts Mirāse Farhangui. The significance of this book is immeasurable, because a high-ranking Shiite clergy, with such a vast knowledge of sacred texts and history, has never before examined the very basis of Iranian heritage.

Malakuti's religious view emphasises the continuity of the function and superiority of the sacred meaning over historicity and materiality. Compared to functionality and sacredness, the aesthetic and historic significance is trivial:

> …if mosques damaged by war, earthquake and deterioration are left frozen in Islamic cities and this approach turns into a routine on the pretext of conservation of heritage, after a short while most of the mosques turn into wreckage. [In this way] Every town transforms into rubble, mosques become the refuge of the animals and prayer houses turn into ruins. The Almighty Allah for the same reason in Quran urged the believers to repair the mosques.[42] (Malakuti 1985, 609)

Sharia, according to Malakuti, is superior to any human law, including heritage. On the one hand, Sharia urges the renewal of the mosque, on the other, the heritage legislation freezes the physicality and defines unauthorised alteration as an offence. In response to a newspaper article, Malakuti comments:

> The writer… asks the authorities to show a strong reaction to the reconstruction of the mosque, to set an example and to prevent similar behaviour in heritage

[42] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

> sites. The writer's intention is to turn everything into wreckage to be conserved by him. He even does even not stop at this point; against the continuous tradition of all Islamic schools, from the beginning to this day, he considers the construction as illegal … whereas all Islamic jurisdictions justify the act as legitimate.[43] (Malakuti 1985, 617)

Malakuti continues by asking a question: if the repair and renewal of the places are unacceptable, why have the most sacred and significant locations in the Islamic world, the holy mosques in Medina and Mecca, been continuously rebuilt over time? Above all, if the Meerāsees (heritage professionals) are honest, why were they silent during the Pahlavi government, when the state disregarded the integrity of Alishāh by allowing an opera house, library, hospital, and park at the site? The suspicious protestations were raised by a "gang of anti-revolutionists" who "… cannot bear eradication of the previous regime… [and groups of people] whose interests are threatened by reviving a wrongfully confiscated holy mosque" (Malakuti 1985, 620).

From the perspective of Malakuti, Alishāh as a mosque and lived space is an ongoing phenomenon. The Shi'a understanding, based on the traditions of Fatwa, Waqf and Friday Prayer, relies on everyday life for the continuation of the values and the meanings. Such interpretation "... emerges from the relationship between people, things and their environments as a part of the dialogue or collaborative process of the keeping the past alive in the present" (Harrison 2013, 216). In this approach, Alishāh is a living space which is primarily defined by social values and the everyday practices of faithful followers. Alishāh, in the Shi'a tradition, is far more than objectivity, physicality and historicity. It represents an ongoing dynamism.

In contrast to Malakuti's argument, Khairi and Sadrai (2002) represent the voice of Mirāse Farhangui. These archaeologist authors participated in the excavations and study of the site after the Islamic Revolution. From a top-down position, the authors claim to clarify the cause of the Alishāh destruction. Heritage experts, in their view, are the true interpreters of heritage sites who have failed "…to explain the values of the place … such failure has caused unawareness, even among educated individuals" (Khairi & Sadrai 2002, 14). They conceptualise the site through the lens of theoreticism in which Alishāh is primarily an object for scientific studies.

[43] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

Theoreticism, as discussed in the Introduction and Chapter Four, is based on the primacy of abstract cognition over embodied knowledge and everyday understandings of the heritage sites. Interpreting Alishāh as a mosque, in this way, is situation of vandalism and ignorance: "a dreadful crime is happening here" (Khairi & Sadrai 2002, 93).

The core concept in the monumentalist argument is the illegitimacy of the intervention, against the clear content of heritage law. The authors explain legislations, including Constitutional Law, Antiquity Law, and the constitution of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization, and claim the destruction of Alishāh is illegal (Khairi & Sadrai 2002, 70-79). The legislations that were ratified by parliament over eighty years have fundamentally shaped the heritage administration and practices. The claim for the illegality of the reconstruction emerges from a deeper interpretive problem that is primarily ignored; there is a disagreement in historic places between two worldviews of Mirāse Farhangui and the Shiite living tradition over the concept of the moral act and illegality. Such a disagreement is a "dualism of the sacred and the profane," and it is one of the most significant issues that creates conflicts, problems of interpretation, and failure in the protection of sites. The concept of illegality, therefore, depends on the stance of the interpreter, and is shaped by the two systems of Sharia (the sacred) and heritage law (the profane). This thesis now examines the legislative context of Iranian heritage to illuminate the polyphony of interpretations.

Iranian heritage legislation

The dissonant legal system of Iranian heritage was mainly developed in the twentieth century. Through the concept of law, Mirāse Farhangui has extended its domain into areas of tourism, transportation, religion, urbanism, taxation, and ownerships (Samadi 2007a; Samadi 2003; Tolouashtiany et al. 2010). The legal system, as shown in Appendix Two, is entrenched in different kind of texts including vision, legal acts, international convention, policy, codes of practice, and the National Development Scheme. Analysis of Iranian heritage in the context of law reveals a complex polyphony and illustrates five statutory paradigms which are embedded in the concepts of *Vadaye'e Melli*, *Atighāt*, *Farhang* Islamised Heritage and *Ehyā*. Each indicates to a distinctive interplay between multiple voices.

i. The co-voicing in Vadaye'e Melli

The first group of legislations in Appendix Two is coded as cluster A. It connotes the co-existence of two separate juridical systems based on Sharia Law and Royal Administration (Amin 1985, 53). Sharia was implemented by the Shiite clergies according to the sacred law of Islam. The parallel system to Sharia was the Royal Administration with a concentration on earthly matters. The boundaries and relationships of the two juristic orders were changeable and related to the social and political condition. The parallel systems were more or less preserved until the Pahlavi reign, when a fundamental reform was implemented (Amin 1985, 53). The relationships between religious and worldly powers has always been problematic among the Shia (Mir-Hosseini 2010, 323). In sacred spaces including mosques, shrines and religious schools, specific sets of regulation were ruled which were defined under the Waqf foundation (Kuran 2001, 841). The Waqf properties and the public services were usually governed by the Shiite clergies. In Tabriz Bazaar, for example, the Waqf foundation owns 16 percent of the properties, including mosques, shrines and shops and the territory of Alishāh (ICHHTO 2009, 495).

Shia tradition interprets mosques like Alishāh as the most significant political, cultural, and social public space for the Muslim community. Mosques encompass a substantial part of everyday practices, sacred rituals and power relations. In the books of religious law written by the Grand Ayatollahs (religious jurists and leaders), a section is often dedicated to the regulations of the mosques. According to Sistani (2015, 918-920), certain rituals transform a property into a mosque and a holy sanctuary that belongs to Allah. The space below and above the mosque, into the sky and under the ground, to any imagined extent, is sacred. Even after a mosque is ruined, it is not permissible to sell it or to make it a part of another property or a road.

The conventional dyadic system of justice based on Sharia and monarchical absolutism was heavily opposed during the Constitutional Revolution (1905-1911). The movement brought together different social groups, including peasants, merchants, and Shiite clergies to limit the absolutism of the Shah through a constitution, a parliament, and an independent judiciary (Abrahamian 1979; Martin 2013; Tavakoli-Targhi 1990). Not all the supporters of the movement were happy to have a secular legislation system (Mir-Hosseini 2010, 325). The second principle of the supplementary constitution in 1907 stated all the legislation should be examined by a clerical board in the context of Sharia. While the council of clergies had the right

of veto, their power was never implemented (Amin 1985, 61; Mir-Hosseini 2010, 322-324). The council has an influential role in the transformation of heritage, becoming a model for the establishment of the "Guardian Council" (1980) which will be discussed later.

The co-voicing of the sacred and the profane can be observed in many legislative texts coded as A in Appendix Two. The notoriously imbalanced treaty between the Iranian and French governments (Hodjat 1995, 149, 150) is an excellent example of interplay between the sacred, the profane, and a form of scientific colonialism. The treaty was an agreement through which the monopoly of excavation in Iran was sold to the French envoy. The initial article excludes "sacred localities like mosques and mausoleums" (Hodjat 2001, 202) from monopoly. The French scientists were obliged to revere "customs, traditions and mores of the country" (Hodjat 2001, 202). Chapters Four and Five of the treaty show an embryonic stage of systematic heritage. It also signifies the emergence of rationalism and theoreticism, by prohibiting the French from publishing any material without the consent of the Iranian government. In this way, the scientific findings which were intangible and metaphysical, were regarded as valuable "Precious artefacts as gold and silverware" (Hodjat 2001, 203).

The agreement created shame and indignation among some of the educated classes. This reaction can be best understood in a quote from a well-known intellectual:

> … a few days ago, the monopoly of discovering antiquities of Shushtar, Hamadan and other places was sold to the French ambassador. Though Iranian people are unaware of the issue, those who know the devastating consequences, are so disheartened. All of our ancestors' endless treasures which inherited by us and worth millions are lost to Farangis [Europeans].[44] (Negahban 2006, 40)

The same interplay between the sacred and the profane can be observed in the second example (Appendix Two-A3). The Law of the Administrative Organisation for the Ministry of Knowledge, Awqaf and Fine Arts (1909) contains preliminary efforts for the institutionalisation and the secularisation of the museum, antiquity and Vadaye'e Melli, (Samadi 2003, 17), in contrast to the sacred reading of space. The

[44] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

meaning of Vadaye'e Melli is a challenge for translation, but can be described as national objects entrusted for custodianship. Vadāye'e Melli extends the domain of profanity into the sacred realm of the Sharia. Article 6 indicates the superiority of the notion of Vadaye'e Melli over the Waqf, in the management of the religious places and relics (Samadi 2003, 20).

In this way, the first cluster of legislation signifies the transition of Iranian heritage toward an institutionalised, abstract, and rationalist interpretation. The dialogism of the sacred and the profane, therefore, can be described as co-voicing, but evolving toward a secular reading of vestiges of the past.

ii. Monologism of *Atighāt*: monumentalism

The second cluster of laws represents heritage as a monumentalist and totalising force, shaped under a Westernised notion of Atighāt (antiquities). The Antiquities Law which is coded as B4 in Appendix Two, as the primary text and the most influential heritage act, demonstrates the process of monologisation. Atighāt are defined as "Artefacts, buildings and places" which are older than 1750 AD (ICHHTO 1930, article 1). The authoritative tendency of the cluster B is to control the everyday realm, private properties (ICHHTO 1930, article 2-7), and the sacred authority of Sharia. Against the clear regulations of Waqf, the law allocated one-twentieth of the revenue of Waqf to repair historic monuments (Hodjat 1995, 183).

Reading the law in the context of social and political change, notably forced urbanisation, rapid industrialisation and cultural Westernisation (Cronin 2003a; Ehlers & Floor 1993), reveals a radical interpretation of the past, in opposition to Sharia and other traditions. The laws coded as B1 to B5 in Appendix Two are evidence of this tendency. The mourning ceremony of *Muharram*, for example, was banned for many years as a consequence of the new policy (Aghaie 2004, 47-58). The Pahlavi monarchy abolished the French treaty in 1930 under the influence of growing nationalist sentiments in many Iranians. To legalise the archaeological excavations and institutionalisation of heritage, the famous German Orientalist, Ernst Herzfeld (1879-1948), was commissioned to write a draft for the law (Mousavi 2005, 460). While a European scholar prepared the draft, it was finalised through a complicated procedure full of disagreements. In the ratification of the law, multiple voices were involved.

The Antiquities Law, the primary basis for the modern practice of heritage, contains twenty articles (ICHHTO 1930). The text signifies an object-oriented

definition of heritage, by emphasising antiques, archaeological objects, and historic monuments. The text uses the Persian word of Atighāt for the signification of heritage. In many articles, the notion of the historic monument (Choay 2001) is more clearly used and the antiquity is defined exclusively as "significant to national history" (Samadi 2007b, 23). In this framework, an alteration in the notion of heritage can be observed from the custodianship of Vadaye'e Melli, to the object-oriented definition of heritage in Atighāt.

In the Antiquity Law, the voice of globalism can be identified as created by Orientalist institutes, foreign museums, and three figures, Arthur Upham Pope, Ernst Herzfeld and André Godard, who achieved a substantial role in ratification of the law. Almost half of the text is dedicated to the archaeological excavation and antique trading. Without legislation, no foreign institutions were willing to invest in archaeological excavations in Persepolis (Mousavi 2005, 459). The law had to guarantee a "fair" share of the historical objects for institutions such as the University of Chicago Oriental Institute, for example.

These demands, however, were confronted by Iranian authorities and intellectuals, who despised the notorious French monopoly. Herzfeld reports an example of the complexity of the matter in the 1930s which is rephrased here for the significance:

> I immediately went to see the Court Minister with the third repetition of my proposal. After having read my letter, he was rather upset and told me that this was *inacceptable et indiscutable*. I was astonished, and it turned out that he had thought that the whole fund would be given without any condition simply for the sake of preserving Persepolis… I reminded him of the fact that there could be no interest in Persian art if foreign museums did not possess Persian art objects. . . He would, however, have preferred that all the antiquities remain unexcavated than to see them carried away by foreigners. Perhaps the Persians would be able to do the job by themselves in 100 years from now. (Mousavi 2005, 460, 461)

The law has been criticised for destabilising private ownership (Tolouashtiany et al. 2010, 60, 61), for the lack of social support (Hodjat 1995, 182), and being more focused on antiques rather than on monuments. The monologisation of heritage based

on the notion of Atighāt, denies the freedom of expression for the voices of everyday practices, tradition, and particularly the sacred interpretation of heritage sites.

iii. The double-voiced discourse of Farhang

The third paradigm of legislation indicates a double-voiced interpretation of heritage under the discourse of Farhang (culture) and a complicated systematisation (especially Appendix Two: C2, C3, C3-2, C5, C6 and C7). The transformation of Atighāt into Farhang involves the two contradictory forces of Nativism and Universalism. Nativism, as a part of a global movement of decolonisation after World War II (Boroujerdi 1996, 25), calls for the rebirth, restoration or continuation of indigenous cultural customs, beliefs and values in contrast to Eurocentric Universalism. Nativism was supported by a group of scholars (Ale-Ahmad 1982; Nasr 1987b; Shayegan 1992) whose philosophy was shaped under the impact of Rene Guenon‘s scholarship (1975). The movement conceptualised Iranian tradition as an eternal and authentic source for contemporary life (Fazeli 2006, 5, 15).

Universalism is best signified through international conventions, charters, and guidelines which unwittingly promote Western values as a universal truth (Byrne 1991; Smith 2006, 3, 27). Through the conventions, the new ideas of "universal values" and "authenticity" (UNESCO 1972) travelled into the Iranian context and shaped heritage sites, including Persepolis and Tabriz Bazaar. While many conventions were ratified in the Iranian parliament and seemingly absorbed into the legal system, their impact is seldom deep-rooted and reflected in national laws (Samadi et al. 2010).[45]

The double-voiced interpretation of heritage was created in the period when the country was subject to extensive industrialisation and modernisation. In a series of reforms under the name of "White Revolution" (Pahlavi 1967) Iranian society was directed towards the "Great Civilisation" (Pahlavi 1994) which targeted contemporary Western societies as ahead of Iranian time (Tavakoli-Targhi 2001, 4). The double-voiced interpretation of Farhang was not considered an obstacle to the progress. Heritage sites, especially the pre-Islamic representations including Persepolis, were defined as the ideological engine for a modernisation process (Grigor 2004, 2009).

In such a context, the third legislative paradigm demonstrates a complicated systematisation of the heritage industry. The pervasive nature of heritage, in this

[45] Personal Interview with Samadi, interviewed on 25/12/2011.

framework, extended to cover anthropology, traditional arts, museums, and historical monuments. In 1964, a new institution, the Ministry of Art and Culture was established with a complex administration structure (Samadi 2003, 59). The ministry included the National Museum, the Iranian Archaeological Research Centre, the Iranian Anthropological Research Centre, the General Directorate for Conservation of Historical Monuments (DCHM), the General Directorate of Museums, and the National Organisation for Conservation of Historical Monuments. Even an armed force for the protection of the heritage sites was provisioned (Samadi 2003, 63).

Under universalism, progress and traditionalism, the transformation of Alishāh from a frozen monument to an urban centre can be better understood. Alishāh is a permanent island, a symbol of resistance against globalisation, and represents an architectural tradition at a selected moment in history. In this transition, Alishāh as a "material culture and heritage from previous systems" is used to legitimise "the authority and power" of the dominant discourse (Harvey 2000, 56). In other words, the selection of Alishāh as a civic centre fulfils "re-joining a forgotten monument to existing urban fabric" (Moghtader, Andreef & Ecochard 1971, 46) and participation in the progress-laden discourse of Pishraft.

iv. Monologism of Islamised heritage

The bitter disputes in Alishāh can be understood in the light of the fourth legislative paradigm by which heritage is dominantly defined by Sharia. The interpretation, as will be discussed in Chapter Six, conceptualises Persepolis as a symbol of tyranny (Khamenei 2008, Par.5), Tabriz Bazaar as a prototypical space symbolising the ideal of Islamic City (Abu-Lughod 1987), and Alishāh as a mosque with complete political/social functionality (Malakuti 1985).

The fourth paradigm of legislation indicates a fundamental alteration after the 1979 Islamic Revolution. The revolutionaries, above all, considered heritage sites under the discourse of Farhang as the image of corrupted Pahlavi ideology and symbols of *Taghoot* (despotism). They interpreted heritage sites by condemning the Universalism of Eurocentric values, and accusing the West for plundering national treasures. Parviz Varjavand, the prominent political activist and archaeologist, was the first minister of Art and Culture after the Islamic revolution. He describes the powerful contradictions which forced him to resign from the office. In his narrative, Shiite

clergies saw Persepolis as a "tyrannical symbol," and a type of structure which must be destroyed (Varjavand 2002).

Even the process of listing in World Heritage was considered a conspiracy of anti-revolutionary forces (Adl 2007). Despite all negative sentiments, there is no evidence of vandalism against heritage places or museums during this chaotic situation (Abdi 2001, 70). The complex administration of heritage collapsed, and resulted in many unauthorised interventions in the historic environment. For example, in the courtyards of heritage mosques selected for the Friday Prayer, temporary "shade roofs" were erected (Hodjat 1995, 219). In many cases like Alishāh, the interventions turned into disputes that damaged the physical fabric.

The monologic attitude toward heritage is best represented in the new Constitutional Law in which Sharia has the final word. The fourth article signifies a different understanding of legality and morality, in which Sharia rules every corner of Iranian society, and particularly heritage:

> All civil, penal, financial, economic, administrative, cultural, military, political and other regulations must comply with the Islamic criteria. This principle applies absolutely and generally to all articles of the Constitution as well as to all other laws and regulations and the Fuqaha' [high ranking clergies] of the Guardian Council are judges in this matter. (Ramazani 1980, 89)

The monologism of Sharia is a crucial point in analysing the issue of interpretations in Iranian heritage. In such a context, discussing the "illegality" of interventions in Alishāh, as some experts argue (Khairi & Sadrai 2002), is futile. The Antiquity Law and the whole heritage legal system is conditionally accepted if it remains in the realm of the Sharia. The sacred interpretation of Alishāh and other religious places overpowers the monumentalist content of the Antiquity Law. The antagonism between two interpretations intensified when the Guardian Council declared that not only the sacred spaces but also any private property is exempt from the Antiquity Law:

> Regarding the letter 5736 dated 09/09/1982 about the antiquity law and its amendments, the matter was discussed in Guardian Council and the liability of the

> law for the private properties recognised as against the Sharia.[46]

The consequences of the declaration have been overwhelming. Many private owners in recent years have de-listed and demolished their houses through appeal to the Administrative Justice Court. It should be noticed that the process of de-listing is not defined in the administrative system of Iranian heritage. For example, the first heritage site that was listed in the National Heritage List in 1932 later became a territory of Iraq, but still counted in official statistics. The significant impact of such decisions can be better understood through the anxious statement of ICHO:

> The increasing number of decisions, more than fifty, can endanger valuable historical heritage of Islamic Iran and is against the law that clearly defines the responsibilities of our organisation. Ignoring such legislative context disqualifies the *raison d'etre* of ICHO which is the study, listing and the protection of Mirāse Farhangui.[47]

In this critical situation, a double-voiced interpretation of Iranian heritage emerged, in which monumentalist and Islamist readings created a hybrid concept. Islamism, as part of nativism and reflected in the works of scholars (Motahari 1980; Shariati 1980), proposed returning to Islamic values to create a revolutionary political ideology (Fazeli 2004, 142). To understand the hybridity of Islamised heritage, this thesis analyses the "The Act of Iranian Cultural Heritage Organisation" (ACHO) in the context of the theoretical debates of Hodjat (1995, 2001), the former head and the founder of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization.

Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization

Mirāse Farhangui can be conceptualised as an "intentional hybridisation" (Bakhtin 1981, 360; Morson & Emerson 1990, 342, 343) of monumentalism and Islamism. In such hybridisation, the discourses do not fuse into a new discourse but instead preserve their identity. Analysis of cluster D in Appendix Two shows that Mirāse Farhangui, in contrast to the discourse of Frahang, strongly contradicts Pishraft as a destructive force. Thus, Mirāse Farhangui is a problematic double-voiced creation, inherently

[46] Refer to Appendix Three. Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[47] https://divan-edalat.ir/show.php?page=ahoshow&id=8855, accessed 04/05/2018, Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

"dissonant" (Tunbridge 1996) and ideologically inconsistent, due to the antagonism of monumentalism and Islamism.

Nostalgic Islamism suggests that religious values and an Islamic past is an ideal for Iranian identity and culture. Hodjat, who is known by some as the founder of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organisation, explains an idealised interpretation of heritage through the rhetoric of Shiite Islamism. Iranian heritage, he says, is the result of a "cultural rupture due to the hegemony of alien cultures" (Hodjat 1995, 114). Heritage should be purified by a "social value system prevailing in society (Islam)" (Hodjat 1995, iii). Hodjat describes a cultural battle between Iran and the West: "cultural heritage can play a decisive role in recovering the identity" (Hodjat 1995, i). By "denying the hegemony of alien cultures, Iranian society is attempting to recognise its Islamic-Iranian identity" (Hodjat 1995, ii).

The task of protecting Islamic identity, as Hodjat suggests, requires an authoritative power embedded in a centralised institution which can promote a singular identity. The promotion of values requires an enormous centralisation and a complex administration. The unitary reading of Iranian heritage thus eliminates the contradictory voices. The primary objective of the new organisation is defined as "study of relics of the past" (ACHO Article 1). The pervasive Mirāse Farhangui covers the area of "anthropology, archaeology and traditional arts" (ACHO Article 2), as well as "Revitalizing the monuments, buildings and precincts." Eleven independent departments from across the government administration unified under the blanket of Mirāse Farhangui to promote the unitary interpretation of Islamised heritage. Despite the multidisciplinary resonance, the institution was mainly organised around the idea of monumentalism, and therefore controlled by architects.

Legal texts like the Act of Cultural Heritage Organisation (Appendix Two: D4, D6) reveals an "intentional hybridization" (Bakhtin 1981, 360) in which the two voices of monumentalist heritage and nostalgic Islamism preserve their identity and do not amalgamate in the new discourse. In Islamised heritage, the voices do not mix; they save their independent values which are often antagonistic. In this way, based on the Holy Quran and Muslim philosophers, the scientific values of the relics from the past are highlighted: "the past essentially [is] as a source for learning lessons" (Hodjat 1995, 21). Mirāse Farhangui signifies a highly abstract interpretation:

> Mirāse Farhangui is the remaining works of the past which signify humankind's behaviour along history. By

> knowing Mirāse Farhangui, understanding identity, tracking the cultural movements and production of the knowledge is made possible.[48] (Samadi 2003, 53)

The objective of the organisation is defined as "learning from humankind's cultural movements, decay and the durability of society's identity and cultural characteristics" (Appendix Two: D6). The text (Appendix Two: D4, D6) extensively emphasises the scientific endeavour as the main responsibility of the ICHO which indicates a more abstract notion, dominated by elitisms, theoreticism, and separation from everyday life.

Islamised heritage opposes the discourse of Pishraft (progress) as a destructive phenomenon and a discourse that idealises Western societies. The freezing and totalising tendency of Mirāse Farhangui is exemplified in the authority to veto "any urbanisation and development plans related to the historical and cultural zones, to prevent [the heritage sites] from destruction" (Samadi 2007b, 82). Considering the looseness of the terms "cultural zones" and the vastness of the "historical zones" in urban and rural areas, the law bestows an almost limitless authority over the territories which are subject to urbanisation and industrialisation. In Persepolis, for example, such authority over the land has frozen the everyday life of the local inhabitants in more than 27 hectares of urban and rural areas. The frozen space creates confusion among farmers, developers and industries who have no other choice but violate the fabricated heritage regulations (Yazdani 2011, 49). The demolition of a silo and five gardens and farms by court order is a recent example of conflicts between local community and heritage administration (ICHHTO 2017, 3,4).

The doubled-voiced Islamised Mirāse Farhangui, a universalised, authoritarian and abstract interpretation, created significant clashes with unapproved interpretations. Alishāh for example, indicates the failure of Islamised heritage in mixing Islamism and monumentalism. Alishāh particularly signifies the conflicts between Islamised heritage and the Shiite tradition. Beheshti, the former head of ICHO (1997-2004), gives a clear explanation of the disastrous consequences of a hybridised heritage, including extensive loss of fabric and the naïve resistance against the discourse of Pishraft. In his report, the supposedly centralised and powerful ICHO not only transformed into an isolated and "starved" (Beheshti 2004, 3) institution, but also

[48] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

created “misconception” (Beheshti 2004, 2) among officials, experts and different community groups:

> …in nearly twenty years [1979-1997], hundreds of hectares of valuable historic urban and rural fabrics were demolished with bulldozers, thousands of historic buildings and hundreds of archaeological sites quietly crushed under the pressure of progress and nobody was even slightly concerned.[49] (Beheshti 2004, 2)

The state, in Beheshti’s argument, considered the heritage sector as impossible to manage.[50] The officials also saw the Islamised interpretation as a grave obstacle to urbanisation and progress. The experts in ICHO, who were trapped in an abstract interpretation based on monumentalism and theoreticism, were separated from everyday life and “were performing a delusional act in an unreal scene” (Beheshti 2004, 3).[51] The idealised and refined concept of “learning from the past” (Samadi 2003, 53) was far from the reality of a developing country which also went through a disastrous war with Iraq. The private owners of listed heritage houses whose properties were frozen, encountering with an authoritarian attitude, considered ICHO “a troublesome organisation with a ridiculous and pointless performance” (Beheshti 2004, 1).[52]

Ratification of the Islamic Penal code bestowed even more authority to ICHO and, at the same time, intensified the conflicts. The law included several articles (558-569) which directly addressed illegal interventions in heritage sites. The legislators, in this way, created a jurisdiction system according to Sharia law to punish those who vandalise historical monuments, archaeological sites, museums, and those involved in the illicit antique trade (Samadi 2007b, 62-64). The strict provisions confirmed heritage as a legitimate Islamic notion and guaranteed the authority of the heritage administration over everyday practices.

The conflicts of the hybrid Islamist-monumentalist interpretation with the voices of progress, everyday practices, and Shiite tradition, has reached a critical point. This thesis discusses different examples of such a critical condition in Chapter One, including the Sivand dam, Kalmakareh cave, the high rate of heritage crimes, and the

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[49] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[50] Interview with Beheshti, dated 17/05/2014.
[51] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[52] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

fast disappearance of urban heritage fabric. At Alishāh, Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis, the historic fabric, the setting, and the social values have deteriorated beyond repair. Many top-down programs have been proposed by experts to reform the inefficient heritage administration (Abdi 2001, 52; Niknami 2005, 346; Rahimzadeh 2008, 18-20; Samadi et al. 2010). Above all, the reformist movement was in search of an interpretation of heritage that would include the voice of progress (Beheshti 2004; ICHO 1996).

v. Progress-laden interpretation

The last cluster of heritage legislation, which is extraordinary in quantity, encompasses the effort of a reformist government to reduce the conflict between Mirāse Farhangui and Pishraft by justifying Islamised heritage in the discourse of progress. The progress-laden discourse of heritage is identified with the notion of Ehyā (adaptive–reuse) which is more concerned with the social values of the sites rather than with

Figure 5.3: An aerial view of Persepolis in front and Tent City in the background, during the 2500 year celebration of the Persian Empire. Source ICHHTO, Pardisan Archive.

aesthetic/historic values. This chapter analyses the last cluster of legislation in the

context of the Tent City and illustrates that Ehyā goes beyond the rhetoric of recycling, sustainability (Douglas 2006, 458-508), economy (Douglas 2006, 50), and embodied energy (Bullen 2007; Plevoets & Van Cleempoel 2011); Ehyā idealises a moderated language and value-system to reduce the conflicts with the discourse of Pishraft (progress). As the analysis of Tent City shows, Ehyā fails to reach its goals, due to its authoritative orientation, monologising strategies, and inattention to the interpretive aspects of the problem.

Tent City

Tent City embodies the diverse interpretations and their conflicts which originated from the voices of Farhang, Mirāse Farhangui and Ehyā. Such interpretations embedded in different conceptualisations of the site, including the "Golden City" (Grigor 2009; Stevenson 2008), "symbol of tyranny" (Khamenei 2008), and the "House of Nations" (Zirak 2002). Tent City, therefore, embodies a changeable relationship with the discourse of Pishraft.

Tent City, as part of the World Heritage Site of Persepolis, was primarily constructed during the 2500 Year Celebration of the Persian Empire (Grigor 2005, 25, 26). It is on the southern side of the *Takht* (terrace) which is recognised as a first-grade protective zone by World Heritage (Figure 5.3) (ICHHTO 1931b). Tent City was constructed as a luxurious collection of tents to accommodate guests from all over the world. It was built despite protective regulation which prohibits planting trees, installation of utility poles and construction of buildings (ICHHTO 1931b; Yazdani 2011, 36-38). At present, it is a ruin and a ghost town (Figure 5.4).

The building of Tent City transgressed the heritage regulations by planting trees on 160 acres of the land, installation of the mechanical and electrical utilities, and massive structures (Grigor 2014, 26). The heritage professionals protested against the construction of the asphalt road to the terrace, because "it would destroy traces of the second city wall of Persepolis," but it was rejected. One of the officials responded, "…this is a national project and has to be carried out even at the cost of some ancient remains…" (Mousavi 2012, 206). The destruction of heritage remains entails a situation in which a landmark of World Heritage is used for political showing off:

> We are celebrating this anniversary because [the] present Shāhanshāh of Iran sees himself as being, in a very real sense, the heir of Cyrus the Great…no one, I

think …could doubt this for a moment. (Savory 1972, 77)

The star-shaped design of Tent City was designed to be symbolic. The gathering of invitees can be understood as a modern reconstruction of the Orientalist (Said 1978) narrative of the site which is an assembly of different nations in the Achaemenid Empire (Ghirshman & Gilbert 1964, 154-200). The sixty tents were organised in five groups to accommodate six hundred guests and to resemble the five continents of the world. At the end of the central axis, the luxurious royal tent was erected, in which, ironically "…aside from the guests, almost everything else at the party was flown in from France" (Stevenson 2008, 23).

Figure 5.4: View of the Tent City after the Islamic Revolution. Photograph by Shahin Tolouashtiany 2008.

The ceremonies of the 2500 Year Celebration of the Persian Empire and Shiraz Art Festival, which were in contrast to the poverty of local population, were stimulus for the revolt in 1979. Hodjat describes the ceremonies as "extravagant, costly festivities," as an "imperial idea," and a "misuse of the ancient Iranian history" (Hodjat 1995, 201). In this way, the two events and the definition of the site as a memorial to the continuity of Persian monarchy had a profound impact on the shaping of the Islamised understanding of Persepolis as a symbol of tyranny.

Persepolis survived the aftermath of the revolution, but the angry mob heavily damaged Tent City. As a symbol of oppression, the beige and royal blue fabric of tents were burnt, the luxurious furniture confiscated, and equipment relocated. The surrounding park, which was created during the ceremony, was left without care, and plants were heavily damaged. The magnificent Shah's "Golden City" was transformed into a deserted ghost town, where the remaining metal structures and dead trees still symbolise the fall of the previous regime (Grigor 2014, 12, 13; Stevenson 2008, 7, 8).

Tent City, a shattered ruin, was left alone for several years (Grigor 2014, 10) until the reformist government of president Khatami reinterpreted the site. The narrative of the "House of the Nations" (Zirak 2002) was created from Khatami's doctrine of the "Dialogue among Civilisations" (Khatami 2012). Tent City became a part of the adaptive-reuse movement (Taghizadeh 2014; Tolouashtiany 2003, 2007). It also signifies a hybrid interpretation of heritage, in which three voices of monumentalism, progress and nostalgic Islamism collide.

i. A progress-laden interpretation

To clarify the polyphony of heritage in Tent City, this thesis analyses the site in the context of extensive texts of the fifth cluster of legislations. The analysis is also based on a personal interview with the former head of ICHO during the office of President Khatami. As this analysis illustrates, both resources connote the birth of a reformed language, values and a progress-oriented interpretation, under the blanket of the discourse of Ehyā.

The fifth paradigm of legislative texts, as coded E1-E32 in Appendix Two, is unprecedented in Iranian heritage: "The legislations ratified in five years (1998-2003), were much more extensive than in the past seventy years" (Beheshti 2004, 7).[53] The cluster covers a variety of acts, guidelines, policies and development plans. According to Beheshti, the legislations were a part of the strategic plan for reshaping the heritage industry and were implemented in three stages.[54]

The aim of the first stage was to produce *Sarmaye Ejtemai* (social capital), by linking community groups to heritage sites. The term Sarmaye Ejtemai is popular in reformist political literature and is a polysemy. It is to promote trust, non-governmental institutions and participation networks among citizens. In this way, "we started the media movement, created a specific language for heritage, and established the Cultural Heritage News Agency."[55] The Production of positive news resulted in different community groups, politicians and even professionals becoming sensitive, aware of the existence of ICHO, and participating in the protection processes. The objective in the second stage, Beheshti says, was to change the prevailing notion of heritage from an impasse to a "manageable problem."[56] The addressee of the second stage was

[53] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[54] Interview with Beheshti, dated 17/05/2014.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

mostly the elite class, including politicians, experts and academics. What was the most important instrument for such an ambitious change? Behshti says that it was nothing but the legislation: “This was exactly our objective in the fourth National Development Plan. We created new institutions, legislative measures, and new processes to ensure that ICHO becomes more balanced to its responsibilities.”[57]

The third stage which has great significance for this analysis, amalgamates the languages and the value-system of Pishraft and Mirāse Farhangui.

> The third stage was designed for the fifth National Development Plan. Our objective was to clarify the relationship of the Mirāse Farhangui and Pishraft…We had to change heritage from an anti-progress notion into a new course that would consider heritage as the leading force of the development.[58]

To clarify specificities of progress-oriented language and interpretation, this thesis will focus on “The executive policies of the ICHO” (Appendix Two: E2-1), as a prelude to a series of new legislations. This document proposed a general policy for reformation in the heritage sector, and it covers different fields of education, research, archaeology, anthropology, traditional arts and conservation. A comparison between ACHO and the “executive policies” clarifies the scale of a shift in the interpretation of heritage.

In contrast to the idea of Islamised heritage, the text recognises nationalism as part of heritage construction. The terms including national identity, national cohesion, and national interests, are used on many occasions (ICHO 1996, 9, 11). Also, the text, in an apparent transformation, suggests interconnection with the outside world, other public institutions, local communities and, most importantly, foreign partnership (ICHO 1996, 10, 11, 14).

While the process of World Heritage Listing was stopped by the government as a symbol of a conspiracy of anti-revolutionaries (Adl 2007), the text for the first time urges ICHO to identify at least thirty sites to be listed in World Heritage (ICHO

[57] Ibid.

[58] Beheshti told me a revealing story that clarifies the essence of concept of Ehyā as a progress-laden discourse of heritage: “I requested an appointment from the presidential office to discuss the matter with president Khatami. They gave me a short interview. When I finished my discussion Khatami looked surprised. He told me ‘if your argument is true, the development would be a real development when we look at our territory from the heritage perspective, otherwise it would be counter-development.’And that was exactly my point.”

1996, 14). The document also considers connection with the outside world a necessity, and proposes archaeological excavations, seminars, and research with foreign partners (ICHO 1996, 11). The most significant change, however, can be seen in the reformed stance toward the idea of Pishraft. The Islamised heritage by choosing a reflective-nostalgic approach (Boym 2001, xviii), is counter-progress, and promotes a static interpretation of the fabric. The progress-oriented interpretation considers the idea of Pishraft an essential element of heritage production. The text emphasises heritage as part of urbanisation and development (ICHO 1996, 18) and says that it promotes new technologies (ICHO 1996, 10,12), decentralisation (ICHO 1996, 9,17), community involvement (ICHO 1996, 10,12) , and above all, Ehyā of heritage buildings.

The progress-laden interpretation of heritage is a polyphony of many voices—nostalgic nationalism, nostalgic Islamism, progress, globalism and monumentalism. It idealises heritage from an impediment into a significant contributor to progress, and moves from a detached-abstract reading to an open phenomenon. To clarify the impact of this interpretation on Tent City, this thesis discusses the Ehyā as a significant ideological apparatus for progress-oriented interpretation.

ii. Ehyā

Adaptive-reuse in Western scholarship encompasses the fields of recycling, sustainability (Douglas 2006, 458-508), economy (Douglas 2006, 50), and embodied energy (Bullen 2007; Plevoets & Van Cleempoel 2011). In Iran, Ehyā is also related to the reformist political movement to change Mirāse Farhangui. Ehyā was institutionalised through budget law ('Budget Law' 1999) and later the Pardisan National Scheme. Pardisan published a manifesto (Tolouashtiany 2003) in which several ambitious objectives were defined, including reforming heritage administration, connecting heritage environment with the contemporary social/political movement, promotion of tourism, and economic and social development in heritage territories. While Pardisan covered more than thirty-four heritage sites all over the country, the primary objective was to "…change the concept of heritage among different social groups through successful prototypes. [it has to] convince authorities, experts and ordinary people" (Tolouashtiany 2003, 145). Returning the isolated, abandoned, and frozen spaces to everyday life, and overcoming the technical, legal and social barriers required extensive efforts. By 2002, project Pardisan included 36 houses, five Hammams (traditional public baths), and eight

caravanserais, two bazaars, eight historic gardens (Misra 2009, 264) in half a million square metres of built heritage. The initial reaction was negative and the project had to deal with many disputes: “When we started the project, the majority of our colleagues in ICHO were against this style of interventions [Ehyā]. They believed our actions would eventually destroy the heritage sites” (Taghizadeh 2014, Par.17).

Tent City is an example of sites of dispute in the Pardisan project, in which reinterpretation of an abandoned place to the House of Nations intensified the clashes between monumentalist and Islamised readings of the heritage sites.

iii. House of Nations

The ruined remains of the Shah’s Tent City were selected in 2000 as one of the sites of Ehyā. The narrative of the House of Nations (Zirak 2002) symbolises a utopic desire for the coexistence of nations, and idealised cultural diversity in response to the concept of conflicting civilisations (Huntington 1997). In this way, the site was defined as accommodating local and foreign tourists who could experience the cultural diversity of the world in one place. According to the plans, each wing of the star-shaped design represented a continent in which the tents were refurbished in the style of a prominent civilisation. The former luxurious royal tent in this scenario, as the finale for the principal axis, acted as an exhibition hall dedicated to the Iranian civilisation and Achaemenid epoch (Zirak 2002). The symbolic and restorative-nostalgic design of Tent City, as a reconstruction of the sovereignty of the Achaemenid Empire, was adapted into a new spatial meaning.

Figure 5.5: View of royal tent after the Islamic revolution. Photograph by Shahin Tolouashtiany 2008.

The project, however, was never finished, due to the cumulative resistance of heritage officials and Islamist forces. Many heritage professionals, from a monumentalist standpoint, considered the idea of the House of Nations to be acting against the integrity of Persepolis, politicising a World Heritage site, and damaging its historic fabric. The voice of Islamism saw the House of Nations as reviving the memory of the 2500 Year Celebration of the Persian Empire and the corrupting traditions of the Persian monarchy. An examination of the Pardisan Office archive reveals the dimensions of such resistance. Over 10 years, a large volume of correspondence was exchanged between the Parseh-Pasargad Research Foundation (PPRF), local government, and the provincial office of ICHO, in order to facilitate the project. As a project officer in the Pardisan office, I undertook exhausting efforts to acquire data from local organisations who refused to cooperate with the idea of the House of Nations. I recall also a series of vandalising fires that heavily damaged the surrounding park. The cause of the fires was never officially announced.

In the eyes of nostalgic Islamism, House of Nations is "…a roll-back from the authentic Islamic values and revives the bitter memories of the corrupted 'Shiraz Art Festival' in the former regime" (BBC 2011b). From a monumentalist viewpoint, the site and surrounding park contain undiscovered Achaemenid remains. In an interview, the head of Parseh-Pasargad Research Foundation explained the position of the Tent City from a monumentalist approach:

> Before the Islamic revolution, the previous regime erected a few tents for a ceremony. Because any construction around Takhte-Jamsheed was illegal, the trees were planted to hide the tents and protect the landscape. Today, these trees have damaged the image of the ancient monument. They barricade the view. We try to revive the historical landscape by trimming the trees and cutting the older ones from the root…. Construction of the tents has damaged the ancient canals and waterways which we have discovered recently through magnetic survey …[59]

Despite the intensity of conflicts, Pardisan commissioned a group of heritage professionals to prepare a master plan. The report and the technical drawings were

[59] Interview with Talebian, http://www.chn.ir/NSite/FullStory/News/?Id=70435&Serv=3&SGr=22 accessed 05/06/2014. Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

published in 2002 (Zirak 2002). The House of Nations was terminated on the pretext of a newspaper article (Tait 2005) in which the project was described as creating "more admiration than disgust" for the Pahlavi regime.

Tent City, therefore, encompasses multiple interpretations and different layers of meaning. The failure of the project is evidence of the inflexibility of Mirāse Farhangui and its monologising tendency. The site symbolises the ideology of a modern Persian Empire (Grigor 2005; Stevenson 2008). For Islamist revolutionaries, the shattered ruin is a symbol of despotism (Khamenei 2008). For political reformists, it is a symbol of cultural diversity and coexistence (Zirak 2002). In the frozen and ideological interpretation of Mirāse Farhangui, the site is an illegal construction, an obstacle in the landscape which is damaging the integrity of Persepolis. The monologising tendencies of these interpretations deny the existence of the others and therefore, there is no agreement in this multiplicity of meanings.

Conclusion

In contrast to official Iranian heritage policies, this chapter illustrates that Iranian heritage is characterised by polyphony and has multiple meanings. This chapter analyses different interpretations of Iranian heritage through an examination of Alishāh in Tabriz, Tent City in Persepolis, and Iranian heritage legislation. Analysis of power struggles between layers of meanings shows a complex and vibrant landscape which is in contrast to the unitary and frozen attitude of Mirāse Farhangui. Multiple voices including Pishraft, Ehyā, Sonnat, Islamism, everyday life and Eurocentrism contribute to the construction of Iranian heritage. Through the polyphonic nature of Iranian heritage, this thesis will now analyse Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis in the light of memorialisation, dialogism and interplays between different voices.

CHAPTER SIX: MEMORIALISATION IN IRANIAN HERITAGE

Persepolis, for the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, carries a dark memory of oppression and "dictatorship" (Khamenei 2008, Par 6). Although he believes that Persepolis represents the "dexterous hands" and "creative minds" of Iranians, such qualities are unparalleled in the "blessed perfection" of Islamic monuments. The superiority of Islamic memorials, Khamenei says, is a "fact" that is confirmed by "scientific research" (Khamenei 2008, Par. 6).

Ayatollah Khamenei's understandings of Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis can be interpreted thus, that they are two opposite memorials of the past with fixed meanings. One encompasses "blessed perfection" and the other "dark dictatorship" (Khamenei 2008, Par 6). The puzzle of "memorialisation" emerges when one studies Khamenei's monologised and official interpretation of the past in the polyphonic and dynamic context of Iranian heritage. The Supreme Leader's memory is in marked contrast with those who gather on Kurosh day and Nowruz, in Pasargadae and Persepolis, to commemorate Cyrus the great and mythical king Jamsheed. Cyrus was the founder of the Achaemenid Empire (600 B.C. to 530 B.C.) and is celebrated by many individuals as the father of the Iranian nation. Mythical King Jamsheed, according to Shāhnameh (Ferdowsi 2012), was an immortal ruler of a golden age in Persian mythology and owner of a throne which the demons moved to the sky at his command. Also, Khamenei's narrative of Tabriz Bazaar as an Islamic monument, collides with those groups who conceptualise space as a symbol of "backwardness" (Ehlers 1991, Par. 5-

10; Ehlers & Floor 1993, 256-265; Moghtader, Andreef & Ecochard 1971) and constitutional revolution and nationalism (Bayat 1991, 150-158; Kasravi 2004; Keddie & Richard 2006, 68).

This chapter started the discussion with a quote from Ayatollah Khamenei which does not merely represent an individual and emotional memory of the past. It also symbolises an official collective memory, and as Wertsch (2002, 653) argues, involves "a single committed perspective" and has "no patience for ambiguity" (Wertsch 2002, 162). Official memory of oppression and "dictatorship" (Khamenei 2008, Par 6) is part of the monologisation of Mirāse Farhangui.

Chapter Six concentrates on different aspects of memorialisation in Iranian heritage. This thesis defines memorialisation as an intentional process of production of a monument as a "site of memory" (Nora 1989, 7). It critiques the binary positioning of memories in Western scholarship from the terrains of individual/collective, memory/history and past/present. This thesis identifies dialogic relationships between different memories through the Bakhtinian concepts of heteroglossia, exotopy and chronotope. It demonstrates that the conceptualisation of memories in the form of dichotomies is a form of simplification of a complex phenomenon and is far from being adequate to clarify Iranian heritage. As stated earlier in this thesis, the diversity of memories of individuals and groups that is entrenched in Iranian heritage sites indicates that memorialisation is an ideal ground to study the dialogics between voices. This study illustrates that Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis, as memorials of the past, are the outcome of interplay between a complex network of collective and individual memories. Thus, the analysis demonstrates that memorialisation is an act of interpretation that defines Persepolis and Tabriz Bazaar through performances including celebration, graffiti creation, mapping and production of monuments (Niven & Paver 2009, 4-6).

This chapter, therefore, is structured in four sections. Firstly, it critiques the literature (Bennett 2003; Boym 2001; Halbwachs 1992; Levy & Sznaider 2010; Nora 1989; O'Keeffe 2007; Wertsch 2009) and posits a model of dialogic memorialisation. Secondly, it rationalises mapping and graffiti as the context for the study of memorialisation. Thirdly, mapping of Tabriz Bazaar and graffiti creation in Persepolis are analysed.

Dialogism of memories

Memory has been often discussed in Western scholarship through binaries including memory versus history (Halbwachs 1992; Nora 1989; Wertsch 2009), individual memories versus collective (Halbwachs 1992; Whelan 2016), particular versus universal (Levy & Sznaider 2010), and also as a concept encompassing texture (Young 1993). Memory has also been examined in the light of nostalgia (Boym 2001) and forgetting (Ricoeur 2004). This thesis critiques literature by linking the concepts of exotopy, heteroglossia and chronotope to different levels of conceptualisation of memory in literature. It also identifies a heteroglossia of memories in Iranian heritage.

i. Exotopy and the binary of individual/collective

In Western scholarship, memory is often explained through dichotomies of individual versus collective. Halbwachs (1992), for example, argues that collective memory is the only framework that matters, and individual memory exists only in the context of collective (Halbwachs 1992, 169). In this way, the relationship between "I" and "we" is dominantly shaped by "we". Individual memory thus is always connected to the outside.

Wertsch (2002, 38) argues that collective memory is "subjective" and involves "a single committed perspective." Collective memory has "no patience for ambiguity" (Wertsch 2002, 162). Another dimension of collective versus individual memories resides in their representations. O'Keeffe (2007) discusses that individual and collective memories entail different specificities. Collective memory is organised and is based on visual-factual representations. An individual's memories of events are partly produced by external programming and can be called "memories of its mediation" (O'Keeffe 2007, 5). Individual memories, however, are created by interacting with space and remembered in a "sensual-emotional" way. Remembrance, in this way, transforms into event-ness of everyday life and shapes memorials not in the act of external programming (O'Keeffe 2007, 5), but through individualised performances including graffiti, singing, storytelling and celebration.

Outside-ness of individual memories in Halbwachas' argument is incomplete and differs from exotopic outside-ness. Halbwachs notes that individual memory is totally dependent on the collective and their relationship is monolithic. In dialogic understanding, memories of "I" and "we" enter into a dialogue and mutually shape each other. In a dialogic understanding, neither collective nor individual memories are

dominant nor lose their "being" in favour of the other. The collective acts as transgredience for the individual , and therefore, it is "external to it but nonetheless absolutely necessary for its completion, for its achievement of totalisation" (Todorov 1984, 95). In the process of exotopic remembering, the individual first becomes a part of the collective but does not stop at this level. In an exotopic encounter, the individual integrates the other (collective) in the self (Todorov 1984, 108).

Analysis of historical graffiti in Persepolis clarifies that individual memories have a fundamental role in the creation of Persepolis as a memorial. This is because graffiti in Persepolis represent an interplay between space, individual and collective memories which goes beyond temporal limits. Graffiti not only indicate the memory of individuals and their emotions, but also represent different commemorative voices (Wertsch 2009, 653). By banning graffiti as an act of vandalism in the twentieth century, the diversity of individual memories is denied, and the dialogism between collective and individual memories interrupted. Mirāse Farhangui "tends to present the past from a single committed perspective" (Wertsch 2009, 652). In this way, Mirāse Farhangui promotes the monologism of a single collective memory against the diversity of individual memories.

In addition, as will be discussed in Chapter Nine through the concept of the carnivalesque, the individual memories can become a site of resistance, dynamically denying the collective memory or cultural codes (Pickering 2008, 177). The other example is examined in Chapter Seven through journeys, when individual and collective memories collide in the form of creative understanding. Conversely, in Tabriz Bazaar, remembering can transform into performances, for example, mourning rituals, that affirm and reconstruct social conventions (Pickering 2008, 176).

ii. History, memory and heteroglossia

History and memory in Western scholarship are often argued to be in a dualism (Boyer 1996; Halbwachs 1992; Nora 1989; Wertsch 2009). Wertsch (2002, 653), for example, compares collective memory and history in a dichotomy. In his argument, history is objective and does not devote itself to a singular perspective and social framework. History is fundamentally critical and reflective and embraces ambiguity. In contrast, collective memory is subjective; in other words, it connotes a social framework that is constructed by a particular social group. In addition, collective memory cannot tolerate uncertainty about motives and interpretation of events. The most significant difference

between the two phenomena, Wertsch (2002, 653) says, resides in their relationships with the past. Collective memory "denies the pastness of events" (Wertsch 2002, 653), brings the past to the present, and is antihistorical. This is in complete contrast with history which separates and differentiates the past from the present. Such antagonism is best discussed by Nora (Nora 1989, 2001a, 2001b) who conceptualises history and memory not just as different but standing in fundamental opposition.

Nora (1989) discusses the concept of *"lieux de mémoire"* (Nora 1989, 7; 2001a, 2001b) in which history opposes memory, and "its true mission is to suppress and destroy it" (Nora 1989, 9). He offers a link between heritage sites, history, and memory that still resonates in the scholarship (Erll, Nünning & Young 2008, 10). In Nora's conceptualisation, sites of memory are the result of the rupture with the past and the disappearance of "real" environments of memory (Nora 1989, 7). Nora argues that the site of memory is not necessarily a cemetery, memorial or a physical place. He considers representations, including a flag, Marseilles, and the Code of Napoléon, as sites of memories (Nora 1989, 2001a). In this way, the notion of a monument can be expanded to include concepts, museums, fairy-tales, laws, events, and treaties (Niven & Paver 2009, 6).

The dichotomous and the contradictory conceptualisation of history and memory is criticised by Erll, Nünning, and Young (2008) who argue: "Studies on 'history vs. memory' are usually loaded with emotionally charged binary oppositions: good vs. bad, organic vs. artificial, living vs. dead, from below vs. from above. (Erll, Nünning & Young 2008, 6).

In Nora's argument, the emergence of *"lieux de mémoire"* is a sign of a lost "true" collective memory which is replaced with an "artificial archival memory" (Henning 2006, 138). Such binary positioning is critiqued by Bennett (2003) who argues that the concept of "true memory" (Nora 1989, 8) is a construction and originated from the museums. So-called "true memory," therefore, can be imagined through the lens of "technological and archival conditions," and through certain modern "technical and representational devices," including evolutionary museums (Bennett 2003, 41). In this way, such natural and authentic conceptualisation of collective memory in pre-modernity, Bennett argues, is "an effect of the evolutionary museum's functioning as an evolutionary accumulator in which all pasts are stored and made simultaneously present" (Bennett 2003, 51).

This thesis agrees with the scholarship on differentiation between history and memory. This thesis, however, contradicts the dualism conceptualised by Nora. It identifies a model of memorialisation based on analysis of historical maps of Tabriz Bazaar which encompasses a heteroglossia of memories and a hybridisation of "archival memory" and "true memory" (Nora 1989, 2001a, 2001b). In such a model, archival memory and true memory not only interplay by co-voicing but are also absolutely necessary for creation of a dynamic and rich memorial.

Heteroglossia of memories

This thesis illustrates that memorials are the outcome of interplay between memory and history, in which the two contrasting groups of memories create centripetal and centrifugal forces. Memorialisation, therefore, is a continuous struggle between different layers of memory which go forward together, in an ongoing process of centralisation and dis-unification (Bakhtin 1981, 272; Morson & Emerson 1990, 139). In such a model, both centripetal and centrifugal forces are essential for continuation of a dynamic memorial. In contrast with Nora's argument in which co-existence of history and memory is impossible, and the primacy of one against the other is explained from a dialogic world-view, the opposing understandings of the past are interdependent. In such a model the archival memory acts as the centralising force which maintains the order and defines Tabriz Bazaar as a historic monument and a World Heritage. The so-called true memory creates the dis-unification forces. The dynamism derived from the conflicts between history and memory defines Tabriz Bazaar as open-ended memorials and dynamic becoming-ness. The contrast between the frozen monumentality of Persepolis and the fluidity of Tabriz Bazaar is evidence of the significance of such becoming-ness.

Tabriz Bazaar, as will be analysed in this chapter, reveals an ongoing dialogism between memories of revolution, memory of a backwards past, historical memory, and nostalgic memories. Tabriz Bazaar is a form of heteroglossia which is identified as the "dialogue of agreement" (Tiupa 2008; Todorov 1998). Todorov (1998, 7), a significant interpreter of dialogism, discusses the agreement under the light of "co-voicing." The agreement thus is based on trust on the others' word, reverence and acceptance. Between two extremes of refusing the others' voices and total submission, there is "the difference of opinions; it essentially gravitates toward an agreement, in which the difference and the non-fused nature of voices are always retained" (Tiupa 2008, 326).

As Bakhtin notes, “a polyphonic agreement does not fuse voices; it is not identification, nor is it a mechanical echo” (as quoted in Tiupa 2008, 326). In this way, heteroglossia represents a different model from monologism (Bakhtin 1981, 272), in which a single phenomenon of history or memory is prevalent. Bakhtin argues that the state of heteroglossia requires a degree of maturity (Bakhtin 1981, 67). In other words, any polyphony could not be considered as heteroglossia unless it is founded on the dialogue of agreement (Tiupa 2008; Todorov 1998).

In Persepolis, the remembrance of historic “dictatorship” (Khamenei 2008, Par 6) and the Achaemenid Empire, as approved by Mirāse Farhangui*,* create a centralising and unifying force. On the other hand, mythical, mystical and nostalgic memories of Persepolis create decentralising forces to resist the official discourse (Bakhtin 1981, 272). In such a model, both centripetal and centrifugal forces are essential to maintain a rich memorial. By suppressing the decentralising forces derived from mythical/mystical memories or nostalgic remembrance of the Persian Empire, Persepolis transforms, as will be clarified in Chapter Eight, into a lifeless space. Lifeless or frozen space, in this thesis, implies the qualities in which such a dynamic process of centralisation and decentralisation is incomplete. In other words, by suppressing the voices that resist the order and denying the polyphony, the memorial transforms into a monologised and static phenomenon. The becomingness of Persepolis requires the memory of dictatorship as much as it does the nostalgic memories of nationalism and mystic/mythic understandings of the past. Mirāse Farhangui denies such multiplicity, suppresses the unapproved mythical, mystical and nostalgic memories, and claims to have the final word. In the particular case of Persepolis, the dominant relationship is in the form of monologism which is argued as to be “the most vulgar form of dialogism” (Tiupa 2008, 328). The monologism of the memory of dictatorship refuses “the freedom of expression” for other memories. The dialogue of disagreement, refusing freedom of expression and submission to the universal memory of dictatorship is the essence of monologisation and transforms Persepolis into a dead memorial.

Co-voicing

Tabriz Bazaar is a multifaceted, ongoing and dynamic memorial in which different memories coexist in an agreement. Furthermore, Tabriz Bazaar, through Maps [L] and [M] (Figures 6.15, 6.16), signifies a hybrid landscape embedded in fluid borders,

territorial change, and relationships which juxtaposes the “environments of memory” and “site of memory” (Nora 1989, 7). As a World Heritage which is primarily defined from the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964), Burra Charter (ICOMOS 1999) and other monumentalist declarations (UNESCO 1972), it is conceptualised as monumental and iconic. It resembles a “gigantic and breathtaking storehouse of a material stock of what it would be impossible for us to remember” (Nora 1989, 13). Tabriz Bazaar, at the same time, is defined through the fluid notion of “cultural landscape” which represents a lived experience of space, connects culture and nature (Rössler 2006, 334), and challenges monumentalism (Taylor & Lennon 2012, 2). Its looser boundary (Harris 2016, 179) indicates uncertainty and fluidity by being in dialogue with the city. The voices are free to express themselves with different meanings and preserve their identity without the obligation to submit to a higher truth. In Chapter Seven, this thesis will further discuss the co-voicing entrenched in Tabriz Bazaar which co-creates space as Yādegār. Tabriz Bazaar, through historical maps, connotes a dialogue of agreement between different voices which shows a scale of maturity (Bakhtin 1981, 67) in contrast to Persepolis.

iii. Senses of time-space

Persepolis and Tabriz Bazaar are constructed from dialogism between different senses of time-space, or to use a Bakhtinian term, “chronotopes” (Bakhtin 1981, 84). The word originates from the Greek language in which *khronos* means time and *topos* means space. In Iranian heritage sites, time-space is the outcome of interplay between many chronotopes, including mystical time (Böwering 1997, 61-62), cyclical time (Babayan 2002, 15), progressive-time (Jordheim 2012, 153), and playful time (Bakhtin 1984, 260) which constitute necessary contexts and “the ground essential” for memorialisation (Bakhtin 1981, 250). These different senses of time-space include representational significance, because they make heritage sites and memorials “…concrete, make them take on flesh, cause blood to flow in their veins” (Bakhtin 1981, 250).

Bakhtin defines chronotope as the “the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature” (Bakhtin 1981, 84). Although Bakhtin focuses on the use of chronotope in the novel, similar to other Bakhtin’s concepts, chronotope has much broader applicability. It has been used in studies of law (Valverde 2015), and study of urban rhythms (Mulíček, Osman &

Seidenglanz 2014). He develops a concept of time and space which deviate from Kantian "transcendental" theory (Dop 2002, 14) and embraces dialogic dimensions of embodiment, unfinalisability, and otherness (Renfrew 2015, 113):

> In the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; similarly, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. (Bakhtin 1981, 84)

In this way, as Morson and Emerson (1990, 367-369), two interpreters of dialogism propose, chronotope encompasses many dimensions. Firstly, it entails a sense of fusion of time and space as a whole. Secondly, there are various of senses of time-space available. Thirdly, "different aspects or orders of universe cannot be supposed with the same chronotope" (Morson & Emerson 1990, 368). Fourthly, different chronotopes are historical, and are subject to change in response to current needs. Finally, different chronotopes compete and their relationships might be dialogic.

In Western literature, the concept of time and its relationship with space is demonstrated in a variety of ways, including "time-space compression" (Harvey 1989, 240), *"Sattelzeit"* (saddle period) (Koselleck 2004, xiv), nostalgia (Boym 2001) and chronotope (Bakhtin 1981, 84). Harvey, for example, discusses that the contemporary world lives in a "time-space compression." He argues that this phenomenon can be identified with two dimensions: speed-up of the pace of life, and overcoming the spatial barriers (Harvey 1989, 240). He argues that such a fundamental change is happening under the impact of the concept of a "progressive sense of time" (Harvey 1989, 269). Boym (2001), Koselleck (2004) and Jordheim (2012) demonstrate such a shift through the dialectic of the space of experience and the horizon of expectation. The first enables us to assimilate the past into the present while the latter reveals a way of thinking about the future. With the emergence of the notion of progress (Harvey 1989) In Western thought, the critical point of change is coined as Sattelzeit (Koselleck 2004, xiv) when the relationship of the space of experience and the horizon of expectation became asymmetrical.

The perception of time, as represented in historical maps in Tabriz Bazaar and the graffiti of Persepolis, indicates competing chronotopes in various forms. The rupture with the past and the moment which Koselleck (2004, xiv) calls Sattelzeit is

evident in the memory of backwards past in Tabriz Bazaar and the "memory of Pārseh" in Persepolis. In Iranian modernity, the rupture between past and present intensified through a shift from one perception of history and time to another, under the impact of Westernised modernisation. Iranian modernity can be interpreted as progress-oriented, and through uneven relationships between the space of experience and the horizon of expectation (Boym 2001, 25). Such perception of time encapsulates an interrupted past in terms of traditions, knowledge, and roots, and "obsessive interest in the future in the form of expectations, plans, prognoses and utopias" (Jordheim 2012, 153). Persepolis is an ideal example of such transformation, where a historical understanding of Pārseh replaces "Solomon's Throne," creates a rupture in graffiti tradition, and in mythical/mystical time-space. Persepolis is separated from heroic and spiritual figures, transforms into a memorial, and connotes a nostalgic symbolic meaning for a progress-oriented future (Grigor 2005).

Although representations of time-space are dominated by a sense of objectivist and mathematical perception, which is particularly evident in Maps [E], [F] and [G] (Figures 6.6, 6.7, 6.8), both heritage sites demonstrate a simultaneity of different perceptions. The mystical time-space of Persepolis as a dialogism between *Waqt* (divine time) and *Dhahr* (human time) (Böwering 1997, 61-62) is discussed in this chapter. Babayan, in another model, discusses the Iranian imagination of history as cyclical and apocalyptic (Babayan 2002, 15). In her view, Iranian history is constructed through "a future return of a past" (Babayan 2002, 18). In this way, memorials, including Persepolis, Tabriz Bazaar and even the national epic book of shāhnāmeh, are a crystallisation of memory and points of references to avoid a rupture with everyday life and the past (Babayan 2002, 22, 23). Another form of cyclical time can be found in the ceremony of Nowruz in Persepolis. This thesis will discuss in Chapter Nine the transformation of "progressive time" into the playful time and laughter of the carnivalesque (Ryall, Russell & MacLean 2013, 147), in which time is defined through cycles of birth and death. The relationship between past and present, as a definitive aspect of memorialisation, is constructed from various senses of time-space which are in dialogic interplay.

Mapping and graffiti

This chapter examines memorialisation in the context of mapping and graffiti because, firstly, graffiti in Persepolis and mapping in Tabriz Bazaar depict a continuous cultural

exchange between humans and the built environment over centuries. The collection of Tabriz maps, including over ten historical maps, are drawn from the sixteenth century (Tehrani, Parsi & Masoud 2007). Graffiti of Persepolis include many engravings, pictures and poems which are drawn by different individuals over two millenia (Mostafavi 1964; Sami 1974). Secondly, mapping and graffiti are depicted in the scholarship as encompassing multiple meanings (Cosgrove 1999; Jacob 1996; Tiwari 2010; Wood & Fels 1992) and as having an innate dialogic. Thirdly, as dialogic phenomena they are representational constructions that connote understandings of space, different individual and collective memories, and senses of time and space that exceed the spatial and temporal limitations. Fourthly, the collection of historical maps of Tabriz Bazaar and graffiti at Persepolis have been documented and studied by Iranian and Western scholars, mostly from an object-oriented perspective that focuses on aesthetic-historic aspects. This orientation creates a gap in which social and political aspects of historical maps of Tabriz Bazaar are never, and in the case of graffiti, seldom studied (Melikian-Chirvani 1971). Finally, the historical maps of Tabriz Bazaar and the graffiti in Persepolis have been thoroughly documented which creates an analytical platform for this investigation (Mostafavi 1964; Sami 1974; Tehrani, Parsi & Masoud 2007). For these reasons, the graffiti of Persepolis and the historical maps of Tabriz Bazaar deserve critical attention, and this thesis expands these ideas to justify the selection of mapping and graffiti as context of investigation.

i. Mapping

The analysis of Tabriz Bazaar emerges from academic literature that has significantly altered the common sense of the maps as objective and neutral products of science. Maps are discussed as the representation of power struggles (Harley 1989, 2), social constructions and expression of power/knowledge relations (Dodge & Kitchin 2000, Par6; Wood & Fels 1992, 41, 46). Pickles (2004) argues that a map is not a simple representation of the physicality of the world, but is the outcome of an interplay between humans and landscape. In this way, as Wood (1992), Jacob (1996), Cosgrove (1999), Tiwari (2010), and others (Dodge, Kitchin & Perkins 2011) discuss, the map not only represents “reality” but also constructs space and signifies social, cultural and political ideologies of the landscape. So, maps from sixteenth to the twenty-first century represent and shape Tabriz Bazaar as a spatial, social and cultural phenomenon.

To understand the many possible and conflicting meanings of Tabriz Bazaar through maps, this study analyses each map in its immediate cultural and historical context. This thesis also necessarily clarifies how other texts frame the map, and in a semiotic sense, how the map acts as a sophisticated sign system. The analysis especially interprets multiple meanings of the city as a whole and the relationships between the city and Tabriz Bazaar, because "the city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language…" (Barthes 1997, 158). By tracing landmarks including the Friday Mosque, the Blue Mosque, Alishāh, and Sāheb-Plaza, syntagmic-paradigmatic (Berger 2011; Fiske 2010) structures of the maps are explored. In this way, maps are examined as a chain of events that form a narrative of memorialisation from the sixteenth to the twenty-first century. This thesis seeks hidden patterns that are generated by dialogic relationships between maps, space, and other texts. This analysis uses each map's contemporaneous documents, including itinerary notes, official reports, chronicles, letters, and other archival materials as a context of the investigation.

Each map in the historical collection of Tabriz Bazaar is a social construction, and is analysed as a sign system; they are not, however, static objects. The map of Tabriz Bazaar, as a dialogue between man and space, is in the state of becoming (Kitchin & Dodge 2007, 5) and "…As such, maps stretch beyond their physical boundaries; they are not limited by the paper on which they are printed or the wall upon which they might be scrawled" (Del Casino Jr & Hanna 2005, 36). In a dialogic interpretation, a map is not a static object but a creature of co-being. A map is an ongoing dialogue between centralisation and de-centralisation processes (Morson & Emerson 1990, 177). It must be noted that analysing Tabriz Bazaar through maps merely sheds light on representations of space (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith 1991, 38, 39). This thesis, in Chapter Seven, also uses another form of mapping through walking and embodiment which elucidates Tabriz Bazaar as a lived space of everyday practices (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith 1991, 34).

ii. Graffiti

By exploring graffiti, this thesis illustrates that Persepolis is constructed by different collective memories, each demonstrating a particular interpretation of space and the world. Persepolis, therefore, symbolises conflicting memories of the Persian Empire,

mythical figures, spiritual characters, nostalgic and idealised memories, historical remembrance, and finally the bitter memory of a dark past.

Each graffito is situated in a proximate social and historical context, because "The graffiti acquire meaning only when they can be placed in context" (Chaniotis 2010, 196). For the same reason, graffiti creation can be considered as a living tradition in which every new expression is related to the previous. The engravings by interacting with each other and with the physical space, create Persepolis as a vibrant living memorial: "To read the texts which succeed one another on the walls of the palace of Darius one feels the impression of hearing the themes of a fugue whose harmonics amplify one after the other" (Melikian-Chirvani 1971, 38).

Media and newspapers use many negative metaphors and expressions, including *Zakhm* (wound) (Moradzadeh 2015), made by *Oubash* (gangsters) (Tasnimnews 2015), and a chronic cultural disease (Dastani 2018). In Western scholarship, graffiti is a contested phenomenon and interpreted in different ways. Historic-England (1999, 2) defines graffiti as "words, scribbling or drawings used in the deliberate, unauthorised defacement of a surface… These marks are visually disturbing and may cause physical damage to a historic building surface". This interpretation of graffiti is associated with negative impacts on the fabric. The graffiti is thus considered a cultural expression of a vulgar and less educated class (Wallace 2010, xxiv) or a site of resistance against social, political and economic inequality (Ferrell 1995, 73, 75). So contemporary graffiti in Iranian heritage literature signify an ideologically negative meaning and a form of vandalism. Such assumptions differentiate between historical and contemporary graffiti; the first is often considered as positive and a part of the historic significance of heritage sites, and the second as damaging to the fabric, and negative.

Scholars have heavily criticised for such blanket assumptions about the diversity of materials found in historic places (Baird & Taylor 2010, 2). Dovey, Wollan, and Woodcock (2012) explore the positive role of graffiti in the laneways of Melbourne. They examine urban spatial practice and the construction of meaning of place via graffiti. They argue that graffiti can create both positive and negative meanings and the boundaries between vandalism and street art are not clear (Dovey, Wollan & Woodcock 2012, 21). Merrill (2011) argues the complexity of interplay between graffiti and heritage sites. He also emphasises the necessity of new theoretical approaches toward graffiti. Harris (2011b), by analysing the "statue of Eliza" in Perth,

discusses the "playful transgression" of an official monument and the role of performance at a heritage site. In her argument, Elisa represents "simultaneous resistance to heritage practices associated with control and protection of a place and paradoxical, unwitting, support of social value" (Harris 2011b, 216).

Graffiti in a heritage environment have been studied both through event-ness and objectivism (Baird & Taylor 2010). Graffiti have been explored as a dialogue between text and image, or between individuals and space (Benefiel 2010, 59-61). Several scholars have examined Persepolis graffiti (Daryaee 2001, 2006; Melikian-Chirvani 1971; Mostafavi 1964; Mousavi 2012; Razmjou 2005) and their discussions mostly concentrate on historical or aesthetic aspects.

In a semiotic sense, the graffiti in Persepolis cover many forms, sign systems and techniques. They include human figures and images of objects, textual materials, poems, numbers and dates. The texts are written in languages including ancient Pahlavi, Arabic, Hebrew, Armenian, English, and Persian. Some Arabic and Persian texts are exquisite artistic calligraphy which is created by well-known masters (Mostafavi 1964, 340). In addition to inscriptions, many animal figures are carved by the nomad tribes in a technique called *Suzani* (Gunter & Hauser 2005, 316).

Memorialisation in Tabriz Bazaar

The collection of historical maps of Tabriz (Tehrani, Parsi & Masoud 2007) can be categorised in four different clusters. Each category signifies a different combination of possible meanings and ongoing transformation from pre-modernity to late modernity. The maps coded as [A] (16th century), [B] (1807), [C] (1880) and the image shown at Figure 6.2 (17th century) indicate the conceptualisation of Tabriz Bazaar as a *lamakan* (a-territory) (Tavakoli-Targhi 2001, 115). The maps coded as [E] (1909), [F] (1968) and [G] (1975) demonstrate the metamorphosis of Tabriz Bazaar into an urban space, and eventually an urban heritage. Maps [H], [I], [J], [K] create the third group, which is dominated by the nostalgic reading of Islamised Mirāse Farhangui. The last cluster, including the map [L] and [M], represents Tabriz Bazaar as a heteroglossia of memories and as a hybrid construction.

i. Tabriz Bazaar as a-territory

The first group of maps, including [A], [B] and [C] (Figures 6.1 to 6.4), represents Tabriz Bazaar as a *Lamakan* (no-place or a-place) (Tavakoli-Targhi 2001, 115). In such a conceptualisation Tabriz Bazaar is not bound into a particular physical territory,

it is an intangible phenomenon and indistinguishable from the city fabric. The group also signifies a transformation in interpretation toward a more rationalist and universalist understanding of space. Tabriz Bazaar, according to the maps, transforms from a dynamism with no visible boundary into a dynamism that is framed and spatialised inside a physical location.

Map [A] (Figure 6.1) is created in the sixteenth century by an Ottoman cartographer and army officer (Rogers 1992). He documented the first Persian campaign of Sultan Suleiman between 1534 to 1536 AD (Taeschner 1956, 53). As an effort of military purpose, the depiction concentrates on fortification, bridges, roads, gates, and the landmarks. Landscape features like mountains, plants, animals, and rivers bear no definite relation to the towns and are repeatedly used in locations other than Tabriz city. Buildings and especially landmarks are illustrated from the elevation view (Rogers 1992, 239).

Figure 6.1: Map [A]; historical map of Tabriz from 16th century drawn by Nesuh Matracchi. Source Tehrani, Parsi & Masoud 2007.

Map [A] (Figure 6.1), as the oldest representation of Tabriz Bazaar, signifies the city as a collection of individual buildings enclosed in a visible frame of fortification. By using imagination with a multiple-perspective, the sixteenth-century representation of the space "…typically emphasises the sensuous rather than the rational and objective qualities of spatial order" (Harvey 1989, 243). In contrast to the strong framing and emphasis on individual landmarks, Tabriz Bazaar is lost in the picture, and indistinguishable from the city fabric. Some repetitive and scattered symbols might be interpreted as bazaars. The symbols, however, cannot be read with certainty as in landmarks like Blue-Mosque. Tabriz Bazaar as a centralised and unified space is non-existent in the visualisation. In other words, the spatial unit which is now identified as Tabriz Bazaar has not yet been created as an imagined space.

Figure 6.2: Landscape of Tabriz city drawn by Chardin. Source Tehrani, Parsi & Masoud 2007.

The image shown at Figure 6.2 is published by French explorer Jean Chardin and demonstrates a similar conceptualisation of Tabriz Bazaar as dynamic and fragmentary. Chardin, who travelled through the Ottoman Empire, Persia and India, expressed his objective as follows:

> …to inform myself in all things that were curious and new to us in Europe, concerning a country that may well be called, another world, both in respect of the distance of place it has from us; and the different manners and maxims of it. (Chardin 2010, XV)

A growing rationalist and objectivist approach can be observed in the comparison of Figures 6.1 and 6.2. While the two images are viewing the city from the outside, the

first represents multiple perspectives, whereas the other is drawn with perspectivism. The difference is a clear indication of the transformation of space as imagined to a rational, truthful, scientific and individualised seeing eye of the Enlightenment age (Harvey 1989, 245).

The cityscape symbolises an interpretation of space which is curious and new to the eyes of Europeans. Main landmarks are highlighted and illustrated as close as possible to actual physicality. The city is visibly framed from the surroundings by fortification. Tabriz Bazaar, again, is absent in the drawing and is not presented as a unified space. While Chardin gives a full description of markets (as plural) in his notes, he does not refer to Tabriz Bazaar as an independent or unified space. Like map [A], Tabriz Bazaar as the most significant dynamic phenomenon, is absent from the picture and inseparable from the city as a totality.

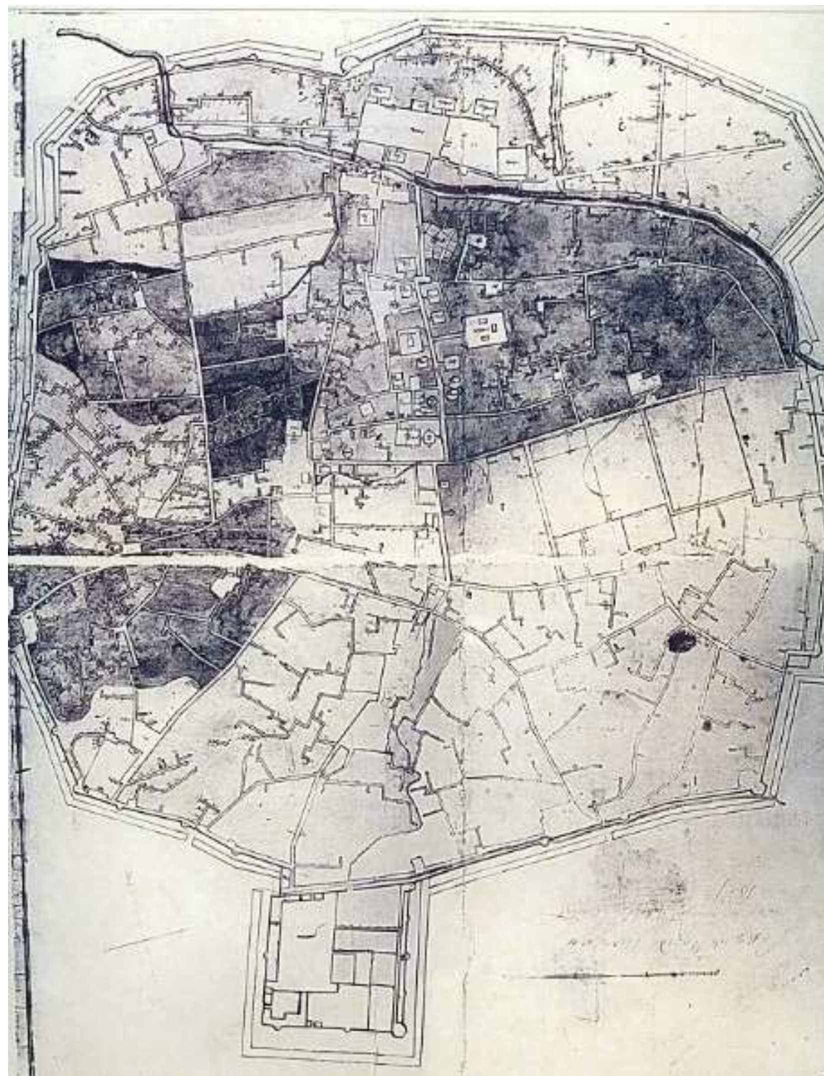

Figure 6.3: Map [B]; drawn by Trezel and Fabvier, 1807. Source Tehrani, Parsi & Masoud 2007.

Maps [B] (Figure 6.3) and [D] (Figure 6.5), which are drawn with the mathematical accuracy of modern cartography, signify a shift toward Cartesian Rationalism and include a more apparent reference to Tabriz Bazaar as a unified space. The maps, however, present Tabriz Bazaar without any framing from the city fabric. The maps replace the multi-perspective of [A] and single perspective of [B] with an absolute visualisation and a universal measuring. Space is dominated by perspectivism, Cartesian Rationalism, and underpinned by notions of objectivity and order.

Map [B] is drawn in the context of a Russo-Persian wars which resulted in a significant territorial loss. The shock of the clash with a modern imperial power and the consequent humiliation had a significant impact on Iranian modernity: "…during the war with Russia, Iran came face-to-face with that Western civilisation. Iranians recognised the need for awakening and reform" (Behnam 2004, 3). Both maps [B] and [D], symbolise the efforts for the transition from a "backwards" into an "advanced" position through the idea of progress, rationalism and modernisation.

Map [B], as argued by some scholars, is most likely drawn by French envoys, Trezel and Fabvier, after the Finckenstein treaty (1807). The treaty was signed in the midst of the Russo-Iranian and Russo-French wars, and was sought to create a Franco-Iranian alliance against Russia (Mikaberidze 2011, 312). The map is drawn to French standards, in which the cartographers are obliged to present a report of the cultural, economic and social topography of the land (Tehrani, Parsi & Masoud 2007, 16, 17). The map includes a thorough list of places, including bazaars, houses of famous figures, sacred spaces, cemeteries, and districts. Neither the list nor the visual aspect of the map illustrates Tabriz Bazaar as unified and a framed phenomenon.

Between [B] (1807) and [D] (1880), there are three other historical maps of Tabriz Bazaar, of which the third is notable. The third map [C] (1871) (Figure 6.4) demonstrates a shift in Iranian conceptualisation of space toward a rationalist and abstract interpretation. Drawn by an Iranian intellectual, the map is primarily a part of a government report for assessing flood damage. The report includes a map and a few drawings which depict valuable information about the Bazaars and the city. The map and images convey a double-voiced representation of space, in which an absolute mathematical imagination of space and a fluid multi-perspectivism of images coexist.

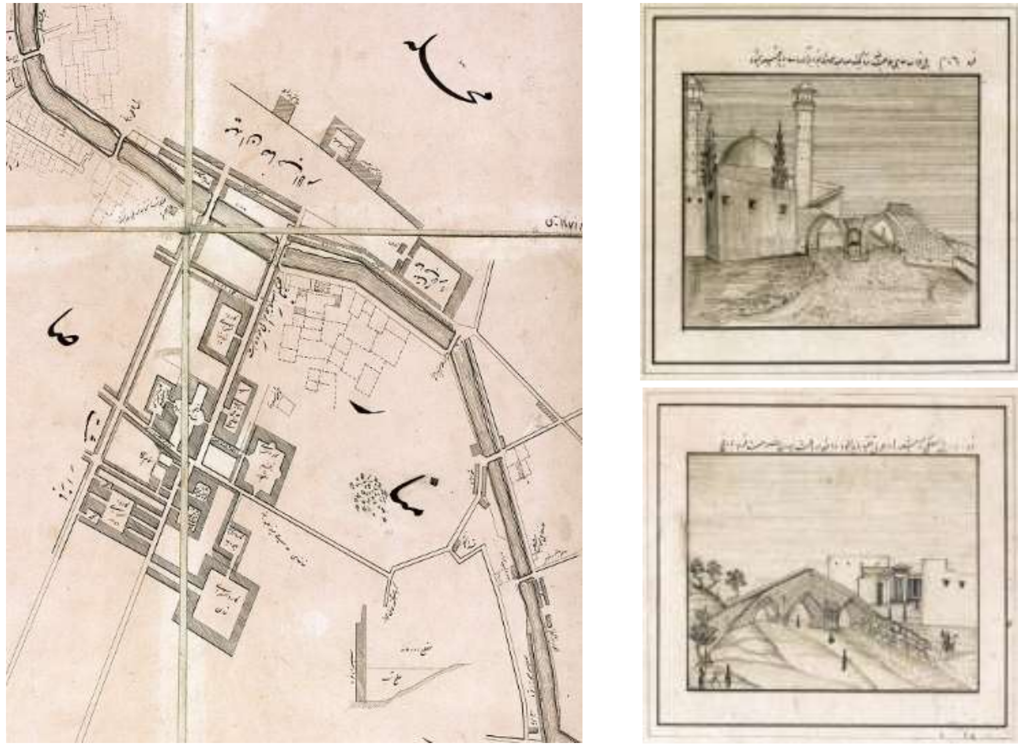

Figure 6.4: Map [C] Documentation of flood in Tabriz, 1871. Source Tehrani, Parsi & Masoud 2007.

The transformation towards Cartesian Rationalism is better signified in [D] (Figure 6.5). The map is illustrated by a group of Iranians who had graduated from the newly established polytechnic school in Tehran (*Darolfonun*). The map symbolises a dialogue of agreement between two world-views, Western rationalism, and Iranian symbols, brought together in an organic hybridisation (Bakhtin 1981, 360; Morson & Emerson 1990, 342). On one hand, the map shows significant mathematical accuracy, adopting the Paris Meridian as the universal prime reference, and the Cartesian coordinate system. At the same time, it widely uses Persian calligraphy, symbols and decorations. The map uses a beautifully ornamented symbol illustrating the geographical North, and also *Qibla*, the direction of the holy city of Mecca. Map [E] represents a discourse of spatial interpretation and a new language, in which Iranian cultural elements and Cartesian rationalism are fused. As Bakhtin describes, such hybridisation is a symbol of change, when discourses join and create new world-views (Bakhtin 1981, 360). Although, in this organic hybridisation of two value systems, Map [D] shows an embryonic notion of Tabriz Bazaar as a unified space, it does not

have clear boundaries. In [D] the collective visualisation of caravanserais and *Rastas* (bazaars) creates a vague entity that is extended all over the city.

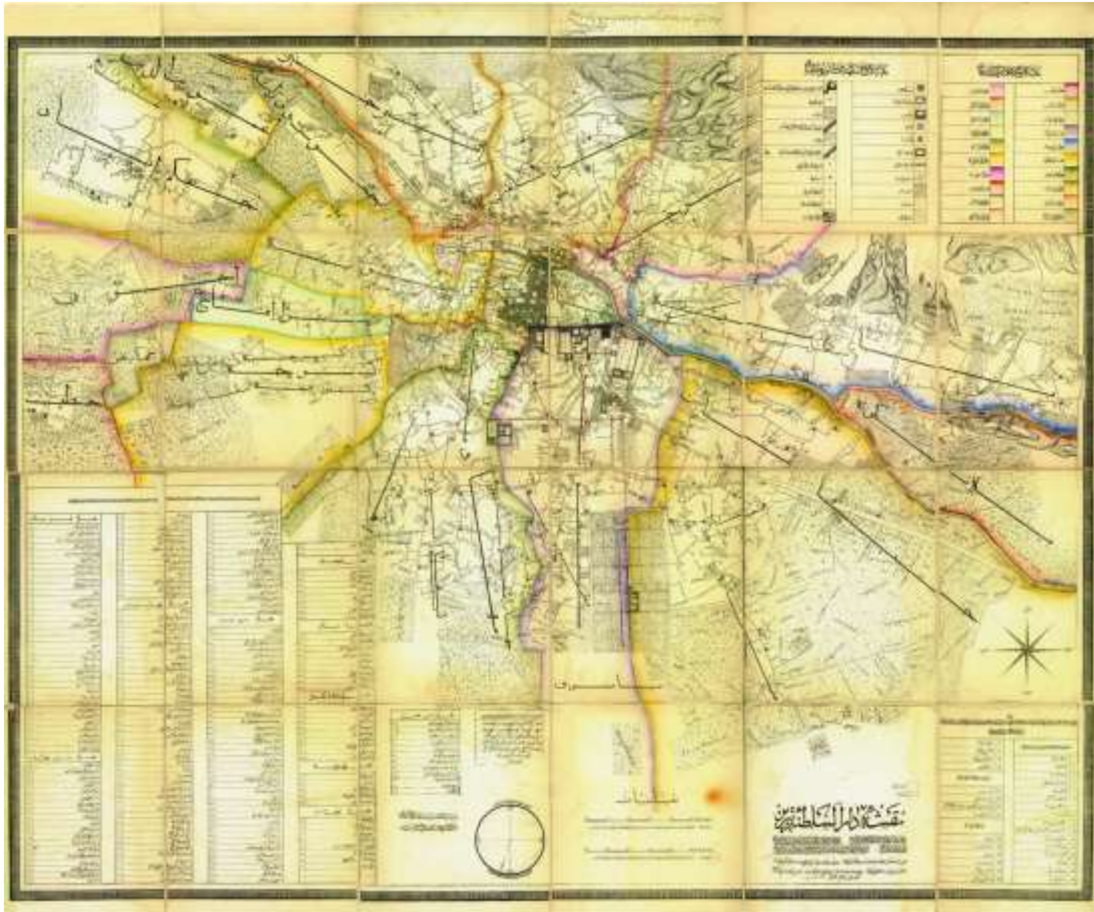

Figure 6.5: Map [D]; Tabriz, 1880, drawn by a group of Iranian engineers. Source Tehrani, Parsi & Masoud 2007.

Reading maps in parallel to proximate textual resources represents two transformations. The early historical texts imagine Tabriz Bazaar as plural (Bazaars) not singular (Bazaar). They describe magnificent marketplaces in the city, and the prosperity and dynamism of their everyday life (Freygang 1816; Harris 1896; Kotzebue 1819; Morier 1818; Newbery 1760) . The historical texts also use the metaphor of the "heart of the city" to emphasise the significant social role of Tabriz Bazaar. The textual resources, however, gradually transform by the nineteenth century, using the analogy of the "centre," which signifies an actual place, rather than "heart," which is more a metaphysical connotation. Both phenomena relate to the shift in

conceptualisation of Tabriz Bazaar from “a-place” to “a place” (Tavakoli-Targhi 2001, 115) and from intangibility to materialisation.

Figure 6.6: Map [E]; demonstrating Tabriz as a localised centre, 1909. Upper right corner a magnification of Grand Bazaar can be observed. Source Tehrani, Parsi & Masoud 2007.

ii. Memories of revolution and resistance

Map [E] (Figure 6.6) was created at the time of the Constitutional Revolution (1905–1911), one of the definitive events in Iranian modernity. The map, as a representation of space (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith 1991, 38, 39), entails the first reference to “Grand Bazaar” as a unified territory detached from the city. Such transformation, as Tavakoli notes, changes the meaning of Tabriz Bazaar from a *Lamakan* (no-place or a-place) to a geographically localised place (Tavakoli-Targhi 2001, 115). The Grand Bazaar is represented in Map [E] on a greater scale in the upper right corner, and a thorough description of spaces is attached to the map as a guide. In this way, Tabriz Bazaar is redefined from a spatially fragmented and socially dynamic phenomenon, into a materialised, unified, and localised centre.

To interpret Map [E], one should examine the map in the historical context of the Constitutional Revolution. The significance of the revolution resides in the articulation of the notion of *Millat* (people) as a political power in contrast to despotism and the establishment of modern institutions including parliament, and as an expression of popular sovereignty (Tavakoli-Targhi 1990, 97). Moreover, the revolution has been debated as primarily mobilised by two social groups—*Bāzāri* and Shiite clergies (Ashraf 1988, 538, 539): “the first parliament was elected by a six-class division of electors that gave great representations to the guilds” (Keddie & Richard 2006, 68). Chapter Seven illustrates that the memory of the Constitutional Revolution is so strong that it is celebrated annually in Tabriz Bazaar, despite the suppression by the state. In this way, the map symbolises the transformation of Tabriz Bazaar into the *Bazaar-e Bozorg* (Grand Bazaar) as a significant source of political power. Such signification is completed by Map F (Figure 6.7), which is drawn to demonstrate constitutional disputes at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Figure 6.7: Map [F] Tabriz in constitutional revolution, the royalist forces are marked with yellow, 1908. Source Tehrani, Parsi & Masoud 2007.

Map [F], dated 27 September 1908, demonstrates the highly unstable environment of Iranian society. The map signifies the clashes of the two opposing camps of Royalists and Nationalists, and their territorial boundaries during the war.

The two zones are divided by a visible red line. Tabriz Bazaar is illustrated as almost entirely in the camp of nationalists which indicates to the significant role of Tabriz Bazaar in support of Nationalist movement (Bayat 1991, 150-158; Kasravi 2004). In such a context, Tabriz Bazaar transforms into a memorial of nationalism, resistance and Constitutional Revolution. Such memorial is identified with a visible locality, physicality and borders.

Nora (1989), through the concept of "lieux de mémoire" (Nora 1989, 7; 2001a, 2001b), and Koselleck (2004, xiv), through Sattelzeit [saddle period] identify a rupture with the past in modern life. In Tabriz Bazaar such progress-oriented transformation is identified with two connected phenomena of urbanisation and heritagisation. The first, by remembering Tabriz Bazaar as a counter-progress space and a source of backward thinking, not only eradicated the physicality but also had a catastrophic impact on social values and functionality (Hanachi & Yadollahi 2011, 1033). The second phenomenon listed Tabriz Bazaar as the first Iranian urban heritage (ICHHTO 1974) under the pressure of modernisation/urbanisation. Tabriz Bazaar, in this way, transforms into a memorial figure which is confined in the past (Choay 2001, 121, 122).

iii. Memory of a backward past

Tavakoli argues (Tavakoli-Targhi 2001, 4) that in the context of modernisation and progress, Iranian identity has shaped under a rupture with its past as static, backwards, authoritarian, and ontologically different from the modern world-view. In such a context, Western culture is conceptualised as the horizon of expectations for a radical modernisation. In many cities including Tabriz Bazaar, the core pattern of the rapid and forceful urbanisation was based on the renewal of the traditional centres, expansion of the old cities and the establishment of the new towns (Ehlers & Floor 1993, 254).

Figure 6.8, as a series of aerial images from 1956-2008, demonstrates the significant impact of urbanisation on Tabriz Bazaar. The images show an ongoing territorial reduction in Grand Bazaar and its division into main body and peripheries. The network of new streets is gradually shaping, and they cut many spaces from the main body. The radical urbanisation of Tabriz Bazaar which is debated by academics (Hanachi & Yadollahi, 2011; Safamanesh et al., 1998), led to a lack of investments, a decline of functionality and extensive destruction of the fabric.

Figure 6.8: the process of urbanisation in Tabriz. The pictures demonstrate the substantial forceful modernisation on the historic fabric, including detachment of substantial parts from the main body. Source Iranian National Cartographic Centre (INCC).

Map [G] (Figure 6.9), as the apex of continuous urbanisation, connotes a clear-cut physicality, surrounded by the new streets and limited in a city block. Map [G] is part of a new Master Plan which designates economic, cultural and industrial zones (Moghtader, Andreef & Ecochard 1971). The shift, nonetheless, shows drastic changes in Iranian modernity and a power struggle between state and resisting forces. This thesis clarifies through analysis of map [E] the intensification of the political role of Tabriz Bazaar that was a major player in constitutional revolution. Tabriz Bazaar, in

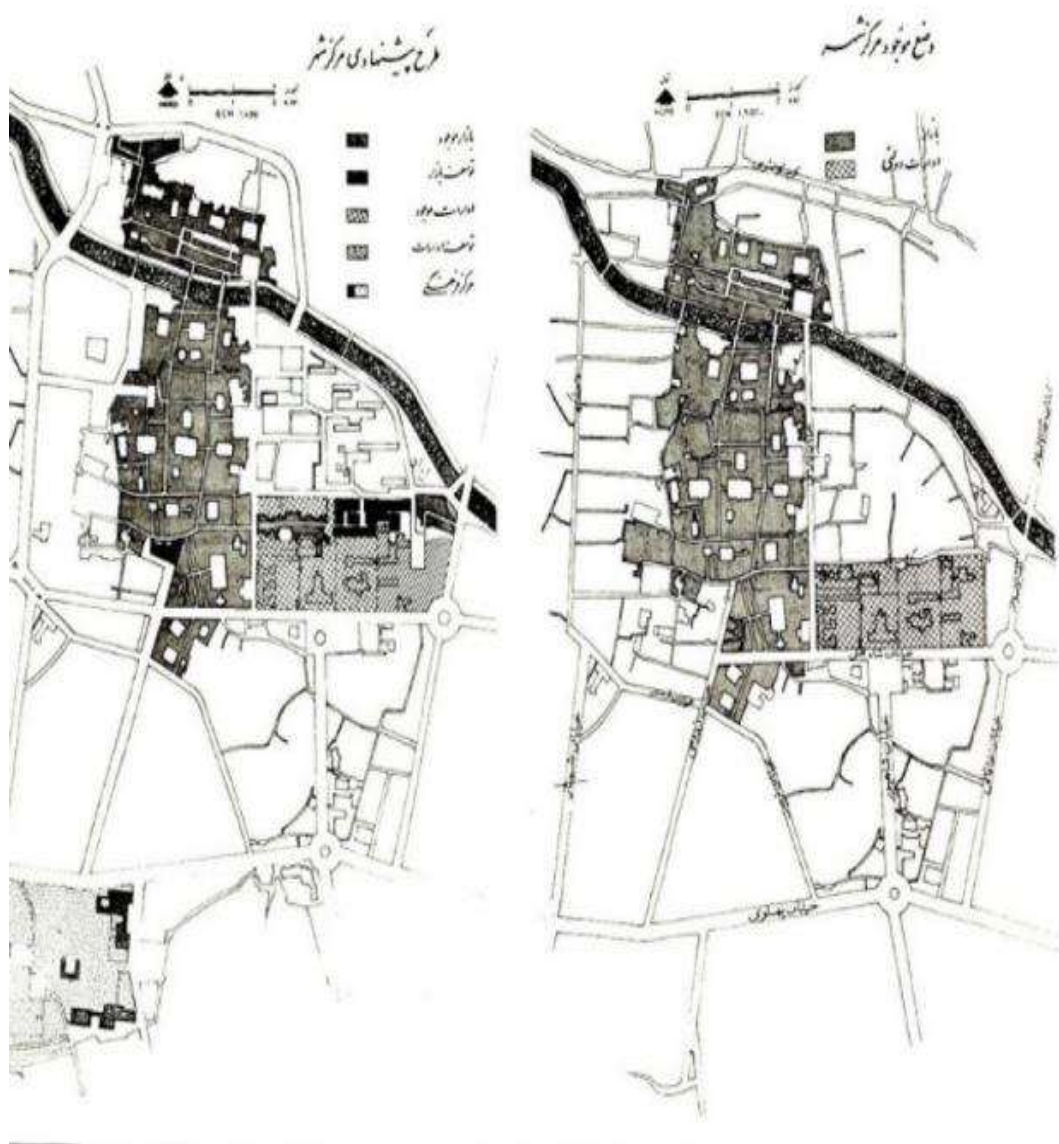

Figure 6.9: Map [G]; Tabriz Bazaar according to master plan of the city. On the right, current condition of the city, and on the left, the proposed changes to the city centre. Source Moghtader, Andreef & Ecochard 1971.

this way, was not only “a central marketplace and production centre” but also the “primary arena for extra-familial sociability” and the “embodiment of traditional urban lifestyle” (Ashraf 1988, 538, 539). Map [G] and the Master Plan can be interpreted as the spatial restructuring of the city which aimed at a reduction in the social and political significance of Tabriz Bazaar, imposed by the state. In such a narrative, Tabriz Bazaar and many sacred places are symbols of backwardness which must be replaced with modern organisations, and new spatial forms and practices (Ehlers 1991, Par. 5-10; Ehlers & Floor 1993, 256-265). In this context, map [G] signifies a forceful and radical transition by proposing new cultural and commercial centres, including Alishāh (Moghtader, Andreef & Ecochard 1971, 46).

iv. Historical memory

Tabriz Bazaar, as a heritage and a historical phenomenon, emerges in close connection with the idea of progress, the rupture with the past, and widespread urbanisation. This connection can be better observed in map [H] (Figure 6.10) which represents Tabriz Bazaar as the first Iranian urban heritage. Tabriz Bazaar as a historical phenomenon is the result of the fast disappearance of the fabric, and what Nora calls “a general perception that anything and everything may disappear” (Nora 1989, 7). A comparison of the physicality of Tabriz Bazaar in [G] and [H] with that in [D] and [E] clarifies the extent of the reduction in territorial integrity. Both maps demonstrate Tabriz Bazaar as a framed city block surrounded by new streets and detached from the rest of the city fabric.

The emergence of historical memory in Tabriz Bazaar is evident in many buildings which had been registered a long time before they were listed as an urban heritage (ICHHTO 1931a). For example, Blue Mosque (registration No. 169), Jāme’ Mosque (registration No. 170), and Alishāh (registration No. 171), were among the first heritage places which were singled out in 1931 and listed in the National Heritage Inventory. In addition, the second most significant museum in Iran was established in Tabriz Bazaar territory, at the same time as the Iranian National Museum in Tehran. These two phenomena, as Wertsch (2002, 653) argues, represent an awareness of the historical memory that separates past from present. Such dualism is discussed by Nora (Nora 1989) who conceptualises “true memory” and “ archival memory” not just as different, but as fundamentally opposed: “History is perpetually suspicious of memory and its true mission is to suppress and destroy it”(Nora 1989, 9).

The focus of map [H] is on conservation, physicality, and preserving historic values. In this way, Tabriz Bazaar in no longer imagined as the heart of the city as in the "a-territorial" memory, and the centre of the city as in the "memory of revolution." Tabriz Bazaar, a disappearing space due to the memory of the backwards past, is an enormous archive of objects that "would be impossible for us to remember"(Nora 1989, 13). In this way, map [H], as a representation of historical memory, visibly separates the past from the present (Wertsch 2002, 653) by enclosing Tabriz Bazaar in a city block. The realm of the past, which is called the "core zone" in heritage literature, is metaphorically put in a "stasis" condition by many legal restrictions. According to such regulations, minor repair of the stores, alterations and extensions which spoil the physicality and aesthetic of space must be avoided. The daily activities including "installing of posters and billboards," using "Smokey and excessively noisy machines," or any action that "damages the core zone," are prohibited (ICHHTO 2009, 497).

This thesis agrees with Bennett (2003), who contradicts Nora and argues that archival memory and "true memory" are strongly connected, and are constructed due to the fact that "all pasts are stored and made simultaneously present" (Bennett 2003, 51). They are both constructions of the rupture with the past and are evident in Tabriz Museum and the listing of Tabriz Bazaar as the first Iranian urban heritage. In addition, this thesis posits both interpretations of Tabriz Bazaar, as historical and as entailing "true memory" (Nora 1989, 13), in a dialogic relationship and in a state of co-being. This is because without a historical interpretation of Tabriz Bazaar, a "true memory" (Nora 1989, 13) cannot exist. In this way, a historical memory of Tabriz Bazaar is a transgredience for the environment of memory, because it is an element outside the "true memory" (Nora 1989, 13) that is absolutely necessary for its existence. In this way, *"lieux de mémoire"* (Nora 1989, 7; 2001a, 2001b), a sign of annihilation of memory by history, is far from being adequate to explain the complexity of relationships between memories in Tabriz Bazaar. This chapter will further discuss such a conceptualisation under hybrid memory, and again also in Chapter Seven.

v. Nostalgic memories

Urban rehabilitation and regeneration plans drawn in the 1990s and 1980s are evidence for a consistent justification of Tabriz Bazaar in the new heritage discourse idealised in an imaginary urban pattern of the "Islamic city" (Abu-Lughod 1987, 155). Tabriz

Bazaar, in the fifth group of maps signifies a "blessed perfection" (Khamenei 2008), symbolising lost Islamic traditions. The maps coded [I], [J] and [K] (Figures 6.12-6.14) not only connote Tabriz Bazaar as a site of historical memory, but also reflect the attempt of Mirāse Farhangui to revive the lost splendour of Tabriz Bazaar through an Islamised interpretation of the past. The maps demonstrate the dominance of nostalgic Islamism, by imagining Tabriz Bazaar at the centre of the social, economic and cultural events. They also signify the efforts for creation of a new identity, by choosing an imaginary urban pattern of Islamic city, as the idealised urbanisation. Such conceptualisation is strongly connected to an interpretation of the past which is nostalgic (Boym 2001, xviii), and intentionally forgets and ignores the pre-Islamic origins of Tabriz Bazaar. This is a phenomenon that Ricoeur (2004, 448) calls "forgetting and manipulated memory." Such phenomena occurs "when we fix a gaze upon an aspect of the past—the occupation—we blind ourselves to another" (Ricoeur 2004, 452).

Figure 6.10: Map [H]; the core and buffer zone of Tabriz Bazaar.

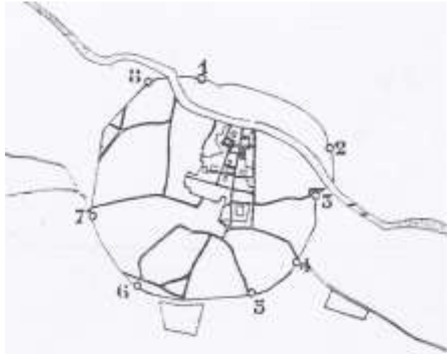

Figure 6.11: The morphology of Tabriz city in 16th century which is considered as a point of reference for nostalgic Islamism. The main urban elements are eight gates, fortification, Friday mosque and Bazaar. Source Safamanesh, Monadizadeh & Rashtchian 1998.

Figure 6.12: Map [I]; development plan of Tabriz Bazaar. Source Municipality of Tabriz 2000.

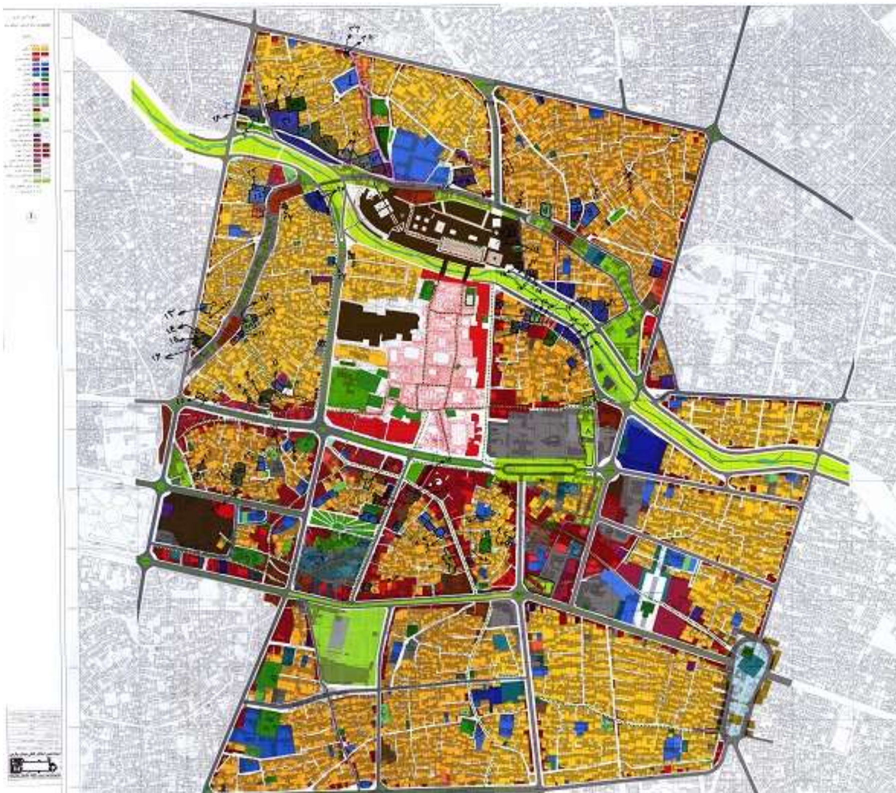

Figure 6.13: map [J]; reconstruction of the lost historical core. Source Municipality of Tabriz 2007.

Figure 6.14: Map [K]; reconstruction of the cultural-historical axis of Tabriz city as part of Silk Route. Source Shahmiri 2010.

As recent excavations revealed, the history of Tabriz city demonstrates a continuous settlement ranging from the Iron Age to Islamic era (ICHHTO 2009; Zand Karimi et al. 2016, 86). The maps coded as [I], [J] and [K] (Figures 6.12 to 6.14) conceptualise the city from the narrow lens of Safavid city (1501-1736) and forget the long history of settlement. The intentional amnesia of pre-Islamic origins idealises an authentic town by celebrating a past in which a "sudden establishment of a Shiite order in Persia" occurred (Nasr 1974, 271). The collective memory thus is constructed from the concept of Islamic City which is primarily a modern Orientalist invention (Abu-Lughod 1987, 172). The maps reproduce the city and Tabriz Bazaar by replication, reconstruction and amplification of Islamic urban forms including the gates, Friday Mosque, the traditional Bazaar, and fortification.

The utopian interpretation commemorates the Islamic city as shaped around the Friday Mosque and Bazaar:

> The economic and social centre of the city was the *bāzār* which was very often located close to the main congregational (Friday) mosque…. The *bāzār* was surrounded by residential quarters …. Each *maḥalla* had a small shopping area (*bāzāṛča*) and a mosque for the inhabitants. The entire city was surrounded by walls and accessible through fortified gates. (Ehlers 1991, 251, 252)

Figure 6.11 which is repeatedly used in Iranian heritage literature (Asl Balilan & Sattarzadeh 2015; Safamanesh, Rashtchian & Monadizadeh 1997) as the authentic form of Tabriz city, reflect the same description (Azimi 1996, 84; Pourjafar, Ebrahimi & Ansari 2013, 279; Safamanesh, Monadizadeh & Rashtchian 1998, 37). Map [I], as an example of this paradigm, signifies the idea of a cultural and historical core of the city. The city as a totality is defined via three symbolic elements from the Safavid city which are the fortification, the bazaar and the Mosques. The physical territory of Tabriz Bazaar is emphasised and expanded to join two religious landmarks, Blue Mosque in a south-east, and Alishāh in the south. Tabriz Bazaar is surrounded by a green belt that symbolises the vestiges of the long-lost fortification. The map even shows the reconstruction of the eight vanished city gates.

In addition to an intentional forgetting of the pre-Islamic origins of Tabriz Bazaar and a focus on the imaginary reconstruction of the Islamic city, the fifth paradigm of maps connotes a strong nostalgic orientation toward the past. Such a

nostalgic memorialisation can be interpreted as a simultaneity of restorative and reflective nostalgia. Boym defines restorative nostalgia as stressing the *nostos* (home) and the attempt to reconstruct the lost home. Reflective nostalgia focuses on the *algia* (pain) of longing for the lost home: "restorative nostalgia does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition" (Boym 2001, 14). The nostalgic memory of Tabriz Bazaar, as reflected in maps [I], [J], and [K] emerges from the same social and political terrain as the Islamised Heritage, a double-voiced creation. This thesis clarifies in Chapter Five that the concept of Islamised Heritage is a double-voiced creation of Islamism and monumentalism. The juxtaposition of two orientations creates an unstable memorial that alternates between reflective and restorative nostalgia. The maps put Tabriz Bazaar at the heart of the rhetoric of the ideal Islamic city, and simultaneously, they conceptualise Tabriz Bazaar as a frozen phenomenon. Such ambitious plans (Azimi 1996, 160) deny a dynamic interconnectedness between Tabriz Bazaar and the city, and reduce the role of Bazaar into a symbolic phenomenon. The core idea of restoring the Islamic city which was expressed through the maps of [I], [J] and [K] is a failed experience. It is criticised for deficiencies, including a repressive attitude, the non-participatory approach, and flooding the market with commercial properties (Mousavi & Rafiian 2005).

vi. Hybrid memory

The last group of maps [L] and [M] (Figures 6.15 and 6.16) represent Tabriz Bazaar as a hybrid construction based on the dialogism of agreement (Dop 2000; Tiupa 2008; Todorov 1998) between competing memories. This conceptualisation of Tabriz Bazaar is not monologic and is created from a dynamic relationship between different memories, including nostalgic memory, historical memory, and the memory of Tabriz Bazaar as *lamakan* (no-place or a-place). Tabriz Bazaar encompasses different meanings, including idealised the Islamic city (ICHHTO 2009, 319), a "unique historical identity," (ICHHTO 2009, 34) and a "complete socio-cultural and economic complex" (ICOMOS 2010, 11). Such conceptualisation of memories encapsulates uncertainty, and polyphony and goes beyond monumentalism. The sixth group of maps thus create a representation of Tabriz Bazaar based on social, aesthetic and historic values. This conceptualisation is particularly evident in Map [M] which embraces the idea of cultural landscape. Map [M] represents a lived experience of space, connects culture and nature (Rössler 2006, 334), and challenges monumentalism (Taylor &

Lennon 2012, 2). Its looser boundary (Harris 2016, 179) indicates uncertainty and fluidity by being in dialogue with the city. Maps [L] and [M] are both primarily drawn as part of the World Heritage registration process. Map [L] shows the core and buffer zone of Tabriz Bazaar as well as its protective measures. Map [M] signifies the new idea of a landscape zone, and proposes a vast area of the most vibrant part of the city as linked to Tabriz Bazaar.

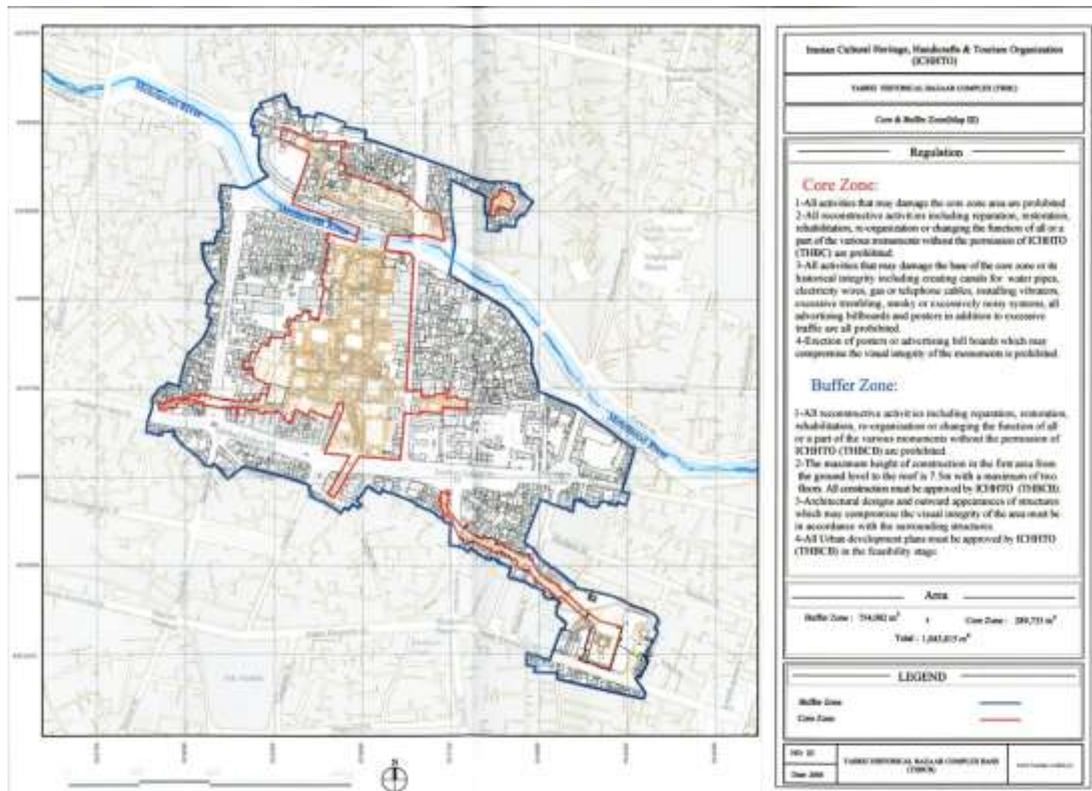

Figure 6.15: Map [L]; the core and buffer zone of Tabriz Bazaar. Source ICHHTO 2009.

This thesis compares maps [L] and [H] (Figures 6.15 and 6.10) to clarify the shift in conceptualisation of Tabriz Bazaar from 1972 to 2006. Despite the 34-year chronological leap between [L] and [H], they use similar sign systems to represent heritage territory. In both maps, three regions can be observed, including a core zone, a buffer zone and the rest of the city. The regions are represented with different shades and colours in a hierarchical order from the centre to the periphery. An in-depth analysis of the maps, however, reveals that [H] and [L] encompass different meanings and memories. Map [L] is different from [H] in three aspects— borders, territory, and relationships between Tabriz Bazaar and the city.

The conceptualisation of the boundaries is the first significant difference between [H] and [L]. Tabriz Bazaar in [H] is limited in its rhetorical frames which are

the product of present practice (Bennett 1988, 2). Rhetorical framing is a mode of altering the reality, not by direct intervention, but through the generation of discourse to reach specific goals (Kuypers 2010, 288,289). Tabriz Bazaar in [H] is limited to a city block enclosed by new streets. The boundaries are rigid, forceful, and merely defined from the historic and aesthetic values. For the same reason, the peripheral zones detached by contemporary urbanisations, which are a vital part of the everyday practices of Tabriz Bazaar, are entirely ignored. Map [H] represents a monologist conceptualisation of Tabriz Bazaar that is dominated by historical memory and monumentalism.

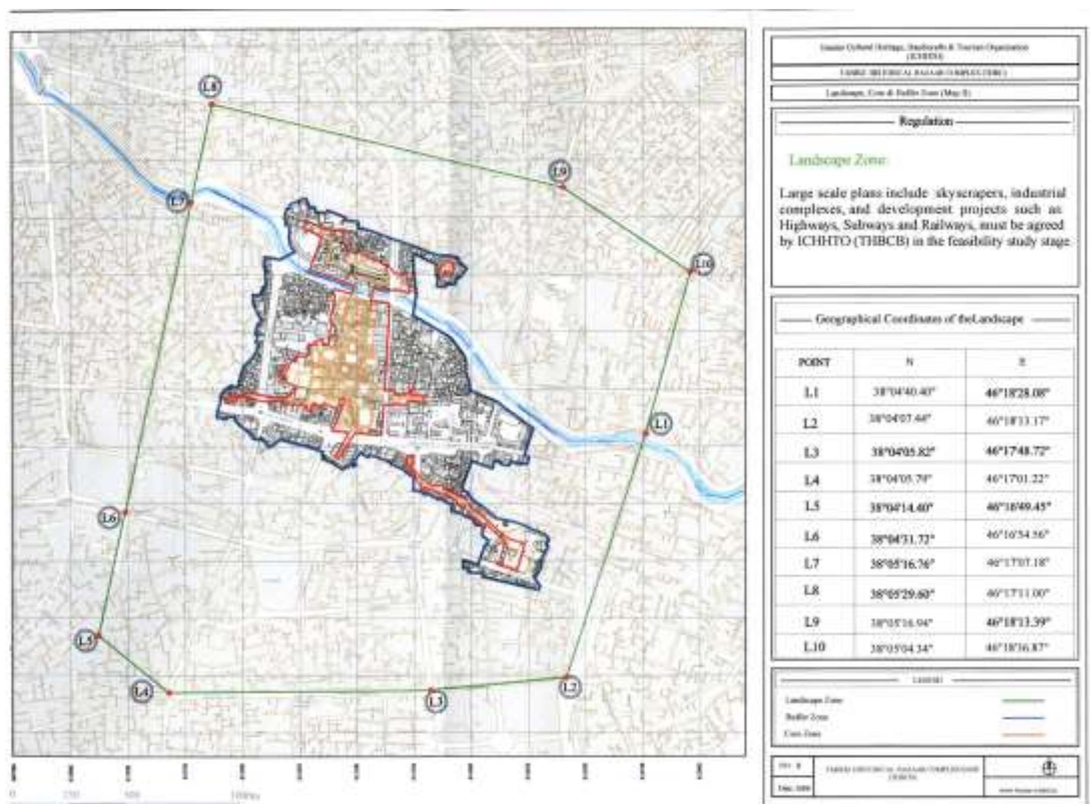

Figure 6.16: Map [M]; landscape zone of Tabriz Bazaar. Source ICHHTO 2009.

The interpretation of Tabriz Bazaar in [L] alternates between historical memory and the memory of *lamakan*. The domain of Tabriz Bazaar, as a social and economic phenomenon, and as debated by academics (Marsusi & Khani 2011, 148), goes far beyond the rigid borders of [H]. The parallel frames in [L] are visibly more ambiguous than [H] and is in a dialogue with the city. The core zone in [L], in contrast to [H], covers an amalgamation of historic and non-historic fabric and even includes entirely modern structures. From a pure monumentalist approach, the modern fabric hardly encompasses the significance that is promoted by Burra (ICOMOS 1999) and

Venice charters (ICOMOS 1964). Map [H], as a representation of World Heritage and National Heritage, is a hybrid construction and a heteroglossia of many memories.

Tabriz Bazaar, in this framework, is no longer a memorial of the backward past and embraces the discourse of Ehyā as a progress-oriented rhetoric. Comparison of [L] and [H] demonstrates a third significant difference, in which Tabriz Bazaar embraces the voice of progress. The social and physical topography of Tabriz Bazaar from [F] to [L], entails a territorial reduction under the oppressive memory of backwardness and modernisation. The physicality of the site, in this approach, is identified by a constant territorial loss to urbanisation. Map [L], however, illustrates an expansive tendency which is outward, dynamic and spreading. Tabriz Bazaar in [L] includes modern shopping malls, reconstructed fabric and peripheral zones that had been detached due to urbanisation. In addition, for the first time in Iranian heritage history, the lost territories to urbanisation, including the new streets, are reclaimed. Moreover, the new physical territory covers reconstructed structures.

Memorialisation in Persepolis

Monarchs, nomads, explorers, and travellers left images and writings on the physical remains of Persepolis for more than two millennia. They left their memories and emotions in the form of engravings, poems and images. This thesis identifies different forms of memorialisation through analysis of graffiti that include historical, mythical, mystical, nostalgic memories, and dark memories of oppression. In this way, Persepolis demonstrates similarities with Tabriz Bazaar in memorialisation. Such similarity at the end of the twentieth century transforms into a significant difference which will be discussed in this chapter.

i. Historical Pārseh

Pārseh, which is the original name of Persepolis in ancient Persian, connotes two different significations in this study. Pārseh as a historical phenomenon, as Wertsch (2009, 652, 653) argues, is constructed from an objective perspective of historicity and a detachment of past from present. Such an interpretation is different from the memory of Pārseh, because it is "an intellectual and secular production, [and] calls for analysis and criticism" (Nora 1989, 9). Chronologically, Pārseh begins with the establishment of the city by Darius the Great (515 BC), and ends after the looting and burning of the city (330 BC). Historical Pārseh is "distanced from any particular perspective" and "reflects no particular social framework" (Wertsch 2009, 653). The memory of Pārseh,

after the fall of the city, transforms and as Yarshater (1971) suggests, is wholly forgotten.

There is a different construction of Pārseh which reflects the "memory" of the Achaemenid Empire and is inspired by historical understanding. The memory is firmly connected to contemporary political movements. This study discusses the memory of Pārseh and the nostalgic memory of Persepolis in separate sections below.

ii. Mythical memories

The fall of Persepolis in 330 BC is a critical point that transformed the site from a living city into a memorial. The transformation, however, encompasses a "historical amnesia" (Yarshater 1971) in which the memory of the Achaemenid Empire discontinued, and was replaced with mythical memory. Despite graffiti from the Arsacid epoch (247 BC–224 AD) at the site (Razmjou 2005), no clear evidence refers to the memory of Achaemenid (Mousavi 2012, 73-77). Instead, in more than two millennia, the palatial remains were assigned to mythical and mystical figures. There is a continuous debate for (Yarshater 1971), and against (Shahbazi 2001), the historical amnesia of Pārseh, especially in the Sasanian epoch (224-651 A.D.). Daryaee (2006) proposes a more complicated explanation, arguing that it is hardly imaginable that Sasanians, as the successors of Achaemenid kings, were totally unaware of their history. Daryaee goes on to describe how Achaemenid kings are intentionally forgotten from the Sasanian memory and turned into mythical Kayānids. The *Kayānyān* (Kayanids), according to the *Shānāmeh* (book of kings), is the dynasty that ruled Iran before the Achaemenid. By coining the term "Zoroastrian notion of memory," Daryaee argues that "the Achaemenid were only important regarding their function as transmitters of the holy religion and the texts which was brought to an end by Alexander" (Daryaee 2006, 502).

Whether such amnesia is interpreted as a blockage due to the severe trauma of defeat, manipulation of memory, or an obligation (Ricoeur 2004, 444), the mythical interpretation defined Persepolis as an environment of mythical/mystical memories for a long time. There are, however, two graffiti from the Sassanid epoch which connote the first signs of the mythical memory of Persepolis. At the doorway of the palace of Darius, two Sasanian Kings, Shapur II (309-379) and his son, inscribed their memory of the visit. The graffiti narrate the royal visit and how the king graciously stayed at the site on his way to Sistān. The text then continues by naming the place as *Sad-Sotun*

(hundred columns). The king had a pillar erected in memory of the ancestors and offered his blessings to his descendants, himself, and also the individuals who had built this structure (Daryaee 2001, 108-111; Mostafavi 1964, 81; Sami 1974, 3). The Sasanian graffito is a medium to " establish a spiritual connection with the bygone rulers who had created it" (Mousavi 2012, 81). Thus, Sassanians considered the outstanding ruins "…as a memory and reminder of a past era of magnificence and glory" (Razmjou 2005, 315). Persepolis, through Sasanian graffiti, has a strong connection to a mythical understanding of space.

iii. Mystical Memories

By the fall of the Sasanian Empire in the seventh century A.D, and with the dominance of Islam in Iran, Persepolis transformed into a memorial of mythical and mystical characters. The mythical and mystical memories existed side by side, referring to legendary figures, including King Solomon, Jamsheed, Dārā, and Queen Homāy. The mystical interpretation is based on Islamic and Sufi teaching. The mythical and mystical aura of the site attracted many visitors, including kings, travellers, and other individuals who left their engravings on the stones. As Mostafavi (1964, 236-251) and Sami (Sami 1974, 3-12) note, there are considerable graffiti at the palace of Darius and Haramsara which are related to the Islamic period. The graffiti reveal a continuous interaction between humans and space, and a dialogic relationship that moves beyond temporal limitations. The dialogic interplay is created by the spatial proximity of engravings that are produced in response to each other. They form a fugue whose harmonics are amplified by one another (Melikian-Chirvani 1971, 38).

The oldest Islamic graffito is a significant example of such dialogism as a response to the Shapur II inscription. After 600 years, and next to the engraving of the Shapur II, another Iranian monarch participated in the continuous dialogism. Amir Adud al-Dawla (949–983) who could not read his ancestor's text in ancient Persian summoned a local Zoroastrian for the translation. Amazed by the beauty and magnificence of the space and the meaning of the graffiti of the Sasanian kings he depicted his individual memory of Persepolis, but this time in Arabic: "In the name of Allah, the gracious Amir Adud al-Dawla, son of Hasan, defeated the army of Khorasan, conquered Isfahan and captivated Ibn-Mākān in year 344 H [955 A.D]. He summoned someone to read the engravings" (Mostafavi 1964, 338). Another

engraving with the same date explains the name of the local translator and clarifies the context of the first writing:

> The brave Adud al-Dawla, may Allah support him, was present in the month of Safar, 344, and the writing that is on these remains was read to him. It was read by Ali, son of Serri, the Karkhi secretary and Mar Sa'nad, the Mowbed of Kazerun.[60] (Mostafavi 1964, 338)

The dialogism of graffiti was continued by another inscription from Amir's heir, who declared his presence with a huge army in 1001 A.D (Sami 1974, 4).

The desire to participate in the dialogism of graffiti is not limited to the kings. Many ordinary visitors, sometimes with less artistic ability and with error in language, have inscribed texts on the walls. These remains of the past are usually considered from a monumentalist viewpoint as "insignificant memorials" (Mostafavi 1964, 342). However, they constitute a substantial part of Persepolis as individualised memories. They relate the names of individuals who asked for a blessing, and, above all, they connote the instability of life, and a mystical concept of time.

The notion of the instability of the world is a repeated expression in graffiti that connote mystical memory. The visitors who saw the ruins as the remnants of palaces of King Solomon and Jamsheed connected the site with the mystical interpretation of time. In Islamic mysticism, subjective time, *Zamān* (Chronos), "…is imaginary and subjective, though inspired by the real and objective time of *Dahr* and *Waqt*" (Böwering 1997, 61-62). *Dahr,* as the divine time, is everlasting while *Waqt,* as a human time, is momentary: "God's time stretches out to eternity, while the time of humans shrinks to a mere instant" (Böwering 1997, 61-62). Persepolis, as a peculiar "chronotope" (Bakhtin 1981, 84), is heavily filled with spiritual atmosphere, representing the interacting simultaneity of Waqt with Dahr and a suspension in subjective time. The contrasting infinity of Dahr and transience of Waqt give birth to a sense of instability which is reflected in many graffiti from the Islamic era.

A few examples, among many others, are included here. The graffiti in Darius Palace, which is written by a famous calligrapher in 1423 A.D., relates a poem in Arabic (Mostafavi 1964, 346):

[60] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

Where are the *Khosrows*,[61] tyrants of the early days?
They buried the treasures; these are [their] remains.[62]

The author continues to describe King Solomon's throne in Persian:

Did it not sail on the wings of the wind all day;
The throne of Solomon, peace be upon him?
Have you not seen that at last, he went with the wind?
Blessed be who left with wisdom and integrity.[63]

Another graffiti from 1370 A.D makes a direct statement about the notion of instability (Mostafavi 1964, 341):

This poem remains long years,
When each atom of us will fall apart.
I intend an image which carries my memory,
For I do not see life as eternal.
Unless someday a wise man from pity
Ask blessing for this poor [soul].[64]

In one of the so-called less significant engravings that are dated 1371 A.D., one reads:

The world is *Yādegār* and we are mortal,
Nothing remains but good deeds.[65] (Mostafavi 1964, 345)

Lastly, one of the most beautiful graffiti is created by a nine-year-old prince: Sultan-Ali from the Ak Koyunlu dynasty (Sami 1974, 6):

God is the only survivor.
Who could claim the friendship of this world?
To whom was it loyal that it could be with us?
Do not seek the might of Solomon; it is nought.
His kingdom is here, where is Solomon?
From these jewels and the countless treasures,
What share has Sām? What has Solomon taken?
All who lived on this earth became dust,
How can dust knows what is in the earth?
Each leaf is a face of a freeman,
Each step falls on the neck [body?] of a Prince.[66]

These few graffiti exemplify the spiritual aura and mystical/mythical environment of memory. Linking the physical remains of Persepolis to the mythical characters of King

[61] A Persian word for ancient kings.
[62] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[63] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[64] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[65] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[66] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

Solomon and Jamsheed, who were both sovereign rulers and spiritual leaders in Persian literature, is evidence of such an assumption. Solomon, in mystical literature and Sufism, symbolises the apex of the instability of temporal power. Jamsheed, on the other hand, was a high priest, a mighty king and founder of the Nowruz, but lost his kingship as a consequence of lying, and he was cut in half by an evil being. Even now, Persepolis stirs the same contrasting emotions in some visitors, who express their admiration of beauty and grandeur and their sorrow for a short life and the instability of earthly power.

In addition to graffiti, Persepolis has been described in many Islamic period chronicles. Historians, including Tabari (1983), Mas'udi (1986), Muqaddasi (1994), Ibnu'l-Balkhi (2005), and Beyzavi are among those who mentioned to Persepolis as a mystical/mythical site.

For example, Mas'udi (1986, 605), the great historian, describes the site as a mythical place. In his narrative, Persepolis is a Zoroastrian fire-temple established by Queen Homāy: "The fire is lost, the building is collapsed and people believe it is the mosque of Solomon, son of David" (Mas'udi 1986, 605). He continues by describing the ruins as wonderful, strange and beautiful. He states that the locals believe the figurative shapes are the images of the ancient prophets, and that Solomon had imprisoned winds in Persepolis and used to have his breakfast in Lebanon and dinner in this mosque (Mousavi 2012, 84).

In Tabari's narrative, Jamsheed and Solomon merge into one mystical character (Mousavi 2012, 85). Tabari recognises Solomon as the founder of Jerusalem, but the description of space is identical with Persepolis. Ibnu'l-Balkhi describes divine attributes for Persepolis. In his narrative, the powder extracted from stones of pillars holds a healing power (Ibnu'l-Balkhi 2005, 126). Hamdallah Mustawfi, in the first half of the fourteenth century, creates another narrative by the amalgamating the two myths of Solomon and Jamsheed. In his discussion, the narrative of Solomon's Mosque, Jamsheed's throne and Queen Homāy's palace are combined together (Mustawfi 1340).

Persepolis, in mystical/mythical memory, transforms from Pārseh into Hundred Columns, Jamsheed's Throne, the fire temple of Queen Humay, Solomon's Mosque, Solomon's Throne, Forty Minarets, and eventually a combination of all. Nonetheless, Persepolis as memorial, of mystic powers embodies supernatural virtue and a spiritual aura. Also, it is a place for a complicated dialogism between individual

memories and collective memory which are signified through many graffiti. The dialogism, as times passes, create new narratives, forms which overcome temporal gaps between the present, past and future. Graffiti tradition also demonstrates a free relationship between different community groups and space and flexible frames. Such flexible encounters are eventually superseded by a dominance of historical memory and a heritagisation of the site.

iv. Memory of Pārseh

The memory of Pārseh is a collective reconstruction from historical Pārseh and emerges in Iranian modernity. It is identified with the "discovery" of Persepolis, heritagisation and termination of the graffiti tradition. In this way, Pārseh turns into a historical memory which is reminded not remembered (Whelan 2016, 5). In the seventeenth century, the Iranian Safavid state opened the doors to European adventurers, missionaries and political envoys (Foran 1993), who at first were unable to identify a clear connection between the ruins of 'Chel-minar' (forty-columns) and classical descriptions of Persepolis. The site eventually was "discovered" by Europeans as the lost capital of the Achaemenid Empire. Using the word discovery here, as Codella (2007, xv) argues, implies a reintroduction of Persepolis into European consciousness.

Europeans have a long history of fascination with ancient Persia. Such interests were provoked by classical texts and reference to Persians in the Bible which made Iran a favourite destination for travellers and scholars (Daryaee 2016, 39). Since the fourteenth century, the long list of scholars, adventurers, missionaries and antiquarians gradually shaped the memory of Pārseh as a historical phenomenon. The first references were to the site as an ancient city by the name of Comerum in the fourteenth century (Mousavi 2012, 95). Conceptualisation of the site as the lost city of Persepolis was made by Don Garcia de Silva Figueroa (1550-1624), who identified the site as the original city of Persepolis (Mousavi 2012, 98). Figueroa's description "reminded" us (Whelan 2016, 5) of the memory of Pārseh and put an end to historical amnesia about the Achaemenid Empire by inspiring many publications about Persepolis (Codella 2007, 7-10); they shaped Persepolis as an imagined space through inspecting, mapping, describing and photographing.

Memorialisation of Pārseh through graffiti can be categorised into two different groups. The first group is created by foreign visitors and mostly depicted in

European languages (Simpson 2004). European figures particularly left marks of their individual memories in forms of graffiti, also by removing the historical remnants and sometimes by the destruction of relics (Modarres 2012, 196; Mousavi 1996; Simpson 2004). Their graffiti, however, do not participate in the dialogism of graffiti in Persepolis. The second group of graffiti, which are created by Iranians of the nineteenth and the twentieth century, are distinguished from the older Persian graffiti. While the form and content of the first group carries a false note in the complicated fugue of the graffiti tradition (Melikian-Chirvani 1971, 38), the second cluster bears a hybrid meaning.

European graffiti directly relate the names of visitors and the date; they are devoid of any emotional expression. They ignore the context by overwriting and destroying the older Persian graffiti. For example, J. M. Merhab, an unknown European visitor, has carved his name and the date on a Persian graffiti and caused significant damage (Mostafavi 1964, 338). In the objectivist and rationalist approach of European visitors, the Islamic engraving signified inferior historical values compared to the Achaemenid remains. European graffiti, therefore, are disconnected from the spiritual aura and dialogism of the graffiti tradition. Also, they are devoid of the emotional attachments of individual memories, and symbolise an objectivist, rationalist and monumentalist interpretation.

The second group signifies artistic values through calligraphic illustrations. The graffiti which are contemporaneous with map [D] in Tabriz Bazaar (Figure 6.5), signify a conceptual terrain similar to a double voiced hybridisation. As an example, in an engraving dated 1877 A.D., Prince Farhad Mirza gives an account of the excavations at the site. The beautiful engraving relates how the prince, as the governor of Fars, commissioned several thousand workers to "clear away the dirt which had been accumulated through countless centuries on this platform, so that foreign and local visitors might view the palaces…" (Mostafavi 1964, 348). Two years later, on the right side of the engraving, Farhad Mirza continues to describe the detail of excavations. Both graffiti are exquisite work of art. The double-voiced memorialisation can also be observed in contemporaneous texts. Forsat (Aldawleh 1897), an Iranian pioneer in native antiquity study (Daryaee 2016, 40) and well-known intellectual, carefully documented Persepolis at the same time. Forsat's description signifies the emergence of a modern memorial and a hybrid phenomenon. He denies the mythical/mystical memory of locals as "ignorant commons" (Aldawleh 1897,

316). His narrative, however, reveals a spiritual taste because in a complicated argument he analyses the animal figures in the light of Plato's theory of forms and Sadra's transcendental philosophy. Sadra was a significant Shiite theologist and Islamic philosopher who lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (Kamal 2006). The double-voiced text is simultaneously influenced by Western rationalism and uses the language of Islamic philosophy to interpret the figures and forms.

The memory of Pārseh, therefore, emerged after the "discovery" of Persepolis by Europeans. The memory, through graffiti and texts, represents a rationalist, objectivist and historical interpretation by Western visitors, and a double-voiced memorialisation by the local intelligentsia. Such memorialisation, which can be interpreted as a hegemonized memory, is dominated by a historical understanding and an orientalist (Said 1978) construction of Persepolis. This thesis, in Chapter Eight illustrates that Mirāse Farhangui, under the impact of the Orientalist narratives of Persepolis, creates a monologised interpretation of the site. This monumentalist, rationalist and historical interpretation eventually transforms into a nostalgic reading of the past and memorialisation.

v. Nostalgic memory

Persepolis, in Iranian modern history, is significantly constructed from a nostalgic interpretation of the Achaemenid Empire. As discussed in the case of Tent City in Chapter Five, this memorialisation encapsulated in the official celebration of 2500 Year Celebration of the Persian Empire (Stevenson 2008). The emergence of a rationalist, objectivist and antiquarian interpretation of Iranian heritage, as discussed in this chapter, eventually created a nostalgic collective memory of Persepolis. The nostalgic memory of Persepolis, therefore, can be identified as restorative, conceptualising historical Pārseh as a lost home. Persepolis, in this understanding, is defined as a reference point for a universal national identity (Abdi 2001, 59; Grigor 2009; Mousavi 2012; Mozaffari 2010, 99) and a modernisation "agenda" of "a temporal leap from antiquity to modernity" (Grigor 2005, 23). In this way, the nostalgic memory of Pārseh is not about the past, but rather about present universal values, homeland and truth (Boym 2007, 14).

In the context of banning graffiti by conservation regulation and the dominance of monumentalism, this thesis focuses on two expressions from Reza Shah Pahlavi, the founder of the modern nation-state of Iran. In 1935, Reza Shah changed the known

name of Persia into Iran, the land of Aryans, to symbolise the birth of a new nation-state and radical development (Cronin 2003a, 2003b). In his first visit to the site (1922), the Shah expressed the individual memory of a man who was so astonished by the magnificence of a lost past that he immediately ordered it to be frozen (Sami 1976, 213-214). The second encounter (1925), was part of his coronation speech, and signified the transformation of Persepolis into a symbolic place in Iranian nationalism.

Reza Shah did not participate in the dialogue with his ancestors through the graffiti tradition. Instead, he banned the graffiti by a royal decree. According to Sāmi (1976, 213-214), the beauty of Persepolis so profoundly touched the king that he was outraged by the neglect and lack of protection. He expressed his individual memory which is defined by emotional attachment and the fear of losing the site. He ordered that a wall be erected around the site to prevent "animals, ignorant people and vagabonds" from damaging the structures. The topography of nostalgic memory can be better identified through the most significant political event—coronation. In the coronation speech, the king once more talks about Persepolis as a nostalgic, collective, universalised and restorative memory that "brings the past to present" (Wertsch 2009). Persepolis, Reza Shah says, is a memorial of "Persian monarchy," and a "magnificent past" that inspires "national pride and patriotism" (Sami 1976, 215).

The nostalgic memory of Persepolis, as will be further analysed in Chapter Eight, is a significant participator in the construction of Persepolis as a memorial. This memory is the basis for a modern national identity for Iranians which is embodied in Reza Shah's expressions, and symbolic detachment of the site by royal order. In the new process of memorialisation in the twentieth century, the dialogic graffiti tradition is interrupted by a rupture with the past.

vi. Bitter memory of oppression

The sentiments of Ayatollah Khamenei at the beginning of this chapter can be now better understood under the light of the nostalgic memory of Persepolis. As this thesis discussed in the case of Tent City in Chapter Five, Mirāse Farhangui assigns a dark memory to Persepolis under the impact of the Islamic Revolution. Persepolis has represented a destination for "dark tourism" (Lennon & Foley 2000) to observe "the bitter and dark fate of oppressed people in history whose human virtues were always

exploited by the tyrants."[67] The collective memory interpreted the site in a way that contrasted with nostalgic nationalism which was regarded as a Westernised idea against Islam (Khomeini 1990, 334). In such a context, the remains of Tent City were preserved to symbolise the fall of an oppressive state: "These are their houses in utter ruin, for they did wrong."[68]

Such a dark interpretation is not entirely black, and reveals lighter shades (Stone 2006). Persepolis, in the eyes of Islamised interpretation, represents "dexterous hands, creative minds and magnanimous spirits of the Iranians" (Khamenei 2008, Par. 5). As discussed in Chapter Five, the memory of Persepolis demonstrates an intentional hybridisation of monumentalism and Islamism as a double-voiced phenomenon. The complexity of memories can also be identified in the expressions of two former Iranian presidents who describe Persepolis as a "symbol of identity" and provoking a "significant sense of national pride" in every Iranian (Talebian 2004b, 163,164).

Conclusion

Chapter Six analyses Persepolis and Tabriz Bazaar, two dialogic memorials, by examination of historical maps and the graffiti. Chapter Six clarifies that mapping and graffiti encompass diversity of meanings in the representation of Persepolis and Tabriz Bazaar as memorials. Different layers of memories create a complicated relationship between individual memories, collective memories and between history and memory. This chapter critiques the binaries of history-memory, individual-collective, and different senses of time-space, and illustrates a dialogic understanding of memorialisation. It also illustrates that Tabriz Bazaar is created from the interplay between different memories, including memory of Lamakan, memory of revolution and resistance, memory of the backwards past, historic memory, and nostalgic memories. By contrast, Persepolis is a dialogic creation of historical Pārseh, mythical memory, mystical memory, nostalgic memory, and dark memory of oppression. Through the concepts of heteroglossia, exotopy and co-being, this thesis explains the interplay between various memories in Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis.

[67] From the memorial note of *Ayatollah Seyed Ali Khamenei*, Supreme Leader of Islamic Republic of Iran, as quoted in (Talebian 2004a, 164).
[68] Holy Quran surah 27, verse 52, as quoted by Khamenei in memorial book of Persepolis (Talebian 2004a).

CHAPTER SEVEN : YĀDEGĀR, A FAMILIAR INTERPRETATION

In an art exhibition in October 2016, Hossein Valamanesh, the renowned Iranian-Australian artist, immersed his viewers in the experience of an Iranian grand bazaar. His idea of locating the viewers "at the centre point of four large video projections" (Valamanesh 2016) creates a dynamic environment of a *Char Soo* (a junction with four directions). Thus individuals could experience the pace of time and "gain insight into its subject's relationships, habits, physicality, kindness and occasional mischief" (Severi 2016, 5). Char Soo achieves the seemingly impossible task of portraying the highly dynamic environment of an Iranian bazaar. It represents the significance of the simple daily actions of individuals, including walking, buying, selling, and their emotions that animate a heritage site. Valamanesh's creative approach demonstrates a fundamental challenge in the complexity of study of lived experience from a critical viewpoint: how can such a complex, dynamic environment as Tabriz Bazaar be approached, analysed and explained?

This chapter explores this question through creative understanding (Todorov 1984, 108) and discusses Yādegār, a different discourse from Mirāse Farhangui, and one that is entrenched in Iranian culture. As clarified in Chapter Four, creative understanding is based on exotopy (Morson & Emerson 1990, 53; Todorov 1984, 109,

110), everyday practices (Bakhtin 1984; de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984; Gardiner 2000; Highmore 2002; Lefebvre 1991; Tiwari 2010), and philosophy of familiarity (Morson & Emerson 1990, 25, 36-49).

Exotopy (outside-ness), as the first dimension of creative understanding, proposes a relationship between the object and the subject which is not based on the primacy of one over the other. Through the prism of outside-ness, the dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar and the researcher are responsible for the creation of meanings and understanding in two phases. They enter the process in which the researcher at first becomes a part of the culture, but preserves his/her identity (first phase). In the second phase, understanding turns into an inter-subjective dialogue between two (or more): "where the knowledge takes the forms of a dialogue with a 'thou' equal to the 'I' and yet different from it" (Todorov 1984, 108).

Iranian heritage, as discussed in Chapter One and Two, has never been studied from the critical viewpoint of everyday life. The second dimension of creative understanding responds to this gap by embracing everyday practices as a critical viewpoint. Tabriz Bazaar is animated by performances, emotions, and embodied experiences which shape it as human and living (Waterton & Watson 2013, 552).

The familiar or familiarity, the third dimension of creative understanding, was also discussed in Chapter Four. It does not reference something that is "known," but phenomena and practices that often escape one's attention and are taken for granted, because individuals practice their knowledge of space by simple acts which are "as blind as that of lovers in each other's arms" (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 93). The familiarity of Yādegār is understood through Bakhtin's notion of the prosaic. As proposed by Morson and Emerson (1990, 15-43), the prosaic is identified as having four dimensions: the familiar and ordinary, suspicion of abstract rationality (the counter-theoreticism), conceptualisation of heritage as unsystematic, and lastly, open-endedness. This thesis discusses Yādegār as entrenched in the everyday practices of Tabriz Bazaar, and is connoted in a three-folded architectonics of event-ness (Bakhtin 1993, x), the familiarised, and the ongoing.

This chapter should be read as linked to three journeys in Appendix One to this thesis. The journeys, as a significant part of the methodology of this research, connote the first phase of an exotopic investigation of Tabriz Bazaar, in which I, as a researcher, become a part of the event-ness of the place, but preserve my identity. Linking this chapter and the journeys is vital, because the aim of this chapter, as the

second phase of exotopy, is to not create a metaphysical imitation of Tabriz Bazaar, and a "theoreticism" (Gardiner 2000, 48) which subordinates the event-ness of life. This thesis criticises theoreticism in Chapter Four as inadequate for understanding the complexity of Iranian heritage. This chapter develops a conceptual "architectonics" (Bakhtin 1990, 209; Morson & Emerson 1990, 70) which is a "necessary, non-fortuitous disposition and integration of concrete, unique parts and moments into a consummated whole [but] can exist only around a given human being as a hero" (Bakhtin 1990, 209). "I" as a living human and metaphorically as the hero of this thesis join the everyday practices in Tabriz Bazaar as a World Heritage Site and a marketplace. In the second journey, I participate in the daily life of heritage professionals and explore heritage conservation as a familiar phenomenon. In the third journey, I focus on the domain of everyday life by the examining the fluid boundaries of the buffer zone and the interaction between the two dynamisms of Tabriz Bazaar and the city. The outcome of the creative understanding embedded in journeys and this chapter is Yādegār which is constructed from a three-fold architectonics of event-ness, familiarity and open-endedness.

This thesis uses a system of coding to refer to the journeys as a source of analysis: "J" signifies a journey and "Par" indicates the paragraph in that specific journey; thus, for example, J3. Par.11 symbolises paragraph eleven of the third journey.

Yādegār

This study illustrates Yādegār as event-ness (Bakhtin 1990, x), a familiar and ordinary phenomenon and an un-finalised dialogism (Figure 7.10). It covers a gap in the literature, and discusses Yādegār in contrast to the dominant theoreticism and monumentalism of Mirāse Farhangui. Theoreticism connotes an approach that entails the primacy of mind over body, and is reflected in Cartesian philosophy which is a "specific peculiarity of modern times" (Bakhtin 1993, 8). It is defined as "the rationalist project of subordinating everyday life to a formalized, metaphysical system projected by a hypostatized consciousness which devalues or expunges any experience or viewpoint that it cannot fully assimilate" (Gardiner 2000, 48).

Firstly, Yādegār encompasses more-than-representational (Lorimer 2005, 85) aspects that Bakhtin describes as "event-ness" (Bakhtin 1993, x). Yādegār emerges from the event-ness of daily life, in which living humans are answerable to others and

co-create Tabriz Bazaar as a heritage site (Gardiner 2000, 55). The event-ness of Tabriz Bazaar is generated from daily acts, including walking, singing, celebrating and decorating. Single acts of everyday practices, according to de Certeau, are transformed into creative deeds with a variety of political implications (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 35, 36) but they are essentially the site of resistance against dominant power. This thesis, however, expands the event-ness of daily actions through journeys to a mode of understanding (Bakhtin 1993, 4): "Life must be understood as a continuous series of singular acts and each act, or 'event,' must be grasped on its own terms, as an 'experiential and sensuous given.'" The concept of event-ness which is created through single daily acts demonstrates Tabriz Bazaar as primarily a dialogical being (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 295). The meaning, in this way, as Harrison (2013, 216) suggests, emerges as a collaborative process and dialogue between individuals, objects and space which maintains the past in the present.

Secondly, Yādegār, in contrast to Mirāse Farhangui constructs a familiar view of heritage sites. Yādegār thus promotes a particular understanding of space which emerges from the messiness of the world, is unsystematic, and narrates the "unpredictable quality of daily life" (Gardiner 2000, 16). Most importantly, this thesis demonstrates Tabriz Bazaar as encapsulating an effective conservation practice which is globally commended for the uniqueness of community involvement, and for linking tangible and intangible dimensions (ICOMOS 2010, 139, 140; Radoine 2013, 12-17).

The third dimension of Yādegār emerges from a continuous dialogism between familiarised and de-familiarised aspects of Tabriz Bazaar. This thesis explores the relationships between the city and Tabriz Bazaar and the fluid boundaries, and discusses Yādegār as an unfinished task. Thus Tabriz and the city are connected not merely by conflicts and resistance but through the notions of "co-being" (Holquist 2002, 24) and "transgredience" (Todorov 1984, 95). They preserve their identity and are absolutely necessary for completion of each other.

Tabriz Bazaar as event-ness

The first aspect of Yādegār emerges from millions of daily acts in the context of the event-ness of Tabriz Bazaar. The event-ness is more than a site of resistance in asymmetrical power relations. Event-ness can transform into an act of resistance against Mirāse Farhangui and the state, but through dialogic methodology, its role is interpreted as much more fundamental, constructing Tabriz Bazaar as becomingness.

It defines Tabriz Bazaar as a dialogical co-being. This thesis ilustrates in Chapter Four that creation of self through otherness implies that the heritage site is a broad network of interconnection between linked participants (Holquist 2002, 40). This is because without others and seeing through the eyes of others, having a total image of the heritage site is impossible (Todorov 1984, 95). As a cultural being, in the dialogic view, Tabriz Bazaar is in a state of becoming. The daily life of Tabriz Bazaar does not surrender to authority and is far from the certainty of dogmatism; it "struggle[s] painfully in the search for confidence" and "fragile agreements" (Todorov 1998, 7). The meaning of Tabriz Bazaar is a dialogic becomingness between the customers, Bāzāris, the fabric of space, the state and the city.

The first journey described in Appendix One depicts a continuous space, filled with men, women, children, animals, and objects which are always on the move (J1-Par.5). Individuals, regardless of their social role or stratum, as Bāzāri,[69] visitor, tourist or customer, unceasingly exchange objects and communicate through the signs and symbols. The moving mixture, at the same time, is enclosed in a physical space which is called the bazaar. According to Iranica (1985, 20), "bazaar" is a Persian

> term which may refer to a market day, usually once a week, when farmers bring their wares to the market to sell; a fair held at specific times; and the physical establishments, the shops, characterized by specific morphology and architectural design.

The crowd is in constant dialogue with the materiality of space (J1-Par.4) which takes shape in many daily deeds, including singing, repairing, decorating, buying/selling, and walking. Millions of single acts create Tabriz Bazaar as a lived space at any given moment. The simple acts emerge between individuals, between individuals and the physical space and between Tabriz Bazaar and the city. They animate the space and continuously create Tabriz Bazaar as a space of living (J1-Par.1). Every single act, at the same time, is connected to other events and generates a complex network of actions. This study focuses on peculiar single acts that create the dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar to further expand the idea of event-ness of life through journeys.

[69] Bāzāri in Persian means "the people who are working at the bazaar, especially traders and merchants" (Dehkhoda 1998).

i. Walking

Walking is a familiar act which creates the dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar, shapes the physicality, and defines the journeys. By walking, individuals create Tabriz Bazaar on a daily basis (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 94). Such creation is different from the abstract conceptualisation of maps which is discussed in Chapter Six. The complicated network of moving and altering the space composes a story without a writer and an unconscious urban text (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 93).

The journeys connote the act of walking in many forms. Customers explore the environment by walking through space (J1-Par.5). Walking is connected to other simple daily acts, including buying and selling. Walking is an elemental force that shapes the physicality of space. The Rāstā, a dynamic type of space, is principally a long passageway (J1-Par.7). The combination of the Rāstās creates an organic network which facilitates walking and connects *Timchehs, Sarās* and *Dālāns* (J1-Par.9). By walking through space, customers compare the best deals and prices. The Meerāsees (heritage professionals), as the second journey shows, protect the heritage site by daily walking. The porters, whose performance is a vital part of the marketplace, move an enormous range of materials all over the space by walking (J1-Par.9, J1-Par.13, J1-Par.23). Even "I," an individual in the process of outside-ness, explore Tabriz Bazaar as a lived space by walking.

De Certeau argues that "the act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to the language or the statement uttered" (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 97). He also states that "walking affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses and respects…the trajectories it speaks" (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 99). By accepting such analogies, each walker represents a different utterance and enters into dialogue with other walkers. Walking encompasses voices with different ideological values and sign systems or, in another words, different discourses. Walking of customers, porters, heritage professionals, and tourists, creates different voices. Thus walking creates a complicated text which is dialogical by its very nature, because it is polyphonic, dynamic and ongoing. The complicated network of walking is a dialogue of agreement which can be disrupted by an alien speech (J1-Par.8). The lived space connotes a double-voice construction when ceremonial walking is simultaneous with daily walking of Meerāsees (J2-Par.5 and J2-Par.6).

Collective walking, procession

Religious ceremonies are another example of the role of walking in collective form. The procession is the rhythmic flow of the *Hei'at* (mourning brotherhood) members, accompanied by performances of weeping, beating the chest, whipping the back by chain strings and communal singing (ICHHTO 2011b; Rahimi 2011). The simple daily act of walking transforms into a symbolic action of commemoration (J2-Par.5). The intricate network of community groups, guilds, Hei'ats and visitors participate in the procession of Muharram which Foucault describes as follow:

> On December 2, the Muharram celebrations will begin. The death of Imam Husein will be celebrated. It is the great ritual of penitence. (Not long ago, one could still see marchers flagellating themselves). But the feeling of sinfulness that could remind us of Christianity is indissolubly linked to the advance toward death in the intoxication of sacrifice. During these days, the Shi'ite people become enamoured with extremes. (As cited by Rahimi (2011, 31))

Many traditions related to death and birth are linked with the act of collective walking (J1-Par.17). Collective walking, then, alters Tabriz Bazaar into a large *Hoseinieh* with Mozaffarieh Timcheh at the centre. The Muharram ceremony in Tabriz Bazaar is registered as a national representation of intangible heritage (ICHHTO 2011b). During the ceremony, the conventional functions of the site as a marketplace are discontinued and Tabriz Bazaar transforms into a gigantic religious space, that is, a Hoseinieh.

ii. Buying and selling

The acts of selling and buying are the most dominant performances in the event-ness of Tabriz Bazaar. Through buying and selling, individuals are linked, and not just by a monetary relationship; they exchange utterances, information, become friends, and reveal their secrets (de Certeau & Mayol 1998, 80, 81). Buying and selling entail two sets of performances, sign systems and values which are in a dialogic relationship. Selling represents a close interaction between individuals and the physical space (J1-Par.6), and connotes a variety of voices and practices. The roles of Bāzāri and customers are not fixed; they occasionally use another form of language which close friends use to rest for a moment from their social roles (de Certeau & Mayol 1998, 80). They use joking and jesting to express emotions and to communicate (J1-Par.6). The complexity of selling and buying is much more than mere consumption, so it involves

reputation, kinship, trust, religiosity, and different levels of communication (J1-Par.52, J1-Par.53, J2-Par.44). Stopping the acts of selling and buying symbolises a different meaning of struggle and resistance (J1-Par.48 to J1-Par.51).

In the fruit market, selling is widely partnered with singing, inviting and decorating (J1-Par.4). In Mozaffarieh, selling carpets goes beyond the physicality of space. The wealthy and powerful merchants manage their international exports through their small but well-known offices (J1-Par.23). They also present their carpets to the customers by spreading the carpets on the floor (J1-Par.23). Selling in spice market is based on visual representation and amplifying the pungent aroma (J1-Par.4). In textile, ironsmith and coppersmith markets, selling is simultaneous with making (J1-Par.37, J1-Par.38). The simple act of selling is not only connected to other deeds, but also continually creates the sense of place, changes physicality, and participates in the dialogism of the Tabriz Bazaar. Buying, like selling, is more than consumption, and involves mapping the space in search of goods, information and food (J3-Par.3). The customers walk through spaces, experience the environment, talk to Bāzāris, taste, and touch the goods (J1-Par.7, J1-Par.9).

Ceasing the simple acts of selling and buying, as happens in strikes, generates broad political and social consequences (J1-Par.48, J1-Par.49, J1-Par.50, J1-Par.51). Buying and selling have a profound impact on the relationships of the individuals and the physicality of space. Sara, Timcheh, and Dālān are defined by their role in the hierarchical social structure of trade. The location of every guild and the proximity of similar stores generates a dialogue of agreement between discourses of selling and buying (J1-Par.25). The dialogue of buying-selling, therefore, shapes the event-ness of Tabriz Bazaar and the physicality of space, and animates the heritage site.

iii. Singing

Singing, as part of daily life, fundamentally shapes the *genius loci* (Cresswell 2004, 12, 13) of places in different ways. Singing is used in daily business (J1-Par.4), nourishing collective memories (J2-Par.5), ceremonial gatherings and laughter (J1-Par.20). Singing as linked to selling/buying is used to promote the freshness of vegetables, fruits and other products (J2-Par.28, J3-Par.39). Religious poems are sung in mourning ceremonies, to commemorate the battle of Karbala and the martyrdom of Shiite Imams, on occasions (J2-Par.5). The rhythm of walking is also maintained through singing and by music in a religious procession.

In teahouses, singing and narrating the lore is a performance of commemoration (J1-Par.20, J1-Par.21). Traditional singers who are known by the title of *Ashiq* narrate heroic and romantic songs (Baghirova 2015, 116, 117). Storytellers also relate the tales of Shahnameh and other heroic scenes from paintings (Omidsalar & Omidsalar 1999, 326, 327). Singing is also linked to joy and laughter; when Bāzāris gather in teahouses, they listen to the performance and relax. Singing is a part of the solemnity of life; one can hear workers chanting while constructing, making and repairing (J1-Par.37). Singing, in this way, is a defining daily act which has a significant impact on the continuation of memory, everyday practice, business, and the making of lived space.

iv. Decorating

The journeys explore diverse and fluid forms of decorating that signify collective and individual expressions. The appearance of Tabriz Bazaar, therefore, is continually changing according to events. The daily practices of decorations, in personal and collective form, create a complex dialogism in which different groups, guilds, religious institutions, and the state, participate in and define the lived space.

Each guild follows specific codes, signs and symbols to present their goods and arrange the space. Every Rāstā, Sara and Timcheh in which a particular guild is located signifies a different sign system (language) of decoration. By decorating, community groups are identified, space is claimed, and a dialogue of agreement maintained. The different collective decorations create a dialogism between guilds, between Bāzāris and customers, and between individuals and lived space. Figures 7.1 to 6.5 demonstrate some examples of the different settings in guilds of textile, spices and dried fruit, carpets and thread.

Figure 7.2: Decorating a diary shop. Photograph by Shahin Tolouashtiany 2014.

Figure 7.3: Decoration in the guild of thread traders. Photograph by Shahin Tolouashtiany 2014.

Figure 7.1: An example of decorating in spice shops. Photograph by Shahin Tolouashtiany 2014.

Figure 7.4: Using the public space for repairing carpets at Mozaffarieh Timcheh. Photograph by Shahin Tolouashtiany 2014.

Figure 7.5: Decoration of a Timcheh by the guild of textile. The public space is used as a storehouse. Photograph by Shahin Tolouashtiany 2014.

The decorations also bear individual voices in each collective form. Decorations of the goods and stores are refreshed on a daily basis according to the personality of Bāzāri, decorations of neighbours, market demand, seasons and time.

The individuality of each store is defined by specific installed signs on the walls. Some shopkeepers use a poem relating mystical meanings of life and death, presenting the conditions of trade, pictures of deceased ancestors, and sacred texts in Arabic. These sign and symbols, by connecting individuals and space with values of kinship and religiosity, create an atmosphere of trust between individuals and the space.

Another collective form of decorating is related to particular ceremonies including religious events, national celebrations and especially Muharram. The public space is decorated with banners, lights and flags which are chosen according to the nature of the event (J2-Par.5). In national celebrations, the Iranian flag can be seen everywhere, while in mourning ceremonies, black banners cover the walls and ceiling. The act of decorating here is managed by guilds, and represents a dialogue between the state and religious organisations. Decorating, as a symbol of a power struggle, is controlled by Mirāse Farhangui. In Chapter Six, this thesis describes how, in map [L], the erection of billboards and unauthorised decorations that alters the "visual imagery of monument" are prohibited (ICHHTO 1974, 2009).

Figure 7.6: A restoration workshop while the flow of people passing below and continue the daily life. Photograph by Shahin Tolouashtiany 2000.

Figure 7.7: A knife –maker workshop. Photograph by Shahin Tolouashtiany 2014.

Decorating, both collective and individual, connotes different voices with a complicated dialogic relationship. Such dialogism defines the space as lived, creates a dynamic environment, and signifies a freer attitude towards the physical space. Decorating, therefore, is linked to two other significant acts of building and repairing.

v. Building/repairing

Building and repairing are everyday practices with a broad impact on the event-ness of Tabriz Bazaar. Journeys demonstrate different forms of repairing as part of

everyday life. In the carpet market, Bāzāris spread and repair their expensive rugs on the floor while people are passing by (Figure 7.6) (J1-Par.23, J1-Par.31, J1-Par.37). In workshops, building/repairing and buying/selling mix and individuals watch the craftsmen who make knives and shape copper bowls. As with repairing carpets, these craftsmen also shape the physicality of space by repairing/building/decorating. The journeys, however, illustrate workshops which repair the structure as part of daily life. The masons work on scaffoldings, while the flow of people passes below, and they continue their everyday practices (J1-Par.37). The act of repairing, as a familiarised practice, is a significant transformation in the dialogism of Tabriz Bazaar which will be discussed in this chapter.

vi. Celebrating

Weddings, death, and birth are ordinary events of everyday practices which widely define the continuity of Tabriz, the social cohesion and unite individuals and space (J1-Par.16 to J1-Par.19). The related rituals have a significant role in maintaining social order and business relations (Sarirai 2008, 61,62). Marriage, death and birth are highly connected to the social values of kinship and religiosity (ICHHTO 2009, 687). Marriage regulates the relationships between employer and employee and can be an instrument for expanding business relationship through kinship (ICHHTO 2009, 691).

Figure 7.8: Transformation of space in national ceremonies (left), festivities (middle) and mourning (right). Source ICHHTO.

Public ceremonies are also sites of interaction for consolidation of social bonds between guild members. National celebrations and commemoration of the birth of holy figures are associated with feasting, decorating and singing. Death and birth, in complex forms of remembrance, transform into sites of political and social movements. In the mourning ceremonies of Muharram, the entire space of Tabriz Bazaar transforms into a Hoseinieh, and adds a physical centre to a decentralised

space; the spatial organisation turns from space with no centrality to space with a focal point.

Celebration is connected to the acts of drinking and eating. Eating and drinking is the primary function for restaurant and teahouses in Tabriz Bazaar, and are an inseparable part of the daily practices. Drinking tea is widely used as a symbolic act for social relationships (J2-Par.8, J2-Par.29), business, memorialisation, or even to signify a political expression (J3-Par.30). Drinking water can turn into a ritual of memorialisation of a religious nature (ICHHTO 2011b). Communal eating signifies a moment when the official social order temporarily collapses, and is replaced with laughter (J1-Par.20). In contrast, drinking tea in a mourning ceremony is partnered with lamenting and weeping. Eating, similarly, can symbolise different meanings and in communal form defines the sense of place.

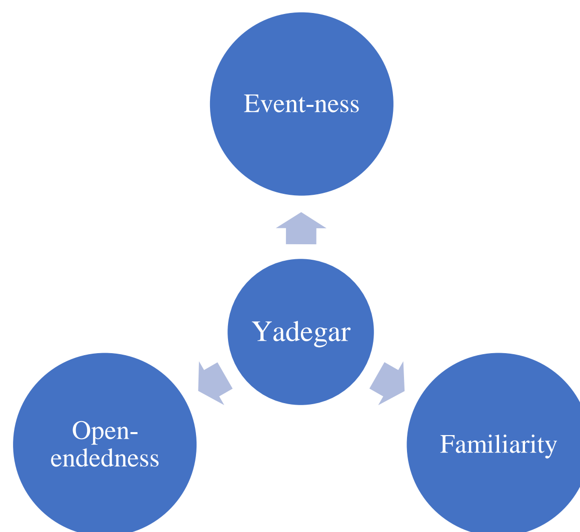

Fig 7.10: The triadic architectonics of Yādegār is constructed from three dimensions of philosophy of familiarity, event-ness and open-endedness. Source Shahin Tolouashtiany.

vii. Other deeds

Many other daily actions besides walking, selling/buying, singing, decorating, and celebrating create the event-ness of Tabriz Bazaar. Praying, as a personal ritual and a collective performance, entails a variety of roles. The act of daily praying is a practice of Sharia as a living tradition (J1-Par.34, J1-Par.40). Daily praying creates a political and social link between Bāzāris and Shiite clergies and consolidates the positions of Bāzāris and Imams as community leaders (J1-Par.41, J1-Par.42). Religiosity is a significant social bond which connects the Bāzāris and maintains the *status quo* (J1-

Par.34). Praying not only shapes a variety of mosques and religious schools, but also maintains their durability (J1-Par.33, J1-Par.35, J1-Par.36). Praying shapes the mosques as the source of significant social movements (J2-Par.35), with significant impact on the physicality of Tabriz: "the mosque in Firdausi Street was one of the motivators of the 1979 Islamic Revolution."[70] Praying is also used to signify political resistance (J3-Par.17).

Helping and charity are other daily actions which transforms into complicated performances (ICHHTO 2009, 693; Sarirai 2008, 64,65). Fellow guild members and neighbours support each other in business and personal matters. Helping in complex forms transforms into charity societies which have an influential role in the welfare of the community, supporting the fellow members of the guild, and creates a mechanism of social security against bankruptcy. Nobar Society, for example, is one of the oldest organisations, with a seventy year history, and provides services, including guardianship of orphans, medical treatment of less privileged patients, loan facilities, helping different community groups who suffered from disasters, establishing a library, establishing several highly-equipped public toilettes, and supplying drinking and agricultural water for rural areas.[71] Helping and donation in association with religious values are best manifested in the charity institution of Waqf (Kuran 2001, 65; Sarirai 2008) which is a dominant force in shaping the physicality of space. Through the Waqf, mosques and religious schools are created, and numerous business units are dedicated to public services which are all vital in the continuation of Tabriz Bazaar (J1-Par.33, J1-Par.34).

A familiar phenomenon

My second journey studies the successful conservation of heritage in Tabriz Bazaar as a familiarised phenomenon. Familiarisation signifies the transformation of conservation from a systematic practice based on theoreticism and metaphysical rules to ordinary acts of daily life. This thesis argued in Chapter Four for the concept of the prosaic (familiar) as the third aspect of creative understanding. Creative understanding through familiarity embraces those aspects of heritage sites which, in a monumentalist and abstract conceptualisation of Mirāse Farhangui are regarded as insignificant. The prosaic is based on counter-systematic thinking (Morson & Emerson 1990, 25) and

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[70] Interviewee I-2, interviewed on 17/05/ 2014.
[71] www.nobarcharity.com accessed 17/03/2018.

"unfinalizability" (Morson & Emerson 1990, 36-49). The journeys, as a dialogue between the dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar and me, bring an overlooked phenomenon of Yādegār into focus. Those aspects of Tabriz Bazaar are familiar and ordinary, in the sense that they usually escape one's attention. In contrast to the theoreticism embedded in Mirāse Farhangui , Yādegār deviates from the rationalist subordination of everyday life into a formalised, metaphysical system that is dominated by a monologised abstract awareness (Gardiner 2000, 48).

To understand the difference between familiar and de-familiarised aspects of Tabriz Bazaar, Maps [A] and [E] are good examples. As discussed in Chapter Six, in Map [A], Tabriz Bazaar is so familiar and ordinary that it escapes attention and transforms into a *lamakan* (a-territorial) space. In contrast, Map [E] represents an emerged consciousness of political power embedded in an urban centre, by which a significant revolution is started. This process can be interpreted as de-familiarisation which entails a detachment from everyday practices.

Different interpretations of management in Tabriz Bazaar are an example of familiarised and de-familiarised differentiations. The fluidity of leadership in Tabriz is in contrast with official interpretations (ICHHTO 2009, 503, 504, 998) which represent management as traditional, systematic and hierarchical. Traditional here means a nativist interpretation of tradition under the impact of scholars, including Nasr (Nasr 1987a, 1987b, 2010) and Shayegan (1992), who conceptualise the Iranian tradition as an eternal and authentic source for contemporary life (Fazeli 2006, 5,15). ICHHTO defines the management of Tabriz Bazaar as implemented by a central board of trustees which is called an "association" (ICHHTO 2009, 501). The members of the board are chosen by Bāzāris, mostly from *Tojjār* (merchants) at the apex of the social strata (ICHHTO 2009, 669-674). The association governs the daily affairs of Tabriz Bazaar and regulates relations with the state. This interpretation, however, is in contrast with the findings of this thesis which reveal a flexible and familiar phenomenon. No centrality or rigid hierarchical order can be observed, and the management is part of the event-ness of Tabriz Bazaar (J2-Par.7, J2-Par.39). Tabriz Bazaar is governed by a complicated network of guilds, societies and Hei'ats (religious brotherhoods). Any issue that arises is addressed by an elected board of trustees and delegations who continuously appear and disappear. The Bāzāris choose their representatives in an unsystematic process according to the candidate's resourcefulness, reputation and knowledge. The representatives for tax issues,

construction, a political campaign, and resolving the bankruptcy of a fellow Bāzāri are entirely different. The delegations return to their daily role as soon as the issue is resolved. In this way, no centrality can be assigned to the phenomenon.

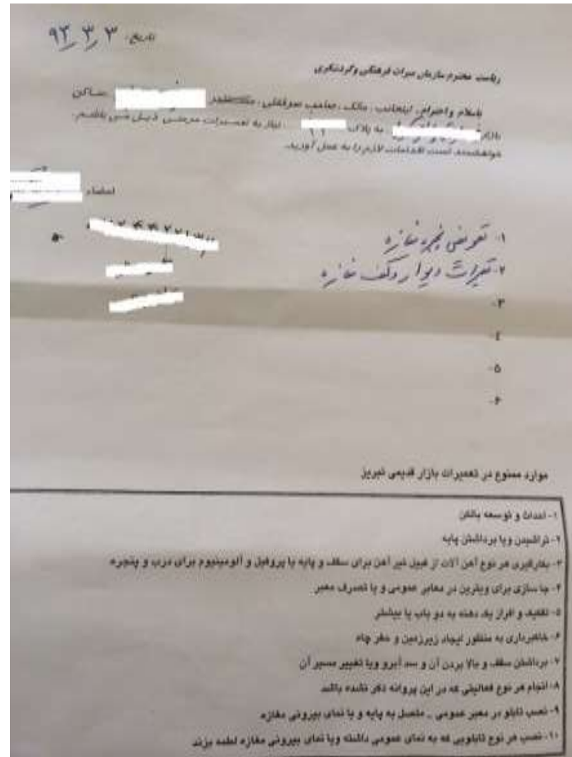
The process of decision making is dialogic, familiar, and part of event-ness. Prominent decisions are made in the mosques (J2-Par.35, J2-Par.36), partnered with daily communal prayer, or on the site, as in the case of Mozaffarieh (J1-Par.27 to J1-Par.30). Some less critical decisions are made in teahouses together with eating, drinking tea, and resting (J1-Par.21). The highly sensitive issues of political movements are discussed in small groups and familiar places, including *Hojreh* (store) or even at house (J3-Par.30). Decision making, therefore, is far more complex and fluid than a simplified and abstract model of "association" (ICHHTO 2009, 503, 504, 998). It is a familiar deed and is implemented through single daily acts.

The practice of heritage conservation is an ideal ground for studying familiarisation, because it is commended as successful (ICOMOS 2010, 139, 140; Radoine 2013, 12-17). The second journey identifies the conservation practices in Tabriz Bazaar with similar specificities, as unsystematic, fluid and dynamic.

Familiarised conservation

Earlier, in Chapters Five and Six, this thesis related how freezing Tabriz Bazaar in the middle of the twentieth century had devastating effects, both on the fabric and on everyday life (Hanachi & Yadollahi 2011). This freezing under the name of conservation, imposed a hierarchical order that governed Tabriz Bazaar as detached from the event-ness of daily life. Such an idealist, metaphysical understanding stopped individuals from participating "in the imminent dynamism and open-endedness of the world" (Gardiner 2000, 69). In this framework, the monumentalist concept of protection including *Mohāfezat* (conservation), Ehyā (adaptive-reuse), and *Morāghebat* (preventive maintenance) (Taghizadeh et al. 2009) is ruled by a series of abstract ethical codes (Tolouashtiany 2011) and "its own immanent laws" (Bakhtin 1993, 7). This failed practice, however, was redirected by the end of the twentieth century into a different trajectory. ICHHTO has received commendation (ICOMOS 2010, 139, 140; Radoine 2013, 12-17) and awards for managing "a unique example of urban conservation and … rejuvenating the tangible and intangible memory of the historic city of Tabriz" (AKDN 2013, Par. 1) . This valued performance is related to

the familiarisation of conservation and a dialogue of agreement between the state and the community.



موارد ممنوع در تعمیرات بازار قدیمی تبریز

۱- احداث و توسعه بالکن
۲- تراشیدن و یا برداشتن پایه
۳- بکارگیری هر نوع آهن آلات از قبیل تیر آهن برای سقف و پایه یا پروفیل و آلومینیوم برای درب و پنجره
۴- جا سازی برای ویترین در معابر عمومی و یا تصرف معبر
۵- تفکیک و افراز یک دهنه به دو باب یا بیشتر
۶- خاکبرداری به منظور ایجاد زیرزمین و حفر چاه
۷- برداشتن سقف و بالا بردن آن و سد آبرو و یا تغییر مسیر آن
۸- انجام هر نوع فعالیتی که در این پروانه ذکر نشده باشد
۹- نصب تابلو در معبر عمومی ـ متصل به پایه و یا نمای بیرونی مغازه
۱۰- نصب هر نوع تابلویی که به نمای عمومی دالان و یا نمای بیرونی مغازه لطمه بزند

Figure 7.11: An application for property development in Tabriz Bazaar; the list of the banned activities according to the form includes installation of the balcony, reducing the thickness of the walls, digging basements and relocation of the ceiling to increase interior height. The personal information are deleted for ethical reasons. Photograph by Shahin Tolouashtiany 2014.

The heritage conservation of Tabriz Bazaar, according to the second journey, emerges from simple daily acts of walking, decorating, repairing, praying, and eating/drinking. A Meerāsee (heritage professional) walks through space, talks to Bāzāris, drinks tea, and eats with community members. They participate in ceremonies and say daily prayer. As the second journey shows, Meerāsees, like other Bāzāris, participate in the dialogism of walking which shapes the lived space. They walk through space to observe the changes, respond to requests and provide advice (J2-Par.9 to J2-Par.12). By daily walking, they map a dynamic phenomenon which is continuously evolving. In such a practice, the highly specialised, complex, and metaphysical system of "conservation" (ICOMOS 1964, 1999) transforms into ordinary acts of decorating, repair and building. The complex moral system of Mirāse Farhangui is interpreted into repetitive and familiar daily routines. The abstract system of monumentalist heritage shifts into an ordinary chain of actions as part of the event-ness of everyday.

The familiarised conservation of Tabriz Bazaar, therefore, is an example of event-ness. It emerges through the same chain of events of any familiar deed. The significant decisions are made jointly, by Bāzāris and Meerāsees, in the mosques after public praying or on the site (J2-Par.9 to J2-Par.12, J1-Par.27). After the decision is made, a temporary board of trustees or a delegation is elected to coordinate the activities. Delegations represent the most distinguished members of the community, who are trusted by Meerāsees and Bāzāris, and mostly are chosen from seniors. Usually, no contract, legal text, or formal agreement is exchanged between Meerāsees and Bāzāris. Such an agreement is based on trust, religiosity and reputation (J2-Par.7J2-Par.7). As soon as the repairs are finished, the temporary arrangement disappears, and individuals return to their usual jobs. Similarly, the security of space is managed through an old agreement between the state and the Bāzāri community that has endured for centuries. In such an arrangement, Bāzāris are responsible for the safekeeping of interior space and the government manages the security from outside. In this way, the police presence is limited to the rooftop and surrounding area, while Bāzāris manage the interior spaces, including Caravanserai and Timcheh (J1-Par.14).

Meerāsees are part of the Bāzāri community. They are treated as a guild like other guilds of the marketplace. They are connected to the event-ness of daily life through simple daily acts, kinship and reputation. They are familiar individuals who are considered as insiders, and mostly come from Bāzāri families. In daily routines, they are indistinguishable from the dynamism of events, as doing the same simple acts of everyday life and using the same sign systems:

> I've learnt to use a different speech; I reminded Bāzāris of our shared childhood memories of space and we talk about the past … describe the negative and positive aspects of conservation with honesty. I hear many times from my Bāzāri relatives that ICHHTO is not acting like the government; it is made of different stuff. [72]

In such a familiar practice, protection relies on living humans who are answerable to others and co-create Tabriz Bazaar as a heritage (Gardiner 2000, 55), not a complex abstract system with a rigorous hierarchy (Morson & Emerson 1990, 27,28). Instead of framing the repair workshops from the public and emphasising a "scientific, highly specialised procedure" (Taghizadeh et al. 2009, 19, 20), as often

[72] Interviewee I-2, interviewed on 15/05/2014.

happens in Persepolis, the workshops are accepted as a familiarised image of daily life. Individuals freely pass through space where traditional masters repair the vaults or redecorate the brickworks (Figure 7.6). The repairs and the conservation are profoundly dialogic and are performed by many voices (J1-Par.14). Familiarised protection, therefore, is in contrast to the de-familiarised conservation of the fabric and monumentalist orientation of Mirāse Farhangui.

De-familiarisation

Heritage management in Tabriz Bazaar is far more complicated than a purely counter-systematic practice. Tabriz, as World Heritage, is simultaneously governed by forces that de-familiarise the site as an abstract phenomenon. In addition to ICHHTO, the complex system involves more than 34 public institutions.[73] The monumentalist understanding of Tabriz Bazaar creates forces from metaphysical values which are encapsulated in the complex and hierarchical system and abstract moral norms of the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964). This system separates the space from the event-ness of everyday life. Tabriz Bazaar is a dialogic creation of familiarisation and de-familiarisation, in which an official order controls decorating/repairing/building. This thesis will further analyse the process of de-familiarisation in Chapter Eight, based on the conservation practices in Persepolis.

Un-finalised

The third aspect of Tabriz Bazaar as Yādegār is related to the state of becoming. Tabriz Bazaar is not only a familiar event-ness that emerges from daily life, but is also in the state of co-being (Holquist 2002, 24). It is created through a broad network of interconnection between linked participants (Holquist 2002, 40) that exceeds its physical boundaries (Marsusi & Khani 2011). The open-ended dialogue (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 295) that is reflected in the journeys and suggested by Bakhtinian thought (Gardiner 2000, 58; Morson & Emerson 1990, 32-38; Todorov 1984, 95) embodies ever-changing boundaries. Tabriz Bazaar and the city, as reflected in the third journey, are connected to such an extent that without one, the other cannot exist. In this a co-being of the two dynamisms, Tabriz Bazaar and the city, none have the final word. The event-ness of Tabriz Bazaar, interpreted through concepts of familiarised conservation, connote imminent un-finalisability (Morson & Emerson

[73] Interviewee I-7, interviewed on 21/05/2014.

1990, 32-38). This thesis describes the dialogism of Tabriz Bazaar and the city which is crystallised in the buffer zone in Map [L], to clarify the ongoing process of being.

i. Boundaries as unfinished

This study discussed earlier the uncertainty of Map [L] in the conceptualisation of the boundaries. Parallel to this discussion, this thesis explores the fluidity of boundaries through the third journey which reveals a complicated relationship between the city and Tabriz Bazaar. I demonstrate that Tabriz Bazaar and the city unceasingly define each other through the conflict, co-being (Holquist 2002, 24), and transgredience (Todorov 1984, 95).

Conflicts and resistance

The boundaries of Tabriz Bazaar, as reflected in Maps [L] and [M] (Figures 6.15, 6.16), are creations that are dialogued between forces of progress and familiarised conservation. In this conflict, two interpretations of space collide. Tabriz Bazaar, on the one hand, is conceptualised as "backward" and a relic from the past, and on the other hand, as a familiar and ongoing phenomenon. Tabriz Bazaar, as a symbol of backwardness, is subject to radical urbanisation, replacement with non-places (Augé 1995), and new spatial forms and practices (Ehlers 1991; Ehlers & Floor 1993, 254). The observation of Tabriz Bazaar in the third journey demonstrates the buffer zone as a frontline of a battlefield, full of ruins, debris and unfinished buildings (J3-Par.5). The core area, similarly, has been subject to the same disputes, among which, the narratives of Glassmaker Rāstā (J2-Par.25 to J2-Par.49), Firdausi alley (Hanachi & Yadollahi 2011, 1034), whitewashing the ceilings (J3-Par.25), and boycotting new malls (J2-Par.17), are significant.

Firdausi Alley is an excellent example of the dispute and resistance of local communities against forced urbanisation. It was planned to pass through Tabriz Bazaar and cut it in two. Bāzāris resisted the project and stopped the street. The opening in the fabric of Tabriz Bazaar is still visible, and acts as a reminder of the disputes. The same conflict can be observed in the making of new streets which cut peripheral zones from the main body (J3-Par.41).The notion of Tabriz Bazaar as a symbol of backwardness also initiated the destruction of vaults in some parts of Tabriz Bazaar, on the pretext of health and safety (J3-Par.25). The conflicts between Bāzāris and the governor ended in a moderated solution, through which the interior spaces were whitewashed. Perhaps the most significant example of the fluidity of borders is

connoted in the glassmaker Rāstā (J2-Par.31 to J2-Par.35). The dialogism between radical urbanisation and everyday practices transforms highly metaphysical protection into a familiarised practice. Not all historic places were as lucky as the glassmaker Rāstā*;* in the case of a non-place like Shams shopping mall (J2-Par.24), a historic caravanserai was lost. These examples demonstrate the power struggle between an authoritative government and a resilient community which defies a hegemonic interpretation of progress.

In some cases the act of neglect turns into a site of resistance and, as Cronin (2003a, 2) argues, forms the becomingness of the space. In the northern part of the river, the new structures are boycotted by Bāzāris due to the forced acquisition of the land (J2-Par.16, J2-Par.17). The sense of illegitimacy of the new structures, backed by Meerāsees, defines the northern part of core zone as an abandoned area. Thus Bāzāris and Meerāsees both claim the land lost to urbanisation as part of Tabriz Bazaar; one aims to return the area to the rightful owners, and the other to reconstruct the lost historical fabric (J2-Par.26 to J2-Par.28). Again, the familiarised protection confronts the forceful urbanisation and shapes the fluid borders.

Transgredience

The becomingness of the buffer zone emerges from more than conflicts and resistance. The familiarised conservation is mainly related to the second aspect of becomingness; Tabriz Bazaar and the city are co-beings, interdependent, and act as transgredience (Todorov 1984, 95). Transgredience, as discussed in Chapter Four, explains the phenomena that are interdependent and contain elements that are necessary for the completion of others (Todorov 1984, 95). Bakhtin argues: “I cannot manage without another, I cannot become myself without another; I must find myself in another by finding another in myself” (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 287). In a different level of interpretation, both Tabriz Bazaar and the city are co-beings and mutually define each other.

Museums, for example, are physically located outside the territory of Tabriz Bazaar, but have a vital role in connecting the city and the event-ness of everyday practices (J3-Par.36 J3-Par.32 to J3-Par.36). Transgredience is the overlooked residential areas in the buffer zone which support business by acting as workshops and storehouses (J2-Par.23, J3-Par.23). Transgredience is also exemplified in commercial zones all over the city that is invested and constructed by Bāzāri families (J3-Par.4).

In this way, a shopping centre like the Lāleh complex (J3-Par.3) is essential to the existence of Tabriz Bazaar, although it is imagined to be damaging its businesses. Even the global market, which is keeping Tabriz Bazaar alive through export, can be a transgredience. Tabriz Bazaar emerges as traditional, in contrast to Lāleh as a non-place (Augé 1995). The fact that Bāzāri families create non-places like Lāleh intensifies the complexity of dialogism.

In such a phenomenon of co-being, mapping strict borders in an abstract hierarchical drawing in Map [H] is a fabrication. The core and buffer zone do not signify the complexity and becomingness of the boundaries. The fluidity of borders exemplifies an extraordinary process of absorbing the modern commercial spaces (J3-Par.20). The event-ness of daily life, however, engages the hostile establishments like Shams Mal and transforms them into part of event-ness. Shopkeepers in modern malls are members of the same guilds, Hei'ats (brotherhoods) as the other Bāzāris (Sarirai 2008, 58) (J3-Par.20). The same fluid management governs the shopping malls on behalf of the community (J1-Par.54). Another example is the Shoemaker Rāstā, where the heritage restriction prevents major development and alteration in the fabric. Many workshops and storerooms, therefore, are established outside the borders and unified with the stores (J3-Par.18). Such fluidity of the space can be observed in many other examples, including the loading station on the eastern side and backstreets of Sorkhāb (J3-Par.23).

The journeys show the difficulty of mapping Tabriz Bazaar as a familiarised and dynamic phenomenon. This complexity of interconnectedness demonstrates the impossibility of framing the heritage site into a complete task and a frozen phenomenon. Map [M] (Figure 6.16) is the closest representation of space as imagined. Map [M], as discussed in Chapter Six, must be read as presenting a Lamakan (a-territory) rather than representing the actual physical boundaries.

ii. Unfinished task of conservation

The dialogism between different forces, particularly between familiarised and de-familiarised interpretations, creates an ongoing phenomenon. This thesis, in Chapter Six, illustrated relationships between different memories through the concept of heteroglossia. Tabriz Bazaar signifies a vibrant heteroglossia in which a continuous change in physicality, functionality, and borders is apparent. The dialogue of agreement defines the interplay between unifying and dis-unifying forces, embedded

in Yādegār. In this way, no voice has the final word and the state recognises the polyphony of interpretations. Yādegār, however, is the result of a long-term and exhaustive process of negotiation through which agreement gradually shapes between the government and the community.

Many examples connote such diversity of speech types (Bailey 2012, 256) and dialogue of agreement (Todorov 1998). The Board of Trustees alters mosques through everyday actions of repairing and decorating which occasionally defy the conservation norms (J2-Par.18 to J2-Par.20). ICHHTO does not confront the alterations, despite being against the abstract moral system of Mirāse Farhangui, and maintains a "good relationship" (J2-Par.20). Bāzāris reject the historical flooring of Muzaffarieh as unfit for everyday life (J1-Par.27 to J1-Par.30). The final flooring is a hybrid creation of authentic and non-authentic materials (J1-Par.27 to J1-Par.32). The jointly managed repairs by ICHHTO and Bāzāris are commended and criticised at the same time by UNESCO, because missing architectural elements are widely reconstructed, the original colour of the interior changed, and the traces of ageing are wiped out (J2-Par.21, J2-Par.22). Against the teachings of the Venice Charter, there is " a tendency to overdo and to reconstruct missing elements or even parts of the Bazaar" (ICOMOS 2010, 140). Despite vibrant dialogism, such a relationship between centripetal and centrifugal forces rarely leads to monologisation as in Alishāh, and the voices enter into a dialogue of agreement. In this way, "Tabriz belongs to the community, not us [Government]. One cannot force the opinion of the majority on the minority when people are the owner of the place. One has to convince everyone" (J1-Par.30).[74] Such maturity (Bakhtin 1981, 67) in the interpretation of heritage creates an ongoing dynamism in which both centripetal and centrifugal forces are necessary for the creation of the heritage. Tabriz Bazaar, in this analysis, denies any monologic interpretation that claims to be absolute truth.

Conclusion

This chapter, in connection with three journeys, covers a gap in Iranian heritage scholarship. As discussed in Chapter Two, Iranian scholarship of heritage is widely dominated by monumentalism, and dismisses the lived experience of everyday as insignificant. This chapter illustrates that emotions and daily actions constitute substantial aspects of meaning-making in Tabriz Bazaar. It identifies Yādegār, a

[74] Interviewee I-2, interviewed on 17/05/ 2014.

different discourse from Mirāse Farhangui. Yādegār, as an entrenched discourse in the everyday life of Tabriz Bazar, is analysed through triadic architectonics of event-ness, familiarisation and open-endedness. The first journey explores the everyday practice in Tabriz Bazaar as event-ness of daily life. The second journey examines the conservation of heritage as a familiarised phenomenon and as community-based. The familiar conservation is identified as a practice that emerges from daily actions and emotions. Conservation of heritage in Tabriz Bazaar is an un-finalised process of co-being between familiarised and de-familiarised understandings and conservation practices. To further clarify such dialogism, the next chapter of this thesis will focus on de-familiarisation in Persepolis.

CHAPTER EIGHT: PERSEPOLIS MONOLOGISED

What happens when the political power behind the centralising force, in a heteroglossic model, demonstrates a tendency to eliminate polyphony and to suppress centrifugal forces? In the search for the answer to this question, Chapter Eight explores the becomingness of Persepolis, symbolising the worldview and the authority of the ruling order (Downes 2011, 108; Gopnik 2010, 195; Miller 2004, 218-242; Root 1979, 1, 309, 311) and the centre of Persian universe for the discourse of Mirāse Farhangui. Chapter Eight answers the question through the Bakhtinian concept of "monologism" (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 95; Morson & Emerson 1990, 56,57) and discusses the authoritarian tendency of Mirāse Farhangui to eliminate unauthorised and oppositional meanings of Persepolis. Monologism is an incomplete form of dialogism, in which a single voice denies "freedom of expression" for other voices (Tiupa 2008, 326) and forces multiplicity into a single abstract meaning (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 95). Monologism represents an "…objectified world, a world corresponding to a single and unified authorial consciousness" (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 9).

Persepolis is not an overwhelmingly disempowering experience, despite the desire of heritage officials. I analyse Persepolis through heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981, 272) and clarify that it is created as an interplay between two processes of unification and dis-unification. Chapters Eight and Nine must be read as linked, because together they create a contrast by analysing two opposing aspects of Persepolis. This thesis in Chapter Eight, focusses on the process of unification, including all representations of

an official and monologising interpretation of Persepolis. Chapter Nine, however, analyses the decentralising processes and the ways that official interpretation and the dominant political power are resisted. In this framework, chapters Eight and Nine each present a part of argument and together illustrate Persepolis as an ongoing dialogism. The reason for dividing the arguments is that the analysis and discussions are too extensive and cannot be delivered in a single chapter.

Persepolis is an unstable construction of Mirāse Farhangui because it alternates between monologisation and the carnivalesque of Nowruz. The carnivalesque of Nowruz, which will be discussed in Chapter Nine, is conceptualised as a reaction of marginalised voices to the monologisation of Persepolis. In contrast to Tabriz Bazaar, which exemplifies a "polyphonic agreement" (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 95) and a complete heteroglossia, the dialogism of voices in Persepolis reveal a repressive orientation toward "merging of voices and truths in a single impersonal truth" (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 95). I demonstrated in Chapters Two and Five that polyphony is necessary for the creation and continuation of rich heritage sites, because richness does not merely reside in physicality but also in the interplay between different understandings that animate physicality.

Chapter Eight is divided into three sections. The first section discusses different aspects of the monumentalist construction of Persepolis as represented in official documents and Western scholarship. In the second part, the relationship between Mirāse Farhangui and Western Orientalism is explored particularly in the context of three narratives—conflagration, Nowruz and Imperial Monument. In the third section, this thesis analyses the monologue of disempowerment through processes of de-vitalisation, control, and de-familiarisation.

This chapter studies the monologisation of Persepolis through analysis of official documents (ICHHTO 1931b; ICOMOS 1980; PPRF 2003; UNESCO 2006; Yazdani 2011), statements (Khamenei 2008), interviews, and the curatorial representations of Persepolis, including rhetorical frames (Goffman 1974, 22; Kuypers 2010, 288,289; Yazdani 2011), movements of visitors (Downes 2011, 51; Talebian 2004b, 145), conservation style (Bazljoo 2004; Britt Tilia 1972; Mousavi 2012), and historical narratives. Based on the analysis of curatorial setting, this thesis discusses that the monologised aspect of Persepolis encompasses a triadic structure, including monumentalism, a hegemonic Orientalist (Said 1978) appropriation, and creation of a sense of disempowerment among visitors.

The first dimension of monologisation is related to monumentalism as an ideological impetus behind the interpretation of Persepolis. In Chapter Two, I identified monumentalism as a phenomenon which encapsulates an over-emphasis on the aesthetic and historic aspects of heritage sites at the expense of analysis of their social and political dimensions. Chapter Eight further explores the problem in the context of official documents (ICHHTO 1931b; ICOMOS 1980; PPRF 2003; UNESCO 2006; Yazdani 2011) and Western scholarship (Britt Tilia 1972; Cameron 1958; Ghirshman & Gilbert 1964; Herzfeld 1928; Pope 1957; Root 1979; Schmidt 1953). My analysis demonstrates that official documents focus on the architectural and historic aspects of Persepolis because they interpret the social and spiritual aspect as insignificant. The monumentalist interpretation of Persepolis, as discussed in chapters Five and Six, emerges under the influence of a Western worldview embedded in rationalism and an objectivist understanding of the site (Aldawleh 1897).

The second dimension of monologisation is evident in the dialogue between Mirāse Farhangui and Western Orientalism. Because of the strong links between the Western construction of Persepolis and Mirāse Farhangui, this thesis critiques Western scholarship, particularly Orientalist literature, as part of the second dimension of monologisation. The dialogism alternates between submission to and resistance against the Western construction of Persepolis. This thesis identifies that dialogism is evident in unwittingly appropriated Orientalist narratives of “conflagration” (Herzfeld 1935, 44; Mousavi 2012, 59-61), “Nowruz” (Ghirshman & Gilbert 1964; Pope 1957) and “imperial monument” (Frankfort 1946, 11; Root 1979, 1, 309) in the curatorial setting of Persepolis. Orientalism, as Said argues (1978), is a historical construction of Eastern cultures as different from the West. It is a discourse which Western societies use to control and dominate eastern cultures (O'Sullivan et al. 1994, 212). The unintentional hybridisation of the Orientalist trope in Mirāse Farhangui is an example of a complex interplay that Bakhtin describes as an organic hybridisation (Bakhtin 1981, 360; Morson & Emerson 1990, 342). Western Orientalism, therefore, is a transgredience (Todorov 1984, 95) for Mirāse Farhangui because it not only represents an outside-ness (Morson & Emerson 1990, 53; Todorov 1984, 109,110) but also is necessary for the completion and existence of Iranian heritage discourse. Orientalism and Mirāse Farhangui co-create and define each other, and through otherness enter into a dialogic meaning-making.

The third dimension of monologisation encompasses the tendency of Mirāse Farhangui for a fixed, unchallenged and unified meaning. Such meaning disconnects Persepolis from the event-ness of everyday life and freezes the singularity of one past as ultimate truth. As a result, the curatorial setting of Persepolis primarily emerges from a monologue of disempowerment (Downes 2011, 108) in which the act of *Bāzdeed* (visit) shapes the visitors' "consciousnesses into the systemically monologic framework of a single worldview" (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 9). The monologue of disempowerment entails three processes—de-vitalisation, control, and de-familiarisation.

Monumentalism

In the official documents, Persepolis is fundamentally defined through physical attributes, artistic and historic values, and architectural significance. Official documents, therefore, never discuss the social, spiritual or political significance of the site. A similar monumentalist orientation can be observed in Western scholarship, particularly in early Orientalist literature of Persepolis that primarily focuses on historical and physical aspects. Official documents and Western scholarship, however, demonstrate a differentiation in recent years. Western scholarship reveals a shift toward a wider interpretation of Persepolis as a significant source of knowledge for the study of rituals (Naveh, Shaked & Bowman 1973), languages (Tavernier 2008), defence system (Mousavi 1992), religious ceremonies and gods (Razmjou 2004, 103) and everyday life (Davaran 2010, 14). Mirāse Farhangui, as Niknami argues (1999, 4, 5), lacks the flexibility to embrace such a shift. It not only resists the change but also remains deeply connected to an Orientalist vision which its proponents would be appalled to admit. This thesis will further explore the idea in this chapter under the hegemony of Orientalist tropes.

i. Official documents

The first group of official documents are the Records of Listing Persepolis in the National Immovable Heritage (ICHHTO 1931b). The documents are the most significant texts that define Persepolis as an Iranian heritage site. Persepolis was listed as the twentieth National Heritage site in 1931. The official documents consist of a variety of materials, including the statement of significance, archaeological reports, different samples of newspaper articles, the map of the core and buffer zone (Figure 8.1), and particularly the handwritings of Andre Godard (Figure 8.2), the French

Orientalist and the first head of National Museum. The focus of the document, as the most important official representation of Persepolis, is primarily on physicality. It describes the geographical location and the boundaries (ICHHTO 1931b, 44, 57), the architectural qualities of palatial buildings (ICHHTO 1931b, 60-70), decorations and reliefs (ICHHTO 1931b, 45), and methods of conservation of the fabric (ICHHTO 1931b, 99-101).

In addition to an object-oriented interpretation, the documents represent a historical understanding of the site which is mainly constructed in reference to Pope

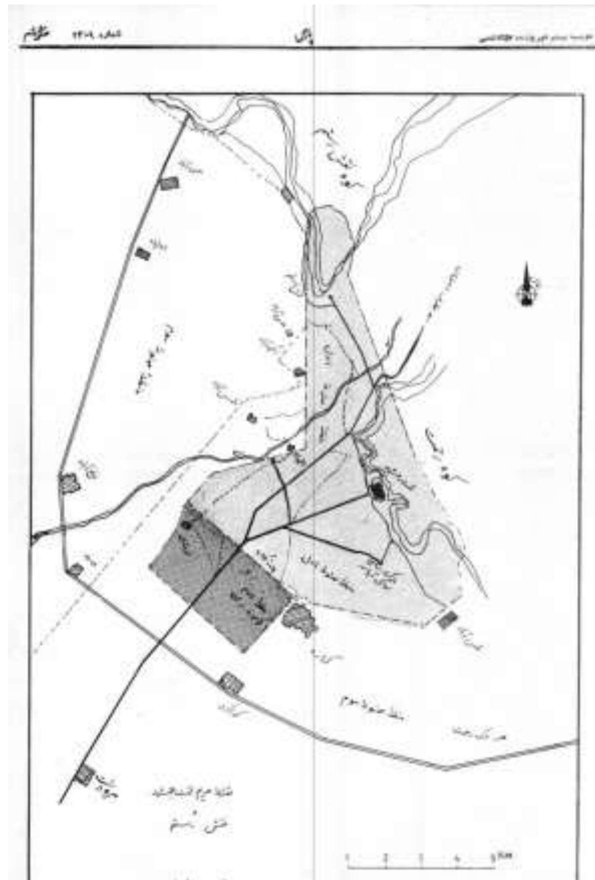
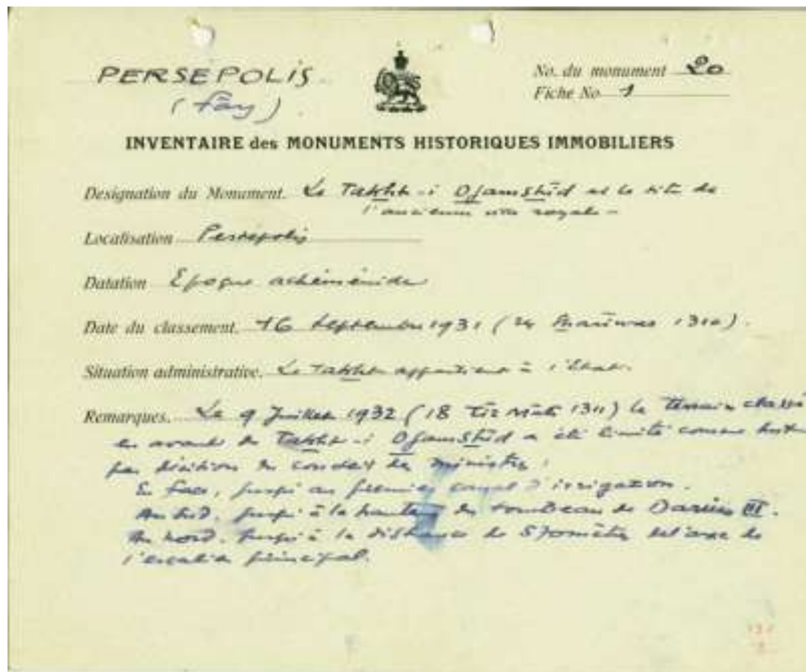


Figure 8.1: The buffer zone of Persepolis. Source ICHHTO 1931.

(1957), the famous Orientalist scholar. According to the text, sometimes in more emotional style than historical, Persepolis as a "magnificent court" is a complex of "palatial buildings" which "acted as a ceremonial place" for the Achaemenid kingdom (ICHHTO 1931, 44). The reliefs and engravings introduce the rich history of a significant site (ICHHTO 1931, 45) which "could not exist but in fairy tales" (ICHHTO 1931, 60). Persepolis "was the most sacred site in the Persian Empire" and

closed to the foreigners (ICHHTO 1931, 61). It acted as a “religious and a collective centre that protected the identity of a great imperial nation” (ICHHTO 1931, 60). The halls and pathways “were covered with white and black marble and the ceiling and walls with precious gems and statutes” (ICHHTO 1931, 61).

One of the most significant aspects of monumentalism is demonstrated in the map of the buffer zone and attached protective regulations (Figure 8.1). The focus of


PERSEPOLIS

No. du monument 20
Fiche No 1

INVENTAIRE des MONUMENTS HISTORIQUES IMMOBILIERS

Designation du Monument.

Localisation Persepolis

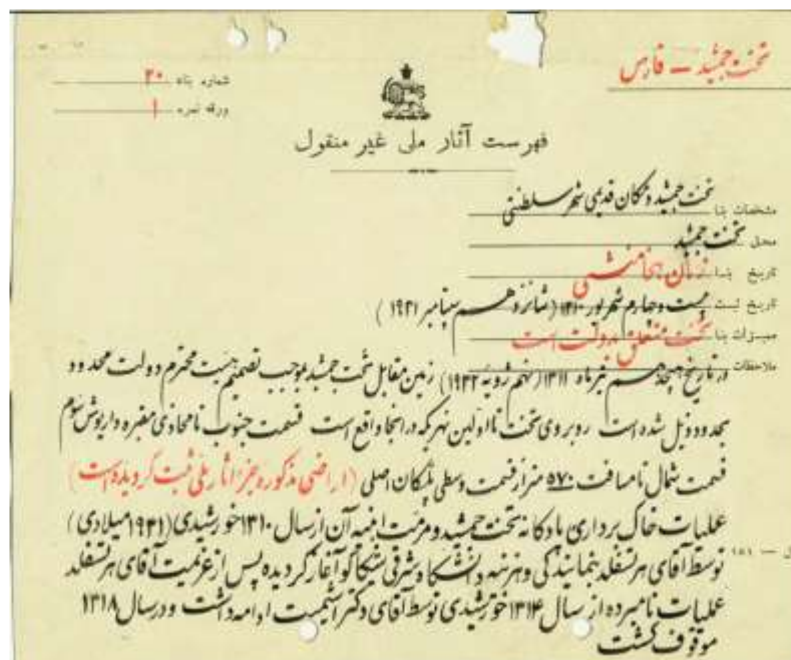
Datation Epoque achéménide

Date du classement. 16 Septembre 1931

Situation administrative.

Remarques. Le 9 Juillet 1932

Figures 8.2 (up) and 8.3 (down): The official statement of significance of Persepolis in French (up) and Persian (down). Both documents were prepared by French Orientalist Andre Godard. Source ICHHTO 1931.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regulations and the map is primarily on the conservation of physicality of the site. In this way, the everyday practices of an active rural area full of gardens, farms, villages and factories, around and inside of heritage territory, are regarded as insignificant, compared to the historic and aesthetic values of Persepolis. The strict regulations ban "planting trees," "farming," "mining," "any form of construction," "any activity that changes the shape of the landscape" (ICHHTO 1931b, 2). In addition, "all houses and infrastructures must be demolished in due time" (ICHHTO 1931b, 2). The borders of the core and buffer zone comparatively demonstrate an inflexible concept of space. In contrast to Tabriz Bazaar, in which borders are fluid and in a dialogue with the city, the boundary of the buffer zone of Persepolis appears as a monologue of monumentalism. The borders are rigid, unclear, and disregard the topographical feature of the land (Yazdani 2011, 5). The lack of clarity created confusion among villagers, developers and industries (ICHHTO 2017, 3, 4), who inevitably violate the heritage territory and regulations (Yazdani 2011, 49).

The second group of official documents defines Persepolis as World Heritage (ICHHTO 2003a, 2003b; ICOMOS 1980). According to an evaluation report by ICOMOS, Persepolis is an outstanding historic monument which is primarily defined through its materiality (ICOMOS 1980, Par. 1), historicity (ICOMOS 1980, Par. 1), and aesthetic values. Persepolis, the document says, embodies the criteria I, III and IV which in the value-system of World Heritage, connote the highest hierarchical position. Persepolis thus symbolises "a unique artistic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius" (UNESCO 1980, 5). It also bears "a unique or at least exceptional testimony" to a vanished civilisation. Above all, Persepolis is connected to "ideas or beliefs of outstanding universal significance" (UNESCO 1980, 5). The report, however, does not clarify which ideas or beliefs are embedded in Persepolis.

Similar monumentalist orientations can be found in reports that are more recent. In the revised statement of significance, ICHHTO merely focuses on the historic significance of the site and relates an Orientalist theory (Frankfort 1946, 11) in which Achaemenid art "is a mixture of other styles of art in the ancient world" (ICHHTO 2003a, 1). In this way, both groups of documents represent an active link with the Western construction of Persepolis which is based on an Orientalist understanding. This thesis, therefore, explores the connection between Mirāse Farhangui and the Orientalist construction of Persepolis by reviewing the Western scholarship of Persepolis.

ii. Persepolis in Western scholarship

This thesis in Chapter Two, discussed the object-oriented and monumentalist approach of Iranian heritage scholarship toward Persepolis (Mostafavi 1964; Sami 1974; Shahbazi 2001). In Western scholarship, particularly in older publications, a similar monumentalist orientation is evident, and Persepolis is mainly interpreted in terms of Alexander's conquest (Briant 2003, 2010), Biblical references (Dabashi 2015, 34-36; Daroogheh-Nokhodcheri 2014, 122, 123), the antique trade, scientific curiosity (Stronach 2012, xxii), and Greek art (Frankfort 1946, 11; Richter 1946, 26, 27).

As Briant argues (2003, 2010), the Western interest in Achaemenid history was developed to glorify the West overcoming the decadent East in the context of Alexander's conquest. The second aspect of Orientalist understanding relates to the Biblical references (Daroogheh-Nokhodcheri 2014, 122, 123) to Persepolis and Achaemenid history. In that sense, the excavation in Persepolis started relatively later than Mesopotamia (Downes 2011, 35), because Persepolis signifies lower historic-Biblical values in the eyes of Western scholars. The third aspect is related to the antiquity trade. The antiquity hunters, who were not necessarily of a positive character (Stronach 2012, xxii), overstated the artistic values of Persepolis in the context of commodification of Persian antiques. Persepolis objects are an attractive part of the Near-East collections in popular museums around the world. A variety of European graffiti (Mousavi 2012, 97-99) testifies to the popularity of Persepolis as a source of antiquity (Simpson 2007, 354). The fourth aspect is created by the Europeans, who were led by more of a sense of curiosity. They developed a scientific approach towards the cuneiform inscriptions and many other historical objects. Cuneiforms in Persepolis had a significant role in the decipherment of both Akkadian and Elamite texts (Stronach 2012, xxii). The fifth aspect of Orientalist understanding of Persepolis is constructed in the context of Greek Art. The site, as a grand accumulation of aesthetic objects, is widely studied by Western scholars as a representation of Imperial Achaemenid style (Ghirshman & Gilbert 1964). This archive includes more than 3000 relief figures (Downes 2011, 79), potteries, sculptures, tablets, and seals (Garrison & Root 2001). The objects in Persepolis, therefore, were discussed as created by Greeks (Richter 1946, 26,27), with lesser qualities, being eclectic and repetitive (Frankfort 1946, 11). In Orientalist literature, even the architectural techniques in Persepolis are considered as unoriginal; the techniques were adopted from Greece and Lydia

(Nylander 1970). In such a conceptualisation, Persepolis and Acropolis are often aesthetically compared.

In a dialogic sense, the history of late Achaemenid Persia is a transgredience for the Western conceptualisation of "self" and the world. Persepolis is an element outside the Western world which is necessary for the latter's completion and achievements. Such an outside-ness implies that a monumental and glorious Persian Empire is necessary for the narrative of Alexander as a Western hero through the concept of co-being (Holquist 2002, 24). A more magnificent and powerful image of the Persian Empire bolsters the achievements of the Greeks by conquering the Persians.

Scientific curiosity, plundering Achaemenid objects, and the overemphasis on Imperial Achaemenid style in Orientalist literature, can be clarified in the context of the historical contrast between ancient Greece and Persian Empire. Persian art and particularly Achaemenid architecture are transgredience for Greek classical art because they are conceptualised as inferior and representing a tyrannical government in contrast to Greek democratic values. The destruction of Persepolis by Alexander, for example, is often interpreted as revenge for the burning of Acropolis by Xerxes (Mousavi 2012, 69). Burning and sacking Persepolis is "a sign to the world of the beginning of a new epoch... The Ancient East was dead, the conflagration of Persepolis its funeral pyre" (Herzfeld 1935, 44).

Western scholarship has recently shifted toward a more diverse interpretation of Persepolis and Achaemenid history. It shows a development in Achaemenid historiography that seeks to place Persians at the centre of the discourse and not the Greeks (Colburn 2014, 774). The Achaemenid style is no longer conceptualised as a universal phenomenon, but discussed as containing different schools (Melikian-Chirvani 1993), or divided into two categories of formal and local (Colburn 2014, 775). In addition, the focus of study has been directed toward more than aesthetic and historic aspects of the site. Through study of clay tablets (Garrison & Root 2001, 3; Mousavi 2012, 20), the geographical background of Persian Empire (Arfaee 2008), rituals (Naveh, Shaked & Bowman 1973), languages (Tavernier 2008), defence system (Mousavi 1992), religious ceremonies and gods (Razmjou 2004, 103) and everyday life (Davaran 2010, 14), has researched.

The dialogism between the Iranian and Western construction of Persepolis is a complex phenomenon. The impacts of Orientalist construction of Persepolis on the

official discourse of Mirāse Farhangui is a significant aspect of monologisation that deserves more study.

Orientalist tropes

Iranians have unwittingly used a Western lens to interpret Persepolis. In a Bakhtinian sense, such appropriation of Western concepts connotes an "organic hybridisation" (Bakhtin 1981, 360; Morson & Emerson 1990, 342) and encompasses both submission to and resistance against Eurocentric values. Bakhtin defines organic or unconscious hybridisation, in contrast to "intentional," as the amalgamation of the different discourses used by the actors "in order to come to terms with daily changing experience" (Morson & Emerson 1990, 342). The organic (unconscious) hybridisations "…are pregnant with potential for new worldviews, with new internal forms for perceiving the world in words" (Bakhtin 1981, 360). In contrast to intentional hybridisation, in which two discourses preserve their identity and create a double-voiced phenomenon, in organic hybridisation different worldviews fuse into a new discourse.

Mirāse Farhangui, as discussed in Chapters Two and Five, is strongly shaped by the nativist movements that call for the rebirth, restoration or continuation of indigenous cultural customs, beliefs and values in contrast to Eurocentric universalism (Ale-Ahmad 1982; Nasr 1987b; Shayegan 1992). The movement conceptualises the Iranian tradition as an eternal and authentic source for contemporary life (Fazeli 2006, 5, 15). Such tendency is in marked contrast with the Orientalist reading of Persepolis by which Western culture is able to control and reconstruct Iranian culture "politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively" (Said 1978, 3).

Interpretation of Persepolis in Mirāse Farhangui partially emerges from three Western constructions of Nowruz (Ghirshman & Gilbert 1964, 208; Levine et al. 1981), the Conflagration (Siculus 1963, 320), and the Imperial Monument (Colburn 2014; Downes 2011; Gopnik 2010; Root 1979, 311; 2015). These narratives, by representing a negative and inferior image of Iranian culture as ontologically different from the West, systematically orientalise Persepolis and Iranian heritage (Said 1978, 3). Mirāse Farhangui, however, in a complex dialogism and organic hybridisation, uses these narratives in new meanings and interpretations that, firstly, resists against the hegemony of Eurocentrism, and secondly, create a unified and monologised

understanding of Persepolis. In this way, Orientalist tropes of the Conflagration, Nowruz and Imperial Monument can unwittingly fuse into Mirāse Farhangui and create new horizons and meanings.

Persepolis, according to Levine et al. (1981), Pope (1957), and Ghirshman and Gilbert (1964), is a ritualistic place and encompasses a ceremonial interpretation from its ancient reliefs in Apadana Palace. "Gift bearers" in the reliefs are used as evidence to the complicated ceremonial celebration (Mousavi 2012, 52). Such dramatic interpretations of the site as a ceremonial place and mainly linked to Nowruz has become a popular narrative in Iranian culture (ICHHTO 1931b, 44; Mehrnews 2013; Mousavi Gilmard 2010; Sami 1971). It has profoundly shaped the physicality and meanings of Persepolis in various ways, including conservation of the fabric (Mousavi 2012, 204-206), visitors' experience (Downes 2011, 136), and official celebrations (Grigor 2005; Stevenson 2008).

The narrative of burning and sacking the city, which Herzfeld (1935, 44) calls conflagration, is primarily narrated from classical texts (Siculus 1963, 320) and supported by archaeological evidence (Hammond 1992; Mousavi 2012, 55). The burning and sacking of the city in Orientalist narrative connotes the triumph of the victory of West over the decadent and different East. In Orientalist interpretation, the historical moment symbolises the ideological dominion of the Hellenistic culture, identified with Western values of democracy and freedom, over the despotism of the Persian Empire (Darooghe-Nokhodcheri 2014, 137). In the organic hybridisation of Mirāse Farhangui, such a moment encapsulates the pain and the shame of defeat. Persepolis is a monument to commemorate how "savage Greeks" who were led by the Alexander the Accursed (Wiesehöfer 2011, 124) unjustly destroyed a magnificent Empire. In this way, the curatorial setting of Persepolis transforms the narrative of conflagration into a nostalgic phenomenon and a site of resistance against the hegemonic universalism of Western orientalisation.

The third conceptualisation of the site is created by various Western scholars (Downes 2011, 108; Frankfort 1946, 11; Gopnik 2010, 195; Miller 2004, 218-242; Root 1979, 309; 1990, 134), who interpret Persepolis as an imperial monument and the centre of the Persian universe. The imperial monument connotes Persepolis as a centre of a harmonious universal order for the Persian Empire, symbolising the worldview and the authority of ruling order (Downes 2011, 108; Gopnik 2010, 195; Miller 2004, 218-242; Root 1979, 1, 309, 311). Mirāse Farhangui revives Persepolis

as a heritage monument and a symbolic centre which encompasses the genius loci of an imperial monument and encapsulates a strategy of disempowerment of visitors. This is because Persepolis transforms into a space that connects the past, the present and the future, and symbolises a monologic order in contemporary Iran.

The organic amalgamation of the Orientalist trope into Mirāse Farhangui connotes a complicated dialogism with two dimensions. Firstly, Orientalism is a transgredience (Todorov 1984, 95) for Mirāse Farhangui, an outside element that shapes the official discourse of Iranian heritage and is necessary for its achievements and continuation. Secondly, while all three narratives in Western scholarship are recently questioned and critically reinterpreted, in the monologised state of Persepolis, they are displayed as historical facts and absolute truth (ICHHTO 1931b, 44, 45, 60, 61). The symbolic role of Persepolis as the centre of universal order in contemporary Iran can be clarified by an example of its artistic values. In the modernisation rhetoric of the twentieth century, Persepolis motifs were widely used to revive a new style of architecture (Calmeyer 1987, 580) and artistic taste (Grigor 2007, 567). The revival of Achaemenid motifs and decorations in the Pahlavi and late Qajar era supported an "undeniable racist politics of homogenization and secularization"(Grigor 2014, 4). Mirāse Farhangui is, therefore, closely linked with the discourses of Pishraft (progress) and Vatanparasti (nationalism) and unwittingly supports the Orientalist construction of Persepolis as a significant source for Iranian culture.

Unconscious hybridisation of the narratives in Mirāse Farhangui creates an interpretation of Persepolis that opposes the polyphony of unapproved interpretations. Thus the narrative of conflagration defines Persepolis as an Iranian memorial related to reflective nostalgia (Boym 2001, xvii) of pain and the shame of defeat. The narrative of the imperial monument defines Persepolis as a space for restorative nostalgia (Boym 2001, xvii) for the revival of a glorious past. The narrative of Nowruz is appropriated for the celebration of dominant ideology and universal order in Persepolis. The hybrid interpretation of Persepolis, therefore, transforms into a monologism which is far from empowering visitors. This thesis expands this theory by analysing the heritagisation of the site in the 2500 Years Celebration of the Persian Empire (Grigor 2005; Stevenson 2008), the light and sound show (Britt Tilia 1972, I, xii; Grigor 2005, 27; Mousavi 2012, 205) and, the curatorial settings of Persepolis.

i. Narrative of Nowruz

The narrative of Nowruz represents Persepolis as a ceremonial space. Such interpretation is based on the setting of historical figures in Apadana Palace, that depicts different men carrying gifts and directed by Persian/Mede nobles. These figures led Western scholars, including Pope (1957), Ghirshman and Gilbert (1964), to conclude that the figures depict a ceremony of the New Year and an act of procession in which two groups of actors are involved. Persians, as the highest stratum, are the official interpreters of the ceremony. The second group is gift bearers who are the dignitaries of other nations and are carrying tributes for the king. Dspite the strong criticism against the validity of such a construction (Levine et al. 1981, 72), it has a noticeable impact on the interpretation of the site (ICHHTO 1931b, 61) through shaping the movements of visitors (Talebian 2004b, 141), and creating an atmosphere of formality and seriousness and an strict hierarchical structure for the act of Bāzdeed (visit).

Ghirshman's theory entails the symbolism of the reliefs as a ceremonial performance which has multiple phases. The ceremony is hierarchical, with the king on the highest peak (Ghirshman & Gilbert 1964, 208), Persian nobles as the true interpreters of the ceremony in the middle, and the visitors in the lowest stratum. It is based on the ritual of procession, so the dignitaries' experience of space and bodily movements are highly controlled. The rituals and performances "were chiefly intended to glorify the invincible might of the empire" (Ghirshman & Gilbert 1964, 154). The whole ceremony was supported by the architectural qualities of a hegemonic space (Codella 2007, 130-132). In such a monologised combination of space, different social groups, objects and performances, visitors or dignitaries had, no voice of their own, and were overwhelmed with a sense of disempowerment (Downes 2011, 108).

In the creation of this meaning, the architectural qualities of space had a significant role. As an example, the platform of the palatial complex and the Gate of All Nations stand eighteen metres above the surrounding plain. The passageway is guarded by the giant winged human-headed bulls (Codella 2007, 130-132) on both sides which are creating a sense of frustration. By slow and majestic ascendance (Root 1990, 118), the dignitaries were led by Persian/Mede escorts and performed the ritual of the procession in several phases; they followed specific paths and performed predefined movements which were different from those of their Persian hosts (Ghirshman & Gilbert 1964, 208). The act of procession, therefore, defines the

ceremonial nature of space, preserves the strict hierarchical structure, and controls movements. The narrative of Nowruz, from an Orientalist viewpoint, represents the East as different and decadent.

This fictional narrative of Persepolis (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991, 198) has been criticised as a "long, fanciful, and totally inaccurate" (Levine et al. 1981, 72) construction. Razmjoo reinterpreted the space with functionalities other than ceremonial (Razmjou 2010). This transformation in scholarship, however, has had minimal impact on changing the popular and popular appropriation of the narrative in Mirāse Farhangui. The narrative of Nowruz is the basis of interpreting Persepolis as a ceremonial heritage which is mainly represented in the famous of 2500 Year celebration of the Persian Empire (Grigor 2005; Stevenson 2008). The ceremonial plot visibly connoted a profound influence of the Orientalist trope; it included a symbolic procession, a royal banquette, the presence of delegations from around the world, and a stable hierarchical structure. In addition, the ceremony used the architectural qualities of space as a means of control. The impression of this appropriation is more intensified further by another contested Orientalist narrative of conflagration. The contrast between celebratory Nowruz and the tragedy of conflagration forms dramatic plot that creates a monologised meaning for Persepolis.

ii. Narrative of conflagration

The sacking, burning and destruction of Persepolis by Macedonians, which is often called a conflagration (Herzfeld 1935, 44; Mousavi 2012, 59-61), is a historical event with a broad impact on the interpretation of Persepolis. In an Iranian perspective, Persepolis is a memorial of pain, shame and anger. It symbolises "restorative nostalgia" (Boym 2001, 10) by focusing on the pain of a lost home which no longer exists. Such a genius loci of pain and anger emerges from a narrative which is adapted from classical texts, including Diodorus of Sicily (Siculus 1963, 320), and archaeological evidence (Hammond 1992; Mousavi 2012, 55). In the narrative of conflagration, the Greek army who were led by Alexander conquered the palatial complex in 330 BC, massacred people, plundered the treasures, and burnt the city to ashes. In Mirāse Farhangui and the discourse of Vatanparasti (patriotism), the conflagration represents a barbaric and unnecessary act of vandalism by "Alexander the accursed" (Wiesehöfer 2011, 124) and "savage Greeks" against a city which had

already surrendered. The term “savage Greeks” is often used in the narrative of the son et lumière show in Persepolis.

As an Iranian, I was raised in the same environment of memory that imagined the Greeks as brutal and Alexander as savage. ICHHTO often refuses to participate in international exhibitions in memory of Alexander because of this dispute. As an example, in an educational trip to Japan, an official in the National Tokyo Museum told me that ICHHTO had refused to participate in an exhibition in celebration of The Alexander (2005) because of the title of “Great” in front of the Macedonian’s name (Ansari 2012).

Classical texts describe the conflagration in different ways. Diodorus describes vast cruelty in massacring inhabitants and sacking the city (Siculus 1963, 320). Strabo (1903) justifies the act as revenge for the destruction of Greek temples and towns by Persians. A widely accepted dramatic description relates that Thais instigated the conflagration during an orgy (Bradley-Birt 1910, 216). The drunk Macedonians, then headed by Alexander, set fire on the palaces. The focus of this research is not to clarify the historical credibility of conflagration or prove whether it was an intentional act or an accident. Mousavi (2012, 57-71) who has analysed different narratives of conflagration, illustrates that the conflagration is a historical fact because it is backed by archaeological evidence. The trace of a great fire can be observed in halls of the Apadana and Hundred Columns, the Treasury and Hadish (Hammond 1992; Mousavi 2012, 61; Schmidt 1953, 78, 79). He explains that there are two camps of scholarly discussions in which one discusses the conflagration as an accident and the other as an intentional strategy.

The impact of conflagration on the interpretation of the site is evident in the son et lumière show which is performed weekly at the Persepolis site. The show, which was originally designed as part of the 2500 Year Celebration of the Persian Empire, continued after the 1979 Islamic Revolution with minor modifications (Mousavi 2012, 205). The show is a combination of illuminations, music, and dialogues between past kings (Artaxerxes II, Darius), Alexander, Greek savages, Thais, court members, and Hormazd, the highest deity worshipped in the Zoroastrian religion. The dramatic performance of conflagration is accompanied by illumination of the ruins with bright lights and music. The show dramatically recreates the burning and sacking of the city for the audience. Conflagration, according to the narrative, is a historical fact, but the weight of the savagery was not on the shoulders of Alexander. He tries to stop Thais,

"the prostitute," and "drunk savage Greeks." The story emphasises the continuation of the past in the present by narrating an ideology of the Persian Empire as immortal. The play ends with the popular anthem of *Ey Iran* as a modification to the original plot. The anthem strongly connects the performance to Vatanparasti (patriotism) and Iranian identity.

The bitter memory of burning and sacking the city is an inseparable part of the curatorial narrative of Persepolis and its monologisation. Persepolis is interpreted as a memorial for a nostalgic event in Iranian history, with a broad impact on the discourse of nationalism. In this way, the contrast between celebratory Nowruz and the lamentation in a nostalgic reading of the site creates a context that links the idea of modern Persian Empire to the remains of Persepolis (Grigor 2005).

iii. Narrative of the imperial monument

Much academic literature argues that Persepolis is an official form of architecture and an imperial monument which not only makes an ideological statement about the nature of dominant rule, but also promotes such ideology as absolute truth (Downes 2011, 108; Frankfort 1946, 11; Gopnik 2010, 195; Miller 2004, 218-242; Root 1979, 309; 1990, 134). In this way, Persian kings intentionally used the architectural qualities of Persepolis to eliminate unapproved voices and create a centre for harmonious universal order. Frankfort (1946), for example, considers the artistic style of Persepolis as monotonous and spiritless, as a result of Eastern absolutism (Frankfort 1946, 11). Miller (2004) suggests that the columned style of architecture encompasses imperial meanings that were adopted by Athenians in Acropolis, as a symbol of the victory over Persians (Miller 2004, 218-242). Gopnik debates the columned halls in Persepolis as offering the imperial imagery of Persian kings, with a profound impact on modern and ancient readings of Persian culture (Gopnik 2010, 195). Through the critique of such literature, I discuss that the idea of the imperial monument has profoundly influenced the monologised interpretation of Persepolis as the centre of modern Persian identity and a symbol of universal harmonious order. To clarify, Downes (2011) and Root (1979, 1990, 2015) should be further discussed, as their analysis of space and its decoration draws a direct link between materiality, power and social relations.

Root argues that "Achaemenid art is the art of kings" (Root 1979, 1). In Root's discussion, Persepolis is a "calculated articulation" (Root 1979, 309) of an imperial programme; Persepolis is a hegemonic monument, conveys the ideology of the Persian

Empire, and creates an idealised image of universal order. It is designed to impose an image of stable power and hierarchical order. Persepolis, therefore, symbolises an image of kingship and empire which is embedded in "a sense of placidity, of refinement, of ordered control" (Root 1979, 311). She later expands her theory by emphasising the prominent role of the king and his advisors in artistic creation (Root 1990). In Root's theory, however, the role of the audience is reduced to that of a passive participant: "this ideology stressed unity out of diversity, cooperation and ecumenical harmony among peoples of a vast polyglot empire" (Root 1990, 134). The creation of meaning in such a model is a monologue between the court and the voiceless subjects. Later, in a contradictory position, she claims that Persepolis was meant to engage the audience in a dialogue about power relations (Root 2015, 2). Her argument, however, fails to clarify the nature of the dialogue between "universal order" and "polyglot empire" (Root 2015, 2).

Downes compares Acropolis and Persepolis as the centres of two different systems, one autocratic and one democratic. In her argument, each site represents specificities which indicate the vast difference between two social orders.

> Persepolis uses very strong and immediate, mildly disturbing, Gestalt effects, to create a highly visually compelling, but also at least partially repelling, effect; it also controls movement closely, and unambiguously, with a strong element of restriction; its viewing space is very close to the viewer, which again compels a response, but also makes it difficult to gain a hold over it, creating a sense of frustration and disempowerment. The total experience is highly controlled and very immediate: the visitor to the site is involuntarily acted upon by the decorative effects. (Downes 2011, 108)

In this way, she identifies Persepolis as a hegemonic monument in which the organisation of the space, the decorations, and the movements, create a sense of disempowerment among the audience.

This thesis agrees with Downes and Root on a forceful impression of space because of the authoritative power relations between space and individuals. This study, therefore, clarifies similarities between two authoritarian constructions of "imperial monument" and "heritage monument" in the context of the movements, frames, spatial organisation, high culture, and bodily control. Mirāse Farhangui revives Persepolis as

a symbolic centre which encapsulates the genius loci of an imperial monument. This thesis, however, does not agree with Downes and Root who see the visitors as powerless and voiceless. The “disempowerment” (Downes 2011, 108) and “second life” (Bakhtin 1984, 11) are two inseparable sides of Persepolis that emerge in the context of power struggles between multiple interpretations. This study clarifies the sense of disempowerment in the next section, but interprets the second life of Persepolis in Chapter Nine.

The monologue of disempowerment

The monologue of disempowerment is the third aspect of the monologisation of Persepolis. At the beginning of this chapter I clarified that Persepolis is not an overwhelmingly disempowering experience despite the desire of heritage officials. This is because monologism should not be considered as an absolute domination of centripetal force. It is a dialogic process in which decentralising forces are marginalised and denied freedom of expression. Even though resistance against political power is not explicit in Persepolis, it is implicitly present in its every aspect. Every individual embodies his/her own interpretation, even though he/she is not allowed to express it in a monologised official interpretation.

The monologic interpretation of Persepolis can be identified through a triadic architectonics of de-vitalisation, control and de-familiarisation. De-vitalisation of the site imposes a sense of seriousness and formality in a frozen monument. Control, the second aspect of monologism, emerges from mental and physical frames, manipulating movements and spatial organisation. The process of de-familiarisation represents an abstract conceptualisation and an elite-based interpretation of the site which are based on historicity and Cartesian rationalism. The final act of monologisation resides in conservation that is focused on the fabric, ignoring the local community, and everyday practices related to the site.

i. Process of de-vitalisation

The official interpretation of Persepolis overwhelms visitors with an environment of seriousness and solemnity, and immerses them in a frozen setting. This environment is partly created under the influence of the narratives of conflagration and Nowruz, and it is evident in years of personal observation, in the media (Khoshnudi 2015; Tait 2005), in official documents (ICHHTO 1931b; ICOMOS 1980; PPRF 2003), in Iranian academic literature (Shahbazi 2013; Shahbazi & Aghai 2000), and in the expressions

of interviewees of this thesis (I-1, I-5, I-6 and I-12). In contrast to Tabriz Bazaar, wherein daily acts of singing, selling, decorating and celebrating create a dynamic environment, Persepolis is relatively devoid of the event-ness of daily life. This atmosphere of formality and seriousness creates a unification force that holds the order, and denies unwanted interpretations, mainly everyday interpretations of the site. Persepolis in the monologised state is relatively a dead place, dominated by an "atmosphere of concentration and silent admiration … so heavily charged with history" (Britt Tilia 1972, xii).

In the media, Persepolis is widely discussed as a historical entity, symbolic of Iranian culture which encompasses a sense of national pride. In such an environment, laughter has no place, and "playing" is outrageous (IRNA 2015). Such a prestigious monument cannot be used for "reckless car racing" (Mehrnews 2014), "as a park" (IRNA 2015), or as a "movie location" (Asreiran 2006). Individuals must visit the site with respect; they must not use the "stones as chairs" and they should not "speak loudly and make a noise," because it is a heritage place that is the "envy of the world" (IRNA 2015). Persepolis is the symbol of authority and the "magnificence of the Iranian Empire" that united many nations under one rule (Yazdanchi 2007); so taking a "selfie" with the ancient figures is disrespectful (Abdi 2011).

In the official expressions, Persepolis connotes an atmosphere of seriousness and placidity. Reza Shah, the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty, described Persepolis as a symbol of "Persian monarchy," a "magnificent past" that inspires "national pride and patriotism" (Sami 1976, 215). The Supreme Leader of Iran, who ideologically opposes Pahlavi, described Persepolis as a symbol of "the bitter and dark fate of oppressed people in history" (Talebian 2004a, 164). He adds, "…these are their houses in utter ruin, for they did wrong." Persepolis, at the same time, demonstrates the "dexterous hands, creative minds and magnanimous spirits of the Iranians" (Khamenei 2008, Par. 5). Official documents describe the same solemn environment of (ICHHTO 1931b, 2017; Talebian 2004b).

From personal observation, the spatial qualities of Persepolis create an impression of solemnity and seriousness. The first encounter with the site is through a narrow and long route, with one row of trees on both sides which suddenly opens to a wide plaza. The lofty stairs, the high terrace and the Gate of All Nations dominate the open space. I felt the same sense of wonder and confusion when passing through the winged-bull gate. In my eyes, a combination of the architecture, signs and stories of

Conflagration/Nowruz creates a peculiar environment incomparable to any other Iranian heritage site. Persepolis in the monologised state is a place of unprecedented formality and is not a place for laughter. It is disconnected from the event-ness of daily life and is relatively dead. One can see small groups of visitors solemnly read the signs, move through predefined paths, and listen to curators who narrate the official interpretation.

De-vitalisation is also evident in the interviews. Participant I-12, an archaeologist, uses the exaggerated metaphor of a "fossil" to describe the frozen state of Persepolis. Participant I-5 comments on the rigid interpretation of Persepolis which is disconnected from the local community. Participant I-1 talks about the superficial interpretation of Persepolis which is "an empty shell." Participant I-6, a high ranking official in the government, says "Persepolis is completely different [from Tabriz Bazaar] and it can be only conserved and used as a Museum. We must tighten our control on visitors of Persepolis, more than what is happening today."

Thus media, personal observation, and interviews with heritage professionals express a sense of solemnity in Persepolis which emerges from the architectural qualities and unintentional uses of narratives of conflagration and Nowruz.

ii. Process of control

The process of control, as the second facet of the monologue, is a part of a centripetal process which holds the official order. It encompasses systematic movement, spatial organisation, frames, and bodily control. In the analysis of control, this thesis focuses on mental and physical barriers, predefined pathways, curatorial narrative, signs, and the conservation practice. In the implementation of control, the Orientalist narrative of Nowruz has a significant impact. By reconstruction of the procession ceremony in a contemporary environment, the role of Persians as the official interpreters is metaphorically taken by heritage professionals, dignitaries with visitors, and the act of procession with Bāzdeed (visit) (Talebian 2004b, 141).

Frames

As Goffman (1974) and Kuypers (2010) discuss, frames are a vital part of control through which individuals deal with complex situation by "guided doings" (Goffman 1974, 22). Rhetorical framing is a mode of altering reality, not by direct intervention, but through the generation of discourse to reach specific goals (Kuypers 2010, 288, 289). Frames, therefore, are defined by representations, including maps, physical

barriers, and metaphysical restrictions. As part of the monologisation of Persepolis, they impose considerable force to define the relationship between visitors and space. Frames are designed by heritage officials to detach individuals from the fabric, the heritage territory from the setting, and culture from nature. Frames in Persepolis can be divided into mental/physical and internal/external ones. This study analyses the map of the core and the buffer zones, the physical barricades, and the protective regulations as metaphysical barriers, to clarify the role of frames in the heteroglossia of Persepolis, and the process of unification of meaning.

In Persepolis, as discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, the borders of the core and buffer zones comparatively demonstrate an inflexible concept of space. In contrast to Tabriz Bazaar, in which borders are fluid and in dialogue with the city, the boundary of the buffer zone appears as a monologue of Mirāse Farhangui. In such a monologue, the borders are rigid, authoritative, and overpower the cultural and natural landscape (Yazdani 2011, 5). This monologic interpretation of the landscape creates confusion among the local community, who have no other choice but to violate the fabricated heritage frames (Yazdani 2011, 49). A a recent example of conflicts between the local community and the government is the demolition of a silo, five gardens and farms by court order (ICHHTO 2017, 3,4).

Another difference from Tabriz Bazaar relates to the concept of the cultural landscape as a bureaucratic interpretive tool. The cultural landscape is not a part of the official construction of Persepolis, but it creates a subtler control in Tabriz Bazaar. As discussed in Chapter Six, the cultural landscape is a concept that links tangible and intangible aspects of heritage, culture and nature, and culture and biodiversity (Rössler 2006, 334). It represents fluid boundaries that allow more active relationships with the context (Harris 2016, 179). In the official interpretation of Persepolis, strict lines exist between culture/nature, tangible/intangible, and city/heritage. The site is not only detached (physically and metaphysically) from the natural environment, but also from folklores of Jamsheed and Solomon, and the proximate city of Marvdasht.

Physical barriers are another form of control which is widely used to detach the materiality from individuals. Wooden pathways, glass balustrades and security fences carefully divide the heritage territory from visitors and the natural environment. In contrast to Tabriz Bazaar, in which individuals freely make contact with the fabric, the relics of the past in Persepolis are detached from simple daily actions including touching and walking. Control in Persepolis is strongly linked to the monologisation

of heritage. In contrast to Tabriz Bazaar, individuals experience the cuneiforms, reliefs, columns and stairs, not as blind as "lovers in each other's arms" (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 93), but with "hypostatized consciousness" (Gardiner 2000, 48). Figures and reliefs are separated from visitors by a glass balustrade. They are demonstrated in the museum as historical relics. A wooden pathway acts to prevent "…the deterioration from direct contact, stepping on the authentic elements like stairways and floorings" (Talebian 2004b, 140). Touching of the relics is a "primary problematic" (Talebian 2004b, 140) which is prevented by glass railings. In this way, the frames control the visitor's experience, define reality and impose a particular interpretation which does not empower visitors.

The last type of frame is metaphysical in nature. Rules and policies, as part of the discourse of Mirāse Farhangui, control the relationship between individuals and the landscape. Chapter Five, explored the legislative dimensions of Iranian heritage as a significant aspect of conflict. In Persepolis, farming, mining, housing, and drawing from underground water are, controlled by a set of strict regulations (ICHHTO 1931b, 2). In Persepolis, the separation of heritage territory from the context is a monologue. The language of regulations, in contrast to Tabriz Bazaar, is authoritative, restrictive and rigid (Yazdani 2011, 36-49), and is intended to be the final word (Tiupa 2008, 328).

The orientation of official interpretation toward forceful and top-down framing, however, has had many adverse effects. The city of Marvdasht has expanded into the heritage territory, so the landscape is deformed by high-rise buildings, archaeological sites are destroyed by "illegal" farming, polluting industries are established, the underground water is excessively drawn upon, and vast mining has spoiled the landscape (Yazdani 2011, 20, 21).

Movements

Controlled movement is a primary element in the architectural qualities of Persepolis, both as an Imperial Monument and a heritage monument. Downes (2011) analyses the spatial structure and the movement in Persepolis in the light of the theory of space syntax. In this analysis, architecture "provides cues to move, or stay still, or hesitate and encourages interaction with the environment, rather than simple observation of it" (Downes 2011, 51). In her argument, a series of techniques have been used to define controlled movement in Persepolis, including blocking the sightlines, playing with the

scale, and with the open space, and installing a massive staircase at the entrance (Downes 2011, 55,56). In this spatial interpretation, the movement in Persepolis provides a controlled experience for visitors. Persepolis as a site-museum and a contemporary production uses this spatial syntax (Downes 2011, 51), including blocking the sightlines, playing with the scale, and with the open space, and using predefined pathways to create a controlled environment.

The wooden pathway, defining an authorised form of movement, coincides with the narrative of Nowruz as noted by Ghirshman and Gilbert (1964). Individuals participate in Bāzdeed as if they follow the path of delegations, the gift bearers, in the ritual of the procession. In such a linear and controlled experience, individualised interpretations must confront a predefined agenda in their expression. Bāzdeed starts from the lofty staircase and uses the architectural qualities and impression of a colossal entrance. As Root notes:

> The double-reversed stairway to the citadel divides the space into diverging streams, teasing time and distance with the slowness of delayed gratification, forcing temporary suspension of upward action at the landing plateau, and, finally, coaxing the inevitable convergence towards the unified center of the colossal gateway, which simultaneously channels visitors inside. (Root 1990, 118)

By ascending the stairs, Bāzdeed continues through the Gate of All Nations, as a point of transition and a symbolic threshold. Visitors are directed through the same path that was pilgrimaged by the delegations of the Achaemenid Empire. They enter the forecourt of Apadana Palace. The visitors, then, are directed to the Darius Palace to the Tripylon, and finally enter the Hall of One Hundred Columns (Talebian 2004b, 145) (Figure 8.4). The movement, therefore, closely imitates the Orientalist reading of the Nowruz ceremony. There is, however, an important modification in official walking; the visitors finally are directed to the Necropolis on a hill overlooking the site, where they can see a powerful overview of Persepolis. In the discourse of Mirāse Farhangui and World Heritage, The notion of Persepolis as a symbol of the “invincible might of empire” (Ghirshman & Gilbert 1964, 154) is replaced by the “world’s greatest archaeological site” (UNESCO 2015a, 19).

The links between Orientalism and Mirāse Farhangui are not limited to movements. Persepolis both as a heritage and an imperial monument connotes a hierarchical system in which every element has a particular place in a rigorous organisation (Morson & Emerson 1990, 27, 28).

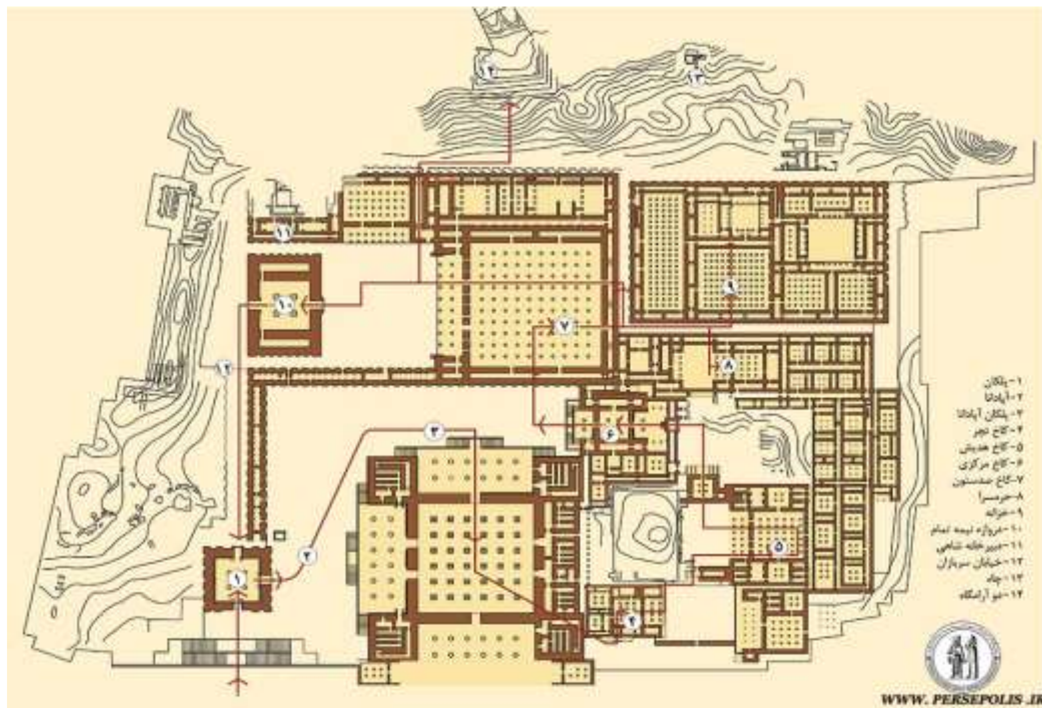

Figure 8.4: The predefined movements of visitors in Persepolis according to an official brochure published by ICHHTO. The movement unwittingly coincides with the movement of dignitaries of Persian Empire nations in the Nowruz ceremony as Ghirshman illustrates. Source Parse Pasargad Research Foundation (PPRF).

Spatial organisation

Struggle over space has always been a significant aspect of power relations (Harvey 1989, 232). In the context of Orientalist tropes, which were clarified earlier in this chapter, *Takht* (the platform) and the king are the centre of the Persian universe and the symbol of Achaemenid order (Root 2015, 8,9). Takht, as Root argues (2015, 8, 9), was the most significant space in the whole Persian Empire. Persepolis architecture, as Downes notes, is based on "segregation values," "spatial differentiation," and "physical proximity to the king" (Downes 2011, 246) as the centre of the political order.

The contemporary heritage interpretation and spatial organisation of Persepolis are directly drawn from the imagined uses of the site in the past. The monologised interpretation of Persepolis is spatially created around Takht and create the effect of

control and subordination. Takht is the most culturally and historically significant site in the National Heritage List, and from the Iranian viewpoint, possibly in the world (ICHHTO 1931b, 60). Directing the visitors toward Takht, which is the most significant historic and aesthetic space, symbolises the authority of the state and the ideology of monumentalism. In this way, the contemporary spatial organisation of Persepolis encompasses an important aspect of the heteroglossia of meaning and can be considered as a part of centripetal process.

In the next chapter, this thesis will discuss the transformation of the plaza of Persepolis into a carnival ground and a competing spatial centre, in contrast to Takht. This transformation symbolises the resistance of visitors and community groups to the centralised spatial structure of Mirāse Farhangui.

Bodily control

In my observation, the visitors of Persepolis often demonstrate formal behaviour which encompasses a degree of personal bodily control. The sense of bodily control, in this way, is framed firstly by the architectural qualities of Persepolis (Downes 2011, 136) and secondly, is constructed from the curatorial setting of the site which limits bodily interaction with physicality.

in Chapter Seven, this thesis discussed how, in Tabriz Bazaar, individuals can freely use their body to explore and create the space through simple daily actions. In the official interpretation of Persepolis, in contrast, walking, touching, and changing the fabric are controlled for conservation reasons. Chapter Four discusses the role of walking in the creative understanding of space. Visitors, by walking, discover the "thick and thins" (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 95) of space and create an unconscious way of interpretation. Walking is a familiar act which animates Persepolis and shapes its physicality. By walking and through moving their bodies, individuals create Persepolis in every moment and on a daily basis (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 94). The daily act of walking in Mirāse Farhangui is not considered positively, and as an element which animates the site and carries potential meaning. In an official report, walking is interpreted as a problem for its erosive effects on physicality:

> Visitors of Persepolis must be banned or strictly controlled to walk through certain paths… it is difficult for the visitors to navigate the site for the vastness and lack of predefined paths. They wander and walk through certain spaces many

> times, particularly those that connect attractive locations. This has a damaging effect on the fabric.[75] (Talebian 2004b, 140)

The restriction of walking, as implemented in the official interpretation of Persepolis, has a dual impact on the process of meaning-making. Firstly, it supports the monumentalist reading of the site and has effects which prevent the deterioration of the historic fabric. Secondly, by the "strictly controlled" (Talebian 2004b, 140) movement of visitors, a monologised interpretation of Persepolis is more inclined to "instruction" and leaves limited space for "provocation" (Tilden 1957, 33). By limiting walking as part of the embodied knowledge of space, Mirāse Farhangui barely "stimulate[s] the reader or hearer toward a desire to widen his [or her] horizon" (Tilden 1957, 34) and is far from empowering visitors.

The second aspect of bodily control is related to the architectural qualities of Persepolis, that convey a sense of the body as "formal, controlled, and distanced from its physiological origins" and also signify a "strong social pressure" (Downes 2011, 136). The repetition of figures, for example, implicitly demands a formal behaviour from visitors which amplifies the sense of detachment from the fabric.

One of the significant aspects of bodily control is demonstrated in the official interpretation of attitude towards children. Young children use their minds, their senses and bodies to explore, to engage and to interpret heritage sites and museums (Weier 2004, 106, 107). In doing so, they use various performances, including "role-playing, singing, dancing, body movements and poses, facial gestures, and noise making" (Piscitelli, Everett & Weier 2003). Children when empowered, can even act as tour guides, and share their open-minded and spontaneous interpretations of space with adults (Jeffers 1999, 50). Such powerful meaning potential has no place in the official interpretation of Persepolis, and young children are often regarded as a risk to the fabric (IRNA 2015).

Although many children visit Persepolis, they experience a similar atmosphere of solemnity, formality and bodily control. For example, in 2017, more than 100 primary students participated in a program to be "instructed" for a proper Bāzdeed (visit). The objective, according to PPRF, was to educate the students in the history and "the culture of conservation," and prevent "climbing columns and taking

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[75] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

selfies with the remains."[76] In this way, formality and bodily control shape the physicality and create a meaning which is devoid of the familiarity of everyday life. It separates Persepolis from the everyday lives of individuals, their experience, and their memories, and relies on cognitive knowledge in contrast to embodied knowledge. This phenomenon encompasses a de-familiarised reading of Persepolis.

iii. Process of de-familiarisation

In the context of Persepolis, the concept of de-familiarisation encompasses two dimensions. Firstly, Persepolis is dominantly a production of high culture, and secondly, it is interpreted through theoreticism. In this way, Persepolis is constructed and interpreted as a cultural resource for the creation of hegemonic culture, literature, artistic taste, and chauvinistic nationalism (Grigor 2007, 562, 584, 585). The heritage site is a significant reference in the development of Iranian archaeology under the light of Western scientific rationalism (Malekshahmirzadi 1987, 155-192; Mousavi 2012).

Theoreticism

In Mirāse Farhangui, Persepolis is primarily identified through theoreticism which subordinates everyday understanding into a formalised, metaphysical system dominated by a monologised abstract awareness (Gardiner 2000, 48). This an abstract conceptualisation of the site was initiated by Western adventurers, and expanded by historians and archaeologists who "discovered" Persepolis. Chapter Five arguse that the abstract conceptualisation based on Eurocentric rationalism, was continued by Iranian scholars, who dismissed the idea of Jamsheed's Throne and reshaped the site as a historical phenomenon (Codella 2007, 1-24; Mousavi 2012, 95-121). By adopting theoreticism, Mirāse Farhangui refuses any other interpretation or viewpoint that it cannot fully assimilate. This notion of Persepolis was incorporated by Iranians in the twentieth century, who dismissed Takhte-Jamsheed (Jamsheed's throne), Takhte-Soleimān (Solomon's Throne), Chelminār (Forty-Columns) and many other folklores as irrational gibberish (Aldawleh 1897, 316). Despite the significant role of such "gibberish" in animating the site and in the collective memory of Iranians, Persepolis was purified from so-called "superstitions" and reshaped through historicism and scientific rationality.

[76] http://parse-pasargad.ir/ accessed 16/03/2017.

Examples of the de-familiarisation of Persepolis through theoreticism are varied. On a global scale, scientific values represent Persepolis as “among the world's greatest archaeological sites which have no equivalent and which bear witness of unique quality to a most ancient civilization” (ICOMOS 1980, 2, Par III). The inscriptions of Persepolis made an outstanding impact on the decipherment of the cuneiform engraving by Europeans in the neinteenth century (Mousavi 2012, 113). Many scholars who excavated the site helped to establish archaeology as a national discipline. Scientific excavation was started by European scholars including Herzfeld and Schmidt. According to Abdi (2001, 110), after 1939, the work was continued by the Archaeological Service of Iran under Hosein Ravanbod (four months in 1939), Isa Behnam (1939- 1940), Mahmoud Rad (1940), Ali Sami (1941-1959) and Akbar Tajvidi (1968-1976). These examples highlight that Persepolis is a highly revered scientific phenomenon in the context of Iranian modernity.

The systematic approach, as be examined in this account of de-familiarisation, transforms Persepolis into a phenomenon which is detached from the event-ness of everyday life. By system, this thesis means “a set of interrelated entities, of which no subject is unrelated to any other subset” (Kramer & De Smit 1977, 14). The rigorous system of conservation and management, as Smith argues (Smith 2006, 87, 86), is institutionalised in documents and organisations, including UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICHHTO. In the case of Persepolis, the system includes a complex organisation in which a board of trustees sits on the apex. The board, whose members are appointed by the government, and unlike Tabriz Bazaar, is disconnected from the community, supervises the managers, technical council, strategic council, and workgroups, whose members are also appointed by the government.[77] The hierarchical structure of management represents a noticeable difference from Tabriz Bazaar, in which control is distributed between the administration and the community in a dialogistic manner. In Tabriz Bazaar, as discussed in Chapter Seven, the Board of Trustees is fundamentally a community-led organisation with a flexible structure. The Board of Trustees in Persepolis represents the institutionalisation of Mirāse Farhangui as the dominant discourse of cultural heritage.

The next aspect of control in systematic practice demonstrates a rigid social structure in the professionalism which intends to separate experts from non-experts.

[77] http://parse-pasargad.ir, accessed 15/03/2017.

Smith (2006, 91) and Harrison (2013, 56) argue how the power/knowledge relation is manifested in charters and organisation, alienate the public from heritage places, and establishes a higher position for experts. Persepolis is a striking example of such bureaucratisation and separation which places the site outside of the understanding of non-experts and everyday life. More than 80 professionals and artisans, including archaeologists, architects, engineers, geologists, curators and guards are involved in maintaining such an organisation (PPRF 2003, 4). Placing the professionals in the highest stratum is in contrast to Tabriz Bazaar in which Meerāsees (heritage professionals) are connected to the community through kinship and social values.

A production of high culture interpretation

Persepolis, in the official interpretation, is dominantly a production of high culture which denies many familiar interpretations of Persepolis that are embedded in popular culture. Persepolis, as will be discussed in Chapter Nine, can be interpreted as an interplay between many low and high conceptualisations of the site. As a de-familiarised phenomenon dominated by theoreticism, Mirāse Farhangui opposes the "misuse" of Persepolis in any "mutilation," "vulgarisation," "corruption," or "impairing [of] the qualities" by ordinary individuals (Gans 1999, 27).

This thesis in introduction illustrated that Mirāse Farhangui, influenced by nativism, interprets Persepolis as a source for a high, elite-based, and hegemonic reading of Iranian culture (Fazeli 2006, 5, 15; Grigor 2007, 562, 584, 585). In this way, Persepolis is separated from what adherents of high culture might regard as "superstitions" and the "gibberish" of "ignorant commons" (Aldawleh 1897, 316), embedded in many folklores of Jamsheed, Solomon and supernatural powers (Aldawleh 1897; Ibnu'l-Balkhi 2005, 126). Persepolis, as the proponents of high culture interpretation imagine, is not a place for picnic as some "unaware" individual think (IRNA 2015). The contradiction between the high and popular construction of Persepolis highlights polyphony and many potential meanings.

The culture of the elite and the mass are often conceptualised as dichotomous (Gans 1999; Storey 2006). Gans (1999), for example, argues that in Western societies, the longest and the most significant cultural struggle occurs between "educated practitioners of high culture" (Gans 1999, 3) and the rest of society. Strinati (2004) discusses an antagonism between "mass culture" and "intellectual elite," who see the mass culture as a source of anxiety and fear, because it threatens their traditional role

in society (Strinati 2004, 13). Chapter Nine demonstrates, in contrast to Strinati, that high and popular interpretations of Persepolis are intertwined, can coexist, and enter into a dialogic relationship in the Nowruz festival.

Persepolis, as Grigor notes (2004, 18) is interpreted by Iranian intelligentsia of the twentieth century to create *Zawq* (good cultural taste). These educated elites conceptualised Zawq as the true spirit of the nation, and the forgotten glory of a Persian monarchy (Grigor 2014, 6). The notion of Persepolis as a production for high culture is also evident in expressions of an interviewee of this thesis: "I am not optimistic toward ordinary people. In my view, the high number of visitors [in Persepolis] is not an indicator of an awareness of the values of the site."[78] Another participant, a university lecturer, despises the popular use of Persepolis motifs and decorations by Iranian in their houses:

> For most Iranians, it is not clear why they should protect Persepolis. Our people do not truly believe in the fabric as a part of their identity. For the same reason, they use such a valuable fabric in vulgar forms.[79]

Another example of high culture interpretation of Persepolis by some official government interpreters is related to the events of the Shiraz Art Festival (Gluck 2007, 21) and 2500 Years Celebration of Persian Empire (Stevenson 2008). In both events, the audience was selected from a group of elites, and the performances were completely closed to the public. In the Shiraz Art Festival, famous musicians, dancers and filmmakers from abroad performed with Iranian peers (Gluck 2007, 21). Such a gap between high and popular culture is criticised as a source of dispute:

> The Shiraz Art Festival … was judged highly avant-garde, even in Western countries… Unwittingly, this situation causes popular aversion for relics where such events take place, reflected in a large popular rush to destroy Persepolis after the Islamic Revolution, which was fortunately averted with the dedicated intervention of some people. (Hodjat 1995, 201)

Furthermore, the current physicality of Persepolis is profoundly shaped as a theatrical stage for the events of the Shiraz Art Festival and the 2500 Years Celebration of

[78] Interviewee I-6, interviewed on 19/05/2014.
[79] Interviewee I-3, interviewed on 19/05/2014.

Persian Empire (Mousavi 2012, 204, 205). This fact reveals another aspect of de-familiarisation embedded in conservation practice.

Conservation of the fabric

De-familiarisation is best exemplified in the conservation of Persepolis which in contrast to Tabriz Bazaar is primarily defined by abstract conceptualisation, professionalism, and a complex administration. The dominance of reconstruction in conservation is another aspect which deserves particular attention. In this way, Persepolis is subject to a de-familiarised form of reconstruction (that is anastylosis) in which architectural elements are completed. This practice aims to create a clear view of the glorious past and overstates the genius loci of placidity and refinement. According to article 14 of the Venice Charter, anastylosis applies to "the reassembling of existing but dismembered parts," and in article 9 a "highly specialised operation." Reconstruction in Persepolis, however, visibly exceeds the boundaries of this definition by over-reassembling and using new parts (Bazljoo 2004).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, two opposing camps shaped the conservation of Persepolis. The first camp argued that the collapsed columns should be conserved in their scattered condition in the testimony to the tragic conflagration and brutality of Alexander. The second camp insisted on restoring the columns to the original state. This situation resembles more recent arguments for the vandalising the of Buddha of Bamiyan in March 2001 (Francioni & Lenzerini 2003; Petzet 2002). Magnificent rock sculptures of the Buddhas of Bamiyan were destroyed by the military force of the Taliban Government in Afghanistan in 2001. Conservation of the remains divided professional into two camps of "preserving the state after the destruction or reconstruction of the state before the destruction" (Petzet 2002, 189). The first choice is more compatible with the universalised ethical system of the heritage industry as promoted by international documents, including the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964). At a turning point, the reconstruction of the Persepolis was implemented. This decision was made, as Mousavi (2012, 204-206) notes, in the political context of the 2500 Years Celebration of the Persian Empire. The controversial ceremony required a dramatic plot for the nostalgic reconstruction of a modern Persian Empire (Mousavi 2012, 204-206). Reconstruction was achieved by experts from Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed

Estremo Oriente (IsMEO).[80] The intensive operation included unapproved techniques to restore a complete image of Persepolis. The decision of reconstruction, the pace of implementation and the techniques, have been criticised as irreversible and damaging:

> The continuous and inconsistent reconstruction works have changed the image of the heritage site to an extent that has violated the principle of authenticity… [In some parts] more than 85% of the facades are patched up with new stones.[81] (Bazljoo 2004, 73)

According to the Nara Document (UNESCO 1994), authenticity is a culturally relative concept and is related to the values that each society assign to heritage sites. In both Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis, the reconstruction of lost elements is prominent and a comparison between two cases is necessary. Chapter Seven illustrated that Tabriz Bazaar is protected by a familiarised conservation practice in which community and state participate. Through such a dialogue, a peculiar style of restoration emerges, in which reconstruction of missing elements and buildings prevails. In Tabriz Bazaar, protection relies on humans who are answerable to others and co-create space as a heritage site (Gardiner 2000, 55), not a complex systems with a rigorous hierarchy (Morson & Emerson 1990, 27, 28). In Persepolis, however, the reconstruction demonstrates a top-down, highly politicised, and complex metaphysical system. It is a performance which is primarily imposed by the state to create a "holistic vision of a glorious past projected onto a utopian future" (Grigor 2005, 23). It is also backed by a complex metaphysical system in which reconstruction turns into anastylosis, a highly specialised phenomenon which is exclusively performed by the experts. Tilia reports the formation of such a sophisticated and hierarchical system (Britt Tilia 1972, 5). She also explains the moral agenda of "conservation" in such practice (Britt Tilia 1972, 6-9). In her discussion, the practice is fundamentally distinct from daily maintenance which was performed by Achaemenid stonemasons (Britt Tilia 1972, 3).

The complex and metaphysical system of reconstruction transformed into a phenomenon which is readily accepted in World Heritage and Mirāse Farhangui and praised as "among the world's greatest archaeological sites" (ICOMOS 1980). Such a response is in contrast to the familiarised practice in Tabriz Bazaar, in which "a

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[80] The institute is currently called IsIAO: *Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente* http://www.ismeo.eu/ accessed on 27/11/2017.

[81] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

tendency to overdo" and reconstruction of missing elements is firmly criticised (ICOMOS 2010, 140). Conservation in Persepolis, therefore, is a significant contributor in the narrative of disempowerment, and is dominated by the concept of de-familiarisation, elitism, and theoreticism.

Conclusion

Chapter Eight describes the centralising forces and the process of unification in the heteroglossic model of Persepolis. It explores the authoritarian interpretation of Persepolis as a symbolic heritage site in the discourse of Mirāse Farhangui. This thesis analyses this repressive tendency through the Bakhtinian prism of monologism in which a single voice denies freedom of expression for other voices, and forces the polyphony into a singularity of abstract meaning. This thesis explores the monologisation in the triadic architectonics of monumentalism, Orientalist tropes, and the monologue of disempowerment. In this model, Persepolis emerges from an overemphasis on historical and aesthetic dimensions which are significantly influenced by the narratives of conflagration, Nowruz, and the Imperial Monument. The idea of the Imperial Monument, however, is the most critical aspect of the monologisation, from which a genius locus of disempowerment emerges. Monologised Persepolis is a dead and frozen site, strictly controlled and highly de-familiarised.

Chapter Eight explores the relationships between the Western construction of Persepolis and Mirāse Farhangui through the lens of dialogism. It illustrates Persepolis and Iranian culture as transgredience for the Western conceptualisation of self and the world. In such a dialogism, Western Orientalist tropes also act as transgredience for Mirāse Farhangui. In this way, the official Iranian discourse of heritage unwittingly uses Orientalist tropes to resist Eurocentric hegemony and construct a monolithic interpretation of Persepolis. This chapter demonstrates that the outcome of such an orientation is an "organic hybridisation" of Mirāse Farhangui and the Western construction of Persepolis. However, the strategy of disempowering the visitors of Persepolis is not absolute, and visitors have their individual voices. The next chapter, by focusing on the moment of the Nowruz festival, explores the individual but marginalised interpretations and discusses the process of dis-unification in the heteroglossia of Persepolis.

CHAPTER NINE: THE SECOND FACE OF PERSEPOLIS

In the past, Nowruz, the Persian New Year festival, for many heritage professionals including me, was a frightening time, because hundreds of thousands of visitors overcrowded Persepolis and put the site in danger.[82] Each year in March, before leaving Iran, I used to receive reports of damage to the infrastructure and the historic fabric. Nowruz festival from the perspective of *Meerāsees* (heritage professionals), is a "crisis". It not only endangers physicality but subverts the historic, aesthetic and social values of a significant World Heritage site. Media, official statements and interviews often express considerable concerns about the integrity of the heritage fabric during Nowruz (Abdi 2011), and describe the event as a "disgrace" (IRNA 2015), "waste of money" (Gharavi 2010), and "vandalising" (IRNA 2015). The Nowruz "crisis" evokes negative emotions among many community groups toward "uninformed" individuals who do not understand the formal heritage values of Persepolis.

My apprehension about the Nowruz festival is not so intense anymore because, as will be analysed in this chapter, the festival has become less aggressive towards the physicality of the site. Furthermore, in the light of a dialogic perspective and creative understandings, I cannot easily dismiss the extraordinary event with blanket interpretations including "vandalism," and assumptions, including "unawareness of

[82] http://parse-pasargad.ir accessed 17/04/2017.

visitors." Although the Nowruz celebration is potentially a risk to the fabric, it can also be interpreted as encompassing dialogical qualities, and as representing decentralising forces that resist the political power behind the official interpretation of Persepolis. I use the concept of "the second face of Persepolis" to discuss a fundamental transformation in interpretation of the heritage site which encompasses a freer attitude and subverts the official construction. The freer attitude is not just toward the boundaries between individuals and physicality, but towards values, thoughts, processes and things. The second face of Persepolis eventually allows a hybridisation of the sacred and the profane, present and past, high and popular (Brandist 2002, 139).

This chapter, by using Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque, illustrates that the Nowruz festival is more than a "crisis." It represents a dynamic relationship between many possible interpretations including that it is a World Heritage, a symbol of Iranian identity, an archival memory of Achaemenids, and in contrast, a carnival ground linked to laughter and joy, a space related to familiarity, and a site of resistance against political power. This thesis demonstrates that Nowruz encompasses a significant moment of "rupture, struggles and fragmentation" (Baxter 2010, 40) through which the embedded polyphony of Iranian culture can be studied and the contrasts between interpretations become explicit. Nowruz in Persepolis is a complex, polyphonic and dynamic event-ness that encapsulates power struggles between high and popular, state and community groups, and a dialogism between linear and cyclical perceptions of time. The dynamic interplay between different interpretations constitutes a phenomenon that I call the second face of Persepolis which entails a marked divergence from its monologic construction.

In Chapter Eight, I analysed the unification processes that maintain the official interpretation of Persepolis. Chapter Nine, by contrast, expands the heteroglossic model by focusing on the resistance against official order and exploring the dis-unification processes. This chapter, firstly, discusses the concept of the carnivalesque in a Bakhtinian sense. Secondly, it discusses different aspects of the conceptualisation of Nowruz as a crisis by individuals and groups. Thirdly, I study different representations of the second life (Bakhtin 1984, 5, 6) of Persepolis and clarify their possible meanings. Fourthly, I analyse different representations that undermine the established and official values of Persepolis through the concept of "grotesque realism" (Bakhtin 1984, 19, 20). Finally, the authorised celebration of Nowruz in Persepolis will be discussed and demonstrated as an "intentional hybridisation"

(Bakhtin 1981, 359) of multiple interpretations of Persepolis. In this way, authorised celebration of Nowruz, conducted in the plaza of Persepolis spoils the folk fesitivity, but is a heteroglossia from which a more flexible, polyphonic and dynamic interpretation of Persepolis emerges.

Carnivalesque

This thesis interprets the second face of Persepolis through the lens of the carnivalesque, because in Bakhtin's conceptualisation (Bakhtin 1981; Bakhtin & Emerson 1984) the carnival is not merely a folkloric performance in a particular historical epoch of European culture. Carnival is instead a critical viewpoint to experience instability and change. Bakhtin's notion of the carnivalesque can be summarised as "an intense awareness of the unfinalized, open-ended qualities of the world, of the cycles of birth and death, regeneration and renewal, that mark the cosmos as a whole" (Gardiner 1993, 770). As discussed in Chapter Four, the carnivalesque has been used in heritage scholarship to identify the interplay between official and unofficial aspects of heritage sites. Halewood and Hannam (2001), for example, examine the Viking's heritage tourism in forms of theme parks, museums and festivals, through the lens of the Bakhtinian carnivalesque. Rahimi (2011, 69-70), as another example, discusses unofficial performances in Muharram, a religious ceremony in commemoration of the Karbala battle, though the same perspective. Rahimi's argument is a good case of using the concepts of "grotesque realism" (Bakhtin 1984, 19, 20) and "second life" (Bakhtin 1984, 5, 6) in Iranian heritage through which popular and unapproved interpretations of an intangible heritage, (ICHHTO 2011b) are clarified. This thesis draws on Rahimi's discussion and demonstrates that the Nowruz festival in Persepolis encompasses an interplay of high cultural and popular cultural constructions of Persepolis, in which marginalised voices of community groups appear, and the contrast between different interpretations becomes explicit.

Carnivalesque, as Bakhtin argues, entails two significant transformations of second life and grotesque realism (Bakhtin 1984, 19, 20). Second life or man's second nature, refers to a phenomenon in which individuals participate in "a completely different, nonofficial, extra-ecclesiastical and extra-political aspect of the world, of man and of human relations" (Bakhtin 1984, 5, 6). In Persepolis, this implies the temporary collapse of the mental and physical frames, and of the hierarchical structure, and of movement and bodily control. Grotesque realism explains the subversion of

what is superior, abstract, and sacred into a "sphere of earth and body" (Bakhtin 1984, 19, 20). The second face of Persepolis transforms a detached phenomenon from the familiarity of everyday life into the second life (Bakhtin 1984, 5, 6) which is primarily defined by simple daily actions. This chapter discusses that such a transformation undermines or interrogates heritage values, and changes Persepolis from a high culture text into a popular and familiar phenomenon/text. Nowruz creates a transformed construction of Persepolis, a second life (Bakhtin 1984, 5, 6), through which unapproved interpretations of "folk culture" (Bakhtin 1984, 4) revolt. The second face of Persepolis can be illustrated as a rebellion against the authoritarian policy of Mirāse Farhangui embedded in a monolithic interpretation. In this way, the second face of Persepolis is more than "vandalism" (IRNA 2015), "unawareness" (Abdi 2011; Mehrnews 2011a, 2011b), and "anti-revolutionary" (Gharavi 2010; Imani 2010). It is more than a "safety valve" (Davis 1975, 122; Humphrey 2000, 170; 2001, 11-35) that allows the release of tension in uneven power relationships.

A "crisis" in Persepolis

In official expressions and common sense, the second face of Persepolis is often considered as a crisis (IRNA 2015, Par. 7-9; Khoshnudi 2015). This conceptualisation emerges from concerns about physicality (vandalism), about the distortion of official meaning (unawareness), and resistance against the Islamist reading of the site (counter-Islamism). This section expands these ideas with reference to media, personal observation and interviews.

i. Problem of vandalism

The second face of Persepolis entails a variety of performances that some heritage professionals and community groups interpret as vandalism, due to their destructive effects on the fabric. Such activities include sitting on the historical remains, engraving graffiti, climbing of the columns, walking on unprotected floorings and through restricted areas, touching the reliefs, decorating the columns and walls by *Sabzeh* (sprouts that symbolise Nowruz), littering, breaking the glass fences and making fire for a barbecue at the *Takht* (platform). These activities, which are forbidden at any significant heritage sites around the world, represent an out-of- control celebration. In my observation, managing more than half a million visitors in two weeks, ensuring the safety of individuals and safeguarding historical remains, is one of the most challenging tasks in the administration of Iranian heritage. This problem is considered

by many as a crisis in the context of the indifference of higher authorities[83] and the symbolic meaning of Persepolis for Iranian culture. The determination of many professionals and volunteers during Nowruz to protect both official meanings and physicality, as I have witnessed, testifies to their apprehension about the gravity of the situation. I have to emphasise that despite the rise in the number of visitors every year, such activities have decreased, and according to official statements, have nearly stopped now (ILNA 2018). The reduction is due to a range of supplementary restrictions which was executed by ICHHTO (Nikoo 2013). It is also related to the emergence of authorised celebration of Nowruz which will be analysed in this chapter.

Media and newspapers express the same conceptualisation of the event as having a negative impact on the materiality of the site. This apprehension is part of generalised Iranian concerns about the condition of heritage sites which I discussed in Chapter One. They also express extensive concerns about the high number of visitors which they describe as beyond the capacity of the site. Kabiri, a senior archaeologist, in an interview titled "sacrificing heritage," talks about risks to the fabric of Persepolis:

> The officials believe that by the mere installation of security cameras they can control tourists in the heritage site. If that is the case, why is so much graffiti engraved every year [at Nowruz] on the fabric of the monument? (Mehrnews 2011a, Par. 14-16)[84]

Touching the ancient relics is one of the most significant concerns and a site of conflicts between visitors and curators:

> One of the significant points that are often disregarded by Nowruz visitors is that historical reliefs must not be touched or even approached by individuals. Recently a few fences were installed to prevent this. The simple fact is usually ignored and one can see the visitors and security guards touch the reliefs together. (Mehrnews 2011b, Par.15)[85]

[83] Interviewee I-7, Interviewed on 21/05/2014.
[84] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[85] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

This thesis does not deny the destructive effect of these activities on heritage fabric, but illustrates that practices in the Nowruz festival including graffiti and touching the relics carry multiple meanings and can be interpreted differently. As an example, Chapter Six clarifies that graffiti is a contested concept and can create both positive and negative meanings. The boundaries between "vandalism" and "street art" are not clear (Dovey, Wollan & Woodcock 2012, 21) and graffiti can also be interpreted as representing complex power struggles and resistance (Harris 2011b, 216). This clarification is further expanded and applied in the following sections.

Figure 9.1: A visitor to Persepolis makes a fire for a barbecue in the core zone of the site. Source Mehrnews Agency 2012, https://www.mehrnews.com/News/1564953.

ii. Problem of unawareness

From the viewpoint of some heritage professionals and community groups, many performances do not impose a direct threat to heritage fabric, but carry meanings that contradict the official interpretation. So, the problem of unawarenesss is profoundly related to the transformation of official meaning during the Nowruz festival. The second face of Persepolis consists of many unapproved interpretations that supporters of monumentalism refuse to accept. Using and conceptualising Persepolis, or part of the site, as a marketplace, playground, park, picnic ground, or a stage for street performance undermines the official understanding. These interpretations are ascribed by the supporters of high culture meaning to visitors' "unawareness" of heritage

values. In contrast, the analysis of Nowruz ceremony in this chapter clarifies that the resisting understandings holds significant meaning potential for a more diverse conservation and community-led management.

Many examples demonstrate the apprehension of community groups and individuals about the transformation of official meaning. The first example is an article which is published by the Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA). IRNA, as the official producer of news for the government, describes such transformation as a "disgrace":

> This is a welcoming sign, that people find Persepolis so attractive. Such interest, however, must be controlled to minimise fabric deterioration. The visitors must not imagine the site as an ordinary urban park and bring all kinds of cheap foods, sit wherever they want, mess around, play games and take the pictures with the historical figures. The noises from the massive congestion of peddlers and cars [in the plaza] spoil the experience of tourists and is unacceptable … Persepolis with its magnificent history symbolises the Iranian civilisation…ascending the stairs of the Gate of Nations and walking on Persepolis pathways is an honour and the greatest wish of many foreigners. It is a disgrace that in Nowruz holiday, the stairs turn into a playground of children who play hide-and-seek (IRNA 2015, Par. 7-9).[86]

In an interview Abdi, an Iranian archaeologist, expresses similar concerns about the distortion of official meaning and vulgar use of Persepolis relics:

> Visitors of Persepolis pose next to the ancient figures and sometimes even grab the beard of Darius [the Great] and take pictures… they do not respect the fences and enter no-access areas and touch the reliefs in Apadana Palace.[87] (Abdi 2011)

Abdolali, a curator, emphasises that "unaware visitors" are a significant threat to the fabric of the site and they have to be educated:

> Some tourists and visitors, by littering and graffiti writing show that they are unaware of the values of heritage sites. If we let them enter the site without raising

[86] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[87] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.

> their awareness and providing the necessary information, we are responsible for the destruction of the heritage site. [88] (Jamejam 2013, Par. 16)

Talebian, the head of Parseh-Pasargadae Research Foundation (PPRF) says that there are individuals who are unaware of the heritage values, do not respect the rules, and are not interested in learning those values (Khadem-Almelleh 2015, Par 10). For the same reason, many palaces and locations at Persepolis are closed to the public. He suggests that educated visitors should be treated differently from ordinary individuals (Khadem-Almelleh 2015, Par 12). He continues that researchers who have graduated in the fields of architecture, history, archaeology and art, should be granted access to the areas that are closed to the public (Khadem-Almelleh 2015, Par 12).

The so-called ordinary visitors often have completely different views and find such restrictions unpleasant and annoying. One middle-aged woman, standing in front of the sign that bans entrance to Hadish Palace, looks confused and protests "I have come a long way from the other side of the country to see this place." The security guard says he understands, but many "unaware" individuals wrote graffiti on the walls, and they have no choice. Another visitor responds: "In this way, you will eventually close down the entire site. Do something fundamental!" (Khadem-Almelleh 2015, Par 1).

Similar expressions about the unawareness of visitors are evident in other media reports (Jamejam 2013; Mehrnews 2011b). The interviewees for this thesis articulated parallel concerns about the high number and unawareness of visitors: "I am not optimistic toward ordinary people. In my view, the high number of visitors [in Persepolis] is not an indicator of awareness of the values of the site."[89] The second participant, a university lecturer, despises the popular use of Persepolis motifs and decorations by Iranian in their houses:

> For most Iranians, it is not clear why they should protect Persepolis. Our people do not truly believe in the fabric as a part of their identity. For the same reason, they use such a valuable fabric in vulgar ways.[90]

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[88] Translated by Shahin Tolouashtiany.
[89] Interviewee I-6, interviewed on 19/05/2014.
[90] Interviewee I-3, interviewed on 19/05/2014.

These expressions represent Persepolis as a high culture production. They also connote a marked contrast between the constructed meaning of Persepolis for ordinary individuals and for educated elites. As discussed in Chapter Two, a similar orientation can be observed in Iranian heritage literature in which elitism is dominant. Abdi, for example, divides Iranian society into two indicative classes of the "public" and "educated Iranians" (Abdi 2001, 52) or high and popular culture. The concept of "unawareness," the second aspect of conceptualising of Nowruz festival as a problem arises from the transformation of the official meaning.

iii. Problem of counter-Islamism

In the official interpretation of Persepolis, the Nowruz festival is considered as a counter-Islamic phenomenon because it is related to the discourse of nationalism and undermines Islamic values. Shiite clergies often harshly criticise celebrating Nowruz in Persepolis, and position Persepolis and Pasargadae in contrast to Shah-Cherāgh (Imani 2010), a sacred shrine in Shiraz. Shah-Cherāgh is traditionally a focal point for the Nowruz ceremony, where many believers gather and celebrate the New Year. Ayatollah Gharavi, a high-ranking Shiite clergy from the holy city of Qom, urged the government to stop the ceremony of Nowruz as it is "irrelevant," a "waste of money" and "revives pre-Islamic symbols" (Gharavi 2010). In his speech at the Friday Prayer Ceremony of Shiraz, Ayatollah Imani firstly considered the high rate of visitors to Persepolis as a "crime" and "treason," because the Achaemenid kings in that place slaughtered many innocent individuals. Also, he warned the local TV station against propagating Persepolis as a destination of Nowruz, because its spirituality is undermined (Imani 2010). Ayatollah Imani also bitterly criticises the nationalist sentiment which is often expressed in the Nowruz ceremony by visitors. For Imani and many other Shiite clergies, "nationalism is a Westernised concept and is against Islam" (Khomeini 1990, 334).

Interpretation of the second face of Persepolis as vandalism, unawareness, and counter-Islamic connotes a dynamic interplay between different understandings of Iranian heritage. Such dialogism can be analysed as an interplay between many opposing interpretations, or in a Bakhtinian sense, "voices". In a heteroglossic model, the concepts of vandalism, unawareness and counter-Islamism emerge from the discourse of Mirāse Farhangui, which as discussed in chapter Five, is a double-voiced creation of monumentalism and Shiite Islamism. The official meaning of Persepolis,

as constructed through Mirāse Farhangui, creates a movement towards unification of meaning. There are, however, many other interpretations that oppose the official meaning of heritage, and create a movement towards dis-unification. Analysis of the Nowruz celebration through the concept of the carnivalesque illustrates that multiple voices contradict such unification and result in the temporary collapse of the monologised order in the Nowruz celebration. This dis-unification process will be argued and analysed by focusing on the unofficial and popular construction of Persepolis.

The second face of Persepolis

Bakhtin (1984) focuses on the culture of ordinary folk that is " to a great extent a culture of the loud word spoken in the open, the street and marketplace" (Bakhtin 1984, 182). The second face of Persepolis is an example of a power struggle between "culture of common folk" (Bakhtin 1984, 182) and the "monologisation" (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 95; Morson & Emerson 1990, 56,57) of Persepolis. The alteration in the World Heritage Site is intense at time of carnival, when Persepolis is seen from the freedom of fool's eye which is "free from all laws and restrictions, as well as from preoccupations and seriousness" (Bakhtin 1984, 260). In this way "people who in life are separated by impenetrable hierarchical barriers enter into free familiar contact on the carnival square" (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 123).

This thesis analyses the second face of Persepolis through three dynamic interplays; the "dialogism of theatrical stage and street performance," the "dialogism of *Takht* (platform) and plaza", and "familiarisation." This transformation is described through the analysis of meanings and practices. It is postulated that in the Nowruz festival Persepolis is a dialogic site in which various meanings interplay and create an ongoing phenomenon. Persepolis encompasses conflicting meanings, including World Heritage, an imperial monument, a marketplace, a park and picnic ground, a playground for children, and a singing/dancing stage.

Visitors thus resist the monologue of disempowerment, the alienating processes of high culture, control, and de-vitalisation. They use their body to explore the space and create meaning. They overcome the mental and physical barriers and create a familiar space. The second face of Persepolis is defined by meanings and performances that are far from the solemnity and seriousness of the official interpretation. The culture of ordinary folk is expressed by familiar daily practices,

including singing, dancing, eating, walking and exploring, touching and changing. Through the fool's eye (Bakhtin 1984, 260), the solemnity of the environment is transformed into the dynamism of everyday life and familiar meanings.

i. Dialogism of theatrical stage and street performance

The Nowruz festival entails a dynamic interplay between two constructions of Persepolis as a formal "theatrical stage" (Grigor 2005, 23) and a stage for street performance. The first conceptualisation is embedded in official events including Shiraz Art Festival (Gluck 2007, 21; Hodjat 1995, 201), the *Son et Lumière* show (Grigor 2005, 26) and 2500 Year Celebration of the Persian Empire (Stevenson 2008). The second, however, is related to unauthorised musical performances by some visitors that can be interpreted as "street performance" (McKenzie 1998, 218).

The construction of Persepolis for street performance is entirely different from the theatrical constructions of Shiraz Art Festival, 2500 Year Celebration of the Persian Empire, and the Son et Lumière show. As discussed in Chapters Eight and Five these "official feasts" (Bakhtin 1984, 9) are high culture productions with selected elite audiences and performers. Shiraz Art Festival, for example, transforms Persepolis to a "forbidden city closed to the public" (Hodjat 1995, 201). In Bakhtinian terms, these "official feasts" not only use the past to consecrate the present, but also represent all hierarchies, values, political agendas, restrictions, and norms, as stable and persistent (Bakhtin 1984, 9). The official feast celebrates the "eternal truth," and therefore, is dominated by seriousness: "It was the triumph of truth already established, the predominant truth that was put forward as eternal and indisputable" (Bakhtin 1984, 9). Such eternal truth is represented in many forms, including the invented tradition (Hobsbawm & Ranger 2012) of the Persian monarchy in 2500 Year Celebration of the Persian Empire. It can be modern and Westernised *Zawq* (good cultural taste) in Shiraz Art Festival, or a heroic narrative of conflagration (Herzfeld 1935, 44; Mousavi 2012, 59-61) in Son et Lumière show.

The second face of Persepolis is defined as a fluid stage of street performance and "a mode of embodied activity that transgresses, resists, or challenges social structures" (McKenzie 1998, 218). In my observation, some individuals brought their musical instruments to Takht in the Nowruz festival, including guitar and *Tār*,[91] and sang popular songs. The singers do not perform Western classical, avant-garde music

[91] An Iranian traditional musical instrument.

or traditional Iranian songs which from a high culture interpretation are more appropriate in "an atmosphere heavily charged with history" (Britt Tilia 1972, xii). They sing popular songs that can be heard in streets, in taxis and in marketplaces.

Singing, as discussed in Chapter Seven, is a significant aspect of everyday understandings of Tabriz Bazaar. Singing, in this way, is a definitive daily act which has a strong impact on the continuation of memory, everyday practice, business, and the making of lived space. The second face of Persepolis, in contrast to the monologised interpretation, has similarities with Tabriz Bazaar. Many visitors put aside formality, disregards official interpretation, gather around the singers, sit on the historical relics, and join in the performance by singing and dancing. Such simple acts carry a complex meaning potential, and as Harrison-Pepper (1990) argues, transform the spatiotemporal organisation of space into a fluid and dynamic environment. Street performances affect the space in terms of "density, accretion, durations, dispersal, and flow" (Harrison-Pepper 1990, 127, 131). In this way, every individual, by joining in the collective performance, participates in the creation of a different genus loci which is far from a place for lamentation, shame, and the pain of defeat by the Greek invaders. Visitors, by the creation of meanings, resist "a truth already established" (Bakhtin 1984, 9).

The voice of nostalgic Islamism changes the interplay of official and popular performances into a more complex dialogism. Musical performance, in any form and shape, has always been a controversial issue in relation to the adverse impacts of the Shiraz Art Festival (Gluck 2007, 21; Hodjat 1995, 201) and Islamic values (Khamenei 2018). The Islamic Government banned concerts and musical events for many years in Persepolis. In the eyes of Islamist forces, such a performance "is a roll-back from authentic Islamic values and revives the bitter memories of the corrupted Shiraz Art Festival in former regime" (BBC 2011b). Thus Persepolis, as a second life (Bakhtin 1984, 5, 6) is created by dialogism between voices of Islamism, Mirāse Farhangui, and the everyday understandings of visitors.

ii. Event-ness and dialogism of Plaza/Takht

The spatial centralisation and dominance of Takht, as a significant part of monologisation, fundamentally transforms in the Nowruz festival into an interplay between Plaza and Takht. In Chapter Eight I discussed the official spatial organisation of Persepolis which is constructed from the primacy of Takht as the focal point of the

site. I illustrated that Takht is the most culturally and historically significant locale in the National Heritage List, and from an Iranian viewpoint, possibly in the world (ICHHTO 1931b, 60). In such an interplay, the unauthorised voices and suppressed interpretations of Persepolis re-emerge and shape an event-ness which challenges the official spatial organisation.

The plaza of Persepolis in Nowruz transforms from a vast static and barren space into a lived space of everyday practices. I explained in chapter seven that Takht is the centre of the universal order of Mirāse Farhangui, and the plaza, in the official interpretation, is merely defined as an entry point to Takht. This transformation of the plaza during festival not only provides a stronger connection between the local community and Persepolis, but also for thousands of tourists who celebrate Nowruz. The transformation also challenges the idea of placing Takht as the symbolic centre of Mirāse Farhangui. The plaza in Nowruz transforms into a dynamic carnival ground and a marketplace.

In my observation, the plaza is overcrowded with visitors who come from every corner of the country. They reach the site through heavy traffic which continues for kilometres. The plaza is not a dead place and is full of activities. Vendors are everywhere and many locals clad in traditional *Qashqai* clothes have erected tents in the plaza, and sell souvenirs, books, food and local products. The plaza in Nowruz is a marketplace that is as vibrant as Takht itself. Many visitors talk to the retailers and bargain for a better price. They walk around, expressing their curiosity, and compare prices. The plaza is overwhelmed with music and singing, and is decorated with various colourful banners. Similar to Tabriz Bazaar, the retailers by singing and decorating the space, invite customers. One of the significant aspects of event-ness resides in the daily actions of eating and drinking. Various tents offer food and drinks and reshape a part of the plaza to serve the customers.

In the second face of Persepolis, the meaning is generated by a vibrant dialogism between a devitalised "imperial monument" and a "memorial of pain and shame" and the event-ness of a marketplace and carnival ground. The plaza is also a carnival ground; in one corner, a group of dancers perform a Qashqai folkloric dance. In other corners, some individuals hire out camels and horses for riding. The second face of Persepolis encompasses emotions that are in contrast with the official interpretation of Persepolis. In this way, the official process of de-vitalisation, as clarified in Chapter Eight, is being challenged by the everyday practices of visitors and

the local community. The "atmosphere of concentration and silent admiration" (Britt Tilia 1972, I, xii) is challenged by the laughter and playfulness of a carnival ground and the dynamism of a Bazaar.

Figure 9.2: Visitors in the Nowruz festival occasionally decorate the historical relics with symbols of Nowruz such as Sabzeh and gold fish. In this way they transform the physicality of heritage sites and the space into familiar phenomena. Source The Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies (CAIS), http://www.cais-soas.com 2013.

The second face of Persepolis, therefore, is created by countless single acts of daily life which generate the space as lived at any given moment. The simple acts emerge between individuals, between individuals and the physical space, and between the plaza and Takht. Such dynamic dialogism animates the space and continuously create Persepolis as a space of living. Every single act, at the same time, is connected to other events and causes a complex network of actions. Such construction connotes many similarities with the event-ness of Yādegār in Tabriz Bazaar which was illustrated in Chapter Seven. This chapter will further discuss the dialogism between Takht and the Plaza through authorised celebration.

iii. Familiarisation

The second face of Persepolis concerns uncertainty about the frames and borders. Through the fluidity of mental and physical frames and the creation of meaning through event-ness, the process of control is disrupted, and Persepolis transforms into a familiar phenomenon. In this way, "People who in life are separated by impenetrable hierarchical barriers enter into free familiar contact on the carnival square" (Bakhtin

& Emerson 1984, 123). In this transformation, Persepolis is not merely conceptualised through theoreticism which subordinates everyday life "to a formalized, metaphysical system projected by a hypostatized consciousness" (Gardiner 2000, 48). Persepolis as familiar connotes phenomena and practices that often escape one's attention and are taken for granted. It is also linked to event-ness, because individuals practice their knowledge of space by simple acts which are "as blind as that of lovers in each other's arms"(de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984, 93). Many examples represent such a transformation including using the site as a picnic ground, emobidied experience , and the collapse of professionalism.

In the Nowruz festival, some visitors construct the space as a picnic ground and urban park. This transformation is related to the Nowruz tradition of picnicking on the thirteenth day of the New Year (UNESCO 2009):

> …on the thirteenth day of the holiday when people leave their homes intent on pleasure, traditionally spending it outdoors on a picnic. Many kinds of foods and delicacies are prepared, and the *sabzeh* which have been kept throughout the festivities is discarded in running water, symbolizing the throwing away of bad thoughts. The setting of the sun indicates the end of the [Nowruz] festival. (Zamani-Farahani 2013, 252)

Some individuals spread their picnic banquets on the Takht, despite the strict regulations, and eat meals together (Nikoo 2013). In this way, they define the space through simple daily acts of drinking, eating and celebrating. I have seen in the past that some individuals decorate the historical relics with colourful fabrics and symbolic Sabzeh (wheat sprouts). In doing so, they reshape the historical fabric as part of the tradition of Nowruz, of the discourse of Yādegār, and in an everyday understanding of space. By putting Sabzeh or sometimes pictures of relatives, on the relics, visitors indicate a freer attitude and a close connection to the physicality of the site, and express a personal memorialisation. In this way, Persepolis is interpreted as connected to the folklores of Nowruz, including the memory of Jamsheed, the founder of Nowruz and the mythical king. The environment is in marked contrast with the monumentalist interpretation of the imperial monument. In this way, the elements of the cultural landscape become explicit so that the frames between culture and nature, between individuals and physicality and between inside and outside, dissolves (Harris 2016, 179). The familiar understanding of Persepolis challenges the monumental and iconic

conceptualisation of heritage sites (Taylor & Lennon 2012, 2) embedded in The Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964), the Burra Charter (ICOMOS 1999), and other monumentalist declarations. In the polyphony of the second face of Persepolis, a picnic ground is a familiar meaning, among a variety of possible meanings.

In my observations of the second face of Persepolis, individuals frequently use their body to explore and understand the site. By walking through space and touching the relics, they acquire an embodied knowledge from the environment. Many visitors, in my observations, rely on embodiment, performances and emotions. They focus on:

> …how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions. (Lorimer 2005, 85)

Bodily interaction of touching can be analysed in such a context. Touching the relics, which is considered by many heritage professionals as an act of vandalism and unawareness (Mehrnews 2011b), can also be interpreted as a means of exploration and reverence. The simple act of touching, as analysed in Tabriz Bazaar, is a significant form of interplay between individuals and the lived space. In sacred spaces like Shiite shrines, touching and kissing the Zarih (burial chamber of sacred figures) is an act of utmost reverence. Touching the relics of Persepolis is not much different from costumers touching Persian carpets, spices and the fabrics in Tabriz Bazaar. For some visitors, it connotes expressing deep emotions and reverence toward ancient kings. Touching enables the individuals to gain a creative understanding of the space, in which individuals use both mind and body in the process. Visualism has not always been a dominant feature in art exhibitions, heritage sites and museums (Classen 2005, 276). By touching, visitors intend to "…have access to interior truths of which sight was unaware" (Classen 2005, 277). They acquire the knowledge by the simple act of touching, and they transform the relic from an abstract object into a familiar phenomenon. Personal observation of festivity connotes the ways that individuals explore the heritage and bring it closer to themselves:

> The popular conquest … drew the world closer to man, to his body, permitted him to touch and test every object, examine it from all sides, enter into it, turn it inside out, compare it to every phenomenon, however exalted and

> holy, analyze, weigh, measure, try it on. And all this could be done on the one plane of material sensual experience. (Bakhtin 1984, 381)

In this way, as Gardiner (1993, 772) argues, objects exceed their proven frames and become fused or connected with other phenomena. Touching the relics, freely walking in restricted areas, and engraving graffiti, dis-unify and contradict the monologue of disempowerment that was discussed in Chapter Eight.

Second life alters the environment of professionalism which places Persepolis outside of the understanding of non-experts. The official interpretation alienates ordinary visitors from heritage places, and establishes a higher position for experts (Harrison 2013, 56; Smith 2006, 91). The second life of Persepolis transforms such relationships, relatively dismantles the barriers and hierarchies, and connects Meerāsees with visitors. The scientific and historical understandings of Achaemenids and universal narratives are no longer uniquely dominant. Instead, individuals create their particular narrative, *Naqqals* (story-tellers) talk about the myth of Jamsheed, and the visitors, despite all rejections by the experts (Razmjou 2015), keep gathering around a rectangular stone where, some believe, are the remains of a celestial

Figure 9.3: A visitor to Persepolis touches the reliefs despite the restrictions. By the simple daily act of touching, individuals acquire an embodied knowledge of space and familiarise/personalise the physicality. Source Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA) 2017, http://www.irna.ir/fa/News/82476172,.

observatory (Roshd 2018). In some cases, even the security guards join the visitors and touch the relics together with them (Mehrnews 2011b, Par. 16).

Undermining the values

Many practices and representations in the Nowruz festival contradict the social norms and transform into a mocking and ridicule of established values. This phenomenon in Bakhtinian terms is called “grotesque realism” (Bakhtin 1984, 19,20) and connotes undermining what is sacred, abstract, and idealised reducing it an earthly level (Bakhtin 1984, 19,20). Individuals use “profanities, oaths and curses” (Bakhtin 1984, 153) instead of pure language and refined manners. The transformation of values is often ascribed by the proponents of monumentalism to “unawareness” and the “misuse” of Persepolis, and by Islamist forces to “prostitution.” In the official view, and as Gans (1999) argues, the second face of Persepolis is an example of “mutilation,” “vulgarisation,” “corruption,” and “impairing the qualities” through popular culture (Gans 1999, 27). These examples are in opposition to conservation ethics, Islamic norms and solemn nationalist emotions. Subverting the etablished values can be interpreted an act of resistance against the monologisation of Mirāse Farhangui and the authoritarian reading of the government.

One can see a young woman leans over the fences and kisses an Imperial Guard figure on the lips, not as a gesture of respect, but in mockery. She also has removed her Hijab which is a punishable profanity and is considered against Sharia. A young man poses like an Imperial Guard, but instead of a spear, he holds a Tār. Others throw firecrackers to the reliefs, possibly as part of the *Chrshanbeh-Soori*, the ceremony of the last Wednesday of the year. Visitors sometimes write graffiti containing curses “related to the bodily lower stratum” (Bakhtin 1984, 311). Above all, the fake king of Nowruz (Haji-Firooz) dances and sings in the Plaza in mockery of the narrative of the imperial monument and the “centre of universe” (Root 2015, 8, 9). Some individuals grab Darrius’s beard, the mighty Achaemenid king, and take a selfie (Abdi 2011).

This thesis focuses on two aspects of “grotesque realism” to clarify such popular conquest and an unarticulated power struggle. Firstly, through an interplay between a linear and cyclical perception of time, and secondly, through the dialogism of the fake and real king which undermine the narrative of the imperial monument. Both phenomena encompass the transformation of Persepolis from a frozen

reconstruction of a particular past to a place which is continually destroyed and regenerated.

i. The interplay of cyclical and linear times

Chapter Six argues for the interplay of different senses of time-space (chronotopes) in Persepolis by analysing the mystical time and cyclical time. This study argues for mystical time through the dialectic of *vaght* (human time) and *dahr* (divine time), and suspension of subjective time in the graffiti tradition. I also discussed linear time through the dialectic of the horizon of expectation and space of experience in Iranian modernity which Jordheim (2012, 153) describes as entailing "obsessive interest in the future in the form of expectations, plans, prognoses and utopias" (Jordheim 2012, 153). In the second face of Persepolis, these competing chronotopes enter into a dialogic relationship with the third conception of time-space, playful time (Bakhtin 1984, 435) which discontinues the experiences, traditions and origins.

The second face of Persepolis symbolises an un-finalised phenomenon in which life replaces death and vice versa (Bakhtin 1984, 24). The cycle of birth and death is also the very essence of the Nowruz festival: "Nowruz is the climax of blossoming, the anxiety of births and it is filled with the excitement of every beginning" (Shariati & Abedi 1986, 235, 236). Nowruz carnival, in this way, focuses on regeneration and is in contrast with the irreversible linear perception of time. Cyclical time denies the rupture with the past, a phenomenon that Koselleck (2004, xiv) calls *Sattelzeit* which is the basis for the creation of historic monuments (Boym 2001, 24, 25). During the Nowruz festival, another understanding of the time emerges which encompasses "a deep awareness of historical time, of the change of epochs in world history" (Bakhtin 1984, 435). It is an open-ended phenomenon which encompasses the heightened consciousness of the relativity of historicity (Gardiner 1993, 770) and is against authoritarian structures. Through playful time, Persepolis is not a frozen monument from a lost past. It is a playful place subject to eternal destruction and rebirth, and therefore, a living phenomenon. From a monumentalist viewpoint, playful time undermines the most significant values of Persepolis as a monument— the historical values.

ii. Dialogism of real and fake kings

The conception of playful time as a cycle of death and birth is best represented in the "mock ritual crowning and uncrowning of a carnival king" (Brandist 2002, 139). In

such a tradition, the authoritarian ruling power is symbolically destroyed and regenerated. The tradition of Hāji-Firooz is an element of Nowruz which encapsulates the cycle of birth and death of the dominant power. Hāji-Firooz is the most famous figure who appears in the streets at New Year. He sings ridiculous songs and dances while beating a tambourine. The character usually wears colourful clothes (mostly red), a pointy hat, and blackens his face. Hāji-Firooz is a familiar participant of the second face of Persepolis, who appears in the plaza of Persepolis and in Pasargadae during Nowruz.

The tradition of Hāji-Firooz is more than an ordinary clown who begs for the money, and entails multiple meanings. According to Bahar (1983, 226), Hāji-Firooz is a modern reconstruction of an ancient tradition of *Mir-e Nowruzi* (Nowruz King) which originated from Mesopotamian deities of agriculture and flocks. The old ritual was banned in the twentieth century by the Pahlavi monarchy, as a symbol of backwardness and superstition. According to the tradition, five days before Nowruz, an ordinary man was chosen and throned in place of the king. This person was called Mir-e Nowruzi and had the same authority for a limited time. During the reign of the Nowruz King, the social structure was overthrown, and the time of festivity started. After five days of chaos, order was reinstated, the fake king was humiliated, and power restored to the legitimate monarch (Bahar 1983, 276; Omidsalar 2002; Qazvini 1944; Rezai 2008, 76).

Hāji-Firooz is a significant element in shaping the chronotope of playful time. His blackened face, as Bahar suggests, symbolises a return from the dead (Bahar 1995, 225). The dancing clown with the red attire in the middle of Persepolis plaza is a symbolic mockery of the nostalgic reconstruction of the Persian Empire embedded in contemporary understandings of the site. Hāji-Firooz, by expressing the cyclical nature of history and the continuous regeneration of events, contradicts the concept of Persepolis as an imperial monument. The dialogism between the fake and real king is taking place in an arena where the last emperor of Iran made his famous speech (Grigor 2005, 25):

> O, Cyrus!
> Rest in peace,
> For we are awake...
> To guard thy proud heritage.

In this way, Persepolis transforms from “the image of the Achaemenid monarchy itself” and a place where “likenesses of the king reappear unceasingly” (ICOMOS 1980) into a dancing stage for a popular fool who humiliates the established and eternal values of Mirāse Farhangui:

> It’s Ḥāji Firuz/ [He’s] only one day a year.
> Everyone knows /I know as well.
> It is Nowruz /it’s only one day a year.
>
> Greetings my very own lord,
> Raise your head, my lord!
> Look at me, my lord!
> Do me a favour, my lord!
> My very own lord, the billy goat,
> Why don’t you smile, my lord? (Omidsalar 2002, 551-552)

The dialogism of real and fake kings displays an interplay of high and popular cultural constructions of Persepolis. The second face of Persepolis, and subversion of the values in the Nowruz festival, are significant elements in the dis-unification of official interpretation and resistance against the authoritarian tendency of the government. The co-existence of two chronotopes of linear time and playful time and real and fake kings reveal a shift in official interpretation toward a more polyphonic construction. I clarify this idea through the concept of authorised celebration.

Authorised celebration

In recent years, representations of the second face of Persepolis have gradually diminished. Many performances which are interpreted by heritage professionals as vandalism and unawareness are less evident. This is the result of two parallel phenomena, confrontation and authorised celebration.

In 2010, a statement from ICHHTO set supplementary regulations for visitors and curators at Persepolis. The visitors were warned not to listen to unofficial interpreters of the site “who propagate false information in service of foreign enemies.” The government also threatened to arrest all unofficial interpreters of the site (Nikoo 2013). Also, “no one is allowed to take a picture, climb up or touch the remains.”[92] The statement also urges visitors to report any suspicious activity of “followers of false religions,” “spread of prostitution,” and vandalism.[93] One year

[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.

later, another statement banned carrying musical instruments, picnic rugs and any packages to Takht. In 2015, the authorities went further and added a considerable part of Persepolis, including the Palaces of Darrius, Apadana, Tripylon, Xerxes, and the Gate of Nations, into the no-visit areas (Khoshnudi 2015). Some report refer to banning visitors from entering the site on the first day of the Persian New Year (VOA 2018). More restrictions and confrontations, in a heteroglossic model, reveal the efforts of the political power to consolidate the process of unification. they also indicate a questionable policy which is based on the disempowerment of visitors.

At the same time, a form of authorised celebration has gradually shaped, in which multiple voices are involved. The authorised celebration can be interpreted as an "intentional hybridisation" (Bakhtin 1981, 359) of multiple voices, including Islamism, everyday practices, nationalism, and monumentalism, through which a heteroglossia is generated. Authorised celebration is an intentional hybridisation because in contrast to the organic hybridisation of Tabriz Bazaar, in authorised celebration, each voice preserves its identity, and they do not fuse into new discourses. Authorised celebration, therefore, can be interpreted as a shift in official interpretation which is intentionally created by the government to address the "problems" of vandalism and unawareness, and confront explosions of popular culture at high culture sites. By accepting the Nowruz festival as a part of construction of Persepolis, the government provides detailed arrangements every year for the celebration. Although authorised celebration spoils the folk festivity, it represents an embryonic sign of a shift in Mirāse Farhangui to embrace the polyphonic nature of Persepolis.

For Bakhtin, an "official feast" (Bakhtin 1984, 9) not only uses the past to consecrate the present, but also represents all hierarchies, values, political agendas, restrictions, and norms as stable and persistent (Bakhtin 1984, 9). The official feast celebrates eternal truth and therefore is dominated by seriousness: "It was the triumph of a truth already established, the predominant truth that was put forward as eternal and indisputable"(Bakhtin 1984, 9). The official feast distorts the elements of the "purer feast" (Bakhtin 1984, 9) and therefore is "monolithically serious," and the element of laughter is alien to it. Official celebration, as some researchers propose, (Davis 1975, 122; Humphrey 2000, 170; 2001, 11-35) can act as a "safety valve" which is used by the political power to control the popular resistance:

> If people are able to break the rules for one day of the year, they are thereby able to vent their anxieties and

> frustrations, and so be more likely to behave themselves
> for the rest of the year. (Humphrey 2001, 11)

The authorised celebration of Nowruz, as this thesis demonstrates, is more than a safety valve, and encompasses many dialogic elements and an interplay of voices.

The first aspect of the authorised celebration of Nowruz resides in embracing the plaza as a public forum and the focal point of celebration. The authorised celebration, in this way, indicates a shift in the monologic and hierarchical spatial organisation of Persepolis which, is primarily shaped around Takht as the centre of the universe.The plaza transforms into a "hybrid forum" (Harrison 2013, 205) that opposes the separation of specialists, politicians, bureaucrats, and stakeholders from ordinary individuals. The Plaza transforms into a phenomenon that resembles Mozaffarieh Timcheh in Tabriz Bazaar (J1 Par.27-31); it is a space that brings high and popular, community and government, and experts and non-experts together.

According to the official published plan of celebration in 2017, the celebration started with the national anthem and holy Quran verses. The event continued with "reading Golestān (a landmark of Persian literature), playing *Nai* (flute), Iranian ethnic songs, performing the anthem of Ey-Iran, performing traditional and pop music, and finally praying" (Mehrnews 2016). The street performances are limited, and dancing and singing transform into a theatrical performance. These performances are formally replaced with folkloric dancers. Haji Firooz (the carnival king/clown) is not a part of the official ceremony and is banished from plaza. Individualised Haft-Sins are replaced with a single grand Haft-Sin at the middle of the plaza.

Intentional hybridisation, or the deliberate use of discourses in official discourse, is best exemplified in the authorised amalgamation of familiar interpretations of "urban park," "marketplace," "carnival ground," and "street performance" in the official interpretation. Individuals are allowed to spread their picnic camps at Tent City. There are many tents erected all in and around the plaza which sell souvenirs, local handicrafts, books and foods. ICHHTO arranges painting competitions and other cultural events for children and families. The setting of the plaza is transformed into a theatrical stage in which many singers perform popular and folkloric music (Nimrouz 2013). An enormous Haft-Sin banquette, as the symbol of Nowruz, is arrayed in the middle of Plaza (Mehrnews 2016). In this way, Mirāse Farhangui enters into a dialogic relationship with the voice of everyday life and uses the popular interpretations of space to create an authorised celebration.

Although the Islamic government opposes the voice of nationalism, the authorised celebration has few representations that are linked to *Vatanparasti* (patriotism). Nowruz is a national celebration which is often interpreted by Shiite clergy as against Islamic values. The official celebration of Nowruz starts with the national anthem. The celebration continues by the collective singing of the popular but unofficial anthem of Ey-Iran (Mehrnews 2016). Ey-Iran is particularly performed collectively to emphasise the symbolic role of Persepolis in Iranian identity. In this way, the authorised celebration to some extent encompasses patriotic representations.

The authorised celebration starts with verses of the Quran and ends with collective praying which reveals the close connection of the ceremony with the voice of Islamism. The *Kheyme Ma'refat* (knowledge pavilion) is erected at the plaza, where ten clergy educate community groups and individuals with religious values (Amiri 2017). Also, missionaries who are well versed in ancient history and are fluent in foreign languages guide foreign visitors (Rabi'i 2015). In the knowledge pavilion, special programs and events are held for the families and children. Children participate in drawing competitions and receive prizes. There are clergy present who provide advice and education for personal problems and issues of faith. In the context of conflicts between Shiite shrines and Persepolis in Nowruz, the knowledge pavilion represents the intentional use of Islamism in the official interpretation.

The authorised celebration appears as a middle way between the two extremes of monologisation and carnivalesque of Nowruz. This thesis does not deny the meaning of authorised celebration as an "official feast" (Bakhtin 1984, 9) which spoils the liberating nature of the carnivalesque. This thesis, however, interprets the emergence of authorised celebration and its polyphonic nature as a sign of a shift in Mirāse Farhangui towards a more diverse and dynamic construction of Persepolis. The growth of the number of visitors every year, and their participation in the authorised celebration, indicates a dialogic agreement between the different voices. In this way, Persepolis can be conceptualised as a heteroglossia of meaning and a dialogism between two understandings of the past which are Yādegār and Mirāse Farhangui.

Persepolis, like Tabriz Bazaar can be interpreted as a continuous dialogism between the familiarisation of Yādegār and the de-familiarisation of Mirāse Farhangui. In such a model, the political power behind the official interpretation of Persepolis creates the centralising movement. In contrast, many voices and sub-voices, including everyday practices, create the process of dis-unification that defies the political power.

In such a continuous battle between centrifugal and centripetal movements, Persepolis emerges as a continuous, dynamic and rich heritage monument. The state of monologisation, however, can be interpreted as an incomplete heteroglossia, in which one authoritarian actor, the state, denies freedom of expression and suppresses the unauthorised interpretations and meanings. The second face of Persepolis, however, demonstrates that the heritage site is the construction of multiple voices which continuously interact and produce meanings. The second face of Persepolis is evidence of the polyphonic nature of Iranian heritage in contrast to the propaganda of the government. I argue that the shift in official interpretation toward celebrating Nowruz and embracing diversity can be a part of the solution to address the so-called problems of vandalism and unawareness, and to better protect the heritage fabric.

Conclusion

Chapter Nine analyses the second face of Persepolis through the Bakhtinian concept of the carnivalesque. It is clarified that many individuals and heritage professional consider the celebration of Nowruz as a crisis and as a danger to the heritage fabric. It is argued that the second face of Persepolis, which in the common sense considered a form of vandalism and unawareness, is a complex phenomenon. By analysing "rupture, struggles and fragmentation" (Baxter 2010, 40) in the Nowruz festival, this thesis discusses the multiple possible meanings that are embedded in Persepolis. Through the concepts of second life and grotesque realism (Bakhtin 1984, 4, 5, 19, 20), it is demonstrated that Nowruz is an ideal ground for studying the decentralising processes, and for theorising a heteroglossic model of meaning-making. Chapter Nine illustrates that the authorised celebration of Nowruz connotes an embryonic sign of a shift in Mirāse Farhangui to embrace the polyphonic nature of Persepolis and ensure better protection of the fabric.

CONCLUSION

This conclusion brings together the complex findings of the chapters into a more holistic discussion and demonstrates their implication for the concepts of the more-than-representational theory. It also discusses the significance of the research in the context of the literature on Iranian heritage and new prospects that this thesis raises for future investigation. Throughout this thesis, I discuss the problem of survival of Iranian heritage—and in a broader sense, the Iranian collective identity—that keeps many Iranians preoccupied. I clarify the problem in the context of loss of fabric and apprehension that is expressed by different community groups. In doing so, I explore the interplay of different voices and interpretive issues from multiple perspectives including memorialisation, conservation practice, legislation, everyday practice, mapping and graffiti.

In the conclusion section, I represent an answer from many possible answers to the primary question of this research which is what interpretive strategies would ensure diversity of meaning and stronger protection for Iranian heritage? To answer the question, this thesis concentrates on three dimensions and revolves around a sequence of thematic chapters, all of which provide detailed reviews of the relevant national and international literature; firstly, it reviews the literature on Iranian heritage and identifies absences in those debates in comparison to Anglophone critical heritage studies. Secondly, it provides discussion of the existence of two competing heritage discourses which are identified as "monolithic" (and hegemonic) and a more inclusive

and diverse discourse (defined as heteroglossic in nature). Finally, this thesis provides autoethnographic and dialogical accounts of case studies—Tabriz Bazaar and Persepolis—to illustrate the dynamism of these discourses from a more-than-representational view.

This study, through the lens of Bakhtinian dialogism, shows that Yādegār, the heteroglossic discourse of Iranian heritage, provides a more dynamic interpretation and stronger conservation of the fabric. I demonstrate and discuss that Yādegār is a community-oriented, familiar phenomenon, and embraces the diversity of meanings as an energising force. Affective aspects and everyday interpretation, which are often suppressed or regarded as insignificant by dominant power, are necessary for the creation and continuation of rich interpretation at heritage sites because richness does not merely reside in physicality; it also exists in the interplay between centralising and decentralising forces that animate heritage sites through the heteroglossia of meaning (Bakhtin 1981, 272).

Findings

This study contributes in the scholarship by critically reviewing the literature on Iranian heritage and identifying interpretive problems which are embedded in orientations and absences. It also illustrates, for the first time, the interplay of two competing discourses and posits their complex relationships through dialogic architectonics.

i. Interpretive issues

I posit the intertwined sense of discomfort, loss of heritage, and meaning confusion into an interpretive problem which primarily originates from a hegemonic and monolithic official discourse. Interpretation in this thesis, as I illustrate in Figure 1, is a dialogical process of creating and understanding heritage which involves heritage objects (material or immaterial), addressees (visitors, experts, officials), and official heritage interpreter (e.g. state). In Iranian official discourse, which is widely known as Mirāse Farhangui, such a dynamic relationship is reduced into a simplistic, frozen and de-familiarised understanding. Chapter Eight in this thesis explores different specificities of Mirāse Farhangui under the light of the dialogical analysis of Persepolis. The analysis portrays the official interpretation as fundamentally shaped by the ideology of monumentalism, constructed in reference to Orientalist tropes, and embracing the monologue of disempowerment.

Different chapters demonstrate widespread disquiet in Iran, engendered by confused meanings and the excessive loss of heritage fabric. Many examples in Chapter One portray a dismal image and a critical condition embedded in widespread demolition of heritage buildings and historic urban zones, looting archaeological sites, poor management, and increasing heritage-related crimes. In Chapter Six, I discuss that Tabriz Bazaar lost nearly half of its historic fabric and territory due to urbanisation and forceful development, since the early twentieth century. In the cities of Yazd, Mashhad, Shiraz, and Tehran, more than 600 hectares of historic zones have been cleared and replaced with modern structures. There are confusion and an extensive power struggle between the state and community groups, and between community groups over the "true" meaning of Pasargadae, Persepolis, Alishāh and Tabriz Bazaar. Although such differences, as this thesis discusses, is a sign of a dynamic construction of heritage, in official discourse it is considered as a disturbing problem. The monologic interpretation of Persepolis, Pasargadae, Alishāh and many other examples, as I analyse in chapters One, Five, and Eight, raises discomfort in local communities and results in physical vulnerability. Such an interpretive problem, embedded in monumentalism, over-simplification and monolithic reading, is not unique to Iran (Byrne 1991, 231; Smith 2006, 11). The popular terms, such as "invasion" (Beheshti 2003, Par.1) and "obliteration" (Hodjat 2014), are witness to such a broad sense of threat and discomfort.

ii. Orientations and absences

This thesis shows that literature on Iranian heritage is dominated by an environment of binary theoretical constructions, monolithic meaning making, and fabric-oriented debates. Also, this thesis clarifies that Iranian heritage, compared to anglophone literature, has seldom been studied through the lens of more-than-representational theories (Lorimer 2005) and particularly philosophy of ordinary, everyday practices and as lived space (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol 1984; Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith 1991).

Chapter Two and Eight identify an ideological orientation that profoundly shapes literature on Iranian heritage. Such a value-system, which is called here as monumentalism, encapsulates an over-emphasis on the aesthetic and historic aspects of heritage sites at the expense of analysis of their social and political dimensions. Monumentalism is best exemplified in the literature on Persepolis in which the heritage

site is fundamentally defined through physical attributes, artistic and historic values, and architectural significance. Thus, chapter Eight clarifies the strong links between the literature and Orientalist vision. Such vision includes a negative and inferior image of Iranian culture as ontologically different from the West which systematically orientalise Persepolis and Iranian heritage (Said 1978, 3). Chapter Eight demonstrates (for the first time) that monumentalist literature through a complex dialogism and organic hybridisation uses Orientalist tropes in new meanings and interpretations that, firstly, resists against the hegemony of Eurocentrism, and secondly, create a unified and monologised understanding of Persepolis.

Monumentalist literature, as discussed in Chapter Two, shows a second tendency toward oversimplification and dismissing the multiplicity of the actors. Such a tendency results in binary models which are constructed from blanket theoretical assumptions of Postcolonialism (Bhabha 1996; Said 1993), Orientalism (Said 1978), and expectations of historical progress (Boym 2001, 25; Koselleck 2004, xiv). Influenced by the Western construction of heritage under Cartesian dualism (Gardiner 2000, 9; Harrison 2013, 206; Heidegger 1962, 87; 1984, 132), monumentalist heritage reduces the complexity of Iranian heritage into binaries that are far from adequate to address multiple voices.

The first and the second orientations in the literature are closely linked to an absence in Iranian heritage scholarship; that is emotions of the users, the voices of inhabitants and the ways that communities interpret heritage sites through daily actions. These fundamental aspects of Iranian heritage are often dismissed as insignificant by mainstream literature. I discuss in Chapter Two that although a minority of Iranian scholars go beyond physicality, adopt a representational approach, and conceptualise heritage as a discourse, they often illustrate the sites as devoid of life and dominated by theoreticism (Bakhtin 1993, 7, 8). I show in Chapter Seven that those aspects are necessary for a holistic interpretation of Iranian heritage and provide comprehensive conservation of physicality.

iii. More-than-representational

This thesis, by contributing to polysemic literature and emerging from more-than-representational scholarship, develops a dialogic methodology that goes beyond monumentalist and discursive understanding of Iranian heritage. It analyses the affective and familiar dimensions through embodied knowledge and creative

understanding. Chapters Two and Three demonstrate that the approaches in discursive or even polysemic literature, which often define reality and heritage as a social construction, can partially shed light on the heritage sites and are unable to explore everyday interpretation. This is because the representational approach lacks the means to analyse the everyday context of discourse and lived experiences. In Chapter Three, I critically review the anglophone heritage literature and demonstrate new orientations towards more-than-representational understanding.

Dialogic methodology, which is developed in this study as a more-than-representational theory, posits Iranian heritage as the interplay of physicality, discursive constructions, and embodied experiences. Journeys in Appendix One, as exotopic creation, embrace actions, practices, experiences and emotions that constitute multiple meanings. In each journey, “I” actively participate in the daily life of Tabriz Bazaar and use my previous experience, emotions and values to acquire knowledge. By using an autoethnographic analysis, this thesis goes beyond monumentalist and monologic reading of heritage sites and reveals suppressed interpretations that challenge the dominant power entrenched in discourse of Mirāse Farhangui. This thesis, thus, discusses an alternative heritage discourse of Yādegār based on the triadic architectonics of event-ness, open-endedness, and familiarity (Figure 7.10)

iv. Mirāse Farhangui, a monologic discourse

This thesis explains that the problem of interpretation in Iranian heritage is entrenched in an official discourse with a monolithic orientation. The official discourse of Mirāse Farhangui demonstrates a disposition to eliminate unauthorised interpretations and to unify voices and truths in a single abstract truth (Bakhtin & Emerson 1984, 95). I show the evidence of such tendency in legislation (Chapter Five), academic literature (Chapter two), mapping and graffiti creation (Chapter Six) and suppressing popular ceremonies in Persepolis and Pasargadae (Chapter Nine). The most profound example of monologisation is demonstrated in Chapter Eight, where I critically analyse the authorised interoperation of Persepolis as the center of Persian universe and symbol of the dominant power. By analysing curatorial narratives of Persepolis, I identify three dimensions to monolithic reading; firstly, it embraces monumentalism as a dominating ideological impetus under the influence of a Western worldview entrenched in rationalism and an objectivist understanding of the site. Secondly, Mirāse Farhangui unwittingly appropriates a Western lens, based on Orientalist tropes, by which Western

culture is able to control and reconstruct Iranian culture "politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively" (Said 1978, 3). Thirdly, the official discourse encapsulates a monologue of disempowerment through triadic architectonics of de-vitalisation, control and de-familiarisation. Although this study demonstrates that such monologue is evident in a variety of representations, including media, official documents, interviews and curatorial narratives, it is not an overwhelmingly disempowering experience despite the desire of heritage officials. Even though resistance against political power is not explicit in heritage sites like Persepolis, it is implicitly present because every individual embodies his/her own interpretation, even though he/she is not allowed to express it in a monolithic official interpretation. The more-than-representational experience in Chapter Seven and carnivalesque celebration in Chapter Nine demonstrate an alternative discourse with a tendency to resist the official discourse.

v. Competing discourses

In different thematic chapters, I clarify the process of meaning making in Iranian heritage sites as the interplay of Yādegār and Mirāse Farhangui. This research illustrates their power struggle in a variety of settings including heritage law (Chapter Two), mapping and graffiti (Chapter Five), curatorial narratives (Chapter Eight), everyday life (Chapter Six), and celebrations (Chapter Nine). The study demonstrates a complex dynamism between diverse value-system, practices, and worldviews. Such dynamism ranges from a more repressive form of conflict, including suppression and denial to more sophisticated relationships, including co-voicing and hybridisation. The dualism of sacred and profane in Chapter Five, for example, demonstrates a profound clash between two worldviews with grave consequences for the physicality of Alishāh. In a more complex dynamism, as can be seen in Chapters Six, Eight and Nine, a dialogue of agreement results in hybrid constructions in the mapping (Figure 6.15), double voiced discourse of Farhang, and Islamised Heritage (Chapter Five). Such complicated relationship, in a Bakhtinian sense, ranges from the intentional use of other voices to organic hybridisation (Bakhtin 1981, 360; Morson & Emerson 1990, 342). Another sophisticated form of power struggle, which can be identified as an oppressive apparatus for the state, is discussed in Chapter Nine; an intentional hybridisation occurs to create an authorised and controllable form of celebration. So

various analyses show that Yādegār and Mirāse Farhangui are not only entrenched in Iranian culture but also dialogically struggle and therefore shape heritage sites.

Significance

This investigation contributes to emerging Iranian heritage scholarship (Daryaee 2006; Harris 2016; Melikian-Chirvani 1971, 1993; Mozaffari 2014, 2016) that uses the social and political context to identify a discursive and polysemic phenomenon. The author, as an Iranian diasporic scholar, conceptualises this thesis as a dialogism between Iranian voices and Western theoretical traditions, which generates a "creative understanding" (Todorov 1984, 108) of contemporary Iran. I address the ethical question of subordinating Iranian scholarship to Western theory (Modarress 2012) through enacting a dialogue between Persian and Western academic literature.

This thesis is among the first investigations (Rahimi 2011) that use dialogism to study Iranian heritage. It critiques Western heritage scholarship and clarifies the different interpretations and two problems in the application of Bakhtinian philosophy. This thesis develops a dialogic methodology, based on "co-being" and "creative understanding", which addresses the problems, is located in the overlapping boundaries of representational and more-than-representational approaches and is ideal to address the complexity and innate dialogism of Iranian heritage sites.

This thesis is the first investigations that studies Iranian heritage sites through the critical lens of everyday practices, and shows that daily actions, including walking, encompass a significant aspect of creative understanding. In Chapter Seven, a method of investigation called "journeying" is used to link the body, space and mind. The concept of journeying is derived from exotopy (Todorov 1984, 108); it harnesses the bodily experiences of walking, talking, drinking and eating to explore the often-ignored daily lives, emotions and practices in Tabriz Bazaar.

For the first time, Iranian heritage is studied here in the context of legislations. Different forms of heritage laws are analysed as an interplay between multiple voices and as an ongoing dialogism of sacred and profane. Also, for the first time, a dialogic approach is used in the examination of historical graffiti and maps in order to understand the diversity of memories and memorialisation in Iranian heritage.

Future studies

Bakhtinian philosophy has rarely been used in Iranian studies. This is in contrast to Western scholarship, in which dialogism is a popular theory in humanities, education

and social science. Dialogic methodology, as developed here, has considerable potential for interpreting the complexity of Iranian culture, as is evidenced in this thesis. Thus I suggest that scholars of Iranian studies should not easily dismiss Bakhtinian philosophy in the analysis of complex topics.

The examination of Iranian heritage in the context of law has considerable potential. This thesis opens new scopes for the study of Iranian legislation which is beyond the scope and objectives of this investigation. In particular, it would be valuable to investigate the interplay between international conventions and guidelines promoted by the global organisations, and the Iranian local and national laws. The significance of such study would be in clarifying the unexamined assumption that global regulations have a superficial influence on national heritage legislation in Iran.[94] Such inquiry would also shed light on the complex relationship of the concept of World Heritage and Mirāse Farhangui.

This thesis shows that ignoring the political and social aspects of Iranian heritage sites is a significant gap in Iranian scholarship. The thesis opens new approaches to popular understandings of Iranian heritage sites through celebration and the carnivalesque. The Cyrus day in Pasargadae is one of the many examples of popular celebrations which are sites of conflict between the government and community groups. Despite the significance of such examples in the process of meaning-making, they are rarely studied.

Finally, creative understanding which encompasses embodied knowledge, more-than-representational methods, and the exotopic investigation, is a powerful means of addressing the various issues of the contemporary world. Each journey in this thesis evokes many unanswered questions and unstudied phenomena which can become topics for new investigations. Museums, rituals and ceremonies, and the social structure and economy of Tabriz Bazaar are good examples of an intertwined network of inquiries that are related to the construction of Iranian heritage and necessary for its understanding.

[94] Interview with Samadi, Interviewed by the author on 02/05/2011.

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APPENDIX ONE: JOURNEYS

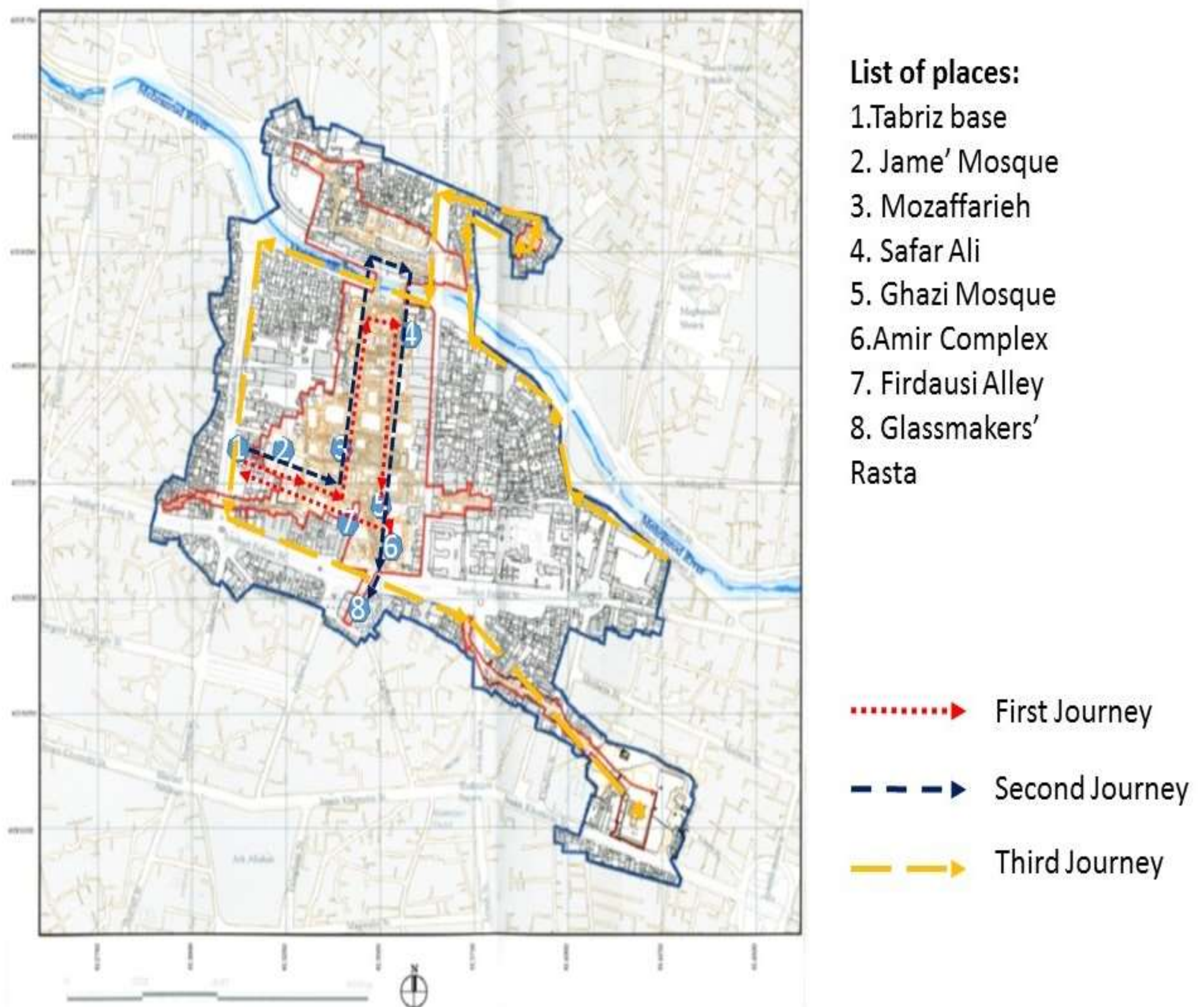

Figure A.1: The map of journeys. Source Shahin Tolouashtiany.

First Journey: Daily life

J1-Par.1. My first journey starts 10.00 a.m. 24/05/2014, from the western side where Jāme' Mosque, is located. I know from experience the sensitivity of empirical engagement with the site. The dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar is highly alert and quickly reacts to any unfamiliar visitors. The Bāzāris[95] have their categorisation method, and respond differently to customers, government agents, taxation officers, heritage experts, and tourists. They quickly recognise any unfamiliar face among the thousands and can show unpredictable reactions.[96] My first step will be visiting "Tabriz Historic Bazaar Complex Base" (Tabriz Base) to seek support for my field work. The Base is the official representative of ICHHTO in the World Heritage Site.

J1-Par.2. After a warm welcome from my former colleagues and friends, one of the officers is introduced by the head of the base as my lead. I am aware of the role of the guide and the ritual of "familiarisation." The dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar, in this way, recognises that I am among *Meerāsees* and can be trusted accordingly. We walk through spaces together, enter into the shops and workshops, talk to Bāzāris, and take photographs. These simple actions guarantee that my future explorations alone will be problem-free and I will be accepted by Bāzāris as part of daily life.

J1-Par.3. The first journey starts at Tabriz Base. The base, as the frontline of interaction, has a crucial role in linking Tabriz, ICHHTO and the World Heritage Centre. The historic building is an example of heritage houses across the city which have been adapted to modern functionalities through Ehyā. The close engagement of the administration with the daily life of Tabriz justifies the location of the Base in the core zone.

J1-Par.4. The journey continues into Ghizbasti Bazaar, Ghadim Rāstāsi toward Sāheb-al-Amr complex, then continues through Taza Rāstā Bazari into the

[95] Bāzāri in Persian means "the people who are working at the Bazaar, especially traders and merchants (Dehkhoda 1998).

[96] For example, I was taking pictures in Sorkhāb bazaar and two hours later in the main Rāstā, almost two kilometres away, one shopkeeper asked me if I enjoyed my time in *Sorkhāb*! Communication has a fundamental role in the dynamism of Tabriz. The domain of such consciousness goes beyond the physicality of Tabriz, into the city and beyond. The endurance of Tabriz historically is highly reliant on dynamic communications and quick responses.

Amir Complex. Eventually, we return to The Base through Jame' mosque (fig 6.1). In my exploration, I enter different spaces including *Sara*, *Madrasa*, *Mosque*, *Timcheh* and *Dālān*. Tabriz Bazaar does not have an official gateway from the west side, so the first impression is unexpected. I suddenly find myself in a Rāstā which is a long linear brick covered space. It is a crowded space full of individuals who are talking, buying, selling, repairing, singing, joking and laughing. All my senses are overtaken with pungent odours, colourful banners, beautiful decorations, and music. The shopkeepers in the fruit market are singing in the Azeri language, persuading customers to buy and guaranteeing the unbeatable prices.

J1-Par.5. The Rāstā in which we are moving is linear, ongoing and active. It is a passage and at the same time, a marketplace. One can see a continuous flow of individuals and goods in opposite directions. The individuals unceasingly exchange goods, signs, and messages. In my journey, the Rāstā can be construed as a dramatic scene with two primary actors, customers and shopkeepers.

J1-Par.6. The daily life of shopkeepers includes a variety of simple actions. They sweep their store and the front area clean and decorate goods and products. Their art of selling includes long-term periods of waiting and watching, selecting the right customers from the crowd, and sometimes actively inviting. Each guild, however, has its own style of selling. The carpet dealers sit solemnly in their office waiting for the customers. In the fruit market, the shopkeepers use singing and shouting; in spice-shops, they use the pungent odours and smell of famous Tabriz cheese for temptation. The performance of selling is not bounded inside the physicality of stores; it is extended into Rāstā by talking with customers, talking to other shopkeepers, and presenting the goods in the public space.

J1-Par.7. There are two continuous rows of shops on both sides of each Rāstā that create a steady visual rhythm. The rhythm is sometimes interrupted by an opening to a larger space including a Timcheh, or at intersections with other Rāstās. Intersecting Rāstās in Tabriz Bazaar create a labyrinth through which the primary spatial units are connected. After so many years, I still get lost in

the complex network of Rāstās. The intricate system of the Rāstās establishes a structure in which constant exchange of goods, services and movements is made possible. The intersection of two Rāstā generates a particular space. The *"Chārsoo"* (junction) is usually more spacious and loftier than the Rāstā in which two colliding flows meet and find their ways.

J1-Par.8. My companion continues to introduce me to the flow of life of Tabriz Bazaar by exchanging greetings with Bāzāris. The shopkeepers curiously watch and evaluate my face to remember it. In this way, I believe that I am transforming from an outsider to an insider and being accepted as a part of daily life. They invite us to a cup of tea, as a symbol of friendship and hospitality which we politely refuse. I remember in the 1990s, when I was doing a conservation project as part of my architecture education, mentioning to anyone my connection with Meerāsees was a risk. It is completely different now, due to the positive relationships between community and ICHHTO. In 1990s, If the Bāzāris had known I was working with ICHHTO, it meant nothing but trouble. The mistrust was the outcome of a long history of conflicts between the government and Tabriz Bazaar. For a long time, ICHHTO was the most important instrument of a repressive policy with devastating consequences. The policies of forced urbanisation and strict conservation measures which overemphasised historic and aesthetic values, heavily damaged the fabric and the business.

J1-Par.9. For an outsider, the flow of the people and goods must appear chaotic. Walking in a Rāstā is a complicated performance. The functionality of a Rāstā as a passageway creates a dynamic space. One can hardly stop to concentrate on a scene but should continuously move with the flow of the crowd to find a small corner. Visitors also have to be careful about the many porters that transfer the goods by their handcarts. They warn others by shouting the word: "Yā -Allah" loudly. Yā-Allah is an Arabic expression which means 'O god' but the word in the context of a marketplace signifies watch out. Hearing the word is a signal for pedestrians to be careful and give way to the porters. In this way, a hidden and complicated semiotic pattern governs the seemingly chaotic movements.

J1-Par.10. By continuing the journey to the heart of Tabriz Bazaar, I focus on the variety of faces who are moving in either the same or reverse direction. Although Tabriz could be described as a masculine space, it is not exclusively for men. Women as well as children are constantly involved in the daily practices. The role of women, however, is limited to acting as customers or behind-the-scene performers. The social norms in Tabriz Bazaar do not allow the presence of women as shopkeepers or merchants. “It is said that in the Qājār period women ran one of the subsidiary bazaars that catered mainly for women customers, making and selling household items. It was called the bazaar of Dallāleh-zan and still goes by that name” (ICHHTO 2009, 675).

J1-Par.11. The other social group who have a strong presence in Tabriz Bazaar are the Shiite clergy. One can see many Shiite clergy who are students in the madrasa, Imams of mosques, or employees of charity and religious organisations. Occasionally, one can see some older shopkeepers who are dressed as the Shiite clergy and sell religious books. The visible presence of Shiite clergy indicates their close relationships with Bāzāris and to religion as a dominant value system in Tabriz Bazaar. The lived space is dominated by religious symbols and signs, including banners, epigraphs and flags. Religiosity and morality as dominant values also profoundly shape the social structure and relations. There are six religious schools and 28 mosques in Tabriz Bazaar which indicates to the close links between everyday practices and Shia traditions.

J1-Par.12. The social strata of Tabriz Bazaar include different community groups. An outsider cannot distinguish the wealthy merchants from the others by appearance alone. Bāzāris are not using their attire as a semiotic system of social stratification. There is a general code of dress in Tabriz Bazaar which is still being observed, more or less. The shopkeepers and traders are supposed to have a formal appearance and preferably wear dark suits. They should not use shirts with short sleeves or with bright colours. *Bāzāris* must avoid wearing jeans when they are working. One young broker told me in my journey, “if somebody does not observe the dressing code, he will not be regarded seriously

in the business."[97] Merchants are the only group who do not constitute a guild. They can only be recognised in social gatherings and ceremonies in which they receive more reverence from fellow Bāzāris.

J1-Par.13. The porters, though usually considered as the lowest social groups in Tabriz Bazaar, are among the most trusted and respected individuals:

> *Hammals* (porters) are selected very carefully by Bāzāris. Each Sara, Timcheh or Dālān has its specific group of Hammals and they transport the goods exclusively for that space. They are selected for their trustworthiness, honesty and faithfulness. In each space, the porters have their individual supervisor, who is the gatekeeper and watchman as well. The head porters (*Sar-Hammal*) handle the security of space, manages the porters and the inventory. [98]

J1-Par.14. One seldom sees a police officer in the entire territory of Tabriz Bazaar. Tabriz is managed by a security system which has endured for centuries, and is based on a partnership between the state and the community. In such an arrangement, Bāzāris are responsible for the safekeeping of interior space, and the government manages the security of outside. In this way, the police presence is limited to the rooftop and surrounding area, while the Bāzāris manage the security of Caravanserai and Timcheh.

> The head porter is usually the person who is responsible for the security of each space. He is answerable for safekeeping of the space and the goods. He is the senior of the porters and usually an elderly figure. He receives a share of the price of each package that leaves the space, and a proportion of the income of the other porters…it occasionally happens that the government is in crisis and cannot provide security for the rooftop. In such cases, the seniors of Tabriz Bazaar appoint a trustworthy person for safekeeping of the roof. I remember during the Islamic Revolution they had met a few times for the same reason. As you see, the interior is always secured because the community is responsible. The security of the rooftop,

[97] From the voice notes on the site recorded on 15/05/2014.
[98] Interviewee I-2, interviewed on 17/05/2014.

however, is dependent on the stability of the government.[99]

J1-Par.15. I can see workshops that constantly repair the fabric of Tabriz. The scaffoldings are designed in a way that minimally interfere with individuals' movements. The crowd moves beneath the platforms and the restoration works have become a part of the dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar. The Bāzāris fund most of the construction works and the repairs are managed under the supervision of Tabriz Base.

J1-Par.16. On our way to Mozaffarieh Timcheh, I notice two shops in the Rāstā which, surprisingly, are closed at the peak of business time. As a symbol of mourning for a deceased person, a black banner is attached to the shopfront and is showing the death of the owner. Grief arising in social relationships of Tabriz Bazaar is a site for solidarity and connectedness. The first banner proclaims "Dear respectable customers of … if you have entrusted a clock for repair, please go to the opposite shop to receive your package." The other banner represents a different aspect of the everyday practices of dying: "Family of …we express our deepest condolences and pray for absolution of the deceased from Almighty God. From the guild and tradesmen of Yamnidouzan-Bāzār".

J1-Par.17. The death, like any other event of daily life, has a significant role in the continuation of Tabriz Bazaar as a lived space of everyday. The performances including death rituals, group praying, festivities and especially marriage, have a fundamental role in maintaining the social order and business relations. Sarirai (2008, 62) writes that as soon as a Bāzāri or a close member of his family dies, neighbours close their stores, hang black drapes, and participate in the funeral. As a part of the traditions, they reopen their shops later on the same day. After three days of mourning, on the fourth day they go to the deceased's house, express their condolences, and bring the business partner or the son back to his shop. Neighbours open up the store while repeating the Muslim verse of *Salavāt*, so as to relieve the son of mourning and to encourage him to

[99] Extracted from the recordings of the Nomination Committee of Tabriz Bazaar for the World Heritage List, 31/12/2008.

recommence the business. The owner stays in the shop for a few hours, but closes up again and continues his mourning ceremonies for few more days.

J1-Par.18. The continuity of traditions, values and practices is dominant in the death rituals. A male heir of an established Bāzāri inherits not only the wealth and property of the father, but business partners, contracts, customers, name, and credibility. In this way, there is no interruption for the continuation of Tabriz Bazaar as a dynamic social and economic phenomenon; many families remain in the same business for generations.

J1-Par.19. In addition to the rituals being a form of social cohesion, kinship is another element that defines the relationships. Employment is based on family relations and friendships, without any formal contracts. The relationships between the employer and employee are like those of father and son, and are based on mutual trust, emotions and interests. There are also highly trusted individuals whose role is to find apprentices, and their recommendation is the equivalent of a seal of approval. In this way, the employer not only provides a job for the young apprentice, but also supports him in his personal affairs such as marriage. The Bāzāri is consulted on the wedding, and the apprentice usually accepts his advice. Quite often, the apprentice marries the employer's daughter or a woman among his relations.

J1-Par.20. I reach the gate of Mozaffarieh Timcheh, where a small teahouse is located. The tiny tea-house is about the size of a dining table and is located at a corner. Three young men are sitting on a bench in front of the teahouse and talking. In Tabriz, many teahouses can be seen as the places for breakfast, entertainment, conversation, games and laughter. Singer-players who are known as *Ashiq* occasionally perform songs at teahouses. In the same way, the *Naqāls* (storytellers) narrate Shāhnāmeh (book of the kings) and other myths for the audience. Teahouses can be the location of more formal activities of business, political discussions and decision-making. Having breakfast in a teahouse before going to work is a common practice in Tabriz Bazaar. Most Bāzāris spend a considerable time in teahouses, especially when business is down.

J1-Par.21. The teahouses symbolise a significant aspect of Tabriz Bazaar as a lived space. Similar to marriage, death, and trading, laughter is an inseparable part of everyday life. Whenever the Bāzāris have a chance, they gather in a store, order tea from teahouses, drink tea, and chat. Joking and mocking each other is considered to be the most enjoyable part of their conversation. Bāzāris also could gather in teahouses, and while drinking tea, they chat and listen to the singers and storytellers. At such times, the apprentice keeps the shop in the absence of his boss. The younger Bāzāris might play games including dominoes, chess, and abacus.

J1-Par.22. By passing through the gates of the Mozaffarieh, I enter into one of the most significant landmarks in Tabriz Bazaar. Mozaffarieh is a wide brick-covered, linear and lofty space, in which the wealthiest and the most influential guild of Tabriz (Persian rug traders) is located. The space is covered with a series of brick vaults that create a geometrically sophisticated structure. The Timcheh includes twenty-six stores on the first level and the same number on the second.

J1-Par.23. Mozaffarieh accommodates different classes of Bāzāris and is among the busiest places in Tabriz. Merchants as the wealthiest and most influential class, are sitting at their offices on the first level, and manage the wide-ranging export of Persian carpets around the world. Brokers, carpet retailers, workmen, and porters move around to show the carpets to customers, move the bundled rugs, or repair the carpets. They spread the rugs on the floor, stack carpets in the middle of the public space, and repair the carpets while sitting in front of their shops. The combination of everyday life, the architecture, and the colourful carpets, is so beautiful that it annually attracts a large number of tourists. I can see a group of tourists listening to their guide, who is explaining the history of the place in English.

J1-Par.24. One of the unusual aspects of Tabriz Bazaar as a World Heritage Site is that global tourism minimally impacts the economy and social dynamism. The economy of Tabriz Bazaar, as the most significant marketplace for the city and beyond, encompasses extensive business relations on a national and global scale. Tabriz Bazaar includes more than 9000 business units which act as

manufacturers, retailers, wholesalers and service providers. The most prominent traded goods include famous Persian carpets, textile, dried fruits, leather, and jewellery (Marsousi and Bagherkhani 2011). The export of rugs, as an example of the extensive trade network, reached to more than two hundred million dollars in 2008.

J1-Par.25. The concentration of a single guild in Mozaffarieh generates a particular organisation of space. Each spatial unit, including Timcheh, Sara and Rāstā, accommodates a single guild. For example, the majority of copper-makers are located in Misgar-Lar Rāstā, and likewise, goldsmiths are situated in Amir Bazaar in the southern part. Such an organisation is beneficial for both customers and Bāzāris; the clients can compare the quality and price of the same goods in one place. The Bāzāris, on the other hand, benefit from more security and social cohesion with the proximity of the guild members.

J1-Par.26. At the end of the 1990's, when I first visited the space, Mozaffarieh was in poor condition. The structure was heavily damaged, the ceiling covered with soot, and the southern vault was broken. The present condition is visibly improved. The dirt on the ceiling is cleaned, the structural collapse at the middle vault is repaired, and the floor is paved with a harmonious pattern of brick and marble tiles. The metamorphosis of the space evokes a significant memory from the past that changed my view about the meaning of heritage management.

J1-Par.27. I remember, in 2005, I participated in a meeting between heritage professionals and the Bāzāris on the matter of flooring. The Timcheh had been repaired successfully through a partnership between ICHHTO and the merchants. The mechanism was financially managed and supported by Bāzāris on condition that ICHTO provided the materials, expertise and technical advice. The different ideas of flooring, however, turned into a dispute. ICHHTO, as expected, supported the use of the bricks as the historical and authentic material for the flooring. The stance of the community varied. The majority supported the brick flooring, while a minority were against it. The minority preferred the use of white marble tiles because they were more washable, reliable, comfortable, and beautiful.

J1-Par.28. I remember the meeting was held in the Mozaffarieh Timcheh. The space was prepared by the board of trustees as the meeting hall, by setting up thirty chairs in the middle of the space. The gates of the Timcheh were closed to keep out strangers. By stopping the daily practices, the space was entirely transformed from a busy centre to a forum. Mozaffarieh is functionally a fluid space, and is an example of a significant commercial space for the Persian carpet industry, a ceremonial space in Muharram, and a hall for discussing important issues.

J1-Par.29. The meeting, as I recall, started with a senior Bāzāri, then was continued by the head of ICHHTO. Bāzāris, one by one, were given a chance to express their ideas and opinions. The number of participants, who were among the busiest, wealthiest and most socially influential merchants in the city, demonstrated the significance of the meeting for the community. The participants were arguing for their different concerns. Meerāsees were emphasising the historical and aesthetic aspects of the flooring. They were defending the brick flooring as a beautiful, reliable and clean material. Bāzāris, on the other hand, were concerned with the functionality, strength, and beauty of the brick. After a few minutes, one of the participants raised his voice against the brick flooring, moved from his chair toward the head of ICHHTO, and started shouting. He said:

> There is no logic for choosing the brick for flooring. It is ugly, old-fashioned and dirty. Dust accumulates on the bricks and messes up our precious silk carpets. I have been in Vatican City where the floor of the most buildings is covered with marble stone. If the marble is terrible for heritage places, why at the Vatican, with its importance for the world, have they used marbles? You mean Mozaffarieh is more valuable than Vatican?! Or you understand heritage better?[100]

J1-Par.30. I recall that I was stunned in 2005. In my experience, such decisions were usually made behind doors by a top-down procedure. Today, I am more surprised by observing the outcome in Mozaffarieh. The floor of the lofty space is covered by a mixture of both materials. Mozaffarieh is an example of

[100] Personal notes.

polyphony and heteroglossia in Tabriz Bazaar, in which the dominance of no voice is absolute. Mozaffarieh flooring was one of the significant questions during an interview with the former head of ICHHTO who was present at the meeting. I frankly asked about the context of the outcome that is against heritage norms (Taghizadeh et al. 2009):

> We were lucky to understand that Tabriz Bazaar belongs to the people, not us…When people are the owner of the place, you ask yourself what the best way of protection of heritage by people is... in a place like Tabriz Bazaar, one cannot impose the view of the majority on the minority. You must convince everybody… even the few remaining in opposition could turn into a significant problem when you are dealing with conservation [of heritage]. They [the minority] may possibly interfere, make disruptions or even destroy [the process]. You must use language that brings everybody into the agreement. In Mozaffarieh, the outcome was a combination of marbles and bricks. In this way, both groups were satisfied, and we complied with the conservation principles. One has to listen to the community voices; they want a surface that is not being eroded quickly, does not produce dust, and is beautiful, and they are right. You should not think their view is wrong because it comes from below. I think in this way we all won the game.[101]

J1-Par.31. In my observation, the numerous activities that are taking place in Mozaffarieh, are indications of the success of such dialogism. The functionality of the flooring for everyday practices is also apparent. In one corner, two craftsmen are sitting on the floor and repairing an expensive carpet-tableau, without any concern about ruining the precious material. In the middle of the space, a beautiful and large Persian carpet is spread out to be brushed. One of the merchants is opening a bundle of rug for a customer.

J1-Par.32. My companion directs me through Mozaffarieh gate into a different Rāstā. We move towards one of the famous religious places of Tabriz Bazaar, mosque-madrasa of Hāj-Safarali (Safar-Ali). In Tabriz Bazaar, many mosques and madrasas (religious school) are located, and are governed by a complicated

[101] Interviewee I-2, interviewed on 26/05/2014.

network of clergy, boards of trustees, religious brotherhoods, and charity groups. Safar-Ali is one of the active schools in which young students are enrolled and trained to become a Shiite Clergy. Safar-Ali also has also been an active conservation workshop for years.

J1-Par.33. We enter the space from the Yamanduz Rāstā through a great gateway. A courtyard in the middle is enclosed by brick covered spaces from all sides. At the north side, a historic mosque is standing, and the student's rooms enclose the courtyard from east and west. The interior space of the mosque is not only used as a praying place, but also serves as a lecture hall for the students. The courtyard is full of young scholars who are reading, talking and arguing as a part of the Shiite scholastic tradition. Madrasas like Safar-Ali are primarily funded by Bāzāris, Waqf properties, and government aids. There are six religious schools in Tabriz Bazaar, of which three are active.

J1-Par.34. Bāzāris for centuries, accepted the Islamic laws of trade, inheritance and ownership as the primary setting of business. Regulation of trade is one of the most complex parts of Sharia. Without knowledge of this complicated legislation, no Bāzāri would be able to perform their daily activities and transactions. Before modernity, merchants usually attended religious schools for learning the Makāseb (Ansari 1996) as the primary text of the law. Thus, spaces including madrasas and mosques are signs of the close links of Bāzāri culture with Sharia. As Ashraf (1988, 538) notes, "The bazaar and the mosque, as inseparable twins, have served, for many centuries, as the primary arena of public life in urban Iran."

J1-Par.35. Each mosque in Tabriz Bazaar is governed by an independent board of trustees who are usually selected from the most dedicated believers. The members are selected according to their religiosity, morality, and resourcefulness. The role of clergy in everyday life is far more than the spiritual leaders. The history of Tabriz Bazaar is full of prominent Shiite Clergy who were considered as political activists and national figures. The clergy are responsible for sacred spaces and Awqaf properties which covers more than sixteen percent of the whole heritage area (ICHHTO 2009, 495).

J1-Par.36. After graduation, the young students will be involved in the dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar in many ways. They become judges in the formal judiciary system, Imams in numerous mosques, and even shopkeepers. In my journey, I encountered a bookshop in Tabriz Bazaar which was owned by an elderly clergy. The old man invited me inside, and when I asked his permission for a picture, he replied: "on one condition, I have to look young in your picture!" I was stunned for a moment because one cannot expect a solemn, elderly clergy to make a jest. "I was just joking," he continued, seeing my hesitation.

J1-Par.37. We move on to a Sara which is the location for the textile trade. The building is an active conservation project, and a few craftsmen are repairing the gate. The old master-mason is singing a song while working. The workers have erected a scaffolding over the entry, and individuals can quickly move from beneath the platform. The Sara is a marketplace, and at the same time, a factory; it includes workshops that produce socks and clothes. Many business activities can be observed in Tabriz Bazaar, including manufacturing (for example shoes, socks, copperware, knives and hats), repairing (including carpets), packaging and distribution (including dried fruits, spices and particular sorts of foods), processing (including wool and silk), and finally, stocking. Tabriz Bazaar is also connected to countless workshops that are located in the city and rural areas. Marsusi and Khani (2011) say the economic boundaries of Tabriz Bazaar go far beyond its heritage territory.

J1-Par.38. The Sara, on three levels, is surrounded by many Hojreh (rooms) where socks are manufactured and sold. The rooms on the ground floor are mostly occupied by the wholesalers. Bundled goods and raw materials are piled up in the middle of the courtyard. The noisy machines work unceasingly and are being operated by the workers on the second and third levels. I climb the stairs and enter one workshop where a massive machine in the small room is working. The room is so hot, due to the weather, and the heat of the machine, that the young operator is nearly naked. He is not comfortable in front of the camera. Despite the loud noise, one can still hear the delightful singing of workers.

J1-Par.39. After leaving the Sara, we enter to the Rāstā one more time. It is almost noon, and activities in Tabriz Bazaar are visibly low. My companion explains that the opening hours in different parts vary, and depend on the particular condition of each trade. For example, occupations including goldsmiths, carpet merchants, grocery sellers, and craftsmen, open at nine in the morning. They continue working later than other trades. The customers for such goods are usually travelling from all around the city, and do not reach Tabriz Bazaar sooner than nine. Businesses that serve the rural customers, including tool makers, horseshoe makers and wool merchants, begin their activities later and close earlier. Certain professions that require considerable physical effort, like ironsmiths, might produce the tools in the first half of the day, and sell their product in the afternoons. The business time are also related to the seasonal conditions, and especially to daylight changes. Thus, the opening times are incredibly fluid and regulated according to the customer's needs, and economic and natural conditions.

J1-Par.40. Tabriz Bazaar nearly stops at the prayer time. Bāzāris attend the collective ceremony of prayer at mosques, or individually say their prayers. They usually have a meal and a short nap. Some of them go home to share the meal with their family and take a short break. They often come back to the business around 3 p.m. There is a custom among Bāzāris that they should not be the last person who closes the shop and leaves the place, therefore when somebody starts to close down, their neighbours follow suit.

J1-Par.41. I ask to visit an active mosque in prayer time, and my escort leads me to the Ghāzi mosque and mausoleum. The building is located in one of the busiest parts of Tabriz Bazaar, close to the goldsmith Rāstā. It is named after the late Ayatollāh Ghāzi Tabātabā'i, the famous Shiite clergy and the first representative of The Supreme Leader in the province. He was murdered in 1980 when he was returning from the ceremony of prayer. As a very popular and respected figure, Ghāzi was buried in a room next to the mosque where he was also an Imam. The chamber is decorated in the style of the holy shrines, with a gold and silver coated cage in the middle. The chamber is decorated with a vibrant coloured mosaic in the style of Islamic-Iranian patterns. The interior is illuminated by a green light, a symbol of the Prophet Mohammad's

dynasty, who are highly respected in Shiite tradition. The green light also indicates that the late Ghāzi was a descendant of the prophet which intensifies his significance.

J1-Par.42. The mosque is overcrowded with believers, who are talking, praying and reading sacred texts individually or in groups. The majority, however, are senior men. I ask what is the reason, and my companion says, “you can call this the retirees’ club.” He explains that old men use the mosque as a social club, a gathering point, and a forum. The Imam, also an old clergy, is sitting in a corner and surrounded by prayers. He is listening to a middle-aged man who is discussing a matter and submits a letter to the clergy. The Imam’s response seems encouraging to the Bāzāri and he is apparently happy. The Imams not only achieve their ceremonial role, but also help their followers with their business and private matters.

J1-Par.43. Mosques are essential places in the social life of Tabriz. Multi-functionality of space, similar to Mozaffarieh, defines Ghāzi Mosque as a memorial, praying place, a meeting point and a social club. Mosques as lived spaces can represent a particular guild, religious leader, Islamic sect, mourning groups, brotherhoods, and social strata.

J1-Par.44. I leave the mosque and continue the journey from the Rāstā Tāza to another significant space, Amir Complex. If Mozaffarieh Timcheh are thought of symbolically the heart of Tabriz Bazaar, Amir Complex, is undoubtedly, the crown. The Space accommodates the wealthiest and the most influential guilds of goldsmiths, the money changers, and the Persian carpet trade. The complex consists of two historic Timcheh, the largest *Sara* in Tabriz Bazaar, and a Rāstā. I enter the precinct from the north. The northern Timcheh is full of carpet stores. The space may also be considered as an entry into the central Sara, a vast courtyard surrounded by numerous rooms on all sides and on two levels. The Sara seems much tidier than it was on my previous visit which was three years ago. The collapsed main *Iwans*, a portico which is usually vaulted and is higher than the background, has been restored, the flooring renewed, and the middle gardens are well maintained.

J1-Par.45. There is, however, another significant change in the courtyard which I never saw in Tabriz Bazaar. A large group of individuals are gathered in the middle of the courtyard, focusing on their mobile phones as if texting or playing an online game together. Occasionally they stop playing, and have a short chat with others, then continue their work. The image is so unfamiliar and strange that I ask my companion about it. He replies: "this is a blackmarket for gold and foreign currencies. Individuals are trading foreign monies via the internet while messaging." The currency exchange, is at present a sensitive area, and strictly controlled by the government. Witnessing an illegal market in the middle of a World Heritage Site and an important business centre is a shocking observation. The black market represents the space beyond the official narrative of the World Heritage Site.

J1-Par.46. *Sarrāfi* (money exchanging) is a reputable and old business in Tabriz. Traditionally, the guild is involved in actions that include lending, profiting, foreign currencies, and money transfer. The moneychanger guild is highly reliant on the principals of reputation and trust. Each Bāzāri selects his moneychanger according to their reputation, confidence and personal relations. Despite the establishment of a vast number of banks in the territory of Tabriz Bazaar, *Bāzāris* still use the service of the moneychangers.

J1-Par.47. The heritage professionals widely criticise the conflicts between modern institutions and their impact on the physicality of the site:

> Some modern institutions have gravely damaged the collective system of management. We did not have any banks in Tabriz before modernity, but financial activities were managed by the people through moneychangers. This is genuinely a severe loss for a resilient phenomenon; we have taken away the [people's] monetary independence and surrendered to the government control.[102]

The criticism also covers the number of banks which comprise a very profitable business in Tabriz:

[102] Extracted from the recordings of the Nomination Committee of Tabriz in World Heritage List, 31/12/2008.

> One of the most significant challenges before the listing of Tabriz in WHL was the excessive number of banks which were replacing legitimate business in Tabriz. [This phenomenon] was radically changing the social structure of Tabriz Bazaar and had to be stopped.[103]

J1-Par.48. My companion warns me to hide my camera and stop recording. He explains that Amir Rāstā, the primary location for a goldsmith guild, is on strike in opposition to the new tax regulations which impose a higher rate on the gold and jewellery. He tells me that security agents are present everywhere, and monitor suspicious activities. They do not tolerate photographing or recording. The consequences and penalties could be severe. I understand the sensitivity of the situation and follow his advice. We leave Amir Complex immediately and continue our journey back to Tabriz Base.

J1-Par.49. In Tabriz Bazaar, going on strike symbolises resistance and disagreement. It is a well-known and highly effective tradition, and encapsulates the political aspects of daily life. Bāzāris, as an influential community, have a significant role in the creation of contemporary movements in Iran. By suspending business at the active heart of the city, Bāzāris disrupt the flow of goods and services and create a shock in the economy of the town and beyond. If Bāzāris in other Iranian cities joined the cause, as it has happened in the case of Goldsmith guild, there could be unpredictable consequences for the country. The phenomena could be uncontrollable and create significant political and social unrest.

J1-Par.50. For the same reason the government has developed complicated measures to confront the Bāzāri movements:

> In a recent strike against Value Added Tax in Tabriz Bazaar, the government convinced a few Bāzāris, who were related to the authorities, to open their stores. This gave the officials the means to announce that the strike was over, and Tabriz Bazaar was open now. They told the opposition that if they did not comply with the order,

[103] Ibid.

> their stores would be sealed by security guards, and they have to go to the Ministry of Intelligence to reopen it.[104]

J1-Par.51. The simultaneous strikes of the goldsmith guild in other traditional bazaars in Tehran, Isfahan, Yazd, and Shiraz indicates a network of interconnections which is spread all over the country. Tabriz Bazaar, in this way, is a part of a greater dynamism, and attached to national and international movements. As has been demonstrated in many contemporary transformations, Tabriz Bazaar and other traditional marketplaces are influential forces that shape the Iranian social, cultural and political environment.

J1-Par.52. Tired of carrying my heavy bag, I randomly ask one of the shopkeepers to take care of my precious belongings while I continue my journey. He accepts without hesitation even though I am a complete stranger to him. He takes my bag and put it on the counter. I pick up the bag after one hour. The social relationship in Tabriz Bazaar is highly reliant on the values of morality, religiousness and trust. Reputation is the most valuable asset for each Bāzāri. Such relationships create a relatively secure environment for both traders and customers. My example of what is a routine act between shopkeepers and customers connotes an atmosphere of trust. Such behaviour is unimaginable between two strangers in any location other than Tabriz Bazaar.

> Everything in the bazaar is based on reputation. If the shopkeeper betrays the customer's trust, he loses his reputation among his neighbours and fellow businessmen. In fact, he no longer can stay. Vice versa, if the customer falsely claims that something is missing from the bag, nobody would believe him, because Bāzāris know the shopkeeper.[105]

This incident reveals Tabriz Bazaar as a particular space with specific codes of practice. It is highly unlikely to witness violence, quarrels or see individuals raise their voices. "Nobody does this because bazaar [Tabriz] is sacred, you may not raise your voice in sacred places."[106]

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[104] Extracted from the recordings of the Nomination Committee of Tabriz in World Heritage List, 31/12/2008.

[105] Interviewee coded as I-15, interviewed on 12/05/2014.

[106] Ibid.

J1-Par.53. This sanctuary, however, is not perfect. Recent economic hardship under international sanctions, and social transformation, have profoundly changed the culture of trade.

> The situation has become worse. Collaboration in the community has decreased. The credibility of people before the Islamic Revolution was much higher; business was based on trust, and nobody needed courts and police.[107]

Seeing a police officer at the door is the worst nightmare for a *Bāzāri*;

> I never bring police to enforce the heritage law because it is the worst disaster that could happen in our relationships. It will destroy the reputation of the Bāzāri, and the neighbours will think that he is bankrupted or has done something terrible.[108]

While it is rare to observe a police officer in uniform during the business hours, the space is very safe.

J1-Par.54. A banner in Shams Bazaar reads: "Dear customers, please address any complaint to the office of the Board of Trustees at the basement. If your complaint was not attended by the board, call this number." Seniors are the most prominent older figures who are known for their age, resourcefulness, experience, and morality. Each Sara, Timcheh or Rāstā in Tabriz Bazaar has its specific group of seniors. They achieve an outstanding role in resolving the conflicts. The social influence of the seniors can outreach the courts in private and business matters. To safeguard their social and economic standing, Bāzāris avoid publicising conflicts. For the same reason, bringing the issue to the official court of law is usually the final and highly unpleasant step.

J1-Par.55. My first journey ends at the Jāme' Mosque on the western side of Tabriz Bazaar. The complex is among the most significant heritage monuments, and includes a Madrasa, three mosques, and a library. Similar to Safar-Ali, the heritage building is active and the courtyard is full of Shiite clergy. I enter to the Jāme' Mosque, and at the entrance, an announcement installed on the wall states: "Do not donate money to scam beggars, to eradicate

[107] Interviewee coded as I-13, interviewed on 13/05/2014.
[108] Interviewee coded as I-14, interviewed on 13/05/2014.

this shame from our city." The announcement is signed by a famous charity organisation. The text shows an aspect of Tabriz city; it is well-known for Iranians as a town without beggars.

J1-Par.56. Many charity organisations exist in Tabriz Bazaar, of which Nobar Charitable Society is the oldest and the most famous. The society's activity covers a broad range of services. The charity was founded by a group of Bāzāris in 1947. The society is based on the prominent social values of Tabriz Bazaar, religiosity and trust. According to their Articles of Association:

> This foundation together with all its branches is not affiliated with any political group and will not do any activity for any person or group… additionally, this foundation will never take action to do any deed that is irreligious and forbidden by sharia.[109]

J1-Par.57. My first journey ends here at 3.00 p.m. as an empirical and exotopic encounter with the everyday life of Tabriz Bazaar. I return to Tabriz Base to interview heritage professionals and Bāzāris as part of my investigation.

[109] www.nobarcharity.com accessed 05/04/2015.

Second Journey: Conservation

J2-Par.1. My second journey, again, starts at Tabriz Base. I have requested an appointment for an interview with Mr Chatrouz, the senior heritage officer and official representative of ICHHTO in Tabriz Bazaar. Due to the nature of his job, he suggests that instead of sitting in his office and having an interview, we have a talk while he is doing the daily tasks. I could not ask for more. I agree, because it is an ideal situation for my observations.

J2-Par.2. I see a few Bāzāris who are waiting for Chatrouz. They are either seeking technical advice, or permission to repair their properties. As a National and World Heritage, all owners and users should comply with conservation measures in Tabriz Bazaar. Bāzāris also must seek a certificate from Tabriz Base before commencing and after finishing repairs. The certificate from the Base confirms the construction has followed the rules and technical specifications. Considering the enormous number of business units in Tabriz (more than 9000), the job is very demanding. My experience from the past as a heritage officer tells me that this tedious responsibility cannot be assigned to a single person. It requires a complicated system. I was told that Chatrouz is the sole person responsible for all administrations and could not be reached because he is always on the move.

J2-Par.3. Chatrouz is a member of a lineage of heritage professionals who have been managing the territory of Tabriz Bazaar for thirty years. Without any exceptions, they have been connected to Tabriz Bazaar through three significant cultural elements of kinship, trust and reputation. Their practice is based on direct involvement in everyday practices by complying with Bāzāris' language and values. Chatrouz and a few others[110] are among the exceptional heritage professionals who live in the overlapping boundaries of two universes.

J2-Par.4. I have three requests. Firstly, that he answers my questions, secondly, that he shares his daily activities with me, and finally, that he introduces me to a prominent senior Bāzāri. He generously agrees and so the second journey starts. The route is not different from the first journey, but we must inspect a

[110] The list includes Tehrani, Vahabzadeh, Elmieh, Mousavi, Taghizadeh, who have been sequentially responsible for interaction with Tabriz in the last thirty years.

construction workshop and evaluate an application for construction work which is made by a Bāzāri.

J2-Par.5. The second journey starts around 9:30 a.m. The Rāstā that was overcrowded yesterday is almost empty. Tabriz Bazaar has limited activities today. It is a mourning day in remembrance of martyrdom for the tenth Shiite holy Imam. The majority of the stores are closed, and black flags are installed on both sides as a sign of lamentation. The transformation of a busy, crowded and active marketplace into a solemn ceremonial space is astonishing. We encounter a large group who are performing the ceremony according to Shiite tradition. A vocalist in the middle of the crowd sings an emotional poem in memory of the Imam. The participants respond by chanting and rhythmically moving in procession. Our conversation about Tabriz Bazaar in a background full of lamentation creates an extraordinary environment.

J2-Par.6. Chatrouz, however, does not seem surprised. The ceremony is a familiar event and a part of his daily life. Our destination is different from the mourning group, and therefore, we turn into another Rāstā. In my second journey, I encounter with the crowd several times, and their sound echoes in the background all the time.

J2-Par.7. On our way to the first workshop, Chatrouz describes the framework of the agreement between ICHHTO and Bāzāris. The restoration works are implemented through a mechanism in which a board of trustees is appointed by the community. In the agreement, the board collects the money from the Bāzāris and employs the masons and labourers. Tabriz Base, as a representative of the government, provides materials, scaffoldings, and tools. All repairs and restoration works are under the supervision of heritage conservators who are appointed by Tabriz Base. Chatrouz says:

> The board of trustees in each space collects the money from the owners, suggests new ideas, and manages the construction works. They do not allow any workers to waste time. They even bring the breakfast for the employees every morning and see the job is finished as soon as possible. They are very eager [in their work].

Such an agreement creates a fairer system, through which the public funds are distributed according to needs: "If the money is distributed by us [ICHHTO] we allocate money based on the size of each store. If seniors distribute the money, they give money to the less privileged and consider the owners' wealth."[111]

J2-Par.8. As we continue walking in the Rāstā, our conversation is occasionally interrupted by a Bāzāri, who asks a question, seeks advice, or simply invites us to have a cup of tea. Chatrouz patiently stops and answers their questions. His manner is respectful, friendly and professional. "I love Tabriz Bazaar like my own kid. I have been taking care of it for twelve years and want it to become better every day." I have heard the same expression from his predecessors too: "if you trust Bāzāris, they will trust you in return. In contrast to other public organisations who torture them, we use a respectful manner."[112]

J2-Par.9. We reach the first destination. The owner of the shop, who is an elderly Bāzāri, is waiting for us at the gate of a Dālān, and shakes hand with Chatrouz and me. The gate is closed because of the mourning ceremony and in a corner, a pile of construction debris can be observed. He had applied for a certificate to renew the flooring and roof and replace the windows, and this was approved. The owner is concerned about the safety issues, especially the danger of structural collapse of the old building. Before visiting the property, Chatrouz and he start to talk about the way in which construction wastes should be disposed of without hindering the daily activities of the neighbours. This is a major issue, because during the business hours, no vehicle is allowed into Tabriz Bazaar. The wastes have to be piled up in a place to be removed at night. Chatrouz apparently is not satisfied, but in courteous language in accordance with the age and the position of the Bāzāri, he suggests the debris stored in a different place.

J2-Par.10. The owners must submit an appropriate form and request the permission before starting the operation. Although the form provides a simple list of the illegal activities, the actual conditions usually fall into technically

[111] Extracted from the recordings of the Nomination Committee of Tabriz in World Heritage List, 31/12/2008.
[112] Interviewee I-15, interviewed on 12/05/2014.

unclear areas. Chatrouz always makes the final judgement as the chief supervisor. He inspects the location, talks to the owners, and evaluates the impacts, both physical and functional, on Tabriz Bazaar. The list of the banned activities, according to the form, includes installation of the balcony, reducing the thickness of the walls, digging basements, and lifting the ceiling to increase interior height.

J2-Par.11. The old man opens the gate and leads us toward his *Hojreh* (store). In the middle of the space, piles of red bricks and washed gravel indicates our destination. The Bāzāri is from the guild of carpet traders, and his store consists of a shop on the ground floor and a workshop on the first floor. A young man from the workshop welcomes us and we climb the stairs to the first floor. The upper room is an L-shaped space, and is covered with wooden floorings. It contains numerous precious Persian carpets in different forms and sizes. Chatrouz starts measuring the room with the help of the young man while they are talking. He measures the structure and draws a rough sketch of the L-shaped room. The owner and Chatrouz exchange ideas about the condition of the roof, and the ways that the flooring could be renewed. After carefully examining the structure, Chatrouz says that the store is structurally safe and it can be consolidated with minimum costs. The Bāzāri and his son both seem relieved and grateful.

J2-Par.12. We leave Dālān and continue our journey to the second destination, another Persian carpet store located at the main Rāstā. I ask Chatrouz how he can communicate with Bāzāris so efficiently. He replies:

> I am from a Bāzāri family. My father used to have a Hojreh in Tabriz Bazaar and I was raised in the same culture. I observe many ethical codes that only a Bāzāri can understand. For instance, my father used to tell me not to wear jeans in Tabriz, but I never listened to him!

J2-Par.13. We meet the mourning group one more time. The loud singing makes our conversation almost impossible. Chatrouz relates an interesting story from the period of Ahmadinejad's office which indicates the complexity of relationships in Tabriz. According to Chatrouz, a new shopping centre was about to be built close to Safar-Ali Mosque:

> …my boss ordered me to approve the plan which was designed in two levels above the ground. The height of the structure was against the regulations of the buffer zone. I told him the structure would obstruct the view of Safar-Ali Mosque, so I will not do that. He insisted and I said if he let that happen, the educated people would indeed oppose it in the media and that will cause grave consequences. He got so angry, and thought I was threatening to bring the matter to the public. That was a very tough time for me. Even once I was once even beaten by the contractor when I was trying to stop the work.

Although Chatrouz received no support from ICHHTO, he managed to stop the second level from being built. The building was praised by the UNESCO inspectors as an excellent example of development projects: "After that, my boss boasted that he was the person who preserved the integrity of Tabriz Bazaar."

J2-Par.14. Bāzāris and heritage experts create an alliance to oppose "bad" decisions:

> Instead of intervening directly against those who disrespect the heritage regulations, I talk to other *Bāzāris* and describe the consequences for their life and business. They usually form a group and start a movement to solve the problem. I know their power is much more influential than mine and law breakers cannot fight with the community. After so many years, I think this is the most efficient way of intervention. Using temporary and palliative solutions and focusing on repairing the fabric here and there is not enough.

J2-Par.15. We reach the northern part where the river divides Tabriz Bazaar into two sections. The north includes Sāheb Plaza, Akbarieh School, Hasan-Padishah Mosque and the Rāstā of coppersmiths. The area is historically significant, but physically deteriorated and socially problematic. The area was linked to Tabriz Bazaar by two bridge-markets a few years ago which are the continuations of the Rāstās over the river. These two bridge markets collapsed at the beginning of the twentieth century after a massive flood, but were later reconstructed. The northern zone was subject to extensive urban regeneration

in the 1990s. That period is well known for forced property acquisition, disharmonic design, and authoritative implementation.

J2-Par.16. Today, we are walking through the reconstructed bridge market into the northern part, and discuss the consequences of urbanisation for Tabriz Bazaar. Surprisingly, the space gives the impression of a ghost town, and even the bridge markets look abandoned. The ghost town is limited to the new constructions. One we pass through the modern structures and into the Sāheb Plaza, the usual activities can be observed. Conversely, on the western side of Tabriz Bazaar, a similar commercial complex has been erected, with the same architectural features. While the first project exemplifies an unsuccessful urban regeneration, the latter is entirely absorbed into everyday life.

J2-Par.17. In Chatrouz's view, the problem of the northern urbanisation is merely weak accessibility and poor design. One of my interviewees, however, disagrees: "… the lands in the northern part were forcefully confiscated by the government from Bāzāris. Fellow Bāzāris strongly avoid *Ghasbi*[113] properties. To live and work in such properties is among the hideous sins in the culture of the Bazaar."[114] Thus, the northern commercial centre is cursed and will never become a part of the dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar.

J2-Par.18. I ask about the relationships between ICHHTO and the religious authorities when we are passing through Safar-Ali Mosque. My intention is to direct our conversation to a complex area. I know about disagreements between ICHHTO and the Awqaf Organisation. Chatrouz's answer is somewhat surprising:

> Our relationships are very good because they mostly rely on public funds for repairing the mosques. They have to obey our guidelines. Otherwise, we cut their money.

His statement notably demonstrates a monologic attitude, despite the polyphonic nature of Tabriz Bazaar. From other sources and from my personal experience, I know the relationship is much more complicated than that. The alterations made by the board of trustees in historic mosques have not always

[113] The word refers to acquisition of the property through a wrong procedure and in an unethical manner.
[114] Interviewee I-2, interviewed on 17/05/ 2014.

been according to the heritage standards. The board of trustees that is involved in the repair and renovation of the mosques, is different from the business units.

J2-Par.19. After the Islamic Revolution, a movement for the renovation of heritage mosques that mostly relied on the non-governmental resources emerged in Tabriz city. The movement started from the Jāme’ Mosque, where the ceremony of Friday Prayer was about to be held. The interventions went far beyond conservation standards and included a total renewal. The operation covered the use of modern materials, consolidation of the structure, and an especially drastic increase in the height of interior spaces. Traditionally, the mosques in Azerbaijan are constructed with a lower interior than the mosques in central Iran. This difference is due to many environmental factors, including seismic activities and harsh winters. While increasing the height creates a loftier space and a remarkable sense of place, it certainly alters the authenticity and aesthetic values of the mosque.

J2-Par.20. ICHHTO chose a dialogic approach instead of an authoritative encounter: “We did not confront the alteration because their presence was valuable for heritage buildings. They were doing what we were supposed to do as government. They did not have enough knowledge in the field.”[115] The board of trustees changed their attitude and never altered the height of the interior spaces again. The good relationships, however, changed when ICHHTO decided to restore one of the mosques to “authentic” condition:

> In final years of my office, I tried to correct [their previous works] and return the space to its original condition by the installation of a false wooden flooring. When the board of trustees was informed, they became very upset and brought the matter to the governor. They thought the project would damage their reputation and I believe they were right. I stopped the project immediately because their presence in the heritage field was much more valuable. I was not worried because I am sure the future generations will eventually correct that mistake.[116]

[115] Interviewee I-2, interviewed on 17/05/2014.
[116] Ibid.

J2-Par.21. “Reputation” in Bāzāri culture is the most precious asset that should be preserved by all means. In a monumentalist approach, however, the “authenticity” can be seen as a concept with equivalent value. When the monumentalist heritage focuses on restoring authenticity by opposing the rule of reputation and trust, it provokes a clash.

J2-Par.22. The diversity of approaches to repairs is seen as a problem by Mirāse Farhangui and World Heritage. UNESCO suggests:

> … the low level of awareness of the Bazaar users towards sensitive interventions in historic areas is a major factor affecting the property. Several incompatible replacements and repairs have been carried out. There is a need for guidelines, combined with incentives to address this issue again. (ICOMOS 2010, 138)

In this interpretation, UNESCO is not alone. The monumentalist voice of the experts from the capital city of Tehran presents the same contradiction:

> Conservation in Persepolis is a world-class activity. In Tabriz, restoration works are inferior. The primary problem in Tabriz is the lack of authenticity. When an observer looks at the space, it is repaired in a monotonous way without differentiation between historical and non-historical. It is important that we consider the content of international charters of conservation.[117]

J2-Par.23. Chatrouz and other heritage professionals express deep emotional attachment to Tabriz Bazaar through their fears, hopes and desires. Such feelings sway between loathing and love:

> I feel exhausted by this job when nobody cheers you up and appreciate your work… I sometimes think that people like us had to appear to help Tabriz Bazaar passes through this [difficult] time. I am happy that a new generation of Bāzāris is in charge… I fear one thing, that the value of the land in buffer zone will increases and people will move to the surroundings. We should motivate people to stay by supporting their business… there is one valuable issue in Tabriz Bazaar that should be protected at all costs: the brand of Tabriz Bazaar as a place representing the cheapest and

[117] Interviewee I-5, interviewed on 19/05/2014.

> highest quality product. Bāzāris are exceptional. They are honourable, they care about their neighbours and community and they are kind to their family and friends.[118]

A shocking fear is expressed by another heritage professional from Tabriz Base:

> My nightmare, my most profound fear for Tabriz Bazaar is about the earthquake. I even dream of it at night. What happens if an earthquake occurs during the day when hundreds of thousands of people are moving under the roofs and indeed will be buried under the debris? Tabriz is utterly defenceless.[119]

J2-Par.24. We are reaching to Sheeshegar-Khānā (Glassmakers Bazaar), where Chatrouz has arranged a meeting with one of the seniors and a member of the board. The Bazaar is widely known as the starting point of the recent heritage movement. The Glassmakers Bazaar was the objective for the radical urbanisation in the 1990's. According to the municipality's plan, the separated southern part had to be entirely demolished and renewed. While the scheme was against the heritage regulations, ICHHTO had no power to prevent it. The political and economic forces behind the project, on the pretext of progress, would have crushed any resistance either from Meerāsees or Bāzāris. The development was started by the construction of Shams Mall over a historic caravanserai juxtaposed to the Glassmakers Bazaar.

J2-Par.25. Surprisingly, the plan for the Glassmakers Bazaar confronted an unexpected setback. by signing a petition, proposed an alternative solution that covered the renovation of the Bazaar at their expenses. They started a campaign against the destruction and confiscation of their properties. The movement was led by a reputable Bāzāri, a famous publisher and cultural figure. The movement was also supported by the Meerāsees who were unable to resist the urbanisation alone. The mechanism of the partnership between two previously opposedg groups turned into an excellent formula for other parts of Tabriz Bazaar.

J2-Par.26. We approach the Rāstā from the north, where the Jomhuri Islami Street has separated it from the central territory. Chatrouz points to a new portico

[118] Interviewee I-14, interviewed on 13/05/2014.
[119] Interviewee I-11 interviewed on 14/05/2014.

which is erected as a gate for Glassmakers Bazaar. He explains the portico design which symbolises the continuation of the Rāstā across the street and visually links two separated regions. The portico also signifies a desire for reconstruction of a physical connection in the future. This intention, however, is not merely expressed through a symbolic portico. As a memorial for a lost unity, a pathway and a marketplace have been constructed that connects the two parts from underground.

J2-Par.27. The same desire is demonstrated in the map of the core and buffer zone [L]. The map proposes two physical connections between the central body and peripheral regions, from west and south. According to the map, the above-mentioned underground pathway is redefined as the core zone of Tabriz Bazaar.

J2-Par.28. Chatrouz leads me toward the Glassmakers Bazaar through the underground passage. The atmosphere is entirely in contrast with Tabriz Bazaar, and could be described as a non-place. A non-place has the features of any usual modern shopping place, full of cheap Chinese products. We ascend the stairs on the other side and reach the portico. The name of the Bazaar (Glassmakers) is merely a memory from the past. The shops offer groceries, vegetables, meat and confectionery. At the middle of the Rāstā, an exceptional bookshop is located which is the final destination of my second journey.

J2-Par.29. Haj Ahmad Khādem Alhosseini, the owner of the bookstore, is sitting behind a small table. The old man has recently received the prestigious Aga Khan Foundation Award for his efforts on in Tabriz Bazaar. Haj Ahmad welcomes us by offering tea, and shortly, Chatrouz leaves for an urgent matter. I start the interview and we talk about his role as a representative of Bāzāris, the future of Tabriz Bazaar, the relationships between ICHHTO and Bāzāris, and how the heritage movement initially started.

J2-Par.30. I begin the conversation by referring to the Agha Khan prize. I was watching the ceremony online when he was receiving the award in Lisbon. I ask him how he felt when he was walking toward the stage: “I was happy, not just for myself, but for Tabriz Bazaar.” He received the first congratulations from his grandchildren who are living in Germany. His narrative differs from

the official narrative, in which the movement of restoration was started by heritage professionals.

J2-Par.31. The story begins in 1992 when Tabriz Bazaar was physically in a critical condition: "Tabriz was in a bad situation and many Bāzāris had fled from it… Glassmakers Bazaar was severely damaged and was full of dirt. Rats could be seen everywhere." In that situation, the authorities decided on a policy to wipe out the problem, demolish the old space, and replace it with modern structures.

> The municipality was demolishing [buildings], they had destroyed an old Sara next to us, and planned to continue to our Bazaar. I had a friend in the municipality, and he warned me that soon they would send us a notification to evacuate the area. I did not have time to summon other Bāzāris. I wrote a letter on behalf of the others and went to ICHHTO. I stated that we are ready to repair our bazaar and pay for everything.

J2-Par.32. The reaction of ICHHTO was disappointing. The heritage officers told Haj Ahmad that his letter would not change anything. "Mr … told me it is useless, they will finally destroy it. I answered that your organisation has not let us alter a bit in our shops for a long time, why you are silent now? He answered that they did not have enough power to resist." However, Haj Ahmad succeeded in indexing his letter at the ICHHTO registrar and received a number and a receipt. The simple act of sending the letter transformed the happenings from a smooth inter-governmental process into a political and social problem. The monologic and top-down procedure was suddenly interrupted, and changed into a multi-vocal and dialogic phenomenon.

J2-Par.33. The heritage professionals were encouraged to find an ally, and seeing a shred of hope for saving the Bazaar, contacted the higher authorities at once. The governor was aware of the potential crisis and the power of the dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar, and agreed to have a meeting with Haj Ahmad, whose cause was supported now by ICHHTO. An official meeting was arranged in Beatification Organisation, at which the Mayor himself was present:

> The Mayor asked me directly if I had written the letter to ICHHTO. I answered yes, we are ready to renovate our

> Bazaar. The Mayor replied that it was impossible because there was an approved "plan" for the area. He ordered the document to be brought; it contained twelve articles; then he asked me to sign it. I signed the document without reading the content. He was surprised and asked why I did that. I answered we accept their "Plan," but we are prepared for anything.

J2-Par.34. The narrative includes an astonishingly clear dialogism between two worldviews. In the Mayor's language and his top-down attitude, the "plan" is a metaphysical notion and a rigid system which rules everything. He also seeks the signature of Haj Ahmad to legitimise the actions and transform Bāzāris into a part of the system. In Haj Ahmad's view, the Plan is just a piece of paper. He does not recognise the so-called system as the dominant force. The real arena in which the fate of Bāzāris would be determined is the actual Tabriz Bazaar, and everyday actions.

J2-Par.35. The expression of "we are ready for anything" actually changed everything. The bewilderment of the officials provided enough time to create a campaign against the forced urbanisation. The next day, Haj-Ahmad summoned more than sixty Bāzāris to a mosque and explained the gravity of the situation. With the support of the ICHHTO which provided the masonries, tools and workers, he managed to convince fellow Bāzāris to participate in the process. He opened a bank account, collected money from others and started the repairs immediately. The Mayor and his supporters no longer could suppress the move without social and political consequences.

J2-Par.36. According to Haj Ahmad, the persuasion of other Bāzāris was not as easy as it seemed:

> They know me very well, but *Bāzāri* is *Bāzāri*. They would rather die than be separated from their money! In a meeting in a mosque, I asked how long they supposed they would live. I said that they spent most of their time in Tabriz Bazaar as their second home. I also asked if they preferred to live in a clean and tidy place or a ruined mess like this.

The process, however, was slow and exhausting.

J2-Par.37. Restoration of the Rāstā continued for four years. The construction works exceeded the accepted standards of heritage protection:

> We have rebuilt two demolished domes. In recent years, the structure of the Rāstā was changed into a steel frame which we removed and replaced by masonry walls. We rebuilt the foundations with concrete, repaired the roofs and vaults, and renewed almost everything.

In such a total sacrilege of UNESCO recommendations, ICHHTO was the important partner. Even the municipality finally participated and installed the sewage system and flooring.

J2-Par.38. The formula for participation was straightforward and efficient, therefore, became into an exemplary and was adopted by the Bāzāris in other parts of Tabriz Bazaar. The mechanism included a significant feature that reduced the common mistrust of Bāzāris towards the state as a corrupted and bullying force. The control of money and management remained in the authority of *Bāzāris*. In the following years, this local participation turned into a social movement.

J2-Par.39. I ask Haj Ahmad about his role in other parts of Tabriz Bazaar, as is stated in many resources. He is presented as a member of the board of trustees (the association), a centralised institution established by the Bāzāris for governing Tabriz Bazaar affairs. I ask if such a governing centre exists and his reply is surprising: "the answer is both yes and no. The government never lets that happen. The government is suspicious enough to not to let any political centre be shaped." Thus, as many other interviewees have confirmed, there is no single and centralised board of trustees. This fact reveals one of the specificities of Tabriz Bazaar as a resilient phenomenon. Bāzāris in Each independent space, including Sara, Timcheh, Rāstā, or Dālan, select their representatives in the form of a board of trustees or a single delegate. They have the authority to act exclusively on behalf of the owners on construction works.

J2-Par.40. In Haj Ahmad and other Bāzāris' view, ICHHTO has transformed after the 1990s from an authoritative force into a partner:

> I see ICHHTO as a helper, companion and partner to Bāzāris. Other governmental institutions including the Taxation Department and Ta'zirāt,[120] have no understanding of our life. Their decisions are made in Tehran and they are entirely unaware of the local conditions in other cities. They see us as the same as the great merchants in Tehran, while our turnover is much smaller. This is the real problem.

J2-Par.41. He also complains that the positive attitude of the ICHHTO during the office of Ahmadinejad tremendously altered for a while.

J2-Par.42. Haj Ahmad in response to my question about the future of Tabriz Bazaar, talks about his hopes, fears and wishes. In his view, inappropriate activities must be removed from Glassmakers Bazaar and replaced with authentic ones. He talks about "beautiful greengroceries and bookshops in Rāstā" which have vanished and turned into "butcher shops that pollute the space and smell terrible." He talks about the dreadful economic conditions that have damaged the business, especially after the international sanctions. "I have three employees (apprentices) and I cannot make one-fifth of their salary through my current business. I have to dismiss my workers, but I can't." The workers are part of his business family, and abandoning the family in hard conditions is against the ethical code of Bāzāris.

J2-Par.43. Haj Ahmad's complexion and dialogue express a grave concern about the future of Tabriz Bazaar. His pessimistic attitude is connected to three sorts of alterations in Tabriz life. The first is apparently economic: "Tabriz Bazaar previously was the most important trading centre of the city and perhaps in the country. The bazaar, especially in Pahlavi's reign, was so prosperous that was incomparable with the current condition. Tabriz Bazaar has declined."

J2-Par.44. The second alteration is connected to the cultural values of trust and reputation which create social cohesion.

> Collaborations between community members has reduced. People were much more trustworthy in the past. I remember the time when the business was not relying

[120] The Ta'zirāt department is a governmental organisation which acts on sharia law and is responsible for controlling the price of goods and quality of services.

> on the police or the courts. It was based on people's trust. Nowadays, even if you get written notes, there is no guarantee that you receive your money.

The third aspect encompasses the reduction of kinship as the basis of the social structure and relationships among Bāzāris. The next generation of Bāzāri families is not motivated to continue business in Tabriz Bazaar. "They mostly leave because they see many upstarts who suddenly achieve wealth with limited effort. This persuades young Bāzāris to search for their future outside Tabriz Bazaar territory".

J2-Par.45. Haj Ahmad's interpretation of Tabriz Bazaar is about more than monumentality and physicality. In his viewpoint, Tabriz Bazaar is a dynamic phenomenon that is animated by everyday practices. He explicitly mentions four elemental concepts that create Tabriz Bazaar as a lived space. Those are business, trust, reputation, and kinship. In Haj Ahmad's view, loss of the social cohesion is the most severe problem in Tabriz Bazaar. Thus, his viewpoint bears a strong similarity to that of Chatrouz, who is a Meerāsee.

J2-Par.46. The last statement of Haj Ahmad indicates a grave concern about the future. He ironically mentions the futility of having a conversation with me. He quotes a poem from Yaghmā Jandaghi, a famous Persian poet from the eighteenth century:

> If this is my voice and that is your ear, my cries will never reach anywhere.[121]

J2-Par.47. He continues:

> We have stayed in Iran because we love our country. Most people have no other option but to stay. Otherwise, they would have left [like you]. It seems that everything is collapsing and [Tabriz Bazaar] looks like a shattered book. I go to *Ta'zieh*[122] and mourning ceremonies, but nothing seems in the right place.

J2-Par.48. Haj Ahmad's allusion refers to me as a diasporic Iranian and a heritage professional. He reproaches me and anyone else who tries to understand Tabriz

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[121] گوش اگر گوش تو و ناله اگر ناله من/آنچه البته به جائی نرسد فریاد است.

[122] A ceremonial performance in commemoration of Karbala battle.

Bazaar from a distance, through detached and abstract conceptions, and without involvement in the everyday practices. In his view, my abstract and systematic approach is entirely inadequate to "hear" the "voice" of the Bāzāris, however loud it seems. He also expresses a deep confusion about the current condition of Tabriz Bazaar, in which the traditions are diminishing. The coexistence of different voices and interpretations of Tabriz Bazaar, and transformation of the lived space into a hybrid phenomenon undoubtedly has intensified the ambiguity.

J2-Par.49. My second journey to Tabriz ends in Glassmakers Bazaar. I thank Haj Ahmad for his hospitality and leave his store. When I exit the Rāstā from the portico in Jomhuri Street, I take a picture of the entrance from the opposite side. The contrast between two spaces, The Shams Mall and Glassmakers Bazaar indicates two different interpretations of Tabriz Bazaar. Both buildings are made of modern materials and techniques. The contradiction between the two spaces, the similarity of functions, and being part of a greater phenomenon (Tabriz), conveys many layers of meanings. The dialogism between the two spaces is a crystallisation of Haj-Ahmad's and Chatrouz's viewpoints. It also represents a hybrid understanding of Tabriz Bazaar, where seemingly opposing voices coexist.

Third Journey: Boundaries

J3-Par.1. In the third journey, I explore the relationships between Tabriz Bazaar and the city. I examine the outer domain of the heritage territory which is known in heritage literature as a buffer zone. I walk all around Tabriz Bazaar and record my interactions with the environment and individuals. In addition, I explore the connectivity of the two peripheral zones of Sorkhāb and Blue-Mosque with the main body. The peripheral zones are detached by the forces of urbanisation and progress. The journey, however, has been done on different occasions. In the first encounter, I explore the outer domain of the main body and Sorkhāb, then I walk around the southern borders including the peripheral zone of Blue-Mosque.

J3-Par.2. I start my journey in the early morning, alongside the river which separates the buffer zone from the city fabric. The cityscape which is full of modern buildings, construction yards and old structures, illustrates the active forces of urbanisation. My pathway is alongside Allāmmeh Tabātabāei Street, then Azādegān Highway. The highway is a significant example of urbanisation which has transformed the natural landscape of the river to a motorway. The riverbed occasionally is used as U-turn and underpass for vehicles, with a narrow ditch in the middle. The extensive change in the cityscape from three years ago and the disappearance of the river are signs of a dynamic environment.

J3-Par.3. The range of construction projects all over the city is astonishing. The continuous urbanisation covers ambitious plans including a subway network, shopping malls, and new highways. Yesterday I visited a shopping mall with one of my friends, Hāmed, who is a site manager of a gigantic shopping centre under construction. He explained that the malls are funded by private investors, mostly from Bāzāri families. Interestingly, Hāmed himself is from a famous Bāzāri dynasty with a long history of catering and restaurant business.

> Construction of shopping malls in the city has intensely altered the regional role of Tabriz Bazaar. In modern malls, the culture of shopping is entirely different. If you want to have entertainment, food and famous brands at

> the same place, you will not choose Tabriz Bazaar anymore.[123]

J3-Par.4. Lāleh complex, which we visited yesterday, is an example of such non-places (Augé 1995), similar to many other shopping malls around the world. It covers more than ninety thousand square metres of shops, restaurants, entertainment and services. A variety of luxurious brands are offered in stores, and on the third floor, a vast food court presents different cuisines from around the world. As we were dining in food court with Hāmed and his family, I could not stop thinking about how spaces like Lāleh can devour Tabriz Bazaar and its dynamism.

J3-Par.5. The frame of the buffer zone,[124] like an invisible barrier, can be imagined as a defending fortress against the waves of urbanisation. The cityscape alongside the border gives the same impression as the frontline of a battlefield. It is full of ruins, debris of construction, and semi-destroyed buildings. The fortress, primarily a mental barrier, is founded on certain rules which divide the heritage from outside. In the imagined sanctuary, no building can exceed two levels (7.5 metres) from the ground, and any new project must be approved by ICHHTO. In addition, new buildings, architectural designs and the outward appearance of structures must not degrade the heritage integrity. Designating a buffer zone, however, is always a complicated process:

> Tabriz Bazaar was nationally listed but without a buffer zone. For the first time, we started to identify a protective zone for the site. The city authorities and the governor were not happy to limit the development. We had to convince the local authorities… when a heritage place turns into a World Heritage, it is no longer a local issue. It turns into a place of national prestige… designating a buffer zone is the most complicated issue because one is confronted with the people's rights. If you behave carelessly, you either violate private rights or degrade heritage integrity…[125]

[123] Interviewee I-12, interviewed on 14/05/2014.

[124] A buffer zone, according to UNESCO, "is an area surrounding the nominated property which has complementary legal and/or customary restrictions placed on its use and development to give an added layer of protection to the property" (WHC 2015, article 104).

[125] Extracted from the recordings of the nomination committee of the World Heritage List, 31/12/2008.

J3-Par.6. Despite the strict regulations, the border of the buffer zone signifies a vibrant battle between heritage and the development forces. One can see many buildings higher than two levels, and with a contrasting design both in buffer and core zones:

> The most significant challenge in the process of World Heritage listing was the development projects around Tabriz Bazaar. Urbanisation is still happening but at a much lower level. I went for the first time up on the roof to explore the surroundings. I was totally disappointed by seeing so many ugly façade and [contrasting] buildings which were authorised! I wanted to leave this case. It was impossible.[126]

J3-Par.7. In my observation, heritage is not in a defensive position. The *Pol-Bāzār* (Bridge Market) is evidence of the progressive nature of Tabriz Bazaar. The government has built them as an extension to two significant Rāstā over the river. They physically connect two separated parts of Tabriz Bazaar in the south and north. Seeing the completed Pol-Bāzār evokes a significant memory from the past. As a junior heritage officer, I was present in a meeting of TCCH[127] in 2001. The meeting was about the development plan in the northern part and the Pol-Bāzār. The senior heritage authorities who were against the development plans and especially the appearance of the bridge markets, were present. In contrast, the designer team and the officials from the city insisted on the modern design and the development of the northern parts. The municipality camp, so far, had had great success in the demolition of historic fabric and erection of massive structures against the advice of local heritage authorities.

J3-Par.8. The meeting started with the provincial head of ICHHTO presenting a report on the violation of codes and the negative impact of the urbanisation project on Tabriz Bazaar. The ICHHTO team suggested that the project be immediately stopped, revised, and the lost historical fabric reconstructed from the pictures. They also argued that a gigantic commercial complex on the

[126] Ibid.

[127] Technical Council of Cultural Heritage is the highest authority for evaluation of development projects in heritage zones.

borders of Tabriz Bazaar will damage its economic role in the city. The discussion was then continued by the other party, who justified the designs and debated in favour of developing on the prosperity of Tabriz Bazaar and the city. The meeting then turned into an argument in which the municipality was accused of being ignorant of heritage values, misuse of authority, and a greedy attitude and the heritage camp was accused of being backwards thinking, against the development, and ignorant of modern urbanism.

J3-Par.9. As a junior member of the council who attended for the first time in such a significant process, I was totally shocked. I witnessed famous architects and conservators shouting and exchanging harsh words. The respected professionals, educated in the same architectural schools, were using different languages, values and worldviews to address the same phenomenon. Their dialogue was eventually interrupted when the designer team left the room in a gesture of protest.

J3-Par.10. Now, I can see the outcome which is surprisingly accepted as the core zone of heritage territory. The hybrid construction is a mixture of different ideas and connotes antagonistic values. While the complex, in essence, is shaped by the notion of progress, it bears superficial alterations in favour of the heritage language. The height of buildings is cut in half. The colour and texture of the façade are of red bricks, to be more harmonious with the historic fabric. The design, however, is substantially unchanged.

J3-Par.11. The modern complex is a ghost town. After so many years, the municipality failed to bring vitality to the space. In the discourse of the progress and the monumentalist heritage, the voices of everyday life and living traditions were entirely ignored. Bāzāris are avoiding the projects because the land has been forcefully confiscated from the community which is a violation of Bāzāri codes. Thus, the double-voiced northern urbanisation can be added to a series of other failures of the government.

J3-Par.12. When I reach the Sāheb-al-Amr shrine, I change my path towards Sorkhāb Bazaar in the north. Meanwhile, I decide to enter the shrine to examine the space and refresh my memory. The shrine is a unique example of transforming a sacred place into a museum. Since 2002, the shrine is no longer

a pilgrimage destination for the memory of the twelfth Shiite Imam. It has been changed into the museum of Quran and Calligraphy. The story of transformation is a significant example of disputes between different memories of space. The shrine symbolises the worldview of living Shiite tradition which has: "… [the] least consideration for historical authenticity. In their view, the figure who is buried underneath is important, but not his/her bones. Their emphasis is more on the intangibility of heritage."[128]

J3-Par.13. The heritage building also entails essential architectural, historical and folkloric values.

J3-Par.14. The foundation of the mosque originates from the beginning of Safavid rule in the sixteenth century. The building was destroyed by the Ottoman army during the invasion of Tabriz and rebuilt again. It collapsed entirely one more time during the horrible earthquake of 1780, and was reconstructed later in the Qajar era. In folk belief, the place is related to the hidden Shiite Imam, Mahdi, who has been living for thousands of years and will reappear at the end of time to bring justice. The heritage place, therefore, is invested with a high spiritual aura. Knowing the disputes in Alishāh, a few kilometres to the south, the transformation of the shrine into a museum is puzzling to me. For the same reason, I conduct an interview with one of the founders of the museum to explore the transformation. In many individual's beliefs, space was a focal point of pilgrimage and prayer:

> When I was a kid, especially during the exams, I used to go to the place and do the ritual of circumambulation around the holy cage in the middle… there was also a space beneath the Minaret where a stone, the size of a big pillow, was on the floor. It was the remains of a meteor. We believed that anybody's wish who could lift the heavy stone would be granted. When I had a request, I used to go to the shrine, lift the rock, pray, and cry for my requests.[129]

J3-Par.15. Such a deep emotional connection to the place is in contrast with another interpretation:

[128] Interviewee I-5, interviewed on 19/05/2014.
[129] Interviewee I-2, interviewed on 17/05/2014.

> Historical research has shown that nobody is buried beneath the shrine. Ayatollah Malakuti, who was a respected Shiite clergy, argued that the place is a fake. Apparently, somebody dreamed of Imam Mahdi and after that, people enshrined the objects and the place. Even the British consulate had donated two precious chandeliers in the nineteenth century after a controversial event. We started to repair the building and I conducted a cross-sectional trench to examine the authenticity of the claims. I did not find any trace of burial, tomb, or similar remains, and thoroughly documented the excavations.[130]

J3-Par.16. The scientific investigation gave an ideal background for the transformation of a "fake shrine" to a "real museum": "We revitalised the place into the Quran and Calligraphy Museum to be more connected to people's beliefs." The story, however, does not end here. Religious groups, mostly supported by the Islamist forces in the government, opposed the decision:

> On the opening day, the opposition groups sent a Shiite clergy to hinder the ceremony. He asked me on what ground I had changed a holy shrine and a praying place into a museum. I told him that this is not a authentic shrine and discussed the evidence. I also showed him that I brought a Quran related to Imam Hassan,[131] all the way from Tehran, to display in the new museum.[132]

J3-Par.17. The representative, who became later the Vice President of Ahmadinejad's government, was not convinced, though the ceremony continued. He objected that the place should be used for prayer:

> Nobody is against the holy ritual of praying. I ordered preparation of a space for people who practice praying and brought a few *Mohr*.[133] When we opened the museum, people came not for visiting but just to pray. They were sent by pressure groups to make trouble.[134]

The dialogism of shrine and museum, however, has been continued to this day. Recently, the Awqaf Organisation which is responsible for management of

[130] Ibid.
[131] The second holy Imam in Twelver Shiite belief.
[132] Ibid.
[133] A small clay tablet used by many Shi'a Muslims during their daily prayers.
[134] Ibid.

sacred places, has exerted lots of pressure to reclaim the ownership of the museum: "…which is another type of harassment." I ask the interviewee about the reason for such a reaction from the Islamist forces:

> Because in our country authorities are not in their proper place; culture is a complicated conception, the individuals who take office are usually unqualified. There is no other reason. I am sure their intention is not to prevent cultural development. They do not understand the significance of culture… this is not intentional it is just the result of ignorance.[135]

J3-Par.18. By exploring the buffer zone, one can see shops, workshops and storehouses outside the core zone. This is especially observable in the eastern part where the shoemaker Rāstā is located. The heritage regulations allow for a freer attitude for the owners in the buffer zone. The frozen physicality in the core zone does not permit substantial extensions and prevents business development. Bāzāris, then, prefer to claim properties in the buffer zone and use them as an extension to their business. The business units transform the buffer zone into a vibrant area full of activities. When I explore the buffer zone, I can see the intensity of the transformation.

J3-Par.19. Walking alongside Shahid-Madani and Jumhuri streets, which are the creation of the radical urbanisation of Pahlavi regime, I can see a significant transformation of Tabriz Bazaar. Both streets, by cutting vast areas from the main body, have damaged the vitality of the separated zones. Their role, however, is not limited to implementing a forceful cultural policy; as many researchers propose, they also have created life. I can see banks, shops and shopping malls on both sides of streets. The social and cultural topography of the new streets, however, demonstrates a more complicated and polyphonic nature.

J3-Par.20. The new streets are now a part of the dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar as a living organism:

> At the beginning of the twentieth century, the new street cut through Tabriz Bazaar and created different urban elements. The new streetscapes are in contrast with the

[135] Ibid.

> traditional parts. They are outward looking, have wide windows and balconies toward the outside. They have become a part of the dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar as if acting as a *Rāstā*. Like the historical parts, the new streets are also dynamic elements of everyday life and social organisation. These are the natural behaviour of the city as a living organism.[136]

J3-Par.21. Absorbing the modern commercial spaces into daily life is a significant specificity of Tabriz Bazaar. The shopkeepers in modern stores are members of the same guilds and religious groups as the Bāzāris in historical parts. They participate in social events and accept the same values of kinship and religiosity. They are governed by a council of seniors, who are the most trusted individuals in their community. In this way, the vibrant dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar has absorbed the modern institutions.

J3-Par.22. The connection of the modern and historical parts, however, does not imply they have an equal place in social and economic strata:

> On the south side of Jumhuri Street, you can find many new shops which are built of modern materials. On the north side, one can see old brick structures which are limited by heritage regulations. The shops with the same area in the historical part are worth ten times more than those on the new side.[137]

J3-Par.23. The area between Sorkhāb and the main body is an exemplary situation where wholesalers are located. One can see active stores even in the backstreets, hidden from the eyes of tourists and visitors. These stores, though significant in everyday life and business, are overlooked in World Heritage, and are merely part of the buffer zone. Another example is evident in the eastern part of the buffer zone, where an entire street is dedicated for porters and their carts as a waiting station. The eastern region is also full of shoemaker workshops which are working closely with the shops in the main body of Tabriz Bazaar. In this way, the boundaries of buffer and core zones, as proposed in World Heritage, are inaccurate and are based on monumentalism.

[136] Interviewee I-12, interviewed on 14/05/2014.
[137] Ibid.

J3-Par.24. By exploring the buffer zone in the northern part, I reach Sorkhāb, a detached but historically significant complex. The marketplace is hidden deep inside the urban fabric. The first impression, compared to the vivacity of Tabriz Bazaar, is disappointing. Space is damaged, the shops are abandoned, and very few customers can be seen. The contrast with Tabriz Bazaar is so striking that one can hardly find any connection with the main territory. My doubts, however, proved to be pointless in a few hours later. Almost two kilometres away in the main body of Tabriz Bazaar, one shopkeeper asks if I enjoyed my time in Sorkhāb that morning! This dynamic connectedness which I have witnessed in the first journey implies a strong link between Tabriz Bazaar and the peripheries.

J3-Par.25. Rahli-Bazaar in the south-east and Haramkhānā in the east which are similarly detached from the main body by modern urbanisations, give the same impression of abandoned places. Despite extensive deterioration, both peripheral marketplaces are imagined in map [L] as the core zone. Brick vaults were occasionally destroyed and replaced with modern roofs. In Haramkānā, the architectural style, though historical, is different from that of grand bazaar and the main body. The vanished vaults in the detached area, similar to a few other spaces in Tabriz Bazaar, holds another narrative:

> The Pahlavi dynasty wanted to implement a forced development on the city from above. Mousa Mahām was appointed as the governor of the city [1957-1961] with a single mission—to destroy Tabriz Bazaar. He made the first step by arguing that the space was not clean and was dark. Therefore, we should remove the vaults to let more light enter the space. He started the destruction but was confronted with massive resistance from Bāzāris. The resistance was so intense that it frightened him. The order of the governor, however, could not be ignored. The seniors of Tabriz Bazaar proposed a middle way. They suggested to preserving the vaults but whitewashing the interior surface.[138]

J3-Par.26. I continue the journey to the Rāstā-Kucha which defines the western border of Tabriz Bazaar and is the place of two prominent museums of

[138]Extracted from the recordings of the nomination committee in World Heritage List, 31/12/2008.

Muharram and the Constitutional Revolution. One signifies a long-lasting tradition, and the other a prominent event in Iranian modern history. Both museums, though historical, are not included in core zone but are in the buffer zone. The museums could be imagined as outposts of Mirāse Farhangui in the city fabric.

J3-Par.27. Muharram Museum, for instance, is an example of dialogism between different interpretations of heritage. The place is a historic house which has been adapted and reused as a museum. The monument was built at the beginning of the twentieth century by the Abolghāsem Sehati Shafā'i, the famous physician and philanthropist figure. The Sehati dynasty is well known for their dedication to religious ceremonies and medical practice for generations. Abolghāsem's father was also a famous traditional healer, and a recognised believer in Muharram ritual which, he held once a year at his house. Continuing his ancestral tradition, Sehati dedicated his mansion to both practising medicine and the ritual of Muharram.

J3-Par.28. The house is located in the northern part of the World Heritage territory, and signifies many historical and architectural values. I enter into an enclosed courtyard which is dominated by a richly ornamented façade. On one side of the courtyard, a statue of the horse of Imam Hussein is erected. The first level is dedicated to displaying flags, standards, lights and cradles which are ritualistic objects. On the second floor, paintings are shown, and a replica of the storytelling atmosphere is reconstructed. The frozen and static scenario of the museum is in contrast with the dynamism of storytelling, mourning and preaching traditions.

J3-Par.29. There is, however, exceptional space in the basement of the house which is dedicated to the annual ceremony of Muharram. The Space is decorated similarly to any other *Hosseinieh* (a sacred space for ritual of Muharram) in Tabriz, with Persian rugs and cushions. The room, however, is dominated by the same problem as the museum which is the impossibility of objectifying a living phenomenon. The curator, a very kind and knowledgeable professional, feared being interviewed. However, she gave me useful information on the rituals that are currently held in the museum. According to

the curator, the museum has very few visitors on ordinary days. In contrast, the space turns into the focal point of the local community in mourning times, when it is used not as a museum but as a Hosseinieh. The basement and the courtyard turn into black, full of mourners who gather to commemorate the Battle of Karbala. The narrative of the museum is a significant example of dialogism between Yādegār and Mirāse Farhangui:

> Doctor Sehati is an old physician who lives in Germany. His father was also a doctor and perhaps was among the first modern-educated practitioners in the city. Doctor Sehati used to return [to Tabriz] to hold the ritual in Muharram time, complying with his father's will. After the registration of the house in the National Heritage List, he contacted and asked for the support of ICHHTO to repair the building. I agreed and he submitted the keys. We immediately started repairing the house for free.
>
> The next year when Doctor Sehati came back for the ceremony, he was deeply touched by the construction works. He confessed that he did not believe I would keep my promise. He started to trust us, and after a while, I suggested that he transfer the house to ICHHTO to become a museum. He answered the house is Waqf for the Muharram ceremony which should be continued according to his father's will and the law. I replied that we agreed to hold the ritual every year and revitalise the house according to his belief and religiosity. I told him that we would transform the house into the museum of 'Flags and Standards' (*Alam-va-Kotal*) which is related to Muharram.
>
> I suggested this functionality because we have lots of historical standards and flags in Tabriz Bazaar which were used by traditional mourning groups (*Hei'at*) in Muharram's time. For the rest of the year, the standards are usually stored in dank basements of the mosques, where their fabric is deteriorating.
>
> These artefacts signify considerable artistic talent. I visited some of them in Tabriz Bazaar once, and my heart was shattered by their miserable conditions. The standards are usually made from embroidered silk which should be sensitively maintained, repaired and conserved. The people have made them with strong spiritual emotions and belief. The artefacts endured for

> more than 150 years, while we store them in musty places [to be destroyed]. I thought Sehati House is an ideal place for the historical flags and standards to be kept and shown to the public.
>
> Doctor Sehati was happy because my suggestion offered relief to his burden as the heir and caretaker of the house. We arranged a legal agreement and he transferred the ownership to the government, with the condition of complying with the Waqf. We started a wide range of conservation work and nearly at the end, I contacted some of the mourning groups to discuss the idea. In Tabriz, each district has its mourning group which is in competition with the others. I thought they would not surrender their relics to the government quickly, and therefore, I contacted one of them with the aid of Doctor Sehati. The mourning group belonged to the same district as the Sehati House, and performed their ceremony at the house every year. They knew and trusted Doctor Sehati and me.
>
> When I discussed the matter with the seniors of the mourning group, they asked why they should give their standard to me. I answered, because I intend to show it to the public and have it repaired. They replied that the standard is Waqf, it is solely dedicated to their mourning group, and impossible to transfer to anybody. I replied we would not seize their sacred relic but would borrow it and return it when it is needed, especially for the ceremony each year. I received an absolute no in return.[139]

J3-Par.30. I continue my journey along Rāstā-Kucha to reach my second destination. The Constitutional Revolution Museum (CRM) is a symbol of political dispute. The historical event symbolises the political power of the commons against authoritarian rule. For the same reason, the Constitutional Revolution as a site of memory has never been welcomed by the political power:

> We have been officially celebrating the Constitutional Revolution for the past ten years. The commemoration, however, had been banned by the Pahlavi regime and the Islamic Republic equally. In Tabriz Bazaar, despite the

[139] Interviewee I-2, interviewed on 17/05/2014.

> ban, the event has been commemorated by Bāzāris in secret for one hundred years. If the political environment was relatively open, they gathered in shops and celebrated by offering biscuits. If the condition was repressive, they just celebrated with a cup of tea. In a harsh times, they commemorate the revolution in their houses, not in Tabriz Bazaar.[140]

J3-Par.31. In such a context, establishing an exclusive museum-memorial of the Constitutional Revolution is an extraordinary phenomenon. I enter the museum through a vestibule and pass through a vast courtyard. The museum is established in a heritage house which is listed in the National Heritage Inventory. The house was initially constructed by a famous *Bāzāri* around 1868. The house became later a meeting point for famous revolutionary figures, including Sattar-khan and Bāgher-khan, who are two national heroes. I have been here many times when the building was first used as the headquarters of ICHHTO.

J3-Par.32. The museum was established in the context of the reformist movement of President Khatami, in 1996. The museum is an outstanding example of community-state collaboration. The space is a mutual creation of ICHHTO and the local community in memory of a national event. Inspired by the community movement in the restoration of Tabriz Bazaar, the head of ICHHTO made an announcement on local television requesting the help of the community for creating a new museum:

> In the museum field, we never had the experience of working with community. We had a few objects in the Islamic department of the regional museum which were related to the Constitutional Revolution. ICHHTO headquarters was in a historic house, and also related to the revolution. I thought we could move the office to another building and change it into a museum. However, we did not have enough objects to show.[141]

J3-Par.33. The head of ICHHTO contacted the local television station and arranged an interview. He discussed the matter and made an announcement asking for help. He asked from the descendants of revolutionary figures to lend

[140] Extracted from the recordings of the nomination committee in World Heritage List, 31/12/2008.
[141] Interviewee I-2, interviewed on 17/05/2014.

their documents, and allow the objects to be shown in the new museum. He also made clear that there was no money to pay as compensation, and they should give the historical objects for free. After the interview, a few individuals started to contact the department asking for more information. In a couple of weeks, they started to bring their belongings. "… I was shocked. Those were exceptional heirlooms related to family memories of an outstanding historical event. Though families had been living with such memorials for generations, they donated their objects and documents for free."[142]

J3-Par.34. The process of transformation of the functionality of space continued for several years. The community seeing the objects being shown under the name of the donors, was encouraged to surrender more documents:

> I have no doubt that most of those individuals did not know me. However, they found my request sincere. The honesty was an elemental issue. We displayed a list of individuals who donated the documents and objects to the museum. The list created more trust from the community, so that shortly we evacuated the building and turned the entire house over to the museum.[143]

J3-Par.35. The current condition of the museum is evidence of the extent of community participation. The space on two levels is full of pictures, newspapers, letters, and other historical documents. In the display cases, one can see weapons, personal belongings, and the handwriting of national figures and revolutionaries. The museum, as part of the buffer zone of Tabriz Bazaar, demonstrates the great dialogism of the World Heritage Site with the city and beyond. The memorial transformed a secret folk festivity in Tabriz into an official memorial.

J3-Par.36. The CRM, Muharram Museum, and the Quran Museum signify the complexity of relationships and the dialogism of interpretations in the buffer zone of Tabriz Bazaar. They also connote different roles of museums in the dialogism of voices. The dialogism in my third journey is completed by exploration of the last destination, the Blue-Mosque zone. The Blue Mosque

[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.

and the attached area is also the location of one of the most significant Iranian museums.

J3-Par.37. To reach Azerbaijan museum, the second most significant museum in Iran, one should choose the route which connects the Khyāvān Gate in the south-east to Tabriz Bazaar. The route passes through bazaars, including Karanei-Khānā, Rahli and Kohnā. The walk is interrupted at different points by the network of modern streets. Khyāvān Gate was destroyed in the twentieth century under the movement of urbanisation.

J3-Par.38. I have heard justifications for the inclusion of Blue Mosque and Sorkhāb in the core zone, despite their physical detachment. In the official narrative, the areas are described as functionally, socially, and historically connected to Tabriz Bazaar. In 2009, ICOMOS, as the advisory body of UNESCO, requested further clarification on the nomination of three detached areas as joint with Tabriz. The official answer from ICHHTO emphasised social links rather than physical connection: "…although these additional bazaars were not physically linked to the central core, functionally they acted as a unified complex in economic, cultural and social affairs" (ICHHTO 2009, 867). The official justification, however, is in contrast with the unofficial narrative "we fooled [UNESCO] into adding Blue Mosque into the nomination process to better protect it."[144]

J3-Par.39. To explore both narratives, I continue my journey by entering Karanei-Khānā from the north entrance. Karanei-Khānā was initially an extension of Rahli-Bazaar which later was separated from it by the construction of North Artesh Street. One of the local Bāzāris claims that in the Qajar era, a horn (*Karanei*) frequently was blown in this Bazaar to alarm the gatekeepers of the city. As a result, the people began to call this place "under the horn-house." The bazaar was once a traditional centre for tinsmith workshops, metal tools, and home appliances. In the modern day, however, it has transformed into a greengrocery market with more than 45 shops. The physicality of the marketplace compared to Tabriz Bazaar signifies a low architectural quality

[144] Interviewee I-14, interviewed on 13/05/2014.

and much lower historical values. The roofs are covered with sloped corrugated cement sheets, and the floor with asphalt.

J3-Par.40. To continue the journey towards Blue Mosque, I must cross Artesh Street. On the other side, the entrance to Rahli Bazaar is lost in the city fabric, and merely defined by a small urban sign. The bazaar was previously known as a link between the Khyāvān Gate, the most significant gate of the city, and Amir Sara in Tabriz. The area enclosed caravanserais and a bath houses to serve merchants who entered the city from the east. The caravanserais have disappeared and the bath house was destroyed to make room for new Timcheh which are currently trading carpets.

J3-Par.41. The physical detachment of Artesh Street has left severe marks on Rahli. Although considered as a core zone, the current condition of the space is entirely different from the main body. The physicality of the Rahli Bazaar, similar to Karanei-Khānā, is severely damaged and deteriorated. Rahli, by being cut from Tabriz Bazaar through urbanisation, has lost its 'raison d'etre' as a link and as a portal. In my view, Kohna, Rahli and Karānei-Khānā hardly support the official definition of Tabriz Bazaar as a "unified complex in economic, cultural and social affairs" (ICHHTO 2009, 867).

J3-Par.42. I reach the Blue Mosque zone. The first encounter is not impressive; the Kohnā Bazaar opens to a wide area which is covered with parking and surrounded by construction yards. One of the biggest, semi-constructed buildings, as I was told, is the new Persian Carpet Museum. The core and buffer zones are defined as surrounding the Blue Mosque, one of the architectural landmarks in Iran. The buffer zone also encloses the second significant archaeological museum of Iran, Azerbaijan Museum. The sense of place, however, is entirely different from Tabriz Bazaar, and is dominated by solemnity.

J3-Par.43. The meaning of the place is constructed by the dialogism of four heritage places. Azerbaijan Museum, Iron Age Museum, Blue Mosque, and Khāghāni Park; each symbolise a different aspect of historicity. In this dialogism, the dominant forces of urbanisation and development should not be ignored. The heritage territory is surrounded by significant urbanisation

projects. Here, the vivacity of everyday life is replaced with an atmosphere which Tilia (1972, xii) describes as "so heavily charged with history."

J3-Par.44. Blue Mosque, a significant national heritage, was destroyed by earthquakes and reconstructed in the twentieth century. The mosque a prominent monument and a tourist attraction is called as Blue Mosque because of the colour of its delicate mosaic works. The monument was established around 1465 and listed in 1932 as a National Heritage. I approach the building from the north, where the lofty portal (in Persian *Iwan*) is located. I buy a ticket and enter the space where a group of foreign tourists are listening to the curator. The mosque, though it has extraordinary beauty, is devoid of life. No trace of the ritual of praying can be observed, and the space could be described as an architectural museum, rather than a sacred space.

J3-Par.45. A similar sense of place can be observed in Azerbaijan Museum next to the Blue Mosque. The building is included in the core zone for its historic and aesthetic values. Azerbaijan Museum, like the National Museum in Tehran, symbolises the emergence of modern heritage in Iran. It was designed by the famous architect and archaeologist André Godard in 1962. Both museums emerged in the same cultural and social context of the mid-twentieth century. The first level is dedicated to the pre-Islamic era, and the second, to Islamic objects and the library. The variety of historical objects is shown which demonstrates the richness of the museum as a signpost of the monumentalist heritage. The museum, despite the historical wealth, is empty of visitors.

J3-Par.46. In the north-west corner of the Blue Mosque zone, a small museum can be seen, established on an excavation ground. The museum was the outcome of archaeological excavations in 1999-2000. The site museum of the Iron Age contains historical remains from 1500 BC to the Islamic period. During the excavation, a few tombs were revealed which belong to the Grey Pottery Civilisation.

J3-Par.47. In an environment so much dominated by historicity, the Khāghāni Park embodies another story. The small park is located between Blue Mosque and the Azerbaijan Museum, and is named after one of the most famous Iranian/Azeri poets, Khāghāni. The small park, in contrast to the museums and

the mosque, is full of young couples. As I am told by the locals that the park is a well-known meeting spot for lovers. Despite the strict Islamic rules, I can see many of these couples, sitting on the benches, holding hands and whispering. The park, in this way, demonstrates another layer of heritage interpretation, and offers an example of the dialogism of Tabriz Bazaar and the city.

J3-Par.48. There is, however, another aspect which represents the Blue Mosque zone as an exceptional situation. Extensive urbanisation works can be observed all around the Blue Mosque zone. A Few hundred metres to the east, one of the massive development projects, an urban plaza, is under construction. The contrast between urbanisation works and the heritage territory creates an extraordinarily dynamic environment. The dynamism, however, entirely differs from the dynamism of Tabriz Bazaar. The dialogism is imbued with hostility and disputes, and not on agreement. The Blue Mosque zone, in this way, appears as a frozen island in the middle of the change which is also linked by a feeble connection to Tabriz Bazaar. In this context the expression of a local heritage professional can be better understood: “we fooled [UNESCO] to add Blue Mosque in the nomination process to better protect it”.

APPENDIX TWO: IRANIAN HERITAGE LEGISLATION

A list of Iranian heritage legislative documents which are categorised in six groups coded as A, B, C, D, and E (see Chapter Five).

Cluster A

Code	Title of the Legislation	Year	Type of Law/ Legislator	Key Concepts
A1	Concerning the Monopoly of Discovering Antiquities in the Protected Kingdoms of Iran (1)	1895	Treaty	Norms and Customs
A2	Concerning the Monopoly of Discovering Antiquities in the Protected Kingdoms of Iran (2)	1900	Treaty	Norms and Customs
A3	The act of establishing the ministry of Culture, Awqaf and fine arts	1906	Law/Parliament	Vadaye' Melli Museum

Cluster B

code	Title of the Legislation	Year	Type of Law/ Legislator	Key Concepts
B1	The statute of the Society of National Monuments	1922	Statute	National object Museum National Heritage National Heritage Inventory
B2	Entrance fee regulation for historical and cultural places	1931	Regulation/Government	Conservation Repair Ancient places
B3	The statute of Iranian Anthropological Institute	1937	Statute	Ethnology Folklore Museum
B4	Antiquity Law	1931	Law/Parliament	Atighāt
B5	Executive regulation of the 1931 Antiquity law	1931	Regulation/Government	Atighāt Movable heritage Immovable heritage National inventory

Cluster C

Code	Title of the Legislation	Year	Type of Law/ Legislator	Key Concepts
C1	Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention 1954	?	International convention/Parliament	Conflict
C2	Article 102 of the Municipality Law	1955	Law/Parliament	Ancient objects Buffer zone Conservation
C3	Regulation on preservation of historical and national monuments and buildings	1958	Regulation/Government	Historical significance Conservation Yādegār
C3-1	Regulation on burial in heritage sites.	1958	Regulation/Government	Historical places National monuments

Code	Title of the Legislation	Year	Type of Law/ Legislator	Key Concepts
C3-2	Conservation of historical monuments and national heritage buildings	1958	Regulation/Government	National monuments Historical monuments
C4	Article 13 and 14 of the act of responsibilities and authority of governors	1960	Law/Parliament	Historical objects National Objects Conservation, Museum Registration of national heritage
C4-1	The law establishing the Ministry of Art and Culture	1964	Law/Parliament	Farhang
C5	The act for acquisition of lands, buildings and infrastructures for conservation of historical and ancient monuments	1968	Law/Parliament	Conservation Historical monument Excavation archaeology
C6	Executive regulation on act for acquisition of lands, buildings and infrastructures for conservation of historical and ancient monuments	1972	Regulation/Government	
C7	Amendment to Antiquity Law	1973	Law/Parliament	National significance
C8	Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property – 1970	1974	International convention/parliament	
C9	Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage-1972	1974	International convention/parliament	Natural Heritage Universal Significance Authenticity/Integrity

Cluster D

Code	Title of the Legislation	Year	Type of Law/ Legislator	Key Concepts
D1	The bill concerning the illegal archaeological excavations	1979	Revolutionary Council	Antique objects Conservation Safeguard
D2	Resolution on abolition of exemption of import and export of antiques, cultural and artistic objects	1979	Revolutionary Council	
D3	Islamic Republic of Iran Constitutional Law	1982	Constitutional law/referendum	Nafayes Melli (National Treasures)
D4	The law for establishing Iranian Cultural Heritage Organisation	1986	Law/Parliament	Mirāse Farhangui Conservation Research
D5	Regulation on assignment and responsibilities of board of trustees, in religious and Awqaf properties	1986	Regulation/government	Mirāse Farhangui
D6	The statute of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization	1988	Law/Parliament	Mirāse Farhangui

Cluster E

Code	Title of the Legislation	Year	Type of Law/ Legislator	Key Concepts
E1	The statute of Cultural Heritage societies	1994	Statute/government	Mirāse Farhangui
E2	Islamic Penal Code	1991, 1996	Law/parliament	Mirāse Farhangui Ta'zir (punishment) Historical-cultural National monuments Heritage
E2-1	The executive policies of ICHO	1996	Policy/ICHO	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft
E3	The statute of Iranian Cultural Heritage Organisation (research centre)	1996	Statute/Government	*Mirāse Farhangui*
E4	Societies of cultural heritage advocates	1999	Regulation/Government	Mirāse Farhangui
E5	The 1995 UNIDROIT Convention	2000	International convention/Parliament	Cultural objects
E6	The Third Law for Social, Economic and Cultural Development of Islamic Republic of Iran	2000	Law/Parliament	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E7	Executive regulations for the Third national development plan	2000	Regulation/Government	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E8	Executive regulation on clause c of article 166 from third national development plan	2001	Regulation/Government	Historical-Cultural urban fabric
E9	Executive regulation on article 156 from the Third National Development Plan	2002	Regulation/Government	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E9-1	Iran's 20-year vision plan	2002	Supreme Leader	Islamic identity Revolutionary values International relation
E10	Article 64 of the Amendment to the taxation law	2002	Law/Parliament	
E11	Regulation for cultural, historic and artistic assets of public and governmental institutions	2003	Regulation/Government	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E12	Amendment to the third national development plan	2003	Law/Parliament	
E13	Resolution of the government for the Mashgh plaza and related buildings	2003	Regulation/Government	
E14	Regulation for implementing historical-cultural studies, before any development project	2004	Regulation/Government	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E15	The law for establishing the Iranian Cultural heritage and Tourism Organization	2004	Law/Parliament	
E16	The regulation concerning the seventh clause of the budget law 2004	2004	Regulation/Government	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E17	seventh clause of the Budget law	2004	Law/Parliament	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E18	The fourth Law for Social, Economic and Cultural	2004	Law/Parliament	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft

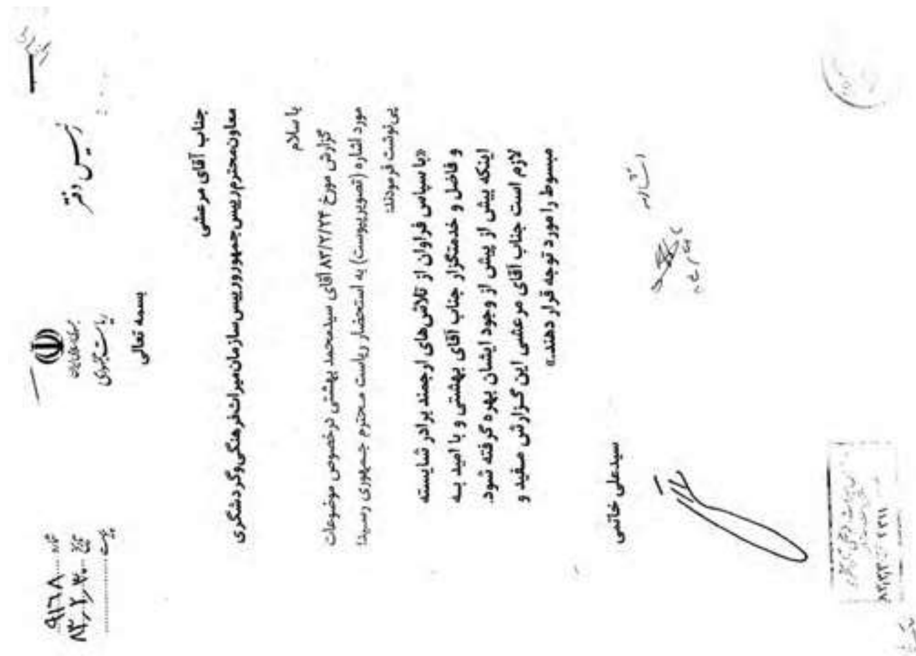
Code	Title of the Legislation	Year	Type of Law/ Legislator	Key Concepts
	Development of Islamic Republic of Iran			Ehyā
E19	Higher policies of cultural heritage and tourism	2004	Policy, Higher Council of Cultural Heritage and Tourism	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E20	Regulation on national spatial planning	2004	Regulation/Government	Territory Iranian Identity Islamic identity Mirāse Farhangui
E21	Executive regulation on the fifth article of Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organisation Law	2004	Regulation/Government	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā Museums
E22	the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage-2004	2005	International Convention/Parliament	Intangible Heritage
E23	Regulation on evaluation of construction contractors	2005	Regulation/Government	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E24	Executive regulation on the second article of Establishment of Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organisation Law	2005	Regulation/Government	Natural heritage Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E25	Executive regulation on 70th article of the fourth Law for Social, Economic and Cultural Development of Islamic Republic of Iran	2005	Regulation/Government	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E26	Executive regulation on the third clause of 166th article of the fourth Law for Social, Economic and Cultural Development of Islamic Republic of Iran	2005	Regulation/Government	Urban Heritage Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E27	Executive regulation on 108th article of the fourth Law for Social, Economic and Cultural Development of Islamic Republic of Iran	2005	Regulation/Government	Islamic Values Revolutionary Values Islamic revolution Mirāse Farhangui
E27-1	Regulations of Eco-Tourism	2005	Regulation/Government	Ecotourism Natural Heritage
E28	The regulation concerning the first section of the tenth clause of the budget law 2005	2005	Regulation/Government	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E29	The regulation for management, record keeping, supervision and supporting the owners of the movable cultural and historical objects	2005	Regulation/Government	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
	Executive regulation for article 105 of the fourth Law for Social, Economic and Cultural Development of Islamic Republic of Iran	2005	Regulation Government	Community participation Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā

Code	Title of the Legislation	Year	Type of Law/ Legislator	Key Concepts
E30	Executive regulation for article 114 of the fourth Law of Social, Economic and Cultural Development of Islamic Republic of Iran	2005	Regulation/Government	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E31	Statute of Revitalisation and utilisation Fund for Historical places	2005	Statute/Government	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā
E32	The regulation concerning the second section of the six clause of the budget law 2006	2006	Regulation/Government	Mirāse Farhangui Pishraft Ehyā

APPENDIX THREE: SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

1. Resignation letter

Resignation letter of Mohammad Beheshti, the former head of ICHHTO in reformist government of Iran, is a significant document that explains the political context of Iranian heritage.



شماره ۹۱۶۸
تاریخ ۸۳/۲/۳۰
پیوست ....

جمهوری اسلامی ایران
ریاست جمهوری

بسمه تعالی

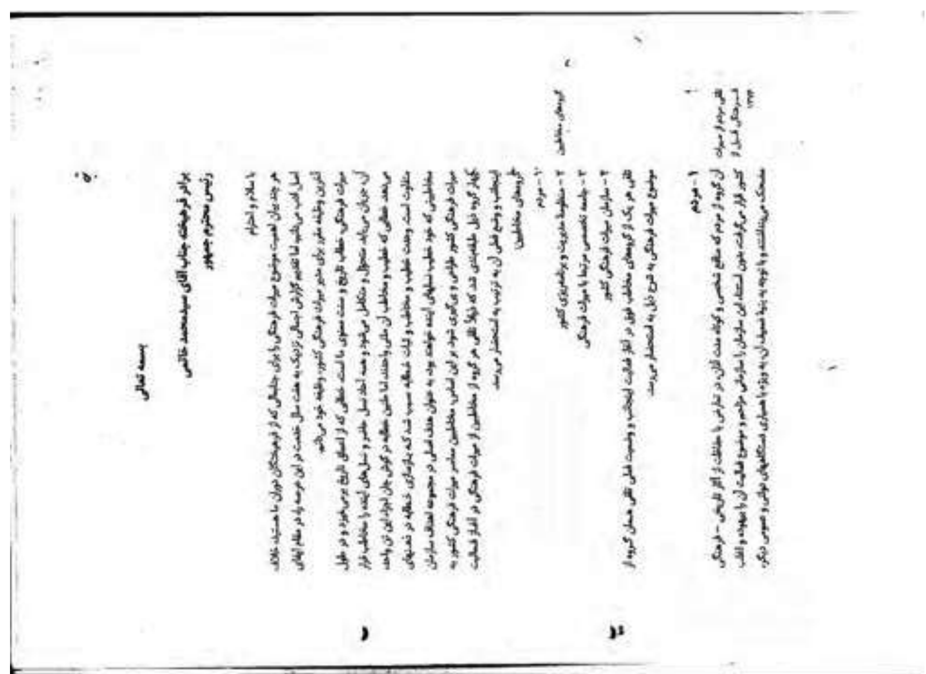
جناب آقای مرعشی
معاون‌محترم‌رییس‌جمهورورییس‌سازمان‌میراث‌فرهنگی‌وگردشگری

با سلام

گزارش مورخ ۸۳/۲/۲۴ آقای سیدمحمد بهشتی درخصوص موضوعات مورد اشاره (تصویرپیوست) به استحضار ریاست محترم جمهوری رسید؛ پی‌نوشت فرمودند:

«با سپاس فراوان از تلاش‌های ارجمند برادر شایسته و فاضل و خدمتگزار جناب آقای بهشتی و با امید به اینکه بیش از پیش از وجود ایشان بهره گرفته شود. لازم است جناب آقای مرعشی این گزارش مفید و مبسوط را مورد توجه قرار دهند.»

سیدعلی خاتمی



بسمه تعالی

برادر فرهیخته جناب آقای سیدمحمد خاتمی
رئیس محترم جمهور

با سلام و احترام

هر چند بیان اهمیت موضوع میراث فرهنگی را برای جنابعالی که از فرهیختگان دوران ما هستید، خلاف اصل ادب می‌دانم اما تقدیم گزارش اجمالی نزدیک به هفت سال خدمت در این عرصه را در مقام ایفای آخرین وظیفه مقرر برای مدیر میراث فرهنگی کشور، وظیفه خود می‌دانم.

میراث فرهنگی، خطاب تاریخ و سنت معنوی ما است. خطابی که از اعماق تاریخ برمی‌خیزد و در طول آن، جریان می‌یابد، متحول و متکامل می‌شود و همه آحاد نسل حاضر و نسل‌های آینده را مخاطب قرار می‌دهد. خطابی که خطیب و مخاطب آن ملتی واحدند اما طنین خطابه در گوش جان اجزاء این تن واحد، متفاوت است. وحدت خطیب و مخاطب و ثبات خطابه سبب شد که بازسازی خطابه در ذهن‌های مخاطبینی که خود خطیب نسلهای آینده خواهند بود، به عنوان هدف اصلی در مجموعه اهداف سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور طراحی و پیگیری شود. بر این اساس، مخاطبین معاصر میراث فرهنگی کشور به چهار گروه ذیل طبقه‌بندی شد که ذیلاً تلقی هر گروه از مخاطبین از میراث فرهنگی در آغاز فعالیت اینجانب و وضع فعلی آن به ترتیب به استحضار می‌رسد.

گروههای مخاطبین:

۱- مردم
۲- منظومهٔ مدیریت و برنامه‌ریزی کشور
۳- جامعه تخصصی مرتبط با میراث فرهنگی
۴- سازمان میراث فرهنگی کشور

(گروههای مخاطبین)

تلقی هر یک از گروههای مخاطب فوق در آغاز فعالیت اینجانب و وضعیت فعلی تلقی همان گروه از موضوع میراث فرهنگی به شرح ذیل به استحضار می‌رسد.

۱- مردم

(تلقی مردم از میراث فرهنگی قبل از ۱۳۷۶)

آن گروه از مردم که منافع شخصی و کوتاه مدت آنان، در تعارض با حفاظت از آثار تاریخی – فرهنگی کشور قرار می‌گرفت، بدون استثناء این سازمان را سازمانی مزاحم و موضوع فعالیت آن را بیهوده و اغلب مضحک می‌پنداشتند و با توجه به بنیهٔ ضعیف آن، به ویژه با همیاری دستگاههای دولتی و عمومی دیگر،

2. Executive policy of Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization

"The executive policies of the ICHO", as a prelude to a series of new legislations proposed a general policy for reformation in the Iranian heritage sector. It covers different fields of education, research, archaeology, anthropology, traditional arts and conservation.

3. Guardian Council Statement

Guardian Council declaration has an overwhelming impact on Iranian heritage. the statement declares that not only the sacred spaces but also any private property is exempt from the Antiquity Law.

بسمه تعالی

شماره ۶۰۷۶
تاریخ ۱۳۶۱/۸/۴
پیوست ندارد

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

شورایعالی محترم قضائی

پیرو نامه شماره ۵۷۲۶ مورخ ۶۱/۷/۱۷:
قانون حفظ آثار ملی مصوب ۱۳۰۹ و اطلاعیه‌ها و
الحاقات بعدی آن در جلسه مورخ ۱۳۶۱/۷/۱۷
فقهای شورای نگهبان مطرح و مورد بحث و بررسی
قرار گرفت و شمول قانون نسبت به املاک شخصی
بنظر اکثریت آقایان فقهاء شورا مغایر موازین
شرع تشخیص داده شد.

دبیر شورای نگهبان

مجلس شورای اسلامی ـ شورای نگهبان

APPENDIX FOUR: COPYRIGHT PERMISSIONS

PERMISSION TO USE COPYRIGHT MATERIAL AS SPECIFIED BELOW:

1. Historical map of Tabriz from 16th century drawn by Nesuh Matracchi. Page 14.
2. Landscape of Tabriz city drawn by Chardin. Page 81.
3. Map drawn by Trezel and Fabvier, 1807. Page 17.
4. Documentation of Flood in Tabriz, 1871. Page 30.
5. Map of Tabriz, 1880, drawn by a group of Iranian engineers. Page 45.
6. Map 1910, demonstrating Tabriz as a localised centre. Upper right corner a magnification of Grand Bazaar can be observed. Page 65.
7. Map of Tabriz in constitutional revolution, the royalist forces are marked with yellow, 1908. Page 82.

From book: Tehrani, Farhad, Faramarz Parsi, and Amir Bani Masoud. 2007. *Reading up of Old Maps of Tabriz*. Tehran: SBU.

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Date: 5/25/2018

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